

THE
VENERABILE

CONDUCTED BY THE PAST
AND PRESENT STUDENTS
OF THE VENERABLE
ENGLISH COLLEGE
ROME

May 1961

Vol. XX. No. 2

PRINTED AT
CATHOLIC RECORDS PRESS
EXETER

CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
From Hospice to College—III	<i>Anthony Kenny</i> 89
Romanesque	<i>Hugh Reynolds</i> 104
Catholic Oxford, 1559—1603	<i>Brian Newns</i> 113
Nova Et Vetera	
<i>The College in 1710</i>	124
<i>Cardinal Godfrey's Gift</i>	125
<i>An Appeal for Back Numbers</i>	126
A Royal Reredos	<i>John Allen</i> 127
College Diary	<i>Christopher Budd</i> 140
Personal	160
College Notes	162
Obituary	164

Frontispiece : Palazzola, the top of the Wiggery steps.



FROM HOSPICE TO COLLEGE

III¹

In February 1577 the first seminarists were installed in the English Hospice in Rome under the care of the Warden, Dr Morus Clynnog. There were six of them, all sent from Douai by Dr Allen : John Shert, Thomas Bell, John Gower, John Mush, John Askew and William Lowe. Except for Shert, who had left Douai as a deacon, they were all laymen, not far advanced in their studies ; their average age was twenty-eight. With them was Gregory Martin, the future translator of the New Testament, who supervised their studies. In the spring four more Douai scholars sought admission : Ralph Standish, William Holt, and two others named Hunt and Madder. The first, a twenty-year-old metaphysician, and the second, a theologian who had taken priest's orders on his way to Rome, were admitted without difficulty. But Madder and Hunt were older, and the Hospice had no further funds to spare. Owen Lewis asked for a Papal subsidy, but was refused by the Datary ; such longbeards, Cardinal Protector Morone told Clynnog, were of an age to be teaching, not learning. So Madder returned to Douai, and Hunt became a Jesuit. At the same time the Warden's nephew, Morgan Clynnog, a promising youth of nineteen, was admitted to the seminary.²

¹ The principal sources for this article are the Calendars of State Papers, Roman (C.S.P.), the publications of the Catholic Record Society (C.R.S.), the Douai Diaries (D.D.) and the unpublished papers of Cardinal Morone in the Vatican, Vat. Lat. 12159 (VL).

² VL, 135 ff ; D.D. for 1576-7. Each of the scholars was given a room to himself ; there is an inventory of their furniture in the College Archives, Lib. 33.

News of the new College quickly spread across Europe. Owen Lewis wrote to Dr Allen to inform him of the safe arrival of his scholars and the foundation of the seminary. His letters were read publicly at Douai on 6th May 1577 amid general rejoicing. From Milan, St Charles Borromeo wrote to his agent in Rome, Mgr Speciano, instructing him to use his influence in favour of the new College.³

Cardinal Morone drew up rules for the scholars. Every applicant for admission was to be examined by the Protector's deputy. The Warden of the Hospice was to be Rector also of the scholars, removable at the Protector's discretion; the scholars were to obey him and reverence the chaplains and fellows of the Hospice. Each day the scholars were to go, class by class, to lectures at the Roman College. They must not wander unescorted through the streets, nor leave the College without the Warden's leave. Every scholar was to be enrolled in a Sodality of the Annunciation, and perform the prescribed exercises. One of the older scholars, or another priest from the Hospice, was to be appointed *praepositus seu observator scholarum*, to inform the Rector about the scholars' behaviour. Week by week, a scholar was to be appointed to read in Hall. All were to rise and retire at the same time, to hear Mass daily, and to meditate for a quarter of an hour morning and evening. Once a month, for the edification of the English pilgrims, they were to receive Communion together in the Hospice church. Later, when there were a sufficient number of theological students, they were to hold public debates at table after dinner, on topics of theology suggested by the morning's lectures or the refectory reading. At the beginning of each month the Warden was to give to each chaplain and each scholar five *scudi di moneta* for their keep; at the end of each month he must present accounts to the Protector's deputy. The earlier statutes of the Hospice were revoked, and the chaplains forbidden to interfere in the scholars' affairs.⁴

During the summer of 1577,⁵ an anonymous memorialist suggested to Cardinal Morone that the nascent seminary should be united with the German College in Rome, and governed by the Jesuits who supervised and tutored the German seminarists.

³ Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 276.

⁴ VL, 133.

⁵ No date is given in the memorial; but it is mentioned that there were only nine scholars in the College, which fixes the period.

It was pointed out that the Hospice was inconveniently far from the Roman College, and unhealthily overcrowded : the scholars were forced to rub shoulders with sailors, merchants, soldiers, noblemen, paupers and other undesirables. The *Congregatio Nationis Anglicanae*, being a many-headed beast, was unfitted to govern a Seminary ; only the Jesuits, it was suggested, were capable of disinfecting youths who had been corrupted by the schismatic atmosphere of England. The scheme could easily be put into practice : next to S. Apollinare there was a house belonging to the Hospice, whose tenants could be pensioned off. Finally, said the memorialist, there was no danger that English and German scholars might not agree together : they hailed from almost the same country, and spoke very nearly the same language.⁶

The writer of this quaint piece, whether he was a naive Italian Jesuit, or a cynical Fellow of the Hospice anxious at all costs to get rid of the intruding scholars, must have been disappointed at its reception. On reaching Morone, the memorial was filed and forgotten.

It will be recalled that the seminary had been conceived as a by-product of the English exiles' projects for the invasion of England. These projects, which had never greatly commended themselves to King Philip II of Spain, had been shelved when Philip's subjects in the Low Countries had rebelled early in 1576. But they were not forgotten by the English exiles. Dr Allen, on the very day on which he sent Gregory Martin to Rome to assist in the foundation of the seminary, sent also Dr Stapleton as 'a very good man to go with the armada'. At Douai, he pressed on with preparations for an invasion, hampered only by lack of money.⁷

At the beginning of 1577 the rebellion in the Low Countries was almost over. Don John of Austria, King Philip's representative there, began to express renewed interest in the English venture. He was attracted to the proposal that he might become King of England by marrying Mary, Queen of Scots. Pope Gregory XIII encouraged him in this idea. Thomas Stukeley, Lewis's disreputable crony, was sent to Flanders with a Papal brief. He reached Don John's headquarters in February, and found him negotiating peace with the rebels. The peace terms involved the withdrawal of Spanish troops from the Netherlands ;

⁶ VL, 141.

⁷ Allen to Lewis, C.R.S. 9, 44.

and it was suggested secretly that while on their way through the Channel they might disembark in England, dethrone Elizabeth, liberate Mary of Scotland, marry her to Don John, and then proceed upon their journey to Spain. Pope Gregory urged Don John 'not to lose so excellent an opportunity to chastise that wicked woman, and therewithal to gain a realm so noble and important'.

A papal diplomat, Filippo Sega, hurried to Flanders with letters to Stukeley, a list of prominent English Catholics, and bills of credit for 50,000 crowns to be paid to Don John as soon as the expedition sailed. But when he arrived on 12th March, Mgr Sega found that a clause had been written into the peace-terms binding Don John to send his troops home overland. Stukeley, arriving back in Rome in April, convinced the Secretariat of State that there was no further hope of an invasion from Flanders.⁸

Pope Gregory and his Secretary, the Cardinal of Como, were not easily discouraged. They now reverted to their former plan of sending 6,000 troops to England from some port in the Papal States. To prepare the way, the Pope enlisted the services of an Irish nobleman, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, popularly known as Geraldine, who volunteered to kindle rebellion in Ireland. Stukeley also put himself forward, promising to do great things if he were given a few ships and a handful of troops. Como wrote to Don John that, properly employed, Stukeley might be as great an embarrassment to Queen Elizabeth as the Prince of Orange was to King Philip.⁹

Stukeley's offer and its acceptance did not long remain secret. In May Thomas Wilson, the English ambassador in Flanders, waited upon Mgr Sega to inform him that the Queen of England knew that the Pope was supporting Stukeley, and that she marvelled that he trusted such an imposter, '*un fallito frappatore*'. Sega replied disingenuously: 'If the Pope entertain Stukeley or other Englishmen (of which I have no knowledge) it must be to relieve the distresses of those that are banished from their homes and have forfeited their own substance for zeal in the cause of faith'. He did not believe, he added, that the English really thought the Pope so resourceless 'that if he had a mind to hurt the Queen it would have been necessary for him

⁸ Don John to Gregory XIII, 17.2.1577; Ormaneto to Como, 25.3.1577; Como to Don John, 2.4.1577; all in C.S.P.

⁹ Como to Don John, 2.4.1577 (C.S.P., 2, 297).

to make use of a private person, able as he is in such affairs to command the services of Kings and Emperors.¹⁰

Far from commanding the services of Kings, Pope Gregory's nuncio to Spain was on his knees to Philip II week after week, begging support for the invasion project and for the raids to be undertaken by Stukeley and Geraldine. In July Como wrote that it was time Philip put off the mask in his dealings with that she-devil Elizabeth. In September Segá, now transferred to the Madrid nunciature, wrote that the King was afraid to move in the English business for fear of French opposition. 'As for Stukeley, his Majesty does not approve of his making any move at present. I gave him an account of his designs, and got a fair answer from him to the effect that he will bear them in mind, but it amounted to nothing in particular.' To this Como replied that since the King would not make up his mind, he saw no possibility of preventing Stukeley from departing in despair, and God alone knew where he would go.¹¹

In October, owing to the setback in Flanders, Don John fell out of favour with King Philip, and Pope Gregory hastily dropped the plan for an invasion to place him on the throne of England. For the next few months all the energies of the Secretariat of State were directed to the projects of Stukeley and Geraldine. Geraldine was held up in Lisbon, vainly waiting for a subsidy from Madrid. Stukeley fretted in Rome: 'he is as full of ardour' wrote Como, 'as he is destitute of funds.'¹²

King Philip remained unimpressed, and in the end Pope Gregory had to agree to finance the expedition out of his own pocket. Stukeley, created Marquess of Leinster, went to Naples in October in search of a ship. In December he chartered from Antonio Spinola, at a rate of 825 ducats a month, the galleon *San Giovanni Battista* (Master, Nicolò Correga). Returning overland to Rome, he lived in hiding until the vessel could be brought to a Papal port to embark troops.¹³

Geraldine, tired of waiting at Lisbon for cannon, powder, arquebuses and soldiers, had hired a French ship from his own

¹⁰ Segá to Como, C.S.P. 2, 306.

¹¹ Segá to Como, 13.9.1577; Como to Segá, 8.10.1577 (C.S.P. 2, 334-7).

¹² Segá to Como, 12.10.1577. Como wrote: 'As to Geraldine, though we do not think that he is likely to do much without His Majesty's support, yet he might perhaps harass the Queen . . . and therefore it would perhaps not be a bad thing to let Stukeley go also that he might simultaneously harass her in another part . . . You must broach this matter to the King, and reply as soon as possible; because, if we do not give Stukeley leave to go, he will be off on his own account some morning' (Como to Segá, 15.10.1577; C.S.P. 2, 340).

¹³ C.S.P. 2, 460.

funds, and had sailed on 19th November, sending a pathetic letter to Como begging for prayers and reinforcements. He began his voyage auspiciously by boarding and capturing an English merchantman. He was minded to put her crew to the sword, but was dissuaded by one of his passengers, the Bishop of Mayo. Instead, he sent them ashore under escort to be dealt with by the Spanish Inquisition. For the next month the vessel hugged the coast of Spain, tormented by adverse winds. At Christmas the expedition was completely weatherbound for twenty days. On the feast of the Epiphany Geraldine and his companions put ashore at a port in Galicia to make their Communion. While the Irishmen were in church, the French captain hoisted sail and went off with his crew to Brittany, leaving them stranded. For the next few months Geraldine was out of action, posting across France in the hope of catching up with his ship.

News of this setback did not reach the Papal court for several months. Meanwhile, Stukeley prepared to depart. At long last King Philip made a contribution of 2,000 ducats to the enterprise. The *San Giovanni* sailed from Naples to Civita Vecchia, but found the harbour there too small to take her. After being held up by the *tramontana* until 10th January, she sailed with a fair wind to Porto d'Ercole. There it was planned to put aboard 600 soldiers with pay and supplies for six months, plus arms for 3,000 men. Altogether, Como wrote to Sega, the expedition would cost the Pope 40,000 crowns; but His Holiness did not begrudge the money since it would redound to the credit of God and the Catholic religion.¹⁴

On 14th January Como sent news of the expedition to Mgr Fontana, the Papal agent in Portugal. 'Sir Thomas Stukeley', he wrote, 'an English gentleman, has been despatched by His Holiness with 600 soldiers and some munitions of war on a voyage to Ireland for the defence of the poor Catholics of that island against the oppression by heretics, a duty most pleasing to God and very appropriate to the charge which his Holiness has of Vicar of Christ on earth.'¹⁵

Como's report was premature. Stukeley had indeed left Rome, leaving Owen Lewis as his representative at the Secretariat of State; but on arriving at Port d'Ercole he had found the harbour mouth blocked, and had to send to Rome for dredgers. Then, on inspecting his vessel on 19th January, he found it

¹⁴ Como to Sega, 5.1.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 362).

¹⁵ Como to Fontana, 14.1.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 367).

short of artillery. With his military commander, Sebastian di San Giuseppe, he obtained permission from Pope Gregory to commandeer from the Castellan of Ostia some of the pieces lying idle at Civita Vecchia. They collected at Rocca Nuova three hundred cannon balls, and four iron-wheeled cannon : one small plain mogliana, one pitriera bearing the arms of Malta ('Give us that one', said Stukeley piously, 'since it bears a Cross'), a Turkish saker and an old square morana with the arms of Pope Paul III.¹⁶

Stukeley's proceedings were not popular with many of the British colony in Rome. Owen Lewis, indeed, had been at his right hand throughout, and had lent 100 ducats to the expedition, receiving as security a handsome emerald worth 400 ducats. Bishop Lesley of Ross, a Scots exile in Rome, also lent his support. But Sir William Shelley, the English Prior of the Knights of Malta, who had always hoped for Queen Elizabeth's conversion, and favoured negotiations with her, bitterly opposed Stukeley's warlike plans. He was supported by William Ely, an auditor of the Hospice, Thomas Clements, a Papal pensioner and kinsman of St Thomas More, and one Mynhurst, a nephew of Cardinal Pole.

Before leaving, Stukeley attempted to put his opponents out of action. Clements he terrified with threats of murder, laying violent hands on him in his own house. Ely, 'for that he would not be brought to tell his tale to the Pope as the said Marquesse would have had him', he threatened to hang at the Pope's court gates. Shelley was denounced to the Inquisition as 'a friend or honourable spie for the Queene', and would have been imprisoned but for a warning from Fr Persons, then English Penitentiary at St Peter's. Finally, in Person's words, Stukeley 'obtaind a thing very odious and many wondred that Gregory being a man of much moderation and great iustice, would ever yeld unto : to witt, to take perforce in the night out of their beddes so many men of marke of the Irish nation as remayned at that tyme in Rome, and such Englishmen also as the Marques had a tooth against excepting only the greatest. Which was done and all carried out by night by order of Don Paulo Jordano, head of the house of Ursino, to whome the matter by the Pope was comitted.'¹⁷ Paolo Giordano Orsini was

¹⁶ Sebastian di S. Giuseppe to Como, 22.1.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 372).

¹⁷ Persons : C.R.S. 2, 161-2.

the Roman prince, adulterer and murderer known to students of English literature as the hero of Webster's *The White Devil*.

Among those rounded up by Orsini's press-gang were the Bishop of Killala, half-a-dozen Irish priests, one Irish ex-Jesuit, and the unfortunate nephew of Cardinal Pole. Clements escaped Stukeley's revenge by taking refuge in the household of Cardinal Hosius.¹⁸

The victims were dumped at Porto d'Ercole about 24th January. Sebastian di San Giuseppe complained that he was expected to provide for their upkeep, since Orsini claimed to be already 1,000 crowns out of pocket for clothing, arms, and advances of pay. But this was the least of Sebastian's worries. The *San Giovanni* turned out to be thoroughly rotten, and too small to hold all the troops, who had to be stowed 'like pipkins and pipes'. The master had provided supplies only as far as Marseilles; even so, owing to the lack of space aboard, they had to leave ashore 400 tons of biscuits, 15 tons of cheese, 10 tons of salt meat, 9 barrels of tunny, and 6 barrels of pilchard. Four hundred planks had to be obtained to make a storehouse for the ship's biscuit.¹⁹

Pope Gregory, not knowing of these mishaps, planned to give the galleon a magnificent farewell. On 25th January a Roman newsletter carried the following report: 'On Monday morning the Pope departed for Civita Vecchia, and after riding some miles got into a new carriage lined with crimson velvet, in which were Cardinals Austria, Sermoneta and Farnese. After a splendid reception provided by Farnese at Palo with all the court his Holiness departed for Civita Vecchia to confer his blessing on the soldiers that are going on the galleon of the English Duke.'²⁰

On arriving, he found uproar and mutiny. The soldiers refused to embark unless they were given two instalments of pay; arquebuses were fired at Stukeley. 'The Pope resolved to hold aloof and not expose his person to such risks', reported the newsletter. Inevitably, the mutiny was attributed to the machinations of the wicked Queen of England. However, the soldiers were pacified, and the arquebusiers were imprisoned, and the Pope, 'with a glad countenance', returned to Rome, having given Stukeley a Mass set.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid., and C.S.P. 2, 449, which names the priests.

¹⁹ Sebastian di S. Giuseppe to Como, 24.1.1578 and 24.7.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 373).

²⁰ C.S.P. 2, 375.

²¹ Ibid.

On 3rd February Stukeley wrote that Orsini had transferred the command of the foot soldiers, in good condition. With a flourish, he bade farewell. 'To live or to die, I am, and ever shall be, at the service of His Holiness.' But the effect was spoilt when the same post brought a letter from Sebastian di S. Giuseppe complaining that half the cargo of the last boat had been left behind by a stupid boatswain.

At last the galleon set sail with a fair breeze. She carried a crew of unique oddity. Besides the Marquess of Leinster and Captain Sebastian, there were aboard seven vassals of Prince Orsini, one Irish Bishop, one English nobleman, one British pirate, six Irish priests, one ex-Jesuit, one Sienese sergeant-major, one Pisan captain, three Sienese noblemen, six hundred assorted Italian troops, and two Corsicans who had enlisted for the purpose of murdering the Sienese, against whom they had a vendetta.²²

Any hope of success which Stukeley may have had clearly depended on his destination being kept secret. The Cardinal of Como, though writing in cipher, refused to take into his confidence even the nuncio in France.²³ None the less, within a few weeks the English ambassador in Paris, Sir Amyas Paulet—an uncle of Stukeley's—had learnt the whole story from English agents in Florence. The Queen of England was informed of the expedition before even the nuncio in Spain had learnt of its departure. In Lisbon, they had prayer-leaflets printed for the success of the invasion; preachers in the pulpits commended the enterprise to the prayers of churchgoers. Genoese seafarers reported that in the English ports nothing else was talked about but the proposed invasion. Before Stukeley was within 600 miles of Ireland all Europe knew of his destination—except for the unfortunate soldiers crammed in the hold of his galleon.²⁴

²² Prince Orsini knew all about the vendetta but forgot to warn Sebastian di San Giuseppe (Sebastian to Como, 23.5.1578).

²³ He wrote: 'As others may have written that some few soldiers have been raised here, & everyone will put his own interpretation on the matter, I would have you to know the truth from me. . . . Sir Thomas Stukeley, having come here 4 years ago, and lived on a pension from his Holiness, now, suddenly, either because he felt ashamed, being by profession a soldier, there indolently to devour the substance of priests, or because that which his Holiness gave him did not suffice for his wants, craved the favour of some aid on account of his ordinary allowances, with which and some other aids which were offered him by divers persons and in particular by Paolo Giordano Orsini, with whom he is on terms of familiarity and most intimate friendship, he proposed to equip a galleon, and scour the seas, to try his fortune either against the infidels, or against the heretics as God should best inspire him. The idea struck his Holiness as so honest and honourable that he could not but afford him some aid; and so he has now gone to Civita Vecchia. . . . Whither he is bound, I cannot say, because it may well be that his own mind is not yet made up' (Como to Dandini, 29.1.1578; C.S.P. 2, 375).

²⁴ Spinola to Como, 19.4.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 410).

For three months after the *San Giovanni Battista* weighed anchor nothing further was heard of her at Rome. Cardinal Como turned his attention once more to the plans for a full-scale armada, to be led now not by Don John of Austria, but by Paolo Giordano Orsini. His letters to the Spanish nuncio took up the familiar tale: 'Urge his Majesty to a general *impresa*. His Holiness adheres to his offer to lend his name and authority and all else, money alone excepted.'²⁵

Owen Lewis, left behind as Stukeley's agent, reverted to the cultivation of the new seminary. His involvement in the invasion schemes affected it in two ways: it gave him great, if temporary, influence at the Papal court, which turned to the seminary's advantage; and it made him numerous enemies among the Englishmen in Rome, a fact which contributed to the troubles which disfigured the early years of the College's history.

At the time of Stukeley's departure the number of scholars had grown to seventeen. In autumn 1577 there had arrived from Douai six Englishmen: Ralph Sherwin, Leonard Hyde, William Harrison, Martin Array, Edward Rishton and Arthur Pitts, all future confessors of the faith. At about the same time, two Welsh students arrived and joined the seminary. Since the Hospice had neither rooms nor immediately available funds for more than the nine students already installed, the new arrivals were placed in the house adjacent to the Hospice on St Bridget's side, which was joined to the main building by a passage.²⁶ Each scholar was awarded a monthly pension of 5 crowns by Pope Gregory, at Lewis's request. Lewis himself lived in the house next door to that occupied by the new scholars, paying the Hospice a rent of 50 crowns a year. Clynnog sent to the Vatican a bill for the purchases made necessary by the influx of scholars: 60 scudi for black cloth for 8 soprane, and a further 5 for tailoring; 36 scudi for 8 cassocks; twelve mattresses, blankets, *imbottiti* and coverlets, totalling 178 scudi; twelve shirts, doublets, pairs of shoes, pairs of socks and hats, totalling 64 scudi; 6 scudi worth of tables, 24 scudi of kitchen utensils, and 30 scudi for books.²⁷

The admission of the two Welsh students to the College caused some stir. One of them, Rhosler Smith, of St Asaph, aged thirty-eight, was admitted at the recommendation of

²⁵ Como to Sega, 23.2.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 386).

²⁶ Cf. Vatican Library, Bar. Lat. 8624, 1.

²⁷ VL, 187 and 209.

