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EDITORIAL

The reader of THE VENERABLE may feel he is entitled to some explanation, when he opens this new edition of the magazine. And he is quite right to feel so.

The most important change he will observe is that THE VENERABLE is no longer printed by the Catholic Records Press at Exeter, but by the Leinster Leader. There is not the space here to tell the history of this change. The reasons which have forced us to discontinue our contract with the Catholic Records Press are mainly financial and are the cause of regret after so long and amicable an association. Further, I should like to thank Mr Lee and his colleagues for their great courtesy and the fine standard of the work they always gave us. We now look forward to a similar long and friendly relationship with the Leinster Leader.

Except for this change, the character of the magazine remains much the same in its attempt to combine history, humour and topicality. Each must decide for himself which of these categories the Diary fits into best, but with its tale of the early days at Palazzola last year, perhaps 'history' is the most appropriate.



The Rector in the year of his Silver Jubilee.

ON THE ACADEMIC TRAINING OF PRIESTS

An Interview

(The following is the transcript of an interview recorded with Father Francis Sullivan, S.J., Dean of the Theology Faculty at the Gregorian University, in March of this year. Father Sullivan is an American. John Fox put the questions.)

In the U.S.A., Father, what experimentation is going on at the moment in the matter of integrating the seminaries and the secular universities?

One experiment with which I am acquainted is due to take place next Fall, when the Jesuit provincial scholasticate near Kansas will move onto the university campus at St Louis. The present scholasticate, an old Indian mission, is out in the remote countryside and to date has had very little contact with outside university life. The Philosophy department has long been a part of St Louis, but now the Theologate is to move into a city building, library as well, on the campus.

At the moment, the Theologate is open to theologians from other provinces. This is common practice. But for the summer it will be open for other properly qualified candidates for the priesthood and is to be known by the accepted Protestant title of 'Divinity School'. Like the Law or Pharmacy departments of the university, it will be a professional school of St Louis.

Its primary aim will be to train men for the ministry. They will be candidates for a professional degree—i.e. not the graduate degree of the university as such. A B.D. would 'qualify' a man in the eyes of the secular authorities to exercise his ministry just as in the case of a Protestant minister. In addition to this, as is already the case, the Jesuit order will have the right to grant the degrees of the Holy See to members of its own order.

Every student, then, in the Divinity School will be a candidate for the priesthood. Those who qualify in the undergraduate course for the university's requirements could also present themselves for the graduate academic degree proper at St Louis—the M.A. This degree has three grades: M.A. with the emphasis on teaching qualification at a high level, and involving mainly course work; M.A. with the emphasis mainly on research, the preliminary to the Doctor's degree, and consisting of course work and a thesis; finally, M.A. in religious education, a teaching degree on a slightly lower level and consisting of course work and probably some sort of teaching practice.

Since the graduate degrees given by St. Louis University are recognized by the University Association to which St Louis belongs, they would be generally recognized by other American universities.

By the end of his first year of Theology, the student in the Divinity School could fulfil the undergraduate requirements and then present himself as a candidate for the graduate school of the university, for a graduate degree. The university would apply *its own* standards in accepting candidates. The mere fact of being in the Divinity School would not be enough. He would here take the graduate-record examination. A facility, for example, would be required in reading one or two languages. This would show something of his relative standing with other applicants and the value of his past education. He would