Bishop Goldwell : he was later to translate the catechism of St Peter Canisius into Welsh. The other, the forty-year-old Owen Thomas, was a nephew of Gryffyd Robert, a former chaplain of the Hospice. Both were examined by the Jesuits at the Collegio Romano and found to be fit for Theology ; both were approved by the Cardinal Protector. But it was remembered by many that a year earlier two younger Englishmen had been rejected on the grounds of age. The admission of the Welshmen was attributed by many to nationalistic partiality on the part of Lewis and Clynnog.²⁸

During the winter of 1577-8 there arrived another priest from Douai, the twenty-nine-year-old Jonas Meredith, who had already spent a year on the English mission. On 3rd February Douai despatched three priests (Robert Kent, Richard Haddock and George Birkhead) and four theologians (Brisco, Grately, Owen and one other). Most of these were admitted to the seminary but not Kent, who had to live in the city at his own expense. Caesar Clements, the son of Stukeley's victim Thomas Clements, petitioned to be admitted ; he was refused as being too young, but was offered free meals with the servants, which he refused as an insult to his noble birth. Antony Tyrell, whose brother Robert owed a Papal pension of 10 crowns a month to Lewis's good offices, was another who was at first refused admission to the College. Allen's letters of recommendation, so it was said, had been half-hearted ; and there were rumours that he had lived lewdly in England. But later more enthusiastic letters arrived from Douai, and Tyrell was admitted at Lewis's request. Two other Englishmen were refused admission to the College, one because he was a pirate, the other because he was a runaway apprentice. The pirate had gone off with Stukeley ; the other remained in Rome to grumble. Lewis's enemies kept the score.²⁹

Fr Persons, the English penitentiary, grew alarmed at the growing hostility between English and Welsh, and warned Lewis more than once of the unpopularity he was acquiring. He found him 'reasonable in answer and, as he seemed, willing to remedy the same' ; but afterwards he could detect no alteration in behaviour, and, as he wrote to a friend, 'to my great grieve I saw the grudgings dayly grow on.'³⁰

²⁸ Cleary, *A Checklist of Welsh Students in the Seminaries*, I, 16 ; VL, 135.

²⁹ VL, 135 ; C.R.S. 2, 106.

³⁰ Persons to Goode, C.R.S. 2, 143.

Another incident, of uncertain date, further alienated the English chaplains from Lewis and Clynnog. Fr Persons is our main authority for the story. He tells us that there came to Rome 'Owen Price, a scholler borne in Wales, countryman to Clenock, custos that year, which Price being very poore, was moved (as he himselfe afterward confessed) by the aforesaid two Doctors to be admitted a Fellowe into the Englishe Hospitall, which the Chaplaines utterly denied, partly (as they pretended) for that he was not a priest, he had not sufficient learning to be a Priest, and partly for that they had suspicion of his dissolute life, which after indeed appeared to be true, and withal perhaps, in like manner for that the said Chaplaines stood not well at that tyme with the aforesaid Doctors, and consequently would be loth to have any more of there countrey men among them. But upon the suddaine, when the Chaplaines thought not of yt, this Prise entred into the Hall of the Hospitall, and sate down at the table with them without being invited by them, showing also for his authority a Breve of the Popes, whereby he was ordayned Fellow with them of that house, wherat they storming extreamly went to Cardinall Morone the Protector of England at that tyme, and to him alledged so many reasons against Price his admittance, as albeit the said Cardinall was a great friend to the forenamed two Doctores and to there parte, yet he caused the said Breve to be suspended and afterwards annulled, and Price to be sent of the Towne by the two Doctors persuasion and his commandment.'³¹

By May 1578 there were twenty-six scholars living in the Hospice and the adjacent house. May was the month in which traditionally elections were held for the Hospice offices. Clynnog, elected Warden in May 1576, had been due to retire in May 1577, but his term of office had been prolonged for a year by Cardinal Morone, on account of the seminary. Now, in May 1578, the chaplains refused to re-elect him, and elected in his stead Henry Henshaw, the one-time Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Morone thereupon separated the government of the College from that of the Hospice, and re-appointed Clynnog Rector of the

³¹ Fr Persons adds that Price, falling sick through his lewd behaviour, returned to Rome from Milan, and died at S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, where he showed great sorrow for his sins, and asked pardon of the chaplains who visited him with alms (C.R.S. 2, 84). The story appears also in the *Brevis Narratio* (A.R.S.I. Rom, 156). It can hardly have been invented, but it raises many puzzles. Persons dates the episode in 1578, and says that it 'occasioned the New Colledge', and that the chaplains regarded the introduction of scholars into the Hospice as Lewis's revenge for the expulsion of Price. But there had been scholars in the Hospice for a year before 1578, and when the decision was first taken to admit them, Clynnog was not even Warden.

scholars. This did nothing to assuage the chaplains' jealousy. Dr Allen later rebuked Lewis because 'he did not dehort Mr Maurice from taking upon him that charge in the beginning, for which indeed, no dishonour be it unto him, he was not sufficient.'³² The appointment of Clynnog was not, however, unnatural. He was, after Lewis himself, the most energetic, and the best known to Morone, of all the British exiles in Rome; and none of the other chaplains appears to have possessed any greater qualification for the post, save only that of not being a Welshman.³³

To assist Clynnog, Lewis obtained from the General of the Society of Jesus the services of two Italian Jesuits. Fr John Paul Navarola was made Spiritual Director, and Fr Ferdinand Capecci became Prefect of Studies. Clynnog remained in charge of discipline and temporal administration.³⁴

Relying on his influence with the Pope, Lewis obtained frequent favours for the College. In spring he secured from Gregory a regular monthly subsidy of 100 crowns, equal to that given to the four-times-larger College of Douai. In autumn, Cardinal Como, through the Spanish nuncio, obtained from King Philip of Spain a licence for the College to import 100 barrels of wine tax-free from Naples.³⁵

In May, however, Lewis's position at the Papal Court was shaken, as bad news arrived of Stukeley's expedition. During the first three months after the departure of the *San Giovanni Battista*, the post had brought many rumours but no news. A shipful of Italian soldiers had been sighted off Alicante. A galleon had gone to the bottom with all hands off Malaga. Until half-way through May it was uncertain whether either of these ships was Stukeley's. Then a sheaf of letters reached Como and Lewis which enabled them to piece together the story of the galleon's voyage.

After leaving Porto d'Ercole, on 3rd February, the *San Giovanni* had made Porto Palamos, in Northern Spain, on the 12th. A week at sea had made it clear that the ship was ill-furnished with tackle, and that her timbers were weak and

³² Allen to Lewis, 12.5.1579. Knox, *Allen*, 79.

³³ Martin to Campion, 21.5.1578, D.D. 316; English College Archives, Lib. 34. Allen was probably justified when, after the event, he said that it would have been prudent to import as Rector a Douai priest such as Dr Bristowe (*loc. cit.*).

³⁴ C.R.S. 2, 93; Martin to Campion, 21.5.1578, D.D. 316.

³⁵ Sega to Como, 5.5.1578 and 9.9.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 423). King Philip's autograph granting the licence is in the College archives, *Pergamena* 7.10.1578 and Lib. 5, 176.

ill-caulked. The master of the vessel, who had been expected to bring money for purposes of refitting and revictualling, confessed that he had put it out at usury in Rome. Five of Prince Orsini's men went ashore at Palamos and failed to return. Stukeley could not imagine why they had deserted: 'they had no grounds to complain of the food', he wrote, 'since two of them ate at the ensigns' table.'³⁶ Cardinal Pole's nephew 'uttered some wordes of discontentment' against Stukeley; he was accused of being a spy for Queen Elizabeth and summarily tried for treason. Stukeley would have hanged him at the top-mast then and there; but he was persuaded by Sebastian di San Giuseppe to write first for Papal sanction. Instead, the unfortunate nobleman was placed in the sink, in the custody of the Sienese sergent-major. A few days later the sergent-major himself was in trouble: he had his pay stopped for conniving at a plan for his prisoner's escape, and for provoking a mutiny by 'disparaging the victuals provided by the Pope'. The two Corsican soldiers were sent ashore with the Sienese to forage; seeing an opportunity to pursue their vendetta, they started an affray in which eight soldiers were wounded. The Sienese accused the Corsicans of attempted murder; the Corsicans swore that they had enlisted for no other purpose than to spread the Catholic faith. 'The Marquis can sleep neither by day nor by night' wrote Sebastian di San Giuseppe, '*Pazienza!*'³⁷ From Palamos Stukeley sailed southward down the Spanish coast, buffeted by gales, and afraid to put in to refit lest his troops should all desert.

Off Alicante another ship was sighted—Breton by one account, English by another, but by all accounts piratical. The Italian captains saw this as a generous gift of fortune. In his cabin, as night fell, Sebastian di San Giuseppe whispered to Ercole da Pisa that the best plan would be to pursue the ship throughout the night, board her the following morning with thirty arquebusiers, demand to see the bills of lading for the merchandise she carried, seize her as a pirate if these were not forthcoming, imprison her crew and transfer the Papal troops from the *San Giovanni*. Next morning the ship was still astern but Stukeley refused permission to attack her. Instead, he went aboard himself, fraternised with the pirate captain, and wrote letters in his cabin. The Italian soldiers, who were soaked

³⁶ Stukeley to Como, 14.2.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 380).

³⁷ C.R.S. 39, 1; Sebastian di San Giuseppe to Como, 14.2.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 381).

every time the rain came through the *San Giovanni's* mouldering timbers, were very angry that the opportunity to commandeer a more seaworthy vessel had been thrown away. The two vessels sailed together as far as Gibraltar, where the pirate made sail for England with the wind on his poop, while Stukeley sailed towards Cadiz.³⁸

At Cadiz, after purchasing wine and water at prohibitive prices, Stukeley took aboard a pilot for Lisbon, where great preparations were being made for his arrival. Three English exiles—Lord Dacres, Charles Browne, and Captain William Cleyburne—were waiting in the port to join the expedition. Every Irish bishop had been notified by the Spanish nuncio of the forthcoming invasion. The theologian Nicholas Sanders had written a learned and trenchant tract justifying it. King Philip at last consented to contribute 20,000 crowns, to be divided between Geraldine and Stukeley when they landed in Ireland. Even the nuncio Sega volunteered to sail with the expedition; an offer which Como refused with edification, as no doubt he was expected to. A Papal paymaster, Oberto Spinola, sat night and day in a locked room guarding a locked chest of coin for the soldiers' pay. And in the Irish searoads, the English navy lay in wait for Stukeley.³⁹

(To be continued)

ANTHONY KENNY.

³⁸ Ercole da Pisa to Paolo Sforza, 29.5.1578; Sebastian di S. Giuseppe to Como, 29.7.1578 (C.S.P. 2, 444). While at Cadiz, Stukeley's soldiers encountered a Genoese ship and a light Biscayan craft which had both been plundered by the pirate whom Stukeley had allowed to escape; which made them more angry than ever.

³⁹ Sega to Como, 22.3.1578; Mayo to Como, 31.3.1578; (C.S.P. 2, 389 ff).

ROMANESQUE

67—THE GREG ROUTE

Most roads travel in two directions—but not the Greg route, that *princeps analogatum* of all one-way streets. It broadens and narrows, it lolls sensually in piazzas, it squirms down alleys, it dithers and rushes; and then it vanishes from under the feet just as we glimpse the nine mystic candles, the bronze tiaras and cross-keys, the sandy blinds and umber *persiane* of our intellectual Taj Mahal. And it doesn't return. So we remember the Collegio Romano as a heavy block, dusty-grey in a morning sun . . . and for ever on our left; while some hundred yards beyond, round a dingy doorway to the right, leer the seductive posters of the 'Odescalchi', never entirely unperceived by our demurely averted eyes.

Now it would be flattering to think that this is because our senses were so alert as we strode briskly into the rising sun, hungrier for Spinoza than we could ever be for spag; but jaunty alliteration just won't do. These impressions of elasticity and golden morning flow may be simply a Wordsworthian hangover, a *parroco's* attempt to convince himself that he too knew the visionary gleam. And statistics? Even worse, for they would prove that, because of deviations on our four o'clock walk, we set out for the Greg twice as often as we came back; which is absurd, if only because no one counts those bemused meanderings towards afternoon lectures, when intellects are categorically unfit to impose space and succession on the amorphous world around.

No, it was the morning trek Pilottowards which left the deepest impression, if that is the word we want. Even at our sparkling best we hardly considered it the time of day for draughts of aesthetic experience. Yet we recall Romanesques which sadly chide us for ignoring the beauties before our eyes, for not admiring rooftops and doorways, for not glorying in the historical associations of our road. The writers should, of course, have known better, but they had grown spiritual and cerebral and had parted company with seminarian nature. Years ago THE VENERABLE published notes by a learned and ardent Roman, with fascinating detail about the streets we traversed. Here indeed was food for meditation ; and we showed as much respect as we did to Avancinus, preferring our trivial distractions. About Benedetto Brin, for instance, who died within sight of the Doge. The slab at the end of the Via dei SS. Apostoli proudly claimed him as '*Architetto nautico di altissima fama*', which is still a bit vague, you'll admit. Then—what purpose was ever served by the little iron squares in the Vicariate wall (after the first window beyond the door) ? Or even—as a foretaste of pastoral worries—what mysteries of Roma Sotterranea still lay beneath the vast assembly of manholes and grids which clanged underfoot as we entered the Via Lata ?

More searching conundrums were posed by the New Men. They mildly wondered why we followed one particular trail, whether it was prescribed in the 'rules and constitutions' to which they had sworn blind obedience, and whether it had all been mapped out to the last centimetre by a furtive Jesuitical brain. They sensed an amount of dodging round dusky corners instead of keeping to straight honest paths. Well, this was probably another of those subjects to be explained when they reached the Licentiate, so they followed the rest of us, gregariously Gregwards, though in no romantic mood. And that made them Romans—like us. We lived in one part of the City ; we had work to do elsewhere ; and being Angles, not angels, we covered the space between.

In spurts. Because, with all this burrowing down tunnels and slipping into cracks between buildings, our route lay extended in contiguous sections, in spite of what Hoenen might say. Think for a moment of that mere canter to the starting post, from our door to the Brigittine corner. We hardly noticed whether S. Girolamo were open ; men passed a whole course imagining that the Palazzo Cadillac was an ambassadorial

car park. How then could we be expected to savour what *'Roma e Dintorni'* calls *'il contrasto, caratteristico di tanti quartieri romani e che è pure armonica fusione tra i magnifici edifici del passato e la vita popolare che oggi li anima ?'* Not unless it was one of those mornings when the paper-hatted plebs stopped hammering bends into rusty iron. Then maybe, awe descended on the soul as in the magic moments when Nature turns over in the night ; and disillusion only came with the anticlerical hiss of expiring tyres from what is now called the Socialist Headquarters, but where Fascist posters used to jibe that *'Chamberlain ha perduto l'autobus'*. No wonder, then, if our generation bowled off with a marked left-wing bias, past the Colledge portholes, the Perugina sign, and the Drogheria where we occasionally shopped on Whit-Mondays. If curiosity flickered, it was only about the contents of Swedish Studies, and we were still blandly self-sufficient when our universe expanded into the space of the Piazza Farnese.

Yet our imagination remained, for a little longer, constricted. The senses busied themselves at first with the oddities, with objects insignificant perhaps in themselves although destined, from those days onwards, to be associated always with lectures—the struggle of the *Nettezza Urbana* to stimulate the infantile dribble of those 'rare and vast fountains', the gradual thinning of the *carrozza* skeleton service, the baggy trousers of the soldiers who protected the French Embassy against rioting students, while assuring them that they had reached the right spot. And whatever finally roused us to the challenge of the 'non-ego' looms enormously large in the memory—as, for instance, the two flying Dutchmen, bearded twins, who flashed by us in mid-Piazza. They kept this up throughout our course, and are possibly in orbit still, wearing bowler hats with bedraggled clerical cordage and inadequate ribbons of ferraiuolo that stream from their burly shoulders. We believed they had exploded from the wrong side of the Piazza della Rota (the Via di S. Girolamo della Carità being so obviously the right side), but we were never too sure where they ultimately went, since no one ever caught them at lectures. Perhaps they lacked the stamina for distance, after all, and their honest Netherland souls wilted before the mockery of a bulb-shop on the Via S. Marcello, with Dreher conveniently near on the right and Peroni not far to the left.

This cold blast from the outer world sent us charting our course by the newspaper kiosk, a permanent landmark if ever there was one, though it is in danger of being left unrecorded. We may well ignore the sentimental essayists who pirouette through the Piazza and enthuse over Rome's best back door, but let us humbly acknowledge our gratitude to this generous stall, fringed with cartoons of *'Milord inglese'*, which underlined in green the main sensations of the day. Here our vocabulary was enriched, from '35 to '40, by the official euphemisms of non-combatant belligerents, retro-advances and the submersibility of the Italian fleet. He who ran could become wellnigh literate, and this passing acquaintance with wickedness was a decided help when the polished *'Osservatore Romano'* misled the less fluent into thinking that little had happened since the Sicilian Vespers, and that *they* were a vernacular liturgy. The joy of joys was the *'Domenica del Corriere'*, once we discovered that it was not an Italian *'Catholic Fireside'*, as the title might suggest, but a chronicle of carnage in technicolor beside which the Martyrs' Frescoes paled. With unashamed emotion those front pages celebrated Bersaglieri who ran with tricolors through darkest Abyssinia, weeping widows giving rings to the Fatherland, nuns burnt in Barcelona, trains derailed, wheels flying off racing-cars and ants devouring the Foreign Legion.

After this the Baullari seemed insipid. True, an arrogant French limousine might nose us into the doorway of some 'agricultural bank', but otherwise the street lacked adventure. I suppose it has so long been timidly and respectably neutral that it has ceased to exist with a personality of its own. It is no more than a view of the Campo, from whose exuberant raucous life it shrinks behind façades of tinned jam. It has one honest dive, a deserted osteria, and then becomes pretentious and shifty—at least, in this first instalment which is not even sure of its name. For years it masqueraded as the Via Marna. As soon as there was danger of Someone taking umbrage it became, ingratiatingly, *'La Via degli Italiani della Marna'*. And after that feeble humbug it died.

But the heart danced, the nostrils dilated and the nerves of sight and hearing were quickened as we were welcomed into the Campo by the unclouded optimism of Uova Sperate. It was a stern mortification to feel this warm, comforting glow but to hurry past with no more than a distant, casual greeting as to a crony with whom we should love to dawdle but unfortunately not

to-day. Deacons, maybe, processing with unhurried grace to their rare early lecture, might scrutinise the balances weighing out etti for soldi, but if Critica called in the farthest room of the topmost floor we were not among those for whom time ambles withal, and we left Giordano Bruno to keep a glum eye on all slow-moving theologians, as well as his lines of skinned rabbits.

It was here, if you remember, that the route began to dither. In every generation there were the fastidious who sped down the Baullari (part two) without a glance at the pathetic handbags which showed at least a respect for tradition ; but no, they must be off, avoiding the ruts, leapfrogging through history via the Piccola Farnesina to the '*stile novecento*'. The less progressive lost momentum and were sucked into that vacuum which was once the Piazza Pollarola. Piazza, forsooth ! It has always looked as if a building collapsed centuries ago and no one has ever known what to do since . . . until a proud Civic Father in recent years demonstrated perverted genius by re-naming it the '*Piazza del Teatro di Pompeo*', a splash of reckless intitution which he could so easily have affixed to sundry dusty rhomboids within two hundred yards.

But this impoverished descendant of the poultry market knows its exotic moments on Campo mornings, blending Bartholomew Fair with Samarkand. Out come the rugs and *scendiletti* which in faded age would line our Fiocchi procession, and a leathery witch nearby peddled the silky-blue tablecloths which did more to brighten the Monserrà' than any amount of twenty-watt bulbs. And in the centre, brightest in colour and liveliest in movement, sole link with an avian past, were the fortune-telling canaries, hopping up ladders, turning inelegant somersaults and sidling gingerly sideways to make the final sharp snatch at a folded paper laden with doom ; while the *ciarlatano* pattered on, embroidering the pattern of venials '*contra religionem*' as he harangued the half-converted with amplifications and repetitions worthy of the preacher at S. Caterina.

Then the light thickened with a vengeance as we spurted through the ransacked catacombs of the Vicolo de' Bovari. Few vagrant rays lit the fetid, gaping doorways ; it would have been a relief to sniff the rancid cowmen of the early nineteenth century, but there was nothing—nothing but hopeless degradation, such as you rarely found in the Ghetto or Trastevere. In vain the Paradiso reminded us that there was light at the end of the tunnel by dangling chandeliers in front of us and huskily

crooning '*Signorine, non guardat' ai marinai*'. These faint evocations of dismantled ballrooms were succeeded by its own dismal jumble of gilt-edged chairs and rococo clocks which probably lies unsold to this day. In spite of its name the Via del Paradiso got no nearer to joy than the file of inane tailor's dummies who simpered and postured before us, in days of '*Autarchia*', sporting natty suitings—derived by a top-secret process from milk—and known to the irreverent as the '*Old Cottonians*'. But at least they simulated life ; which one could never say of the cold metallic insistence of the '*Ragno d'Oro*' which has crept round the corner to supplant them with outsize boxes of chocolates, a premature reminder that ahead we shall encounter the high living and plain thinking of the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele.

Our Greg route slips into this '*marvel of the Risorgimento*', and sheers off again as quick as it can. Who shall blame it ? Some may share the admiration of the older guide books for the tact with which this second Corso ran between palaces without knocking them over, but most of us avoided it except in short doses. It rarely helped us to any destination, and was noisy and fussy about the little help it gave. Our daily segment was, in any case, an unfortunate sample. It tried to look elegant and got ever less interesting ; it removed our honest upstairs tailor and the cartoleria where we learned to be careful about *busti* and *buste* ; it blossomed forth in red-wrapped bonbons, floral skirts and stainless eggspoons ; and it prided itself—after much trial and error—on that prize-winning fountain which blows rude bubbles at a dull memorial of the First Year of Empire. To-day Sant'Andrea looks lonelier and lonelier as the buses and crowds rush past, bent on escape to some place more lovable. And this is the new horror, for our route must wear the motley of a zebra-crossing, and sheepish cams now line the kerb, the last remnant of initiative denied them, as they await permission from a little green light which—after due rectorial hesitation—says, grudgingly, '*Pedoni, Avanti*' ; this at the very spot where First Year used to hurl themselves amongst hornless, defenceless taxis, faces and hats a gleam with youth, their hearts as light as their bags, unencumbered by Ethics or Morals.

We can only hope that one nonconformist remains—the seedy bookseller with the anti-clerical sneer who spread his awning in the shade of Sant' Andrea as though he had prescriptive rights there since the days of the Bracciano diligence.

His yellowing piles of Mazzini memoirs and Zola novels made even the odd Wodehouse (in translation) look like something that should be on the Index. He may have practised some natural religion; his soul may have throbbled in sympathy with his 'Cartoline Gigantesche' which portrayed impassioned exhortations by Roman Senators, and Garibaldi with Anita gazing at the stars above the pampas; but we felt almost certain that his father had sniped at a few Papal zouaves.

Since the Corso will never progress, nor want to progress, beyond the chromium and palms of the 'Tiziano', we do well to swerve away from its glittering worldliness and re-enter the snug, brown, carefree inefficiency which reminds us of Capuchin sacristans. A mere twinkle of the toes takes us over the Via Monterone—and into the Via Monterone, unless our City Father has been at work here too, inventing a label for this cheerfully senseless gap in the proceedings, where a lonely leprechaun knocks tacks into chairs. Here our route hurries past the obnoxious '*Carni Suine*'—'some men there are love not a gaping pig'—and is across the Via di Torre Argentina, all agog to reach the Via dell'Arco della Ciambella . . . where we breathe.

And rightly so. Here we feel Rome upon the pulse. We never bothered about the derivation of Ciambella or the precise layout of the Baths of Agrippa, but we could brood unendingly over the dusty Madonna on the first bit of arch, and the dustier coach-lamps that flanked it. Could they print anything bigger than visiting-cards in the Lilliputian shop below, where you'd hardly find room for a cliché? '*Lucida Scarpe*' was a baffling world in itself but, above all, there was that locksmith's shop which would have moved Dickens to dithyrambs. The brass knockers and gilded keys were glorious enough, but scowling in the background was the wheezy proprietor, with the pipe in his throat, who alone could interpret our basic Italian as we rummaged through the infinity of drawers containing every size and shape of latch or hook or screw. Under the counter were the boxes of odds and ends, resembling what Mr Venus would style 'Human Wariious'. Emphatically, the street was rich enough in eccentricity without the astonishing Libreria Pro Familia which offers modest pamphlets for Philippine maidens, translated by Italians from Spanish into English and dealing with the Evils of the Bicycle.

After this meditative pause the route darts over the Via dei Cestari and round the corner into the Via della Pigna, only to

recollect itself and saunter nonchalantly between the ecclesiastical Establishments, where *Oggetti Sacri* and *Arte Liturgica* now snuggle up to the Vicariate and—appropriately enough in an age of diocesan levies—a far-seeing merchant displays Junior Tombola, presumably for the Italian equivalent of Big Lads. Then gradually the world broadens out into the piazza and, near the Archconfraternity 'Pietatis Carceratorum', the senses break loose once more. You remember, of course, the twitch of the nose? For in this region of dichotomy we find that the road now belongs to Brother Ass; here we revel in 'Vini e Liquori', sponges and scented soap, fresh rolls and Nescafé, paint tubes, *uova fresche* and tinned sardines. I wonder whether our sombre figures deepened the gloom of the bleary-eyed waiters who indolently dabbed at table-tops outside the 'Gelocremeria'? And what did we look like to the belated breakfasters who sipped an espresso, holding on more firmly to their enigmatic dispatch cases than to the jackets slung, with d'Artagnan abandon, round their shoulders? *Bagarozzi!* Never mind, we said the same ourselves about the earnest-looking types who muddied our stream as we flowed round the corner of the Via del Gesù and through the Via del Piè di Marmo.

Older generations must have felt a twinge as they entered the Piazza del Collegio Romano, feeling that the College was still theirs by rights. To us it was a massy symbol of everything we suspected or could not understand as bespectacled '*Avanguardisti*' and the more fetching '*Giovani italiane*', poured into the Liceo-Ginnasio whose interior would only become known to us in De Sica films. We might gaze up to the left to notice how it had been knocked about, the walled-up doorway, the meaningless gratings over non-existent windows, the Pop-eye stovepipe jutting out so cheekily to the right of what was once the Papal arms. Did any cam ever visit the library or museums? Did they, for that matter, ever penetrate into the Doria Pamphili Gallery? The whole piazza was an unfriendly backyard or, at certain hours, a car park; its hollowness was concentrated in the scooped-out church beside the Trevi Commissariat.

So our road bounced on to the Banco di Roma, over my mysterious manholes, and down the Via Lata which was almost a haven of peace, a shady vestibule to the hustling, sweating, panting Corso, whose former name it had impudently stolen. If for a moment we could ignore the bibulous smirk of that old roué the 'Facchino', we might feel physically and overwhelmingly

the strength of the buildings on either hand and the layers of history on which they stood—the Saepta Julia, St Paul and his centurion, St Marcellus cleaning stables. Then we ran headlong into the phrenetic traffic, and felt as frustrated as ants, intent on work, who see their road blocked by a procession of centipedes. Why should the narrow Corso have right of way, and what were these laypeople doing in Rome anyhow? Not that we objected to the ceremonial procession of camels and fire-engines which abolished a lecture, but the policeman on duty enjoyed watching us seethe. We enjoyed his descents to earth, too, while he swore at Topolini for honking in silent zones, but never suspected the depths to which clerics and their pockets could sink.

I wonder how much of a semester was spent contemplating ‘Angelo Signorelli’ above the bookshop at the corner? Then we toddled across to the same old assortment—innumerable volumes of the Enciclopedia Italiana, Paul Klee, The American Novel, a best-seller on Condominio and exhaustive Teutonic disquisitions whose titles included ‘*Heidentum*’; then, along the Via dei SS. Apostoli, the rapid decline into second-hand maths books in French and an English guide to building two-valve sets. Suddenly, the shameless cavortings on the Odescalchi posters and the glamorous ‘stills’ around the door. Poor Odescalchi, which protested so hard that its films were wicked, but that wickeder far were the British Blonde Bombshells, the Salomes of Soho!¹

Now our route gathers strength as it trickles out of this street of death, hurls itself past Benedetto Brin and round the bowls of ‘*Ranunculi di Firenze*’, recoils from the foam-washed reefs of the Twelve Apostles, and surges past the stamp-shop and bookbinders. And stops.

Has it lost the way, after all these years? What was that monstrosity which figured as a frontispiece to the last VENERABLE? A car park, Fiats shrouded in deflated barrage balloons, and a triangular warning that here children play. Obediently we continue, a mere babbling stream in a well-worn channel, incapable of harm; for from now on it is mere *actus hominis*, ‘*somniantis, delirantis, amentis, ebrii aut penitus distracti*’, as Arregui in a rare rhapsody defined it.

And if indignant memories claim positive perfection for their Via Remotionis, they can conduct that tour for themselves.

HUGH REYNOLDS.

¹ The Odescalchi has risen again as the Majestic: one still has to pass through flames to reach the Greg.—Ed.

CATHOLIC OXFORD, 1559—1603

EXETER COLLEGE

One of the most striking features of English Catholicism in the reign of Elizabeth I was the large number of prominent Catholics educated at Oxford. Both Cardinal Allen and the Elizabethan government were well aware of the fact. It seems worthwhile to examine the history of a typical College, and to see what became of the Catholics who studied there; we have chosen Exeter College, where Blessed Ralph Sherwin studied and taught. Exeter, as we shall see, drew on the still very Catholic south-west of England, but this does not make it unique. Other Colleges such as Lincoln, Brasenose, New College, Trinity, Hart Hall, St John's and Gloucester Hall were just as remarkable for their adherence to the old religion.

Trinity and St John's were fortunate in having been founded during Mary's reign, but it seems that the re-foundation of Exeter by Sir William Petre in 1566 was on such a scale that one can almost speak of a new College. Though the original foundation dated back to the early fourteenth century, in recent years before 1566 Exeter does not seem to have been among the most important Colleges; it accepted mainly men from Devon and Cornwall, and was probably not very wealthy. Sir William Petre¹ was himself a Devon man, born about 1505, and educated at Exeter and All Souls'. About 1527 he was Principal of Vine

¹ Information on the Petre family is taken from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. For the history of Exeter College see *Collegium Exoniense* in Anthony A Wood's *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*.

Hall, but at about the same time he became tutor to Anne Boleyn's brother George, and he soon left the academic world behind him. By 1536 he was deputy to Thomas Cromwell, and he presided over the Convocation of that year. Later on he took a prominent part in the dissolution of the monasteries. Knighted in 1543, he became Secretary of State in the same year, and he held this office under Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. A Bull of Pope Paul IV authorised him to retain possession of monastic lands he had acquired. His story thus far is typical of the period, but here it changes, for he seems to have been a Catholic at heart. At any rate, though he remained a member of the Council under Elizabeth, his attendances grew fewer, until in 1566 he wrote to Cecil asking leave to retire from his offices. He died in 1572, at Ingatestone Hall in Essex, and his descendants remained devoted to the Faith. Petre had acquired a good deal of land at the dissolution of the monasteries, and it seems likely that towards the end of his life he was troubled in conscience on this account. Certainly he devoted some of his money to charities, and of these the most important was the refoundation of Exeter College, which as we have seen took place in 1566.

He caused new statutes to be drawn up, modelled on those of Trinity, which had been founded not long before in Mary's reign by a Catholic, Sir Hugh Pope. He also obtained permission from the Crown that the College might continue to enjoy all the rights previously granted to it.² A new Rector was appointed, John Neale, a west-country man, who had been made a Fellow of St John's³ by the founder of that College, Sir Thomas White, another Catholic. Wood tells us that he took his M.A. degree in 1560, but resigned from his Fellowship because of the change of religion. Another St John's man, John Bereblock,⁴ was made Dean of Exeter College. Sir William Petre also founded seven new Fellowships, and an eighth in the following year, 1567. Two of his nominees to these posts were Richard Bristow, who was to become one of the founders of Douai and Prefect of Studies there, and Blessed Ralph Sherwin. From these facts it is clear that Sir William intended to found a Catholic College, and the

² *Gulielmus Petre, Eques auratus, & serenissimae Elizabethae a Sanctoribus consiliis, cum Gulielmo Alley, Episcopo Exoniensi, egit ut statuta nova, ad eorum quae Collegium Trinitatis habebat imitationem condita, transmitterentur; porro a Regia Majestate obtinuit, ut Collegii, Corporisque politici, veluti loquuntur Iurisperiti, iuribus gauderet sodalitiū, ratis insuper habitis quaecumque ei indulta iam ante fuissent, quae omnia in annum 1566 incidunt* (Wood, op. cit.).

³ Wood, op. cit. Also, three Exeter men, Stephen Marks, Roger Crispin and Robert Newton (Rector of Exeter, 1570-78) were foundation-Fellows of Trinity.

⁴ D.N.B.

history of Exeter over the next fifteen years shows that he succeeded.

The fruits of Petre's enterprise did not take long to mature. Richard Bristow and Edward Risdon went abroad in 1568.⁵ The first-named was born in Worcester in 1538, took his M.A. at Christ Church in 1562, and debated with Blessed Edmund Campion before the Queen on the occasion of her visit to Oxford in 1566. He was an obvious choice for one of the new Exeter Fellowships, but he can only have held the post of Fellow for two years at the most, before he left for the Continent and helped Cardinal Allen to found the new seminary at Douai. His talents, instead of being used to educate Catholics in England, were employed in training priests for the English mission. Bristow and Risdon were only the first of a stream of Exeter men who went abroad during the next fifteen years, most of them to Douai, either to live in exile or to return as missionary priests; two of them were martyred—Blessed Ralph Sherwin and Blessed John Cornelius.

This steady exodus was the result both of the zeal of the Exeter Catholics and of the persecution, always increasing, inside the University. Even before the refoundation of Exeter, Royal Commissions had carried out purges of Catholic Fellows and Heads of Colleges. Barely three years elapsed before it was Exeter's turn—in 1569 and 1570. The first victim was the Sub-Rector, William Wyot, probably a Devon man. Wood tells us that the Commission had difficulties at Exeter, for, though many Catholics were known to be there, no one could be found to betray or denounce them. Therefore the Commission, which was headed by the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the University, summoned William Wyot to appear before them. As he refused to give any information they imprisoned him, first in Oxford Castle, and then in the prison called the Bocardo, where he suffered through ill health. The following year John Neale was deprived of his Rectorship, on the grounds of absence from the College and refusal to appear before the delegates of the Crown, and also for refusing to attend Anglican services.⁶ The Dean of the College, John Bereblock, obtained leave from the authorities to go abroad to a Continental university.

⁵ Douai Diaries.

⁶ For the activities of the Royal Commission at Exeter, see Wood, *op. cit.* under the Annals for 1569–70.

We might have expected this to be the end of Catholicism at Exeter, but in fact we find Catholic Fellows and Scholars at the College throughout the 1570's, and it continued to provide recruits for the seminaries abroad. In 1577 there was an inquiry all over the country into the numbers of recusants. It was carried out on a diocesan basis.⁷ The Oxford Colleges were included; eight Exeter Catholics are mentioned, but these were probably only the most obvious, for others, such as John Cornelius, whom we know to have been there at the time, are not mentioned. Moreover, in Strype's Annals for 1578 we are told: 'In Exeter College, of eighty were found but four obedient subjects; all the rest secret or open Roman affectionaries, and particularly one Savage of that house, a most earnest defender of the Pope's Bull and excommunication of the queen. These were chiefly such as came out of the western parts, where Popery greatly prevailed, and the gentry bred up in that religion.' But this unwelcome publicity meant that the end was in sight. John Cornelius was expelled by the Royal Commissioners in 1578, and it seems likely that many of the Exeter Catholics met the same fate. It is probable that at least two were imprisoned, the Savage mentioned above and Brewning, a Bachelor of Civil Law. From 1579 onwards the number of people going abroad from the College, and indeed from Oxford as a whole, declined sharply. In the middle of 1580 Blessed Ralph Sherwin, travelling from Rheims to Paris, on his way to England, wrote the following words to his friend and contemporary at Exeter, Ralph Bickley, who was now studying at the College in Rome: 'It behoveth all my fellows and yours there [in Rome] of Exeter College, to labour much, and well to employ their talents, for I fear that College wholly to be corrupted'.⁸ This indicates, not only that there was an appreciable number of Exeter men both at Rheims and at Rome, but also that conditions for Catholics at Oxford had deteriorated, no doubt as a result of the inquiries of 1577 and 1578.

Yet there is evidence that Catholicism persisted in the College, though probably with greater secrecy than before. Sir William Petre died in 1572, and left forty pounds to the College in his will. His widow Anne added the same amount on her own behalf, and the same was done by John Petre, Sir William's son and heir. Moreover, John continued to act as a benefactor of the

⁷ C.R.S. 22.

⁸ Dom Bede Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*.

College, so much so that when he died in 1618 the College produced a memorial book to him, while in 1612 his grandson William was admitted to the College, in spite of being a Catholic. It is probable that the nomination of men to the Fellowships founded by Sir William Petre, and perhaps also the right to nominate the Rector, passed to John Petre. In an age so property-conscious, benefactions on the scale of the Petres' to Exeter carried with them considerable influence and even rights. But in this case the issue was complicated by the question of religion. The Crown was trying to destroy Catholicism in the University: could it allow members of a Catholic family to appoint the Fellows of a College? But the position becomes even more complex when we discover that John Petre was knighted in 1576, was a Justice of the Peace, and a Member of Parliament in 1585–6, while still remaining a Catholic at heart. His mother and his wife were staunch Catholics, and he kept a Catholic schoolmaster. His son William was a devout Catholic and a great benefactor of the Society of Jesus. The spy Elliot says that Sir John advised him to go to church, but not pray or receive communion there, and he adds that he thinks that this is what Sir John himself did.⁹ The question is whether the Crown permitted Sir John to nominate Rector and Fellows, and if it did, whether he made use of his power to introduce Catholics into the College.

The evidence is not enough to make a certain judgement, but it suggests that Sir John did appoint one Rector—Thomas Glasier, in 1578—and that the choice proved so unsatisfactory for the Crown that the Queen herself appointed his successor in 1591. It is questionable whether Sir William Petre had been able to appoint the successor to John Neale in 1570, in view of what had occurred; in fact the next Rector was one Robert Newton, about whom we know little except that he seems to have resigned in 1578. In view of the number of Catholics at Exeter in the period 1570–78, Newton cannot have been actively opposed to Catholicism. It may be significant that he left in 1578, when government inquiries revealed how unsatisfactory the religious state of the College was, but all Wood tells us is: '*Munere hic [Newton] ultro cessit 4 Octob. 1578 gradum Bac. S. Theologiae adeptus*'. But the next entry is significant: '*Thomas Glasier, Ll. D. ac mox ante ex Aede Christi [Christ Church], in*

⁹ Foley, *Records*, II.

Rectorem electus est 21 Octob. 1578. Mensis ille eiusdem die quarto in Collegii huius Scholarem cooptatus fuerat, id per litteras efflagitante D. Johanne Petre, Equite aurato. Obiit 9 Martii 1591.' In other words, Thomas Glasier was made a Fellow of Exeter on the very day that the previous Rector resigned, at the urgent request, or rather at the demand of John Petre. Seventeen days later he was elected Rector, after having been brought in from outside the College at Petre's instigation. Finally, we may note that a year after Glasier's death in 1591, the Queen did just as Sir John had done—she brought in a man from outside the College, and had him made a Fellow. Then, just over three weeks later, he was elected Rector. This was Thomas Holland, introduced by the Queen to make the College conform to the Anglican establishment.¹⁰ Now Sir John's conformity began about 1576, when he was knighted; he went to church on Low Sunday the following year. It therefore seems probable that he did in fact appoint Thomas Glasier, and in view of the Queen's action in 1592 it seems likely that Sir John's appointment was not hostile to the Exeter Catholics.

Of the years that follow all that we can say for certain is that Sir John's grandson William was admitted to Exeter in 1612,¹¹ and that the College commemorated the death of Sir John in 1618 by bringing out a memorial book. Evidently the connection between the Petre family and Exeter was still strong and influential.

We can now turn our attention to individual Catholics from Exeter College, and see what parts they played in the history of their time. Unfortunately there is not space to deal with many of them, but we can at least consider three or four. The first of these is John Neale, who as we have seen was Rector of Exeter from 1566 until 1570, when he was deposed. After his deposition he disappears from view, and it is likely that he was imprisoned for a time, like the heads of houses deposed soon after Elizabeth's accession. But in September 1577 we find a John Neale among those accused of helping Blessed Cuthbert Mayne, who had been working at Golden, near Truro, at the house of Francis Tregian. Also accused was Nicholas Roscarrock, one of Tregian's neighbours, who took his B.A. at Exeter in

¹⁰ D.N.B., Thomas Holland.

¹¹ As a matter of interest, it may be added that William migrated to Wadham College in 1613; this College had just been founded by Dorothy Wadham, daughter of Sir William Petre and great-aunt of William and his brother Robert, who joined him there. Dorothy too was a Catholic.

Another Catholic, John Paulet, later fifth Marquis of Winchester, was at Exeter about this time, but did not matriculate.

1568, during Neale's Rectorship ; we find him later helping Blessed Ralph Sherwin in London. Another of the accused was Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, Francis Tregian's uncle ; he was the man who sent Blessed John Cornelius to Exeter College, and sheltered him when he returned from Rome to work on the mission.¹²

It is highly probable that the John Neale accused at Launceston is the same as the former Rector of Exeter. But there is no doubt about the next reference to him which occurs in the Douai Diaries for the 1st June 1578 : '*Venit ad nos ex Anglia D. Nelus, Exoniensis collegii in Oxonio olim praeses, qui et ipse etiam non parvo tempore pro fidei catholicae professione carceribus detentus quanta sit novi Evangelii lenitas satis expertus est.*' From the same source we learn that he left for Rome in August 1578, and arrived back at Douai in December 1579, with the first party of priests to leave the Venerabile for the English mission. One of them was Martin Array, who according to Gillow¹³ was a contemporary of Sherwin at Exeter. John Neale was ordained priest, either in Mary's reign, or else when he was in Rome in 1579, but he was not a member of the Venerabile. He left Rheims for the mission on 7th January 1580, '*admodum grandis aetate*', as the Douai Diary says. Of his missionary work all that we know is that he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea according to a list for July 1585,¹⁴ and exiled in the same year. We last hear of him at Rouen in March 1588.¹⁵

The next man we consider, John Curry, was the first of the Exeter men to be ordained at Douai, and his close ties with both Sherwin and Cornelius led to his being called 'friend of martyrs'. He was a native of Bodmin in Cornwall, as was John Cornelius, and was at Exeter and Douai with Sherwin ; the two were ordained together in 1577. But while Sherwin went on to the Venerabile, Curry went straight to the mission, at the age of twenty-seven.¹⁶ In 1583, he was sent by the Jesuit Superior, Fr Jasper Heywood, with a message to Fr Persons at Rouen, but not finding Fr Persons there he went on to Paris, where he entered the Jesuit novitiate. He returned to England in 1590, landing in the north-east with Fr Richard Holtby S.J., one of his Oxford contemporaries. He left his companion and moved south

¹² Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*.

¹³ Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics*.

¹⁴ C.R.S. 2.

¹⁵ C.R.S. 22 ; D.D. p. 362.

¹⁶ He helped in the distribution of Campion's books.

to London, and it was probably there that he once more met John Cornelius.

Blessed John Cornelius was born in Bodmin in 1557, seven years after John Curry. His parents were Irish, and his true name seems to have been Mohun or O'Mahoney. He was sent to Exeter College, as has been already mentioned, by Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, and became a Fellow, but he was expelled from his Fellowship by the Royal Commissioners in 1578 because he was a Catholic.¹⁷ The Douai Diary records his arrival at Rheims in September 1579, and his departure for Rome in February of the following year. The Liber Ruber says he was admitted to the Venerable in April 1580; while at the College he was chosen to preach the St Stephen's Day sermon in the presence of the Pope. This was in 1581.¹⁸ In September 1583 he left Rome for the mission. On arriving in London he seems to have joined Sir John Arundell and his family at their London house. A State Paper of March 1585 describes him as commonly lodging with Sir John and as being one of the 'chiefest preachers'; another paper of May of the same year says he was among the priests present at a conference with Henry Vaux and other laymen held at Hoxton.¹⁹ John Cornelius is also mentioned as often lodging at the house of Lord Montague; he was also at Sir Thomas Tresham's, and according to the apostate Tyrell he moved among the nobility and Court. When another Cornish priest, the Venerable John Hambley, also a martyr, arrived in London in 1585, John Cornelius gave him twenty shillings and arranged for him to say Mass in Gray's Inn.²⁰

John Cornelius and John Curry probably met again in London in 1590, and in the same year Curry was at Cowdray, Lord Montague's Sussex home.²¹ In the following year Sir John Arundell died, and his widow moved down to the family's Dorsetshire seat, Chideock. There the two priests worked till 1593, when Curry returned to London. Lady Arundell had previously been married to Charles, eighth Baron Stourton,

¹⁷ Boase, *Register of Exeter College*, p. 78, quoted in Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*.

¹⁸ It is said that so great was his recollection that he never learnt the route from the English College to the Collegio Romano, despite his frequent attendance at lectures.

¹⁹ This conference was called to arrange for financial support for the priests. Hoxton was then a new and fashionable suburb on the outskirts of London, where several Catholic noblemen had houses. It was a frequent resort of missionary priests.

²⁰ John Hambley was born at St Mabyn, not far from Bodmin, and he owed his conversion to another Exeter College Catholic, Nicholas Bawden of the same parish. For these details see his confessions, C.R.S. 9.

²¹ For Curry, see Foley I, p. 386; for Cornelius see Foley III, p. 436 ff.

and one of her sons, John, ninth Baron, appeared to John Cornelius in a vision while the latter was saying Mass for the repose of his soul.²² Two more of her sons, Edward, tenth Baron, and Charles, who was at Exeter at the same time as Cornelius, and who arrived at Rheims in 1582, are both listed among those who came to Chideock for Mass. The year after Curry had gone back to London, Cornelius was captured in a raid on Chideock. In a letter he wrote while in prison to Fr Henry Garnett S.J., we read the following: '*Oratio fratris mei Currei ad resistendum haereticis usque ad sanguinem*', and the letter is signed '*Johannes in vinculis*'.²³ He was admitted to the Society of Jesus, while he was in prison, and was martyred at Dorchester on 4th July 1594. As for John Curry, a state paper of the same year says: '... one John Curry who useth about Hogsden [Hoxton] in London, and is seminary priest and a consort of John Cornelius lately taken, both born and bred in a town called Bodmin in Cornwall.'²⁴ He died on 31st August 1596, and John Gerard, who was at Exeter College himself in 1575-76, tells us that Curry died in Anne Line's house in London and was buried there in a secret corner 'for all priests who live in hiding on the mission are also buried in hiding'.²⁵ Gerard also says that he had been an invalid for some time.

Finally, we shall consider some aspects of Blessed Ralph Sherwin's life which seem to link him with his Exeter contemporaries. He was born in Derbyshire, and was a Fellow of Exeter from 1568 till 1575, having been appointed by Sir William Petre in person.²⁶ He left with Curry in 1575 and went to Douai, where both were ordained, as we have seen. In Rome, his name is the first to appear in the *Liber Ruber*, and, together with Martin Array, he took a leading part in the disturbances against the Welsh Rector.

Another student who was among the leaders of the disturbances was John Paschal, from Much Badow in Essex; he had been a pupil of Sherwin's at Oxford. He arrived at Douai in August 1577, on the same day as John Gerard. He went on to Rome and was admitted to the College as a convictor. Bombinus says that he was a great favourite of the Pope, Gregory XIII, but that he received the Pope's generosity and kindness with

²² See William Weston's *Autobiography*, trans. by Fr Caraman, S.J., p. 62.

²³ C.R.S. 5, p. 270.

²⁴ Foley I.

²⁵ Caraman, trans. of John Gerard's *Autobiography*.

²⁶ Wood, *op. cit.*

too much familiarity.²⁷ Persons tells us that he gave a 'chaine of an hundred crowns' when the students were collecting funds during the Anglo-Welsh troubles,²⁸ so he must have been quite wealthy. The character of this young layman is well drawn by Persons in the Stonyhurst Manuscript :

' . . . John Paschall, a gentleman as I take him, born in Essex, who had been scholar to Mr Sherwin in Oxford, and dearly beloved of him ; and being young and sanguine of complexion, and fervent in his religion, would oftentimes break forth into zealous speeches, offering much of himself (as St Hierome noteth also of St Peter before his denial of Christ), but Mr Sherwin would always reprove him, saying, "Oh John, John, little knowest thou what thou shalt do before thou comest to it". And so it fell out with no little grief of the martyr, who had been in the same prison as his scholar, to wit in the Marshalsea, and was no sooner removed from him to the Tower but that the other fell.'²⁹

Sherwin and Paschal were in the large party of priests who left for England early in 1580, a party which included Blessed Edmund Campion. In Protestant Switzerland Campion disguised himself as Paschal's servant. When the party arrived in Rheims, they split up for the last and most dangerous part of the journey, the crossing to England. Sherwin and Paschal went from Rheims to Paris and Rouen, and on the way Sherwin wrote a letter to Ralph Bickley, his old contemporary at Oxford, who as we have noted, was then studying in Rome. The letter describes the journey from Rome, and then follows the reference to Exeter College which we have already quoted. The letter goes on :

'Well, my loving friend Ralph, even while I wrote these letters, came in Mr Paschal with the frip to frenchify me. O miserable time when a priest must counterfeit a cutter : God give us still priest's minds, for we go far astray from the habit here. Mr Paschal crieth "You will never be handsome" and I tell him there was never priest handsome in this attire.'³⁰

The two arrived safely in England some time in August or September, and went to London. There, Paschal worked as a layman with other members of George Gilbert's association, helping the priests. Several other Exeter men were involved,

²⁷ See Simpson, *Life of Campion*, p. 156.

²⁸ C.R.S. 2 : '*Domestical Difficulties*'.

²⁹ Quoted by Morris, *op. cit.*, second series, p. 294.

³⁰ Camm, *op. cit.*, II, p. 366.

including the two Roscarrock brothers, Nicholas and Trevennor. As we have seen, Nicholas was one of those accused at the trial of Blessed Cuthbert Mayne at Launceston in 1577. Now, his rooms in London were a rallying-point for priests and laymen, and it was here that Sherwin was caught while preaching in 1580.³¹ On 4th December Sherwin and Roscarrock were taken to the Tower to be tortured; John Paschal had been captured too. On the 15th and 16th Sherwin was racked, and Roscarrock was placed nearby, in the hopes that the priest's groans might induce him to confess. On 14th January, Roscarrock was himself racked—the first layman to suffer this torture. The next day John Paschal yielded to threats of similar treatment, and apostatised in the Guildhall before Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, saying he was willing to go to church. He repented speedily and retired to the country, '*con molto dolore e vergogna*', as Persons says in his Memoirs.³² Thereafter he was frequently prosecuted for his recusancy, and was known as 'Jhon of Roome'.

Ralph Sherwin remained in prison and was duly tried and martyred at Tyburn; Nicholas Roscarrock after many years of imprisonment at length found sanctuary with Lord William Howard at Naworth, in Cumberland, where he died in 1633 or '34, at the age of eighty-one. Lord William was the brother of the martyred Earl of Arundel, Blessed Philip Howard. Both brothers had been imprisoned with Roscarrock in the Tower, and they became friends there.

It has not been possible to mention more than a few of the Catholics who studied and taught at Exeter College in Elizabethan times, and we have had to omit men like Nicholas Bawden, who served Cardinal Allen, Thomas Bristow, who helped to found Douai, Robert Turner, who taught in German seminaries, William Bawden, a prominent Jesuit, Edward Abington, who was executed for his part in the Babington Plot, and many others. But it is hoped that enough has been said to show that the connections formed at Exeter College were not without their importance in the years that followed, and that the Catholicism of Oxford University deserves some attention in the study of the martyrs and Catholics of Elizabeth's reign.

BRIAN NEWS.

³¹ See the article on Nicholas Roscarrock by P. A. Boylan, in the *Tablet*, 29th November 1958.

³² C.R.S. 4, p. 11.

NOVA ET VETERA

THE COLLEGE IN 1710

In the College Library there is a work entitled *Ordinum Religiosorum in Ecclesia Militanti Catalogus*, compiled by Fr Filippo Bonanni S.J., and printed in Rome in 1710. It consists of a series of full page pictures of various religious Habits and Costumes, with a description and commentary in Latin and Italian opposite each one. Part Three of the work, '*Complectens aliquos in prima editione ommissos, diversa etiam Alumnorum Collegia, et Foeminarum Congregationes*', contains an engraving of a student of the English College, and a short summary of the College's history. Apart from the sash, the College dress is practically the same as that of to-day. The text is as follows :

'STUDENT OF THE ENGLISH COLLEGE

Renowned for his paternal and liberal charity, Gregory XIII did not forget the poor Christian church in England, persecuted by the heretics and the fierceness of Queen Elizabeth ; he erected a refuge for the poor victims of persecution, a bastion against the evil designs of the Heretics. This was a College, where Young Englishmen might be supported and bred up in learning and Ecclesiastical discipline, that later they might return to that Kingdom, to defend with their very lives the Catholic Religion—to which they bind themselves by oath when they are admitted. The Sovereign Pontiff endowed this College with many privileges, and placed it under the direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus ; he assigned

34



Alumnus Collegij Anglicani

to it a Cardinal Protector, of whom the first was Cardinal Morone. This College has borne great fruits for Christianity in that land, and from it there have gone forth Subjects of great virtue, and many glorious Martyrs for the Faith, not to speak of the many Heretics converted in Rome by the example and exhortations of these zealous Students. The College was also favoured by Gregory XIV with a pension of fifty scudi a month. Saint Charles Borromeo always esteemed these students, and often entertained numbers of them at his Table. Saint Philip would embrace them with signs of extraordinary affection. Of this College Cardinal Baronius wrote thus in the annotations to the Martyrology for December 29th : "Our century has deserved to see many crowned with martyrdom and many Thomases, and among them those whom the Society of Jesus prepared for the conflict, like so many innocent Lambs reared within their fold, and offered them as glorious victims of martyrdom ; those intrepid heroes brought forth by the Colleges of Rome, Rheims and elsewhere, which were founded for the assistance of the persecuted Church in England, &c." They wear a cassock with a sash, and an overgarment with long sleeves hanging from the shoulders—both black. In the house they wear the clerical biretta.

Ex Bulla Erectionis Colleg. Quoniam bonitas, 3 April 1579. Daniel Bartolus hist. Anglic. lib. 3.'

CARDINAL GODFREY'S GIFT

When His Eminence Cardinal Godfrey came to Rome and stayed at the Venerabile in February of this year, he presented to the College a magnificent gift : a silver ewer and basin of handsome modern design. The gift commemorates His Eminence's elevation to the Sacred College in 1958, and is a further token of his warm affection for the College where he was both student and Rector. Both ewer and basin are finely engraved with His Eminence's coat of arms and with an inscription in cursive script which runs as follows :

*'Ad Sacrum Collegium evectus die 15 decembris 1958
Gulielmus Godfrey alumnus olim et Rector Ven. Collegii
Anglorum de Urbe grato humili animo peramanter Alm. Matri
d. d.'*

AN APPEAL FOR BACK NUMBERS

The generosity of kind benefactors has ensured that we now have complete sets of *THE VENERABLE* both in the College Library and at Palazzola. Though we do not like to impose once more on past members of the College, we now have a further appeal to make—or rather two appeals.

The Bodleian Library, Oxford, has made a request for a full set of the Magazines; we have been able to send copies of all numbers from 1950 onwards, but we are unable to furnish copies of Volumes I to XIV—from 1922 till May 1950. The Editor would be very pleased to hear from anyone who may have back numbers and would be willing to part with them. The second appeal is for the College Archives: the Archivists are anxious to complete their set of Magazines, and are looking for the following numbers:

Vol. I	1 and 4	October 1922, April 1924.
Vol. X	3	May 1942.
Vol. XI	2 and 3	May and November 1943.
Vol. XII	1	November 1944.

A ROYAL REREDOS

'If I thought what I am now going to write would cause you as much concern in reading it as it does me in writing I would not put pen to paper ; suffice to say what I have long foreseen, as well as foretold, is now come to pass, the Glory of Rome is at an end . . .' So wrote the Reverend Robert Archdeacon (or Smelt) on 7th February 1797.¹

At the end of the eighteenth century, Rome was faced with the onslaught of French Revolutionaries. The disorder of the period is reflected in the history of the College. All College property was sold by the French and the building itself served as flats and barracks.² Much of the College property was, however, retrieved ; fortunately the library and the archives survived. It is only during the past year that the papers in the College archives dealing with this interregnum period have been finally ordered and catalogued. They do much to dispel the uncertainty which has existed in the past concerning these years.

Yet even these papers are silent about a famous picture, the subject of the present article, concerning which enquiries have recently reached the College from both England and America. What picture is this ? The oldest description we have is contained in a manuscript in the British Museum, written early in the reign

¹ Westminster Archives, Vol. 47, n. 16. See *THE VENERABLE* for April 1934, Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 379. Archdeacon was agent in Rome for the English bishops from 1791 onwards. This letter was written to Bishop Douglass of the London district.

² For a treatment of this period see *THE VENERABLE*, November 1953, Vol. 16, No. 3 : *Decline and Fall*, Part 4.

of James I.³ This manuscript is violently anti-Catholic and contains what appears to be a transcript of a leaflet then or shortly before in circulation among Catholics. A marginal note says, 'verbatim as it is in the written copie taken in a searche'. It runs as follows :

‘THAT ENGLAND IS OUR LADIES DOWRIE

‘In the Church of Saint Thomas Hospitall in Roome there is a very faire painted and gilded Table of Imagerie worke, standing before the Altare of Saint Edmund the martire, once a King of England ; which by the view of the wood and workmanship, seemeth to have bin painted aboove an hundred yeares past. It is in length aboove five foote, and about three foote high. It is divided into five panes. In the middle pane there is a picture of our blessed Ladie. In the nexte pane upon her left hand, kneeleth a young King, Saint Edmund as it is thought, in a side robe of scarlet, who lifting up his eyes and handes towards our blessed Lady, and holding betweene his hands the globe or patterne of England : presenteth the same to our Lady saying thus.

‘Dos tua Virgo pia

Haec est, quare rege, Maria.

‘O blessed Virgin heere beholde this is thy Dowerie

Defend it now, preserve it still in all prosperitie.

His scepter and his crowne lying before him on a cushion, & St. George in armour standing behinde him in the same pane, somewhat leaning forward & laying his right hand in such manner upon the Kings back : that he seemeth to present the King & his presents to our blessed Ladye. This may induce a man to thinke that it is no newe devised speche to call England our Ladyes dowerie.’

The original paper of which this is a transcript must have been written before 1580, for in that year ‘Saint Thomas Hospitall’ officially became the English College. And as it says that the ‘Table’ seems to be over one hundred years old, it must therefore have been painted some time before 1480.⁴ The writer unfortunately does not say what was represented in the other panels. As the picture was at Saint Edmund’s altar, he conjectures that the king represents that saint. This is wrong,

³ Harleian MSS., n. 360, fol. 98, 6. I take this from the Preface to the third edition of Fr Bridgett’s *Our Lady’s Dowry*, London, 1896.

⁴ ‘Table’ is too literal a rendering of *tabula*, which can simply mean a picture or painted panel.

as is clear from the testimony of Silvester de Petra Sancta (Petrasanta), who gives the clearest description we possess.⁵

Petrasanta writes : 'Another dignified illustration, full of royal majesty, may be seen in a very old picture, which is extant even to-day at Rome in the English College, with the image of a King and Queen of England in splendid costumes. Both are clothed in tunic and vest, the tunic embroidered with lilies, the vest with leopards. The Queen is also wearing a cope of cloth of gold and ornamented with eagles. The ancestral shields of both are depicted, blazoned with heraldic designs, and corresponding to the designs on their apparel. The royal couple seem to be Richard II (the successor of Edward, who was the first to quarter the French lilies with the English leopards) and his wife Anne of Bohemia, who was the daughter or sister of Wenceslaus of Bohemia, King of the Romans and afterwards Emperor. That is the reason for the eagle on her cloak and shield. The King and Queen are kneeling on both knees and with St John as mediator are offering the royal island of Britain to the Virgin Mother of God, with this inscription, "Dos tua virgo pia haec est, quare rege, Maria".'

In confirmation of Petrasanta's statement, Fr Coupe gives conclusive arguments that the royal pair are indeed Richard II and his first wife, Anne of Bohemia. This means that the picture could not have been painted before 1382, the year of their marriage.

The latest evidence so far discovered concerning our picture is that given by Fr Michael Griffith (or Alford) in 1663.⁶ He writes : 'Extat Romae in Anglorum Collegio, duorum Regum effigies, seu tabula pervetusta, ubi Rex et Regina genibus nixi Insulam Britanniae, interprete S. Joanne, Deiparae offerunt, hoc lemmante :

Dos tua' etc.

Referring to the above quotation, Mr Edmund Waterton⁷ concludes that King Richard II was making an act of donation or consecration of England to our Lady, or renewing a former consecration, from which arose that title of England, 'Dowry of Mary'.

⁵ This Italian Jesuit was an expert in heraldry. In his work, *Tesseræ Gentilitiæ*, Rome, 1638, pp. 677-8, he describes our picture and actually gives sketches of the King and Queen and of their respective shields. These sketches are reproduced in *The Month*, June 1895, in an article entitled *An Old Picture* by Fr Charles Coupe, where Petrasanta's Latin text is also given.

⁶ Griffith, *Fides Regia Britannica, sive Annales Ecclesiae Britannicæ*, Leodii 1663, I, 57.

⁷ Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, London, 1879, p. 13.

Fr Alford's description adds nothing to that of Petrasanta. But between that of Petrasanta and that of the writer of the paper transcribed in the Harleian MS. there are some notable discrepancies. In the Harleian MS., the young king holds between his hands 'the globe or patterne of Englande'; Petrasanta's sketch shows him with hands joined. Again, while the former says that the king's sceptre and crown lie before him on a cushion, the sketch shows him wearing his crown (as in the Wilton diptych, to which we shall refer later). Finally, in the former it is St George in armour who presents the king to our Lady, while Petrasanta says it is St John.

In spite of the differences it is clearly the same picture that is being described. By gathering together the various details we can get some idea of what it was like. It was over five feet long by three feet high, and divided into five panels. In the centre panel was our Lady, facing to the left (i.e. to the spectator's right). In the fourth panel, counting from the left, knelt King Richard II in a scarlet robe embroidered with leopards and fleurs-de-lis, holding up and offering to our Lady the globe or pattern of England, with his sceptre (and perhaps crown too) lying on a cushion in front of him. St George in armour stood behind him in the same panel, leaning forward and laying his hand on the king's shoulder. Probably in the fifth panel stood St John the Baptist, acting as mediator (*interpres*) between the king and our Lady. In the second panel, looking towards our Lady, knelt Queen Anne. Her dress was also embroidered with leopards and fleur-de-lis, and her cope bore the imperial eagle. Her hands were joined and she wore a crown. We have no information about the first panel. Fr Coupe, in the article referred to above, conjectures that it contained King Richard's favourite patron saints, St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund, King and Martyr. The picture, it will be remembered, stood before the altar of St Edmund. This seems a valid conclusion, especially when the similarity with the Wilton diptych is taken into account.

Before discussing why our panel was painted, and by whom, and where it stood, it might be as well to compare what we know of it with the above-mentioned Wilton diptych, which in the 1920's was purchased for the National Gallery at a price of £90,000. It had been in Wilton House, the seat of the Earls of Pembroke, since 1705, when it was bought by the eighth Earl, Thomas Herbert. Before that it may have been in Rome for a short time, as it was presented by James II to the Earl of

Castlemaine, son of Sir James Palmer, on his departure as ambassador to Rome. Sir James had presented it to Charles I on behalf of one Lady Jenings, in exchange for the King's portrait by Jan Lievens, and it is in 1639 that the first certain mention of the diptych occurs, in the catalogue of Charles I's collection made by Abraham Van der Doort. Its earlier history is unknown, but it has been inferred that it was acquired at the Dissolution by Ralph Rowlett, goldsmith, from either the Manor of Gorhambury or the Manor of Hyde, both of which were within three or four miles of Richard II's residence of King's Langley and which belonged to his friends and supporters. From the Rowlett family it would have passed by marriage or by gift to the Jenings family, and thence to Charles I.

It seems certain that the diptych was painted in the reign of Richard II. Everthing else is uncertain. The name and nationality of the artist are unknown, and we can only guess at the occasion for which it was painted. The panel on the left shows King Richard II in profile, with a youthful face, crowned and kneeling with his hands raised and slightly apart. He wears a splendid scarlet cope embroidered in gold, with his badge of the white hart, the Plantagenet broom-cods and eagles. Next to the King and partly hidden by him, stands St John the Baptist, clad in a rough, loose garment and with one hand on the King's shoulder. Behind the King stands St Edward the Confessor, crowned and holding a ring in his left hand, and St Edmund, martyr king of East Anglia, holding an arrow. The right hand of both these saints indicates the kneeling king, and with the Baptist they are looking at our Lady as though presenting Richard to her and the Child. Our Lady stands in the left hand panel, looking down at Richard and holding out to him the Child, who raises his hands as if in blessing. Eleven angels, dressed in blue and crowned with white roses, surround her. Each bears on the left breast the King's badge of the white hart, and one of them holds a staff from which floats the red-cross banner of St George.

There are striking similarities between the diptych and the Roman *tabula*. Both were on wood, panelled and gilded. They were painted at about the same time. Both show King Richard in scarlet dress, with his hands raised towards our Lady. St John the Baptist has a prominent place in both, while St George appears in person on the *tabula*, and is represented by his banner in the diptych. In the diptych, it is St John who lays his hand

on the King's shoulder ; in the *tabula* it is St George. The diptych shows St Edmund ; the *tabula* hung over St Edmund's altar, and possibly showed him also. It is not surprising that Mr John H. Harvey, in a paper⁸ given to the Society of Antiquaries, said: 'It seems highly probable that the diptych and the Roman polyptych were two related parts in a single artistic programme in Richard's mind and that they were of approximately the same date, soon after the death of Anne of Bohemia and before the King's remarriage.' Mr Harvey shows that the Wilton diptych has to be seen as a direct expression of Richard's own personality and sincere belief, and as made for him. He concludes that the diptych was painted as a portable altar-piece for the gatherings of a secret order founded by Richard with the aim of supporting the theory of kingship by divine right. The polyptych may have been offered in 1396, when the second English Hospice was founded in Trastevere.

Fr Bridgett⁹ has also associated the two paintings, though for a different reason. He tells the story of Wat Tyler's revolt, and its suppression by the young King, then only seventeen : '... after the short repose of that dreadful night [14th June 1381], when the King awoke, knowing that his kingdom and even his life were in danger, he rode to Westminster, where with the nobles who had gathered round him, and the Lord Mayor, William Walworth, he heard Mass in St Stephen's chapel and ardently implored God's help. Thence he went to kneel before an image of our Lady, called "Our Lady of the Pew", or of the royal gallery. "This image", says Froissart, "is famous for miracles and graces, and the Kings of England place great trust in it. The King then made his prayers before this image, and made an offering of himself to our Lady. Then he mounted on horseback and all his nobles with him and rode towards London."¹⁰ He could not but attribute to those prayers and to his offering the marvellous turn of fortune that immediately followed.

'A year after this deliverance from peril, Richard was united in marriage with the "good Queen Anne". What is more natural

⁸ *The Wilton Diptych—A Re-examination* by John H. Harvey F.S.A., F.R.H.S., delivered on 7th February 1957. I would like to record my appreciation of the interest Mr Harvey has shown in the present article, and to thank him for allowing me to use the typescript of his Paper, which is shortly to be published in the journal *Archaeologia*.

⁹ Bridgett, *England for our Lady*, p. 19, quoted by Fr Coupe, pp. 231-2 ; and by Fr Thurston, *The Month*, July 1929, *The Wilton Diptych*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰ Froissart, *Chroniques*, Lyon 1559, II, 141 : '*Là fit ce roi ses oraisons devant ceste image : & s'offrit à elle . . .*' Quoted by Waterton, op. cit., II, 234, footnote.

than that, having offered himself to our Lady in so critical a moment, and having experienced her power and goodness, he should have made in gratitude a public and solemn offering of himself and of his kingdom to his glorious Protectress ?

Bridgett concludes that King Richard, in thanksgiving for his deliverance, dedicated England as the Dowry of Mary, and he holds that the Wilton diptych was painted to commemorate the event. Sir George Scharf, in a monograph on the diptych, says that it is his 'strong impression that the Wilton diptych was devised for a purpose affecting the King's religious movements',¹¹ and he comes to much the same conclusion as Bridgett. Coupe adds : 'As the King is beardless [in the Wilton diptych], and Queen Anne is absent from the picture, it must have been painted before Richard's marriage. Can it be that, having offered himself to our Lady, he in the diptych gave only an earnest of his good faith, and afterwards in the Roman Tabula carried, after his marriage, the donation and endowment into full and formal effect ?' This explanation would certainly account for the fact that in the Roman picture Richard is older than he appears in the diptych, and would also account for the appearance of Queen Anne. Scharf dates the diptych to 1381, mainly because of his theory about the Wat Tyler revolt ; the Roman picture would have been painted between 1382 and 1396, the year of the King's re-marriage.

Mr Eric John, Lecturer in Medieval History at Manchester University, criticizes the Wilton diptych as violating 'every canon of propriety based on the Gospels and the established norm of Christian tradition' and says, 'It is plain that the spiritual attitude behind the Wilton diptych is that of a thoroughly secular arrogance and pride'.¹² This view does not account for the contemporary relations of religion and politics. As Harvey says in his paper (note 109) : 'The intermingling of religious and political motives is a commonplace of the Middle Ages, and it would be a mistake to impute to Richard II any lack of sincerity in his religious outlook on the ground of its political implications. He was a most devout Catholic and

¹¹ Scharf, *Description of the Wilton House Diptych*, Arundel Society 1882, p. 83. Quoted by Coupe, p. 241.

¹² *The Arts, Artists and Thinkers*, a Symposium edited by John M. Todd, pp. 52-53 ; being the record of the second Symposium held at Downside in 1957. But perhaps he does not intend to stigmatize Richard himself, as he holds it likely that the diptych is a memorial cult picture produced after the King's death.

obtained, for instance, a papal indult in 1397 that his chaplains might read the canonical hours after the use of the Friars Preachers, "that being the use which the King reads daily" (Cal. Papal Registers, 1396-1404, p. 67). His benefactions to the Church were enormous . . .'

Harvey differs from Bridgett, Coupe and Eric John in that he dates the diptych to some time between the years 1394 and 1399, giving as the most probable period from the summer of 1394 to the autumn of 1395. The reasons for this dating are to be found in the arms and badges displayed on the obverse and reverse sides of the diptych ; in the resemblances of style between the diptych and English art of the 1390's, notably the glass of Winchester College chapel ; and in the coiffure and costume depicted. It would be out of place to repeat all Harvey's arguments, but because of the probable close connection between the Wilton and Roman pictures it will be worth while attempting to date the polyptych by giving his arguments concerning the King's beard. In the diptych, it will be remembered, Richard is beardless, whereas the polyptych shows him with beard and moustache. 'Though Richard may have been presented in the diptych as more youthful than he actually was, the evidence suggests that he did not start a beard until 1395 ; certainly not until after Anne's death. Richard's effigy, ordered in April 1395 and certainly cast by 1397, shows him with a small moustache and tufts of beard, which latter appears also in the Westminster Abbey portrait probably to be associated with that for which Master Peter Combe the Sacrist was paid in December 1395 . . . If Richard had already grown a short beard by December 1395, but not yet the moustache which is seen on the effigy already being made, it is reasonable to suppose that the beard was of recent growth. This is supported, not only by the figure of 1393 in the Winchester College glass which has no trace of a beard, but by a carved head, obviously intended for the King, on the southern label-stop outside the east window of the College Chapel, made either shortly before the window was ready for the glass in summer 1393, or thereafter up to the consecration of the Chapel on 17th July 1395. Opportunity for actual portraiture existed, for the King was in Winchester to hold Parliament from 20th January to 10th February 1393, and again in July and September, when he dined with Bishop Wykeham at Wolvesey. The corresponding label-stop, of an ageing bishop, gives every sign of being a genuine portrait of Wykeham. Richard

is also shown beardless in the French illumination of Mézières' project for the Order of the Passion, datable to 1395-6.¹³

If the diptych and polyptych are of approximately the same date, the youthful appearance of King Richard in the former must be reconciled with his older and careworn figure in the latter, as shown by Petrasanta. Two possible reasons are suggested by Harvey,¹⁴ namely 'the onset of disease, for a medicine for the stone had been tried by Richard II's physician upon the King himself. The probability that Richard was suffering from increasingly serious ill health is supported by large sums spent upon medicines prescribed in 1395-6 by the King's Physician, John Middleton, his Surgeon, William Bradewardyn, and other doctors . . . Another factor in producing Richard's suddenly careworn appearance must have been his unmeasured grief at the death of Anne of Bohemia.'

As we have seen above, Richard's shield on the polyptych (as on the Wilton diptych, where it is impaled with the supposed arms of the Confessor) bore France Ancient quartered with England. This indicates that the picture was painted before 1408 at the latest, for by that time France Modern had replaced France Ancient on Henry IV's second Great Seal.¹⁵ It is, however, unnecessary to assign such a late date to either the Wilton or Roman picture. The arguments that the Wilton diptych is a memorial cult picture produced after Richard's death cannot be reconciled with available evidence.

To summarise, if the diptych can be dated to 1394 at the earliest, the polyptych must have been painted between then and the King's re-marriage in October or November 1396; it seems hardly likely that he would order a painting representing himself and his first wife after the peace with France in October 1396, for one of the terms of the peace was that he should marry the daughter of Charles VI. The evidence moreover suggests that he did not grow a beard until 1395, while his

¹³ The above is quoted without Mr Harvey's footnotes, which stabilise and illustrate his arguments. I am aware of the late Professor Tristram's arguments in *The Month*, March 1950, pp. 234-5, 237-8, where he holds it to be unlikely that the glass of Winchester College Chapel contains a portrait of Richard II. They were partly answered on pp. 236-7 of the same issue, and are not really satisfying when Mr Harvey's other arguments concerning the date of the diptych are considered.

¹⁴ Quoting a Royal MS. in the British Museum and the Wardrobe Book of 1395-6.

¹⁵ It is interesting to note that the Royal Arms on the wall of the corridor outside the College Church and on the hammer beam now in the Cardinals' Corridor bear France Modern and England quarterly. This means that they are later than 1408. The older arms may be seen on Cardinal Easton's tomb in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, dating from 1398.

moustache is of even later date—probably between December 1395 and the peace with France. Our Roman polyptych can therefore be dated to within this short period of ten months.

The question of the artist still remains unsolved. Harvey wrote: 'The heraldic flavour and particular significance of this painting [the Roman polyptych], like the similar qualities of the diptych, suggest the presence in England of a Court painter, expert in heraldry but capable of going far beyond normal iconography. This may well have been Gilbert Prince, who did not die until early in 1396, and who was probably the immediate successor of Hugh of St Albans as King's Painter in 1368.'¹⁶ Neither Harvey nor Tristram had any doubts that the artist of the diptych was English, or at least one skilled in the English style,¹⁷ and the same is undoubtedly true of the polyptych.

The question arises as to how the polyptych found its way to Rome. It will be remembered that the Hospice of St Thomas had been opened in 1362, fifteen years before Richard's accession. Because of this, Coupe conjectures that Richard would 'take a lively interest in the new foundation, and perhaps sent the great historical painting to be placed before the altar of his patron, St Edmund, in the church attached to the Hospice'. This is an attractive theory, especially when one recalls that gifts of English workmanship had found their way to Rome long before this time. English art, in the form of the celebrated *opus anglicanum*, was to be found in Italy at least by the middle of the twelfth century, possibly by the eleventh.¹⁸ Nor is it any argument against this theory to say that no record or tradition of any such royal gift exists. It is true that gifts of the fifteenth century are well

¹⁶ *The Month*, December 1949, p. 435.

¹⁷ Harvey, *The Wilton Diptych—A Re-examination*, note 98: 'While it is possible to trace Italian, French, Flemish, Bohemian and Byzantine influences in the style of the painting, its overall impression is markedly different from that of the known works of any foreign country, but resembles the atmosphere of contemporary English wall- and panel-paintings and stained glass'.

Tristram, *The Month*, July 1949, p. 30: 'If we are to hold that a foreign painter, apparently unknown in his own country, where neither he nor his successors have left any comparable works, came to England and painted the Diptych, then we must credit him with a surprisingly vivid appreciation of English types, and a remarkable power of rendering them'. Professor Tristram differs from Harvey in ascribing the Diptych to the early years of Richard's reign. For his reasons, see *The Month*, June 1949, pp. 379-90; July 1949, pp. 18-36; and March 1950, pp. 234-8.

¹⁸ About the year 1150, an English Bishop had presented to the Pope an embroidered cope, while the English Pope Adrian IV was presented with 'three mitres and sandals of marvellous workmanship' by the Abbot of St Albans. An inventory of the treasures of the Vatican, drawn up in 1295, reveals 113 items of this same *opus anglicanum*. This information is taken from George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy*, Rome, 1954, I, 168-70, citing A. G. I. Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery*, Oxford 1938. Examples of *opus anglicanum* are still to be seen in the Vatican, in the Duomo at Fermo, the City Museum of Bologna and in the tesoro of Anagni Cathedral; this latter houses a magnificent cope and dalmatics of the thirteenth century.

documented, as for example the presents made by the Prior of Canterbury, by Robert Fitzhugh, Bishop of London, by Robert Bottle, Prior of the Hospital of St John, London, and by Sir Walter Hungerford, Lord Hungerford. All of these are mentioned in the inventory of objects in the sacristy in 1445.¹⁹ The Duchess of York, mother of Edward IV, also presented candlesticks and silver vessels weighing 183 $\frac{3}{4}$ ounces, including a silver and gilt chalice of twenty ounces one-quarter.²⁰ But there are no records extant of any gifts previous to the fifteenth century, and while this may suggest that no such gifts were made, it is more probable that the records, if any existed, have perished.

Coupe's conjecture, that the picture was given to be placed before the altar of St Edmund, is rather more doubtful. It has not been possible to ascertain when the Hospice opened its first church. The Hospice buildings were rebuilt in 1412²¹ and a chapel seems to be mentioned then for the first time. If a chapel had existed before this date it would have been a simple affair, probably with a single altar dedicated to St Thomas.

As we have already seen, Harvey suggests that Richard had an opportunity of offering the polyptych when the Hospice in Trastevere was opened in 1396. Thurston too²² suggests that King Richard sent the picture not to the older Hospice in the Via Monserrato but to the newer foundation. His reasons are not satisfactory. It is true that the Trastevere Hospice was opened during Richard's reign.²³ But relying on Capgrave, Thurston says that this second Hospice was called 'the hospital of Seint Edmund the Kyng', one of King Richard's patrons. It seems, however, that the Trastevere Hospice was not dedicated to St Edmund until some years after Richard's death. When it was opened in 1396 it was dedicated to St Chrysogonus

¹⁹ Lib. 33, f. 5r.

²⁰ Lib. 17, f. 21r; Lib. 33, f. 6r. Most, if not all, of these were lost in the Bourbon sack of 1527. Cf. Membrana, 3.3.1530: '*... ecclesia Hospitalis . . . in lamentabili alme Urbis direptione Omnia vasa argentea et ad diurnum cultum inibi destinata pluraque alia bona et scripturas amisit magnaue damna sustinuit*'.

²¹ Robert Gradwell, MS. History of the English College, 1823, Z68, f. 65r, presumably using sources since lost.

²² *The Month*, July 1929, p. 33.

²³ Thurston refers to Stow's mistake in saying that the Hospice of St Thomas was built in Richard II's time. As Dr Croke said in a paper read in Rome in 1905 at the Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, and published in the *Atti* of that Congress, III, 555-72: 'Although the history of the institutions which during the fourteenth century revived and carried on the tradition of English life in Rome, has never received any but the most summary treatment, it has been told with substantial incorrectness, and every imaginable variety of detail . . . This accumulation of errors is due to the fact that the hospital has been ignored by nearly all the historians of England.' This was written fifteen years before Cardinal Gasquet's History appeared, but even this latter work leaves much to be desired.

alone ; and it was not until 1404 that a house and land were bought adjoining the original house for the purpose of building a chapel to serve the Hospice.²⁴

It will probably be said that the English Hospices in Rome, at least for the first fifty or even one hundred years of their existence, are unlikely to have attracted the attention, still less the beneficence, of a King of England. Parks has shown, however,²⁵ that when the Popes returned to Rome from Avignon there was considerable diplomatic activity between England and Italy. The marriage of Richard into the Visconti family of Milan had been discussed as early as 1378. In the same year, two missions were sent to the newly-elected Urban VI, and another was sent in March of the following year. Between 1327 and 1378 there had been only eight diplomatic missions sent from England. During Richard's reign, on the other hand, such missions were sent almost yearly, and sometimes twice yearly, from the English court, and on more than one occasion the head of the mission stayed in Rome for over a year. 'Our picture now is, for Richard II's reign, one of almost continual travel between England and Rome or other cities of Italy.'²⁶ Again, 'We find some missions of fairly long term in the fourteenth century, especially in the time when Richard II thought to impose Urban VI on a Europe which also listened to an anti-pope, and consequently sent missions thick and fast to Italy.'²⁷ We do not know where these missions lodged, but it is certain that the King would have learnt through them of the new national institutions in Rome. Indeed, these institutions were sufficiently well-established for the second resident English ambassador in Rome, Thomas Polton, Bishop of Chichester, to be a member, about the year 1420.²⁸ The connection of the earlier embassies with the Hospice would provide matter for long research ; here it is only intended to show that the Hospice was probably better known at the English court than is sometimes admitted.

The possibility of a royal gift cannot then be ruled out on *a priori* grounds. Moreover, relations were strained between Richard and the Pope concerning the provision of bishops for English sees—yet Richard remained a loyal Catholic. Would it not be possible that he sent the polyptych, representing his dedication of England to our Lady, to the Hospice in Rome as

²⁴ Membrana, l.1.1404.

²⁵ Parks, *op. cit.*, ch. vii.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

²⁸ Lib. 272, f. 1v.

an assurance, despite his Statutes of Praemunire,²⁹ of his devotion and faith?

The above has been an attempt at a factual, rather than an argumentative, account of one of the pictures formerly in the Venerabile and of its relation to the Wilton diptych. Opinions about the latter differ widely, even though it is still in existence; small wonder then that we can only conjecture about the polyptych which, as far as we know, has perished. It cannot be unmistakably recognised in any of the Hospice or College inventories.³⁰ If it was still in the College when the French arrived in 1797, it was probably seized and taken to France, where it may still exist in some private collection. Or perhaps it shared the fate of the paintings of the College martyrs³¹ which disappeared and were found during the last century in an attic of the Palazzo Borromeo. No explicit mention of it is found in the exhaustive records of the *beni* of the College auctioned by the French, although there are several descriptions which might cover the polyptych, and references simply to 'the pictures'.³² It may even have been claimed by the Italian seculars after they had taken possession of the College in 1773.³³

The English students were not devoid of national feeling, for when they were forced to return to England one of them asked the Rector (without success) for the College silver, while another carried off the *Liber Ruber*. One remembers that the silver of the English College at Douai, together with the body of Blessed John Southworth and the head of Blessed John Wall, was buried to prevent it falling into the hands of the Revolutionaries, and that the secret of the hiding-place was lost. Could the polyptych and perhaps the Venerabile silver have been similarly hidden? If so, the Tiber, flooding the College cellars, must long since have ruined a once famous picture.

JOHN ALLEN.

²⁹ In October 1389 the English Crown stopped the collection of a Papal subsidy; in January of the following year Englishmen of whatever rank (except merchants) were forbidden to go to Rome, and merchants were forbidden to issue letters of credit to Englishmen intending to go there; in May all English clerics in Rome were ordered to return (Parks, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-5). Parks estimates the number of those going to Rome on business annually before 1390 at 100; in 1390 some 200 succeeded in obtaining a licence. After this year, the number of those going on business declined, while the numbers of pilgrims increased (p. 348). See also *Pilgrims and the Hospice, THE VENERABILE*, XIX, 2, May 1959.

³⁰ Some references to pictures of our Lady and Saints are as follows: '1496 . . . *ex dono Rdi patris Jo. de gyglis wygornien. Epi. Senni Regis Angliae oratoris . . . una ymago beatae virginis.*' 1525 . . . *In sacristia et ecclesia . . . Tabule parve portatorie cum imagine Virginis Mariae, quattuor. Tabula una similis cum imagine Sti. Georgii.*' 1525 . . . *In Ecclesia . . . tabula parva portatoria cum imagine virginis mariae . . . Ad altare 2m eiusdem lateris. Imprimis tabula depicta cum sex imaginibus*' cf. Lib. 33, ff. 7r, 9r, 16r. 'May 1502 . . . 3 ymages of oure lady payntyd in tabyllis of tymbr . . . and a pon ye alter standys also a old tabyll with the ymage of our lady : saynt John : saynt George : saynt Katryn : and saynt thomas.' Lib. 17, f. 42r.

³¹ *Scritt.* 12, 16, p. 5: '*Nel corridore del 3o piano ci sono i ritratti di 41 alunni del medmo Collegio martirizzati in Inghilterra per la Religione.*'

³² E.g. I.D.P., XIV, f. 2, p. 2: '*Quarto. Il Sig^r Fracassi, e compagni comprarono le sequenti cose mobili cioè . . . Li quadri, e sedie d'appoggio esistenti nel Camerone detto di S. Giorgio . . .*'

³³ *Indice Chronologico*, II, 577-9, referring to Liber 15, now lost.

COLLEGE DIARY

THE VILLA

JULY 1st 1960, *Friday*. Phew! Exit Rome for three months—with its heat, noise and, for the fortunate majority, exams. The peace and quiet of Palazzola have been praised by many a pen more eloquent than this, so I shall not treat the reader to a eulogy of the Villa's merits. Personally I feel quite sure that far more Old Roman tears have bedewed the ground at Palazzola in forty years than were shed at dear old Monte P. in the whole course of its two hundred years or so!

This year Palazzola is thoroughly British—the College in the lower Villa and some of Rome's English residents in the upper one.

2nd *Saturday*. A No Bell day. Some unfortunate theologians still wear the look of the persecuted and can be seen in various odd corners fingering through Denzinger or Merk. Three men went to mow—while the Cricket Secretary, from a safe distance, organised an all-out offensive on the sforza grass.

3rd *Sunday*. This evening, after tea, the cricket season opened.

The Senior Student and his Deputy went out of circulation, as they began their ordination retreat.

4th *Monday*. Three men, including the Vice-Rector with his pipe and a tube of insect deterrent, went to mow. Never have the insects of Palazzola had such a feast as they had this evening when they all swarmed in to taste the Vice-Rectorial unguent.

5th *Tuesday*. The University Delegate fittingly finished off this session of examinations, and, as far as one could tell, the examiners as well.

6th *Wednesday*. The first Garden Gita. At about 10 o'clock a cloud of dust was seen moving rapidly across the Latin Vale towards Rocca Priora. The general aim of the expedition seemed to be to get loosened up for Faete in the evening.

7th *Thursday*. Riots in Rome—the Vicariate Delegate only just managed to escape.

8th *Friday*. A new after-supper sport has begun on the terrace : the object is to frighten off three large, hissing owls which have made their nest in the garden wall.

9th *Saturday*. A cricket match against Silver Wings C.C. The College hospitality at lunch and the boiling afternoon sun proved too much for our opponents, and the College had a fairly easy win.

10th *Sunday*. Congratulations to Messrs Needham and Nash, who were ordained this morning by Cardinal Traglia in the Church of the Sacred Heart, Piazza Navona. In the evening we had the Te Deum and the kissing of hands.

11th *Monday*. Mr Needham said his first Mass at 7, and Mr Nash at 9. A group of nuns, who arrived by chance just at the end of the second Mass, paid almost cardinalatial reverence to the newly ordained—was this an omen ?

Archbishop Heenan arrived this afternoon for a short holiday before proceeding to Malta for the Pauline celebrations.

12th *Tuesday*. This evening the New Wingers showed the Old Wingers that the one thing in which the New Wing is superior to the Old is cricket (and, some might add, cricket is the only thing that matters, what ?).

13th *Wednesday*. Garden Gita. This evening, a shadow from the past materialised in the form of a Glee Club. About fifteen Volga Boatmen enjoyed half-an-hour singing 'Yo-ho heave-ho', while the Schola master did the heaving and hauling. Fr Ashdowne left for his holiday. There was no connection between the two events.

14th *Thursday*. The tennis court has once more been reclaimed from the wilderness, and the condition of the surface pays silent tribute to the hard work done by the Secretary and his henchmen. After tea we had a Pontifical Opening, with Archbishop Heenan and Mr Feeney playing Messrs Daley and Lloyd. Honours went to the Hierarchy, and His Grace showed himself a master of the *Nihil Obstat* slice which breaks at 90°.

15th *Friday*. Cardinal Godfrey and Mgr Worlock arrived for a short stay before going on to Malta.

16th *Saturday*. Good old G. & S. ! This morning the producer of *The Mikado* met his cast. Those for whom G. & S.=anathema prepared their earplugs.

17th *Sunday*. The Rector prepared for his sea-trip to Malta. Rumour has it that there are two sea-sickness tablets concealed in every packet of Players.

A large rat, described as six feet long by three feet wide, dispersed the group on the terrace to-night. Perhaps he came out to welcome home our animal-loving Senior Student, who has just returned from Assisi.

18th *Monday*. Archbishop Heenan left for Malta.

19th *Tuesday*. After breakfast the Rector left for Naples, where he was to join the Papal Legate to Malta on board H.M.S. *Surprise*. Mount Etna marked the occasion by erupting violently.

The College 'vet', alias the 1st Infirmarian, was summoned to the Upper Villa this evening to apply iodine to the dog's tail. The dog was last seen lying by the Tank with its tail dangling in the water.

20th *Wednesday*. Cardinal Godfrey and Mgr Worlock left us for Malta. The Glee Club has disguised itself as the 'Spastic Harmonics'.

21st *Thursday*. Fr Anglim left us for his holiday, so the Vice-Rector has the Villa to himself. Opera rehearsals began after morning milk.

After tea, we were visited by a group of Catholic Holiday Guilders.

22nd *Friday*. The Hermitage Festival. One member of second year Philosophy took two hours to reach the hallowed spot, and vowed that he had been moving all the time. The range of items was very wide, including on the one hand readings from Byron and Shane Leslie, and on the other *Canti dai Monti* and an oriental lament played on the blowpipe by a certain member of second year Theology.

23rd *Saturday*. A cricket match against the Embassy. To tea we welcomed two groups: the cricketers, and a pilgrimage from Manchester led by Fr Reynolds, who spent the week-end with us.

24th *Sunday*. Two young birds fell out of a nest in one of the trees on the terrace to-day. The Senior Student rushed to the rescue. One of the fledglings took one look at him and expired, while the other chanced his arm and stayed alive. He did not mind being housed in a wastepaper basket and fed with milk, but being named Oswald proved too much and he too gave up the ghost.

25th *Monday*. Fr Reynolds left us to rejoin his pilgrimage group in Rome, and the Rector returned from Malta in an Italian Air Force Dakota. On the terrace after supper he owned up that he had spent a part of the journey making disparaging remarks about the aircraft to one of his fellow passengers. It was only afterwards that he found out that this gentleman was an officer in the Italian Air Force.

27th *Wednesday*. The Tusculum Mass. A couple of parties took the infamous left fork on the path between Rocca and Tusculum, and so had the disconcerting experience of being faced with a cliff climb before breakfast. All arrived in time for the second Mass. The cooks provided an excellent breakfast, after which everyone sat around in what could be described as a contented silence.

28th *Thursday*. A Public Meeting after lunch—business was quickly disposed of with a minimum expenditure of hot air. There was a storm after tea.

29th *Friday*. A cricket match against Fr Sutherland's group of Squires from Sunbury occupied only a short portion of the afternoon, and afterwards our visitors thoroughly enjoyed themselves in the freedom of our grounds, especially in the Tank.

We welcomed Bishop Beck to lunch.

30th *Saturday*. Sermon classes are in view—the list of subjects was published this morning. After lunch, Propaganda played cricket against Silver Wings C.C. on the sforza. The cricketers played cricket, the spectators spectated, and the English College ate the tea.

Fr Travers arrived to spend the week-end with us.

31st *Sunday*. To-day was notable for three things : the feast of St Ignatius, a slide show in the evening and the absence of a peach festival at Castel Gandolfo.

AUGUST 1st *Monday*. With the help of a southern umpire and a northern substitute the North beat the South by ten wickets in what was a rather disappointing game.

To lunch came Mgr Whitty, Fr Barratt s.J., Mr MacDermot and Major Utley.

After supper the Common Room was the scene of the biggest card sharp in Lazio : sharp number one was Mr Richardson, and Messrs Burns and Crampton tied for second place.

2nd *Tuesday*. Bishop Parker and Fr Hulme arrived for a short holiday.

3rd *Wednesday*. In the evening Fr Travers brought a group of pilgrims to see us.

4th *Thursday*. Cricket against Propaganda. The lunchtime score—the College all out for 105—could not be called reassuring, but after tea Propaganda could only manage 58 runs. The star of the College side was a tall member of second year Philosophy who has evolved a new bowling theory : if you bowl enough wides, it is absolutely certain that the first accidental straight one will so surprise the batsman that you will take his wicket. To put this theory into practice, however, you need to be a left-arm slinger . . .

5th *Friday*. *Feast of Our Lady of the Snows*. The Rector sang the High Mass, and the acoustics of the church did full justice to the Schola's rendering of Haller's *Ave Maria*.

To lunch we welcomed Cardinal Heard, Bishop Parker, Mgr Flanagan, Fr Hulme, Mr MacDermot, Colonel Fleming, Mr Sherwood and Mr Wade.

6th *Saturday*. A sermon class this morning for Theologians. At Benediction in the evening the choirmaster sabotaged the *Tantum Ergo* by pitching it so high that, had he been there, even the Theology Ripetitore would have been silenced.

7th *Sunday*. Both the Cricket Secretary and the Golf Secretary are trying to trace the animal that has a taste for golf flags and is keen on digging holes, especially on the cricket pitch.

8th *Monday*. The Bodgers started making scenery for the Opera this morning. They made one beautiful backcloth from brown paper and glue and left it to dry on the top of the cloisters. When they returned in the evening to take it away, they found that in order to lift it up they had to remove half the cloister roof.

9th *Tuesday*. Bishop Parker and Fr Hulme left for England.

After the evening cricket match a large black dog appeared on the scene, much to the joy of the Cricket Secretary, who immediately suspected the hound of being responsible for the large holes in the outfield. *Due cartucci, eh?*

10th *Wednesday*. The Opera cast removed their noise from the Common Room to the cortile this morning. The Superiors evaded the row by equipping themselves with food and drink, and pockets full of sweets: they took the Rocca orphans for a gita.

11th *Thursday*. A small busload of Ushavians descended on us to-day. Fr Buckley arrived to spend just a couple of weeks with us before returning to England permanently.

12th *Friday*. In cloud and fog Theology convincingly demonstrated its more than scientific superiority by thrashing Philosophy by seven wickets.

13th *Saturday*. Fr Morris arrived to spend the week-end with us.

15th *Monday*. *Fest of the Assumption*. The 'Rocca Schola' managed Perosi's Mass very well except for an odd wrong note here and there. The Albano Band was present in force, but was directed very well this year—instead of drowning all the singing, it only drowned half of it.

16th *Tuesday*. Fr Morris left us to-day. To supper, Mgr Carroll-Abbing.

17th *Wednesday*. The first full Day Gita.

18th *Thursday*. A scirocco blew hard all day and succeeded in draining any energy that was left after yesterday's gita; definitely deck-chair weather.

19th *Friday*. At lunch, the Superior suggested that one says 'Tynemouth' rather than 'Tinmouth'; the reader disagreed most emphatically, and as if to stress the point, repeated it—'Tinmouth'. And so the reading went on, while the Superior continued to eat thoughtfully.

20th *Saturday*. Mr Sherwood's pace men rattled the College batsmen this afternoon, but if the opponents were swift, the clergy were slow and crafty, and if we hardly reached 80, the visitors only managed 50.

Frs Hanlon and Collier arrived to spend the week-end with us.

21st *Sunday*. The Rector said Mass at the shrine of the Madonna del Tufo this morning, with a few members of the Schola providing sweet singing in the choir. After supper we were treated to a fireworks display by Castel Gandolfo. The Peach Festival at last, one presumes.

22nd *Monday*. Why was the Producer of the Opera looking so sad this evening? He had just seen the dress rehearsal . . .

Congratulations to Alfredo and his wife on the birth of their third son. We hear rumours that he will be called Gerardo.

23rd *Tuesday*. Gita day, transferred from to-morrow. We welcomed Drs Jones, Fee, Wilcock, Leahy and Neary, who arrived to spend a holiday with us.

24th *Wednesday*. The vigil of the Opera. Feverish activity in the Bodging and Props departments, while the Producer tried to keep an eye on everything. Frs Lescher, Morris and McHugh came to stay with us.

25th *Thursday*. The day of the Opera. In the morning, the cortile was rapidly changed into something Japanese. Our guests were the Scots College and some Irish Augustinians.

The show was dedicated to Fr Buckley :

*Spectatissimo nobis ac peramato Doctore
qui carminibus scaenisque olim alumnus
dein his ipsis praeceptor interfuit
hospiti nunc iterum eas visuro
pro doctrina tradita studiisque adhuc gubernatis gratias referentes
felicia omnia faustaque posthac abeunti exoptantes
hos cantus nostros oblectaminaque vestra
laeti libentissime dicamus*

THE MIKADO

OR

THE TOWN OF TITIPU

BY W. S. GILBERT AND ARTHUR SULLIVAN

<i>The Mikado of Japan</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Parker
<i>Nanki-Poo</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Grimshaw
<i>Ko-Ko</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Needham
<i>Pooh-Bah</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Rice
<i>Pish-Tush</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Richardson
<i>Yum-Yum</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr O'Sullivan
<i>Pitti-Sing</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Armour
<i>Peep-Bo</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Howell
<i>Katisha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Wahle
<i>Chorus of Schoolgirls</i>	.	Messrs	Dann,	Feben,	Allen,	Kenney,
			Dazeley,	Finn,	Everley,	Kirkham
<i>Chorus of Nobles</i>		Messrs	Trevett,	Hine,	Barker,	White,
			Budd,	Crampton,	Feeney,	Wade,
			Burns,	Hodgetts		
<i>Conductor</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Corbould
<i>Musical Director and Pianist</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Brand

Produced by Mr Dazeley

Once again a complacent gate-crasher has discovered the snag and found pencil and jotter retarding—alas! the circulation of wine, sobering his thoughts and converting his wonted bonhomie into a colder critical mood. Editors, I fear, have a genius for ruining Overtures and Opening Choruses.

They have also a periodic urge to add variety by selecting the less expert! And your inoffensive critic of the 1960 *Mikado* must candidly admit that he normally viewed Operas from the bridge of a muted viola, that he was only heard to sing on the road home from Nemi; and that the dresses on which he plied a needle were condemned as being too indiscreet. After that abject grovel in a characteristic Japanese attitude, he is still

prepared to comment on this latest production, though his eyes and ears were dulled by nostalgic preconceptions. The real measure of this *Mikado's* excellence is that by supper-time there was no longer the temptation to think condescendingly that the actors, at any rate, were enjoying themselves; we were in the grip of a first-rate production. And by the finale of Act II, independently of the heart-warming Albano, we were enthusiastically agreeing with Yum-Yum and Nanki-Poo, the threatened clouds had passed away, and we could not conceive of a performance in any place, at any time, where the principal parts had been more magnificently played.

Misty recollections were, however, inevitable. It was twenty-one years since that superb Palazzola *Mikado*, first put on at the end of a day, made irrelevantly historic by the felling of the cypress at the end of the garden, and by Hitler's postponement of the advance on Poland. By the time we toasted grand-dad Luigi at the second performance we had been six weeks at war, and the songs had consoled us for delayed or abandoned gite. They were yet to beguile the hours of evacuation, bring oriental elegance to the bunk-house life of Croft Lodge and add zest to the distemping of St Mary's Hall.

That is but the merest hint of what the Chorus of Nobles had to overcome when they strode haughtily into the Never-Never Land of Ko-Ko's residence, so delicately suggested by the stage managers and so charmingly illumined by the oft maligned electricians. It was essential, then, that these aristocrats should leave us in no doubt about their distinction of birth and voice. Yet they seemed rather shy of their colourful robes and were undeniably wobbly in their attitudes queer and quaint. Perhaps the hidden pianist had already secured our rapt attention and we were now tensely, almost hostilely expectant, only to be satisfied by instant perfection. In the old days, after the orchestra, practically anything got a thunderous ovation. Nor, apparently, do we have any more of those intimate first-nights when the cast could feel consciously above the criticism of the outcasts. Now the producer must send out his opening chorus, like so many opening batsmen, to face the unknown terrors of a medley of distinguished laymen who might possibly be musicians, ranks of Scots and Augustinians, transient Jubilarians and a bevy of englamoured tiny tots.

The solidly imperturbable Nanki-Poo strolled on just in time to stiffen the proceedings with his supple song, and the chorus responded with volume and vigour as his patriotic sentiment fired the blood, reminding them that Titipu warriors never quail. Pish-Tush joined us almost too casually, but I suspect that he was trying to appear nonchalant in a headgear which suggested the orphaned heiress in a Western stage-coach. Even Pooh-Bah, who knew he had scored an immediate success with the family pride which oozed from every pore, perambulated fretfully like the Palatine wolf, until he settled down to retail State Secrets in 'Young man, despair', and now we got the first impression of a well-drilled team, and the audience thawed. From this moment we became increasingly aware of the producer's guiding

hand controlling the grouping, movement and gestures, and this beautiful balance was never upset by that agile individualist Ko-Ko, whose entry swept almost physically through us. And what a brilliant Executioner he was, unswervingly right in every caper and intonation, still basking in the wonder of what favouring gales can do, bringing life to the farthest corner of the Cortile ! He and Pooh-Bah achieved near-genius in the sparkle they added to that old, old discussion of the wedding expenses, perfect in their timing of every phrase.

So we gallantly saluted the ladies. Would it be unchivalrous to hint that they seemed at first a trifle weary of the world rather than poised breathless on the brink of discovery ? For the note of bubbling gaiety we had to await those tunefully mischievous pussies, the three little maids, whose entry disappointed but who straightway made amends by infectious skittishness and their artless apology for any lack of deference when dealing with a Tremendous Swell. Yum-Yum and Nanki-Poo then flirted with unembarrassed tenderness and their duet was musically one of the Opera's gems, though the audience, as usual, was heartier in its approval of the restrained buffoonery in the succeeding Trio. My own undying memory of the night will surely be the ray of intelligence which gradually crept over Ko-Ko's face as he recognised in Nanki-Poo a heaven-sent substitute.

Both choruses were a credit to the slave-driving Conductor, Director and Musical Producer as we swept into the powerful Finale, and once again the Cortile rang with the rich tones of a hypnotically awe-inspiring Katisha ; each generation miraculously discovers its 'Elderly Lady', but none can have surpassed in venom this ferocious scorn for Yum-Yum's bright eye or dismissed us for the interval more chastened by the reverberating pathos of 'The hour of gladness is dead and gone'.

Suitably fortified we returned to admire the bridal toilet, always a difficult tableau on a curtainless stage, but gracefully dominated by Pitti-Sing. Yum-Yum held us in reverent silence, though the minions aloft might have helped her more ; and the Madrigal and Trio were just perfect. But the great achievement of the Act was the humane Mikado who had stature, presence and above all a creamy, benignly sadistic voice ; never was his resonance richer than when he savoured the humour of some lingering torment ; we could offer no adequate praise except that we now have a new standard by which all future *Mikados* must be judged. The impromptu corroborative detail of the Trio was wholly delicious, Pitti-Sing leaving us in no doubt about the soothing influence of her flirtatious eye. But from now to the end we could only murmur 'Perfect'—the Glee, the flowers of Spring, the exquisite anguish of 'Alone, and yet alive', Ko-Ko's versatility in 'Tit-Willow', and the tempestuous beauty of the thunderbolts.

To sum up ? It would be invidious to distribute bouquets amongst the principals who gave, on the whole, the best performance I have ever witnessed ; if a critical musician could find faults, they were certainly not evident to the man in the deck-chair. The choruses were at first timid, but

excellence was in sight and one longed to see a second performance ; for the talented producers who had given us so much enjoyment would surely add the finishing touch.

HUGH REYNOLDS.

26th *Friday*. The morning after the night before . . . Bleary-eyed Bodgers cleared the cortile, while others sat lazily on the terrace watching the Olympic rowing heats on the Lake. Gita groups were concerned to hear that for the next eight days there will be no more Laghi buses.

27th *Saturday*. The Swimming Gala was not as well attended as usual, and faces were pretty long when the infallible tea-brewer was infallibly late with the brew. Mr Grimshaw was the *Victor Ludorum*, and second was Mr Feeney.

28th *Sunday*. To lunch the Bishop of Frascati, and the Parroco, Sindaco, Vice-Sindaco and Segretario of the Rocca Comune.

Most of the Long Gita parties left during the afternoon, and some people went over to Propaganda to see a performance of *Murder in the Cathedral*.

29th *Monday*. The Oxford rowing eight at the Olympic Games came to call on Cardinal Heard.

Fr Wells arrived to stay.

30th *Tuesday*. Canon Bell and Canon Donnelly arrived to spend their holiday with us.

31st *Wednesday*. Half the remnants of the House went to Castel Gandolfo to watch the Olympic rowing and saw the British Coxless Fours set up a new world record in their heat.

Dr Wilcock left us to-day.

SEPTEMBER 1st *Thursday*. The visitors challenged the remnants of the House at cricket, and after a very amusing game the House won. Cardinal Heard left for England, and Fr Ashdowne returned to us.

2nd *Friday*. The *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* containing the new rubrics for the Breviary arrived, and will no doubt give plenty of scope to all our amateur rubricians.

3rd *Saturday*. Frs Rice, Lightbound and C. Murphy-O'Connor arrived to stay with us. Third Year Philosophy returned from their gita to Assisi.

4th *Sunday*. A match against a group of cadets from the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, resulted in a defeat for the College by a narrow margin.

5th *Monday*. One half of Second Year Philosophy left for Subiaco, followed on

6th *Tuesday* by the other half.

8th *Thursday*. The return of the Long Gita groups to the Villa.

9th *Friday*. On a freezing cold evening Dr Purdy managed to entice us on to the sforza to play cricket . . .

10th *Saturday*. Cricket match against the Embassy. The children from the Upper Villa had a fine time playing with the non-cricketing students. Dr Purdy, who has been staying with us, left to-day.

11th *Sunday*. Dr Leahy went back to England. In the morning, Alfredo's infant son was baptised in the church by the Rector. He was named Giuseppe Gerardo.

12th *Monday*. Good-bye to Dr Fee.

13th *Tuesday*. Dr Neary left us, and there was a farewell lunch for Dr Buckley, who has ended his fortnight's stay and is due to return to England.

14th *Wednesday*. A cricket match with the R.A.F. Association resulted in rather a decisive victory for the College.

Dr Buckley departed straight after lunch. We extend to him our very best wishes for his new work.

15th *Thursday*. We spent to-day entertaining the Scots College.

Fr Johnston, who has been staying with us, left for home.

16th *Friday*. Most people enjoyed the opportunity of having a 'fish gita'. One set of ultra-enthusiasts preferred to do the Castelli walk; for the benefit of the uninitiated I should explain that this involves making a tour of all the Castelli towns, tasting the wine of each place.

Frs Rice, Lightbound and Murphy-O'Connor left for home.

17th *Saturday*. A very high wind kept most people indoors, and caused the cancellation of a tennis match against Propaganda.

19th *Monday*. The visit of the American College was heralded by a tremendous storm, in the course of which the Villa was struck by lightning, and the lights failed. Some of our visitors were misdirected to the *Villa di Sopra*, where they were well entertained by the children before being passed on to their hosts for the day. Another group managed to persuade the driver of the local bus to drive them down the path to the door! Was it a case of a bribe, or a gun in the ribs?

To-day Fr Wells flew back to England, and we welcomed Fr Molloy.

20th *Tuesday*. Twenty or so students were entertained to-day at the Scots Villa; the *specialità* at lunch was a dish called by our hosts 'greasy pieces', and it was consumed in vast quantities by most of the guests.

Top Year began their diaconate retreat this evening.

21st *Wednesday*. Gitas for everyone to-day except for someone in second year Theology who was suffering from a surfeit of greasy pieces.

To supper Fr Kearney.

22nd *Thursday*. The realities of life were firmly before our eyes to-night, as Fr Ashdowne gave an introductory talk to next year's dogma course.

23rd *Friday*. In a golf match played on the *sforza* the Americans beat us $5\frac{1}{2}$ — $3\frac{1}{2}$.

To lunch Fr Long.

24th *Saturday*. See the fog lift from Faete ! Sorry, that was two years ago . . . I understand that the sunrise this morning was very beautiful. I am inclined to accept these things on faith.

Congratulations to Messrs Trevett, Chatterton, Jones, Linares, Lloyd, Robinson and Barker who received the diaconate this morning from Cardinal Traglia at San Marcello. Also to Mr Rice who was ordained Subdeacon.

26th *Monday*. The second performance of the Opera was dedicated to Madre Elena, who has been with us for a month. She will probably need another month to recover from the surprise. Our guests were the Americans.

28th *Wednesday*. A No Bell day. Thirty people went round to Castel Gandolfo to be entertained by the Americans.

The appearance of the Rome room-list reminded us that all good things must come to an end.

29th *Thursday*. Canon Bell and Canon Donnelly returned to England to-day. We hope very much they will be here again next year.

30th *Friday*. Wind and rain (obviously laid on by the liturgists in our midst) forced the cancellation of Vespers of St Michael at the Hermitage, transferred from yesterday *devotionis causa*.

OCTOBER 1st *Saturday*. We were reminded that the end of the Villa is only round the corner by the arrival of Enzo to take the first load of luggage back to Rome.

To lunch Sir John Rothenstein and Mr MacDermot.

2nd *Sunday*. A beautiful day ; the *Via dei Laghi* looked more than ever like the London to Brighton road on a Bank Holiday.

Major Utley came to lunch.

3rd *Monday*. The final day of a grand Villa. A question asked fairly widely to-day was : why did the Vice-Rector park his car in a ditch and hitch-hike back to Palazzola ? Over hot wine to-night, the Rector revealed that the new Philosophy Ripetitore is to be Fr Michael McConnon.

ROME

4th *Tuesday*. It had to come sooner or later—our return to Rome ! We arrived at the College to find that the entrails of the Vice-Rector's study had been strewn along the 'XLIV' corridor, while the room is being redecorated. The Rector confessed that he had no idea where the Vice was going to work for the time being.

5th *Wednesday*. Enter fifteen new men, all looking very fit, accompanied by old men looking generally overfed and in some cases quite gross !

Cardinal Heard returned this evening from England.

6th *Thursday*. Ha, ha ! The new men were introduced to afternoon walks with a vengeance : ten minutes after walk had begun, and everyone was well clear of the College, a storm broke and soaked us.

7th *Friday*. To lunch Frs Copleston S.J., Moverly, Rout and Hawkin.

At 7.15 we went into Retreat under the direction of Fr Kinsella, the Spiritual Director of the Scots College.

10th *Monday*. To supper came three tall, lean men in grey—two wearing the monastic scapular and the third in a grey cassock. Most of the students racked their brains trying to recall some religious order that wears grey—a fruitless speculation. By the end of the meal we had decided that it was all a huge practical joke, but we later discovered that our guests were Dom B. Orchard O.S.B., Dom P. Grant-Ferris O.S.B. and Fr Richards, of the 'Nile to Tiber Expedition'; they had had the grey clothes specially made to combat the heat of the Middle East.

To-day Fr Redmond arrived to stay with us.

13th *Thursday*. *Feast of St Edward*. The Retreat ended with the Te Deum after the Community Mass. The film that we were supposed to have in the evening was postponed, as the machine was not quite ready.

To lunch Cardinal Heard, Mgr Whitty, and Frs Redmond, Thornton and Braithwaite-Young.

14th *Friday*. Despite the weather, the first game of soccer of the season. Are you interested in archaeology? If so, join the little band of 'iding 'ole 'unters' who are busily undermining the foundations of the College. Any moment now the whole building should develop a definite tilt.

15th *Saturday*. In the morning the Mass of the Holy Ghost in Sant' Ignazio, and in the afternoon the Solemn Inauguration of the Academic Year at the Gregorian. The film machine arrived back in first-class condition.

16th *Sunday*. To lunch Mgr Lambrechts, and Frs O'Sullivan, Stevenson and Young. After supper, we had the St Edward's Day film: *The Wreck of the Mary Deare*, which was unusual and enjoyable. We were glad to welcome Mr Wilson, who has repaired the machine for us. It is working very well.

17th *Monday*. *Docetur in omnibus facultatibus*, and so back once more to the grindstone.

19th *Wednesday*. The Public Meeting, which finished all its business in one afternoon.

Their Lordships the Bishops of Shrewsbury, Salford and Clifton arrived to attend the opening of the new Beda College near St Paul's.

20th *Thursday*. To lunch Bishops Gallagher, Beck, Murphy and Rudderham, and Frs Lang and O'Callaghan. In the afternoon, ten senior members of the House were invited to attend a reception held at the Beda as part of the celebrations to mark the opening of the new College.

Fr Anglim returned from England this evening for a short spell. He looked quite warlike and was obviously prepared to defend his Canon Law thesis tooth and nail!

21st *Friday*. Bishop Murphy and Bishop Beck returned to England to-day.

It was with great joy that we heard that the coming ordination is to be held in the College Chapel.

24th *Monday*. To lunch Mgr O'Sullivan, Rector of the English College, Lisbon.

25th *Tuesday*. To-day we welcomed to lunch Bishop Wall. Fr Latham arrived to stay with us.

27th *Thursday*. Mass at the Catacombs, attended by a large number of people, including the whole of First Year except for one member who somehow got left behind.

Bishop Petit arrived for the ordination next Sunday. Others who arrived to-day were Fr Taylor, who is to be an assistant priest, and Fr McCannon, who has arrived to take up his post as Ripetitore.

28th *Friday*. Mass of Exposition for the Quarant' Ore at San Lorenzo. The Prime Analogate of all sciroccos made everyone feel most amiable . . .

29th *Saturday*. A day of vigorous activity for Sacristans and Bodgers, preparing for to-morrow's ordination; a day of recollection for second year Theology.

30th *Sunday*. Congratulations to Messrs Trevett, Chatterton, Lloyd, Jones, Robinson, Linares and Barker who were ordained this morning in the College Chapel by the Bishop of Menevia; congratulations also to Mr Rice, who received the diaconate, to Mr Harpin, dean of the Beda College, who received the subdiaconate, and to second year Theology who received First Minors. In the evening the film *Tiger Bay* gave everyone something to think about.

31st *Monday*. First Masses of the new priests. At this year's celebration dinner we had the pleasure of the company of the ordaining Prelate, who proposed the toast to the newly ordained.

NOVEMBER 2nd *Wednesday*. *All Souls' Day*. A number of people went to the Campo Verano in the afternoon to visit the graves of Bishop Giles and Canon Merrigan. The way the Romans remember their dead on this day is very impressive.

To lunch Fr P. Molinari S.J., Vice-Postulator of the cause of the Forty Martyrs.

4th *Friday*. The anniversary of the Holy Father's Coronation, and so a holiday. This evening the various candidates of the Provincial Elections finished off their campaign with much noise and verbiage.

6th *Sunday*. A Day of Recollection. The conference in the morning was given by Fr L. Orsy S.J., of the Canon Law Faculty at the University.

After supper, Mr Reginald Trevett, father of one of the new priests, gave the Literary Society a thought-provoking talk entitled '*The Reflections of a Layman*'. The speaker's handsome cloak, which he wore at supper, quickly became an object of admiration—and very soon afterwards of imitation too. It has been suggested that a cloak-stand should be installed outside the refectory . . .

7th *Monday*. To-day Fr Anglim, after gaining his Doctorate *summa cum laude*, returned to England. Our best wishes go with him.

8th *Tuesday*. Bishop Petit left us to return to Wales.

9th *Wednesday*. Archbishop Mathew came to lunch. His Grace is in Rome in connection with the coming Council.

10th *Thursday*. A Requiem Mass at Sant'Ignazio this morning for deceased professors and students of the University.

To lunch Dom Bernard Orchard O.S.B., this time not disguised in grey!

11th *Friday*. Remembrance Day. We attended the Requiem Mass at Sant'Andrea delle Fratte at 11 a.m. Sant'Andrea delle Fratte is temporarily the English church, while San Silvestro is undergoing extensive repairs. In the afternoon Bishop Dwyer arrived to attend the meetings of his Preparatory Commission for the coming Council.

12th *Saturday*. Dr McReavy arrived; he also has come to Rome in connection with the Council.

The C.I.G.S., Field Marshal Sir Francis Festing, accompanied by Lady Festing, paid a short visit to the College this evening.

13th *Sunday*. Bishop Beck, Mgr Davis and Fr Travers came this evening, also to attend meetings concerning the Council.

14th *Monday*. This morning the Holy Father received in audience all those who are taking part in pre-Council talks.

To lunch Cardinal Heard and Cardinal Gilroy, Archbishop Mathew, Bishop Beck, Bishop Dwyer, Mgr Davis, Dr McReavy, Fr Travers and the Superior of the Augustinians of the Assumption.

16th *Wednesday*. The annual book auction, which continued from yesterday; one got the impression that the auctioneer was using a slight natural deafness to good effect.

Bishop Beck, Bishop Dwyer and Fr Travers returned to England.

Fr Pritchard came to lunch to-day.

18th *Friday*. The second appearance of Fr Pritchard—he arrived to spend his holiday with us.

This evening Fr Orsy S.J. took up his post as our Spiritual Director.

19th *Saturday*. The Nuns' *fešta*. After tea the Rector gave Benediction, accompanied by the Schola, which sang from a 'stacked-up' position on the back stairs. Afterwards, members of the Schola, the Sacristans and others entertained the Nuns with a medley of English and Italian songs.

20th *Sunday*. Splash! Fr Pritchard went in the Tank (quite voluntarily!).

21st *Monday*. A Long Afternoon. About seventy people went to the Villa, where there were two attractions: watching Fr Pritchard and an American friend in the Tank, or pelting the Vice-Rector with acorns. I am told the Vice-Rector was definitely the aggressor.

22nd *Tuesday*. This afternoon the Colleges' XV played rugger against a newly-formed team, Admiral Roma. The Colleges lost 14—10.

23rd *Wednesday*. Most people went to the Vatican to greet Mr MacMillan and Lord Home as they went to see the Pope.

24th *Thursday*. We all went to the Hall of Benedictions for a *Conventus Cleri Romani*. As things turned out, there was not enough room for all the *Clerici Romani*, and so a good half of us were turned away.

So many people have been taking an interest in the activities of Fr Pritchard that he has been obliged to publish a Movement Bulletin in the Common Room.

25th *Friday*. *Feast of Saint Catherine*. *Buona festa* to all Philosophers. At coffee and liquori the Rector extended an official welcome to the New Men: Messrs David Turton (Portsmouth), Richard Ashton (Brentwood), Dominic Round (Birmingham), Vincent Brennan (Shrewsbury), Anthony Jones (Menevia), John Ainslie (Clifton), Brian Fegan (Brentwood), Peter Doyle (Salford), Brian McEvoy (Clifton), John Holleran (Lancaster), Brendan Howling (Nottingham), James O'Malley (Birmingham), Peter Fuller (Brentwood) and Max Price (Clifton). Also to Mr Peter Cookson (Liverpool), who has joined first year Theology. The Rector took the opportunity to welcome Fr McConnon too. We had three good speeches from the New Men, and then by popular request Fr McConnon took the floor; Fr McConnon was followed by Fr Pritchard.

To supper came Bishop Holland and Major Utley. After supper we thoroughly enjoyed a very original Philosophers' Concert, of which the grand climax was a Pathetic Symphony for orchestra and chorus, in which the whole of Philosophy took part.

PHILOSOPHERS' CONCERT, 1960

FIRST YEAR SONG

OVERTURE TO 'CARMEN' . . . Messrs Brand and O'Malley

IT HAPPENED ONE THURSDAY Messrs Feben, Dann, Purdue, J.
Kelly, Brennan, Turton, Price, Dodd

THE VALE OF JOSAPHAT

Arranged by Messrs Hodgetts and Wahle

REGINA V. MORANDINI

Messrs Brand, Everley, Kenney, Fuller, Dodd,
Ashton, Fegan, Coughlan, Crampton, Wade,
Turton, Feeney, McEvoy, Gath, A. Jones.

BERTIE'S BAPTISM

Messrs Hollis, Garnett, Ainslie, Wade

THOSE WERE THE DAYS Mr Corbould

PATHETIC SYMPHONY FOR ORCHESTRA AND CHORUS
Everyone, conducted by Mr Brand

Compères : Messrs Burns and Finn
General Producer : Mr Brand

26th *Saturday*. A *Dies Non*. The soccer team lost 3—5 to the Brazilian College.

27th *Sunday*. And to-day the 2nd XI lost 2—3 to the American 1st XI.

30th *Wednesday*. First Year Philosophy looked relieved at supper to-night : they had spent the evening impressing Fr Morandini with their knowledge of Minor Logic.

At 9.30 we venerated the Relic of Blessed Ralph Sherwin.

DECEMBER 1st *Thursday*. *The Feast of the College Martyrs*. The Rector sang High Mass, and the Schola were in good form, giving a splendid rendering of '*Beati Eritis*' by Joannes Croce.

To lunch came Mgri Backman, Rogers, Clapperton, McCabe, Frs Gill s.J., Coffey s.J., Anstruther O.P., Pears, Marshall, Kinsella, Purdy, McEwan, Zryd and Pritchard.

After supper we saw the film *I Was Monty's Double*, which was quite good but petered out towards the end.

2nd *Friday*. A significant day for Rome—Canterbury relations : the visit of Dr Fisher to the Holy Father. In the evening four people from the top of the House went to a reception for the Archbishop at the British Embassy.

3rd *Saturday*. A gita, and we were blessed with beautiful weather. The hearties were hearty, the slugs sluggish, and the rest enjoyed themselves.

4th *Sunday*. A Day of Recollection. Colonel Fairley, a journalist and novelist, came to lunch.

8th *Thursday*. *The Feast of the Immaculate Conception*. To lunch came Canon Wanstall, Fr Pears, Fr Orsy s.J., General Villani, Mr Bamford, Mr Compton and Mr Suter.

9th *Friday*. Wing-Comdr Grant-Ferris M.P., came to supper ; this evening we said good-bye to Fr Pritchard.

11th *Sunday*. The Colleges' XV played Rugby Lazio, and lost 17—11. There was a function at San Lorenzo this evening to mark the Cardinalatial Silver Jubilee of Cardinal Copello.

12th *Monday*. To lunch came Archbishop Roberts s.J., Fr Barratt s.J. and Fr Orsy s.J.

15th *Thursday*. At lunch to-day we saw Fr McEnnerny s.J., Rector of Melbourne Seminary, Fr McIlhenny s.J. and Fr Anstruther O.P.

16th *Friday*. A card arrived this evening from 'Cousin Nellie'; the Rector explained to us after supper that it was not *his* Cousin Nellie, and that he would rather like someone to claim the relationship.

18th *Sunday*. Pictures have begun to reappear in the Common Room and along the adjoining corridor on the garden side. We were quite expecting another hole in the wall to appear as the Rector, assisted by the Senior Student, swung his hammer with great gusto.

19th *Monday*. The Quarant' Ore began this evening with the Mass of Exposition at 6 p.m. Those hardy theologians who volunteered for night watching had the company of our annual visitor, the old man with a beard.

20th *Tuesday*. The Mass for Peace—celebrated for the last time, as it has been suppressed by the new Rubrics.

21st *Wednesday*. After the Mass of Reposition the lights failed, and we were forced to eat our supper by candlelight. In the flickering twilight we were reprimanded for our formation (or rather lack of it) in White Choir; a hint was dropped that there might be lessons in elementary counting for theologians. (Predicamental or transcendental numbers?)

22nd *Thursday*. After breakfast many students attended a Ukrainian Mass in the main Chapel.

The stage was hauled out of the cellar by a few muscular types, while the Common Room Man and his henchmen retired to Palazzola on the pretext of collecting holly.

23rd *Friday*. The last day of lectures till the New Year. After third lecture we ventured once more on to the University stage, after an absence of some years. An augmented Schola sang *In dulci Jubilo* during the carol concert, and got a good reception.

After tea, most people gave a hand with the decoration of the Common Room, while Bodgers merrily bodged and idle Electricians made a perfect nuisance of themselves as usual . . .

24th *Saturday*. Why was the Panto producer wearing such a glum expression at lunch? Something to do with the morning's dress rehearsal perhaps?

The Choirmaster agreed that despite the odd fault here and there in the accuracy of notes, the Midnight Office was performed with spirit. The *Hebdomadarius* at Lauds intoned the *Deus in adiutorium* on a note that started in the rafters and disappeared through the skylight; nevertheless the choir returned the note with interest.

25th *Sunday*. *Christmas Day*. In the early hours of the morning—while carols were being sung in the Common Room in fact—one could deduce from the clouds of smoke billowing up the stairs from the cellars that something was burning. The Vice-Rector had to call the fire-brigade, and once the *pompieri* arrived the fire was soon put out. In the morning there was an apocryphal story going around that the Rector, when told there was a fire, had replied 'Nonsense!' and had gone back to sleep . . .

In the evening Fr Morris, who is spending some days with us, and Fr Orsy S.J. came to the Pantomime, which was enjoyed by all.

CHRISTMAS PANTOMIME, 1960

'ROBIN HOOD AND HIS MERRY SPLINTER GROUP'

<i>Robin Hood</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Burns
<i>Friar Tuck</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Linares
<i>Alan-a-Donergan</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Papworth
<i>Will Scarlet</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Sharratt
<i>Much</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Finn
<i>Little John</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Corley
<i>Guard</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr A. Jones
<i>Nat Packet, Sheriff of Nottingham</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Pateman
<i>His Wife</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Wahle
<i>Maid Marion, his Daughter</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Grimshaw
<i>Major Blunder</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Richardson
<i>Mirabel</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Hodgetts and Mr Fuller	
<i>King John</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Hollis
<i>King Richard the Lion Heart</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Lloyd
<i>Soldier 1</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr McGarry
<i>Soldier 2</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Doyle
<i>Soldier 3</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Howell
<i>Doctor</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Wilcox
<i>Mr Bennett</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Bennett

Pianist : Mr O'Malley

Music : Mr Papworth

Producer : Mr Hine

26th Monday. *Boxing Day*. The film, for those who stayed in this evening, was called *Sergeant Rutledge*; it was a Western with a difference, since it brought in the colour problem. Many people went to see a first-rate performance of *H.M.S. Pinafore* at the Scots College.

27th Tuesday. This evening we had *Blithe Spirit* by Noel Coward, a good play which was very capably acted.

ST JOHN'S DAY CONCERT, 1960

'BLITHE SPIRIT'

By Noel Coward

<i>Edith</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Tuck
<i>Ruth Condomine</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Kirkham
<i>Charles Condomine</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Garnett
<i>Doctor Bradman</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Turton
<i>Mrs Bradman</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Corbould
<i>Madame Arcati</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Hately
<i>Elvira</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mr Dann

Producer : Mr O'Loughlin

28th *Wednesday*. A quiet day, except of course for Stage-men, Props-men, Scene-painters and those connected with the dress rehearsal of to-morrow's play. In the evening many people went to plays at other Colleges.

Mgr Iggleden, Rector of Wonersh, and Fr Paul Clark, two very welcome annual visitors, arrived this evening to spend the rest of the holiday with us.

29th *Thursday*. *Feast of Saint Thomas of Canterbury*. To lunch H.E. Sir Peter Scarlett, British Minister to the Holy See, Archbishop O'Connor and Archbishop Mathew, Monsignori Moodie, Mostyn, Clapperton, Duchemin, McDaid, Hemmick, Rogers, Emenegger, Flanagan, Herlihy, Carroll-Abbing and Iggleden, Sir D'Arcy Osborne, Mr MacDermot, Major Utley, Mr Sherwood, Frs Smith, Cunningham, Morris, Bissonette, Purdy and Clark.

In the evening we enjoyed Agatha Christie's *Ten Little Niggers*.

ST THOMAS' DAY CONCERT, 1960

'TEN LITTLE NIGGERS'

By Agatha Christie

<i>Rogers</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr P. W. Jones
<i>Narracot</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Howling
<i>Mrs Rogers</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Round
<i>Vera Claythorne</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Price
<i>Philip Lombard</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Ainslie
<i>Anthony Marston</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Armour
<i>William Blore</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Rice
<i>General Mackenzie</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Nash
<i>Emily Brent</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Everley
<i>Sir Lawrence Wargrave</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Brand
<i>Dr Armstrong</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Holleran

Producer : Mr Butler

30th *Friday*. The film which was shown after tea, *The League of Gentlemen*, was a reasonable comedy, and one or two parts were very funny.

31st *Saturday*. The Old Year was seen out in traditional style : by ourselves, with Fair Night in the Common Room, and by the Italians with bombs and sundry other high explosives at midnight.

JANUARY 1st, 1961. *Sunday*. Fr Paul Clark sang High Mass. The Cantors, failing to agree on notes in the middle of the Alleluia, went on strike for the length of a neum or two, but were all singing again by the next vertical episema . . .

To lunch Frs Pears, Walsh S.J., Copleston S.J. and Orsy S.J.

To-night's play provided most people with a laugh.

NEW YEAR'S DAY CONCERT, 1961
'ARSENIC AND OLD LACE'

By Joseph Kesselring

<i>Abby Brewster</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Kenney
<i>The Rev. Dr Harper</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Coote
<i>Teddy Brewster</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Budd
<i>Officer Brophy</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr P. J. Jones
<i>Officer Klein</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Dodd
<i>Martha Brewster</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Feben
<i>Elaine Harper</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Coughlan
<i>Mortimer Brewster</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Fegan
<i>Mr Gibbs</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Dearman
<i>Jonathan Brewster</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Feeney
<i>Dr Einstein</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Trevett
<i>Officer O'Hara</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Brennan
<i>Lieutenant Rooney</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr J. Kelly
<i>Mr Witherspoon</i>	.	.	.	.	Mr Newns

Accessories : Mr Tully

Producer : Mr White

2nd *Monday*. By the concession of the Rector of the University, we had a day's grace before returning to lectures. During the morning the resurrection of *The Mikado* began.

3rd *Tuesday*. Off to work we go ! After a short-lived reign, the Universal Ordo was banished, and the Roman Ordo returned once more.

4th *Wednesday*. Something to interest ex-Bodgers. You remember that poor sun-can, which about four years ago suffered severe damage when it collided with a Bodger's hammer ? You recall how carefully it was stuck together again by the Electricians ? Well, I am afraid that to-day it met its final doom beneath the size thirteen boot of the second Electrician.

5th *Thursday*. I have almost come to the end of my chronicle, but before I leave you I feel I must introduce you to a person who has recently stolen the limelight—the Understudy. In normal, everyday life he is a quiet man, but he is well known for his strong views on G. & S. Alas, to-day we must record his undoing . . . Pooh-Bah lost his voice, and despite fierce potions from the Infirmary failed to recover it. Our friend the Understudy was betrayed by his ready wit ; he was only joking when he volunteered to sing the part, but before he could wipe the smile from his face he was being hauled along to the Music Room to be taught how to sing 'Tra-la-la-la' etc. The poor man spent the rest of the day swallowing his principles as fast as those around could feed them to him . . .

6th *Friday*. *The Feast of the Epiphany*. High Mass was sung by Mgr Iggledden. To lunch came Fr Swain S.J., Canon B. Kershaw, Frs Clark, Walsh S.J., Orsy S.J., Anstruther O.P. and Moan O.S.B.

The third performance of the Opera was very enjoyable—and the Understudy is to be congratulated on doing his job very well indeed.

CHRISTOPHER BUDD.

PERSONAL

We are very happy to welcome to Rome Her Majesty's new Minister to the Holy See, His Excellency Sir Peter Scarlett. His Excellency was formerly Ambassador in Oslo. He paid his first visit to the College on St Thomas' Day, when he was entertained to luncheon. In reply to the Rector's speech of welcome, Sir Peter thanked everyone for the warmth of the welcome he had received in Rome, and assured us of whatever help and co-operation he could offer in his new position.

In October the Beda College moved into its new buildings near St Paul's outside the Walls. The new building is of somewhat severe modern design but is very well planned, and provides a pleasant contrast to the previous rather limited quarters in the centre of the City. It must be very gratifying to the Rector, staff and students that after experiencing several temporary homes they are now at last permanently settled. The opening ceremony was performed by Pope John himself, and Cardinals Canali, Pizzardo and Heard were present, besides many Bishops from England and Scotland and a number of past students.

After several years at the College as Ripetitore in Philosophy, Dr Michael Buckley returned to Leeds last summer. An indefatigable worker, Dr Buckley did not spare himself in his efforts for the Philosophers; far from being a distant figure, he took an intense personal interest in those under his charge, rejoicing in their successes, and encouraging those who found the going difficult. We miss his bracing presence; we wish him many years of fruitful work in England.

In the autumn we were glad to welcome Dr Buckley's successor, Fr Michael McConnon S.T.L. (1947-54), who now occupies the Philosopher's Tower. We hope he will spend many years in his new work at the College—

and to judge from the multitude of boxes of books that were carried up to the top floor, Fr McConnon intends to make full use of the coming years. To turn from the academic sphere to that of sport, we look forward to seeing him exercising his golfing skill during the summer months.

This autumn also we welcomed our new Spiritual Director, Fr Laszlo Orsy S.J. Fr Orsy is from Hungary, and last October he took up his post as a Professor in the Canon Law Faculty at the Gregorian. He knows England and the English extremely well, having spent several years in parish work in England; he has just completed two years reading Law at Oxford, after having taken his Canon Law Doctorate at the Gregorian. We trust he will be our Spiritual Director for a long time to come—and we hope that one day we may get to know as much as he does about the English Martyrs and the early English Saints!

COLLEGE NOTES

THE VENERABLE

Editor : Mr Chestle
 Sub-Editor : Mr Butler
 Fifth Member : Mr Wahle

Secretary : Mr Tully
 Under-Secretary : Mr Finn
 Sixth Member : Mr Brennan

ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL

We started the season with high hopes of playing our regular games at Acqua Acetosa, where the groundsman promised to find us a pitch if we would write to C.O.N.I. for their permission. Our formal application to the sports committee, however, evoked no reply. There is better news from Pam, where the meadow has been ploughed and harrowed, prior to rolling and sowing. The wet weather before Christmas delayed this work for several weeks, but we are still hoping to be able to use the pitch at the start of next season.

So far we have played seven House games and five outside matches, of which one has been won, one drawn and three lost. We have had to find replacements for four members of last year's team, three of them forwards. This has been a slow process, and only recently have we found a winning combination.

Our first match was against the Brazilians, whom we had not played for three years. Unfortunately a 'warming-up' match the previous week had had to be postponed, and so the team by no means disgraced itself by losing 3—5. Three of our opponents' goals came in the opening minutes of the second half, a period which has been our downfall in many recent games—one remembers the Scots game of 1959. Apart from this black spell, we played fast, open soccer which seemed to augur well for the future.

The only other fixture before Christmas was against the North American College, at whose request we put out a 2nd XI. The Americans eventually won a game which was most exciting and enjoyable—for both the players and a large crowd of spectators—by 3 goals to 2. After a long period of inactivity over Christmas, we continued the season with a match against the Servites, who beat us 3—0. Not surprisingly, there was little cohesion between the forwards and backs, and although everyone tried hard no one could find his true form. In fact the only reason for remembering this game is that it was the turning point in our fortunes. A week later we

played some delightful football against Propaganda, who nevertheless managed to hold us to a 1—1 draw. A muddy surface and a heavy drizzle brought smiles from several of the players, though not from the spectators, who also had to endure the sight of chance after chance being wasted in front of goal. If only our shooting had been up to the standard of our approach play we might easily have scored double figures.

The French provided us with our sole victory to date, by 2 goals to nil. On their small, firm pitch we played some attractive soccer, although our finishing left much to be desired. If this weakness can be overcome in the second half of the season the Scots are going to have a hard afternoon's work in March.

The following have represented the College this season : Messrs Burns and Crampton ; Cunningham, Doyle, Finn and Howling ; Rice, St Aubyn, McGarry, Corley, Feeney, Sharratt and Kenney ; Creasey, Gath, Howell, Everley, Fuller, Linares, Hine, Dearman, Brennan and Fegan.

MICHAEL CORLEY.

RUGBY FOOTBALL

For the last few years rugby has been declining in popularity in the College. This year however has seen the arrival of several very keen players, and although the total numbers playing in House games may be smaller than before, general interest is much more apparent. Unfortunately there are only five regular players in the House above Second Year Philosophy. Our thanks are therefore due to Propaganda, the Rosminians and the Scots College for making up numbers for House games. To add to the difficulties, rain caused the cancellation of a good many games before Christmas and immediately afterwards ; for ten weeks our *permesso* was refused at Acqua Acetosa.

We were sorry to learn that two Roman teams of long standing—Rugby Roma and A.S. Roma had disbanded. But between them they have managed to form a new team called 'Admiral Roma', which we encountered in our first match. We lost 10—14. We also played against Rugby Lazio and lost 11—17, but we had learned to play a much more attacking game, and in a return match after Christmas we were able to hold them to a 5—5 draw. A few more matches are due to be played before the end of the season.

The scrum is at last beginning to take shape after much practice, and can now beat most sides in the tight, and also in the line-outs ; this gives a better chance to our Australian and New Zealander centres, who are rarely stopped once they get going.

The following have played for the College so far this season : Messrs Rice (*Capt.*), Creasey, Hine, Coote, Wilcox, Feeney, Fuller, Fegan, Doyle, Ashton and Round.

ANTHONY WILCOX.

OBITUARY

THE VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR JOHN CREGG D.D., PH.D.

All who knew Mgr John Cregg will have been saddened by his untimely death. He was one of those rare people who could bring cheer into the gloomiest environment. A ready and kindly wit, brilliant in repartee, a penetrating sense of humour, he could always see the ludicrous side of any untoward happening. His fund of stories, many against himself, was inexhaustible. Unsurpassed as an after-dinner speaker, he was sure to give the clergy good entertainment whenever he got up to propose a toast. Not that he was merely humorous ; he could mix the serious as the occasion required and sum up a person or situation in the most telling of phrases. Everybody who made his acquaintance was captivated by his personality, and people were almost proud to be known as among his friends. Even during his long sickness it was a cheering experience to visit him. One could be sure of some bright remark, some amusing story. No need for any effort to keep the conversation flowing—he would take care of that, and never did he complain or show any indications of self-pity. He appeared to be much more interested in your problems than in his own. Clergy gatherings will be so much the less hilarious because of his absence.

Born in 1902, a native of Stone, Mgr Cregg was educated at Cotton, arriving in Rome in 1920 with two other Cottonians, the late Canon Burrows and Michael Sullivan. 'Eggy', as he was already called, was immediately at home. Study came easily to him, and he enjoyed a game of football in Pam. A born mimic who tended to act the stories he told, he was indispensable for any Common Room farce. Wherever there was laughter, he was likely to be present. The story of 'Sully' triumphantly describing his altercation with some Italians '. . . and I told them they were all tarred with the same brush', and the comment—he was more fluent than the rest in our first year, 'Sully, what's the Italian for tar?' has gone down in

history. John Cregg bore a resemblance to Pope Benedict XV, and with the death of that Pope in 1922 and the election of Pius XI a wave of enthusiasm for mock papal processions pervaded the Common Room. Time after time he was hoisted aloft in an arm-chair and borne in state till the 'Anti-clericals' would arise to wreck the proceedings. This obituary might easily have been written many years ago, for on one occasion in the scuffle which ensued he was nearly pitched through the window to the cortile below. Ordained in 1927, he left with the double doctorate of those days, and he always retained the happiest memories of the Venerabile.

He was never a curate; sometimes he mentioned this with regret. His first appointment was to Oscott, where for three years he lectured in philosophy. It was there that he formed a lifelong friendship with another outstanding Roman, Mgr Bird, then Vice-Rector, for whom he had the greatest respect, admiration and affection. Just before his death he remarked that if when he got to the other side he saw 'Dicky', he would know he was in the right place. Whilst still lecturing he was given charge of Boldmere, a nearby growing parish with a church built by Cardinal Wiseman, though as a Sunday chapel it was far too small for the congregation, which heard Mass in the newly constructed parish hall. On leaving Oscott to give more time to Boldmere, he moved into the old presbytery, a dreary, comfortless cottage. But comfort never seemed to worry him, though in due course he went into a better house on a nearby site purchased for a new church.

Those eleven years at Boldmere were the happiest days of his life. He loved parish work and was an excellent parish priest. Preaching had no difficulties for him; he could hold the attention of any congregation—among other things he was so apt with his illustrations. His instructions to children were masterpieces. Visiting he enjoyed and he did it thoroughly. As he was the kindest and most approachable of priests, nobody ever hesitated to knock at his door. All were sure of a cheerful greeting, no matter how trivial their business, and nothing ever seemed too much trouble for him. Left to himself, he would no doubt have remained in Boldmere for the rest of his life, but the war intervened and he felt it his duty to volunteer as a military chaplain. He had no particular inclination for army life and was relieved when he was told he would not be needed. However, when two years later he was informed he would be needed after all, he responded immediately, though it was with reluctance that he said good-bye to the parish.

Army life had no fears for him, despite his lack of a military figure. He was so essentially a man's man and a good mixer. He could talk to and be at his ease with anybody—and the fiercest of colonels couldn't help but be won over by his disarming smile and bon mot. Certainly, were anyone imprudent enough to try to take advantage of him, he could reply with some apparently innocent but almost devastating remark. Iraq and Italy were his main postings, though, as he said later, never once did he see a shot fired in anger.

After demobilisation in 1946 he was to enjoy only three more years of really active life. Two were spent in Perry Common, a Birmingham suburban parish, where he was Spiritual Director for Oscott and a Diocesan Religious Inspector of schools. He was then appointed to Stafford as Rural Dean. Here it was that he broke down in health. He had a very serious attack of tuberculosis which inflicted such damage on his lungs that he was never a healthy man again. Nearly three years in a sanatorium and a long convalescence at Coleshill were needed before he was fit enough for a convent chaplaincy at Harborne where he spent the last eight years of his life. They were not easy or comfortable years. Everything was a strain; it took little to put him to bed, and there was one serious and painful operation which necessitated his return to the sanatorium for a while. Above all he missed parish life. It was during this period that he acted as Ecclesiastical Correspondent for church students.

In March 1960 he was made a Privy Chamberlain. Congratulations poured in from every side, for he was perhaps the most popular priest in the diocese. This was the last time he appeared at any public gathering, for his heart had begun to rebel against the strain imposed by the condition of his lungs, and a rapid deterioration set in. His keen sense of priestly vocation and a deep spirituality had been obvious throughout his life; long years of sickness had made evident his patience. The last few months, when he was often gasping for breath, brought out his courage. To the end he would try to joke, even when he could hardly speak. He was always a humble man, perhaps at times too diffident about his abilities. There was something both typical and touching in his request to be buried as near as possible to Mgr Bird, for he felt sure people would never cease to visit his friend's grave, and would possibly notice his own and add a prayer for him. He died on 15th January 1961, just after his fifty-ninth birthday, at Selly Park Convent, nursed by the nuns who had been so good to him both here and at Coleshill. Archbishop Grimshaw, a friend from Roman days and a constant visitor during his illness, sang the Requiem. A sterling priest and a grand friend, he will be missed by many. May he rest in peace.

ROBERT NICHOLSON.

THE VERY REVEREND CANON JOHN GOODEAR PH.D.

John Goodear died rather suddenly in the early morning of 30th December 1960. A heart attack a few days previously had resulted in bed—on doctor's orders. But no one thought it was serious—not even apparently John himself. But he did foresee the possibility of being condemned to live his life at half-pressure, and this led him to write to his Bishop begging that, in such an event, he should be allowed to retire—to grow roses. 'Please', he wrote, 'do not send me a curate', and he listed four reasons for this request, the third of which ran: 'If he is a better priest

than I am, I might be jealous ; if he is not so good, the worry would make me worse.' A few hours later he was dead. A characteristic letter, in which can be seen his own humility, even diffidence, but with it a lightness of heart—perhaps his most discernible natural traits.

He came to the Venerable in 1919, as one of that large influx at the end of the First War, which almost threatened to swamp the College. From the start, he showed where his natural abilities lay. Sport was not for him—though he enjoyed a game, and once nearly lost his life in the lake. His line was writing, and he had a considerable hand in the beginning of *THE VENERABLE*—in 1922 he was Sub-Editor, and from 1924 to 1926 he edited the Magazine. He was also a regular contributor, and did one of the earliest *Romanesques*.

Ordained in February 1926, he returned to England in the July of that year. With the exception of the six years 1946–52, the whole of his priestly life was spent in Birkenhead, until, after a serious illness in 1959, he took over St Hilda's, Northenden.

Those who knew him best always regretted that he did not give freer rein to his talents—we felt that he could have done so much good. He was diffident about his own powers, and had no ambition to make a name for himself. But—was that the reason for his reluctance to write ? I wonder. He was before all else conscious of his priestly vocation. This was *his* business—to look after people—to chide them if necessary—and with what a delightful humour he could do this ! to lead them, to minister to them. No 'fireworks' ; just a steady, devoted parish priest, with a deep concern for his people—and an abiding respect for them—'the folk are marvellous' he said.

The number who came to assist at his funeral Mass was perhaps the best testimonial to the value of his priestly life and work.

Our normal correspondence was confined to the exchange of Christmas cards, with a very brief message written thereon. In 1959 for the first time, his did not arrive—his first illness was upon him. Last Christmas, one came, signed 'J. Goodear—redivivus'. May that be true in a higher sense than he then imagined.

✠ JOSEPH, *Bishop of Clifton.*

THE VERY REVEREND CANON BOWMAN ALEXANDER SHORT

The writer was the last priest to see and speak to Canon Short before his sudden death on 28th December last year. My first recollection of him dates back more than fifty years : I dimly remember him, a boy in his early teens, setting out for the English College, Lisbon, from St Catherine's School, Nottingham. He spoke about his autograph album, the fashion of those days ; my last memory is of a tired man who had struggled through the Christmas work and felt in need of a rest.

He was transferred from Lisbon to the Venerabile in 1913, the year that Cardinal Heard and Mgr Redmond arrived at the College. Other classmates of the same year, Frs O'Keefe and Walshe, predeceased him. He thus passed the difficult years of the First War in Rome, one of a diminishing number of students which included the present Bishop of Nottingham and the late Dr B. Grimley, his co-diocesans. No one seems to know the origin of his unusual Christian name Bowman, by which he was known all his life ; it certainly did not admit of any diminutives—no doubt it was in some way a family name.

He appreciated in a solid, undemonstrative fashion the formative years in Rome. He was one of a generation who could speak from experience of the humour of Fr Bucceroni and the Americanisms of Fr Maxey, which, like the quips of many another Professor before and since, enlivened the drab surroundings of the Palazzo Borromeo. Although a hard and steady worker, he was not able to satisfy the Examiners on 'The Day', and thus failed to secure the academic prize of the Gregorian course of studies.

On the lighter side he was one of the handy men who are thrown up by Providence in any generation to wind the clock and mend fuses, a quality which developed in later life into a passion and boyish enthusiasm for the latest gadgets. It is amusing to recall that his presbytery was fitted with a special make of door-handles, difficult to open ; nevertheless he was one of the few priests in the Diocese to suffer burglary.

On his return to Nottingham in 1920 he was appointed by Bishop Dunn to St Augustine's ; then to St Patrick's, Leicester, where he took an active part in the building of a new Church Hall, in those days more than now a great achievement. Later he passed a few happy years at St Mary's, Derby, before he began his life's work at Bulwell, Nottingham, where he laboured for thirty-four years. This sprawling mining suburb had had a varied Catholic history ; previous attempts had been made to establish a parish, but lack of priests and resources had caused progress to be slow. The first semi-permanent building was an Army hut erected by the late Mgr Henson, who also built a bungalow for the priest's residence. Here Canon Short was sent in 1926, on the eve of the great industrial depression, well before the days of Pools and Tombola. He encouraged the existing hard core of faithful Catholics, while working on the numbers who had grown careless owing to the distance from other parishes, churches and schools. His heart was set upon the building of a worthy church and the raising of the necessary funds, no easy task in those days of low wages and unemployment. We are so used to building churches and schools these days that it is hard to remember the difficulty and rarity of expansion in the pre-war years. However, he had plans prepared for a dignified church in a style which brought back some memories of the Roman Station Churches. This was opened in 1935 and finally consecrated in 1951. In the meantime an adequate presbytery had been built, also a Parish Hall, in addition to the foundation of a convent of Poor Clares. Only one thing was missing

from the perfection of a Catholic parish—a school ; but this was added three years ago, the happy crown of thirty years' work.

Latterly Canon Short had been the Bishop's representative in negotiations with the Local Education Authority, and he also had contacts with the B.B.C. He was nominated an Honorary Canon in 1951, and was later elevated to the Chapter—a fitting recognition of devoted service to the Church in his native city.

He was not called upon to bear the tedium of a long illness ; he felt tired for a few weeks, and he certainly had to struggle through Midnight Mass, but he hoped to feel refreshed after a week or two away from the parish, which, by the way, he had rarely left. I called to see him on the Feast of the Holy Innocents to speak of old times and current problems and of his present weariness, which he believed would pass. But that was not to be : he collapsed late that night and died the somewhat lonely death that is the lot of so many priests. May Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, the Patroness of his church, to whom he had a deep and manly devotion, intercede for him before the throne of her Divine Son.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

THE JOHN HARDMAN STUDIOS



ARTISTS AND CRAFTSMEN
for
STAINED GLASS WINDOWS
and all forms of
CHURCH DECORATIONS AND
FURNISHINGS IN PAINT, WOOD
STONE, MARBLE AND MOSAICS



43 Newhall Hill
Birmingham 1
Tel. : Central 5434

Rookley, Shenley Hill
Radlett, Herefordshire
Tel. : Radlett 6412

GIUSEPPE AZZALIN

for

TYPEWRITERS

OFFICE EQUIPMENT

REPAIRS

ACCESSORIES

FREE AFTER SALES SERVICE

Call at—**VIA PIE' MARMO 9.**

Telephone: **672968.**

D. A. NEVILLE & Co., Ltd.

TAILORS

Specialising in Cassocks and
all Branches of Clerical
Clothing and Outfitting



39 John Dalton Street, MANCHESTER 2

Phone: **BLAckfriars 7928**

Altar Wines

Fully Certificated and Guaranteed

Authorised by the Archbishops and Bishops
of England, Scotland and Wales.

- * Qualities and prices to suit all tastes.
- * We also stock fine quality table wines including Orvieto as well as Port and Sherry etc.
- * All orders of six bottles and over carriage paid.
- * Assorted cases made up as desired.
- * Write for our Price List quoting this advertisement.

Standish & Co. (Wine Merchants) Ltd.

3 Tithebarn Street :: :: Liverpool 2
(Cellars : GEORGE STREET)

TELEPHONE NO - CENTRAL 7968

HOTEL PENSIONE COSMOPOLITA

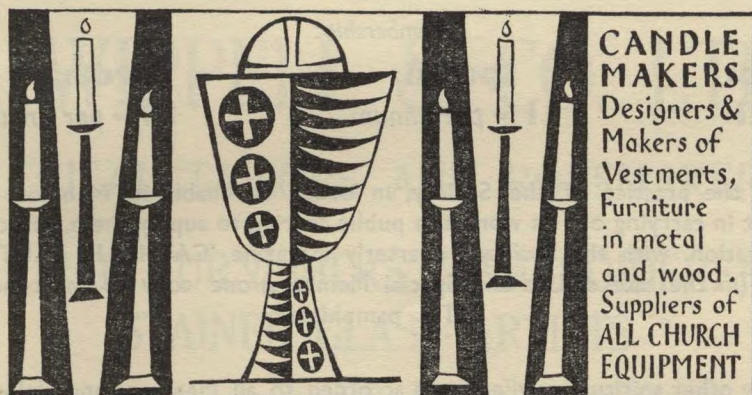
Ex Nazionale

ROMA - VIA 4 NOVEMBRE 114

Near PIAZZA VENEZIA

Tel: 65525 - 683183

Grams: COSMHOTEL



HAYES & FINCH LTD.



LIVERPOOL, 2: 30-38 Vernon St (off Dale St), Liverpool.
LONDON: 268/270 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1.
BIRMINGHAM, 3: 73 Cornwall Street.
MANCHESTER, 1: 33 Dale Street.
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, 1: 20 Eldon Square.
GLASGOW, C.I.: 10 Dundas Lane (off Buchanan Street)

Telegrams: Beeswax'. Telephone: MARitime 2486
Telephone: VICtoria 5368
Telephone: Central 2135
Telephone: Central 9346
Telephone: Newcastle 2-4941
Telephone: DOUglas 2588

More than

3,000,000

C.T.S. publications are distributed annually

We number many Priests amongst our Members, and have received many tributes from the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, in all parts of the world testifying to the immense value of our work and to the help that our publications give, not only to the Catholic and non-Catholic laity, but also to themselves

It is only with the help of their subscriptions and YOURS that the

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY

is able to produce these publications at a price within the reach of all

Will YOU help by becoming a Member ?

Membership:

Life:
£21

Special:
21/- per annum

Ordinary:
10/- per annum

It is the practice of the Society, in order to enable its Members to assist in carrying out its work as a public charity, to supply them, without obligation, with the Society's quarterly magazine 'CATHOLIC TRUTH' and (in the case of Life and Special Members) one copy of most new C.T.S. pamphlets

Many other spiritual privileges are accorded to all Members and Helpers

For enrolment form and further particulars write to the Secretary

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY

38/40 Eccleston Square, LONDON, S.W.1, ENGLAND



NAZZARENO BERETTI

PIAZZA DELLA MINERVA N. 68—Telephone 63-894
ROME

ROSARIES - MOSAICS
MINIATURES IN PORCELAIN
PHOTOGRAPHS - STATUES AND OTHER
RELIGIOUS OBJECTS - GREAT VARIETY
OF SOUVENIRS OF THE
HOLY CITY

NO BRANCH STORES

We undertake to get objects blessed by the Pope, to procure signatures for the Apostolic Benediction with Indulgence

ORDERS CAN BE ACCEPTED FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD

J. WIPPELL & CO. LTD

CLERICAL TAILORS AND ROBEMAKERS

CHURCH FURNISHERS - EMBROIDERERS

STAINED GLASS ARTISTS

EXETER : 55 & 56 HIGH STREET & CATHEDRAL YARD

LONDON : 11 TUFTON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1

MANCHESTER : 24-26 KING STREET, MANCHESTER, 2

Representatives visit all parts of the United Kingdom

DARIO ARMELLINI

Photographer

Optician

- Best Quality Lenses
- Free eye tests
- Accurate work

FILMS — developed, printed and enlarged

ROMA - 92, VIA DEGLI ORFANI (PIAZZA CAPRANICA)

LAVERTY & SONS LTD.

OBJECTS OF DEVOTION

Prayer Books, Missals, Rosaries, Medals,
Statues, Crucifixes, Holy Water Fonts, &c.

MISSION STALLS

On Sale or Return Terms.

CHURCH METAL WORK

Chalices, Ciboria, Monstrances, Pyxes,
and Metal Work of all Descriptions.

CATHOLIC CALENDARS

Original and Best Weekly Feast-Day Block.

CHURCH CANDLES

Sanctuary Oil, Prinknash Incense.

1 HILLARY PLACE LEEDS 2

BURNS OATES RETAIL LTD

(INCORPORATING THE FRANCIS TUCKER AGENCY)

SUPPLIERS OF FRANCIS TUCKER FINE WAX CANDLES OF
EXCEPTIONAL PURITY, AND OTHER CHURCH REQUISITES

THE COMPLETE CHURCH FURNISHERS

Write to—

THE FRANCIS TUCKER AGENCY
129 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1

Telephone : Tate Gallery 8101

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION

Under the patronage of the Hierarchy of England and Wales

President:

HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

Chairman:

THE RT REV. G. L. CRAVEN, M.C.
BISHOP OF SEBASTOPOLIS

PILGRIMAGES TO ROME, LOURDES, BRUGES, etc.

for

DIOCESAN PILGRIMAGES : NO-NIGHT TRAVEL PILGRIMAGES
AIR PILGRIMAGES : TRAVEL TICKETS :

Apply to :

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION
26 ASHLEY PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1

Telephone Victoria 5122/3

FURNISHERS TO THE HOLY SEE

(ESTABLISHED 1803)

COSTANTINO PISONI

CORSO VITTORIO
EMANUELE 127-129

ROME

PIAZZA S. ANDREA
DELLA VALLE 1-2

TEL. 653-531

CHURCH CANDLES
INCENSE SPERM OIL CANDLES CHARCOAL
DECORATED CANDLES
NIGHT LIGHTS

ORDERS DESPATCHED TO ALL COUNTRIES

"Our liturgical candles have been burning for the last two centuries all
over the world"

EVERY WEEK

READ :

THE

CATHOLIC TIMES

EVERY FRIDAY

::

PRICE 3d.

VOLUME XX

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND ARTICLES

	<i>page</i>
ALLEN, J.	A Royal Reredos 127
ANSTRUTHER, O.P., G.	The Sega Report 208
BROOME, J.	<i>The Pirates of Penzance</i> (critique) .. 312
BUDD, C.	College Diary : July 60—January 61 .. 140
BUTLER, M. J.	The Martyrs' Chapel Ceiling 302
CHESTLE, B.	Some Newman Letters, III 287
COOLEY, M.	College Diary : January—June 60 .. 52
DIONISI, PROF. F.	The Rock Tomb of Palazzola 27
	The Sacred Ships of Nemi 43
DOYLE, P. <i>et al.</i>	Ven. George Haydock, Martyr 261
GRIMSHAW, A. J.	Romanesque : The Electricians 197
HODGETTS, M.	Blessed John Wall, II 29
IBBETT, J.	College Diary : July 61—January 62 .. 307
KENNY, A.	From Hospice to College, II—IV .. 1, 89, 171
NEWNS, B.	Catholic Oxford, 1559—1603 113
<i>Nova et Vetera</i>	Cardinal Godfrey's Gift 125
	The College in 1710 124
	The Library Stamps 20
	Martyrs' Portraits 205
	A Martyr's Will (Bl. Alexander Rawlins) .. 23
	A Meeting on Mount Palatine in 1778 .. 204
	New High Altar in Main Chapel 304
	Ordeal by Fire (Walter Marsh) 16
	Palazzola in 1463 203
	A Russian in Rome (A. N. Muravyov) .. 25
	Seven Churches Walk 305
	A Victorian Convert (J. R. Hope-Scott) .. 18
	The Will of John Shepherd 27

		<i>page</i>
ORSY, S.J., L.	The Gregorian	272
PHILPOT, A.	Romanesque : Giambattista's Wrong ..	12
PRICE, M. <i>et al.</i>	Ven. George Haydock, Martyr	261
PRIOR, MGR J.	From Monte Porzio to Palazzola	295
REYNOLDS, H.	<i>The Mikado</i> (critique)	145
	Romanesque : The Greg Route	104
RICHARDSON, G.	College Diary : January—June 61 ..	224
SMITH, MGR R. L.	Romanesque : Nostalgia ed Attualità ..	280

INDEX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>face page</i>
The Gregorian	1
Library Stamps	22
The Will of John Shepherd	27
Wiggery Steps, Palazzola	89
College Dress, 1710	124
The Royal Visit to Pope John, May 1961	171
The Path to Nemi	208
The New High Altar, December 1961	257
The Seven Churches of Rome (Woodcut 1575)	304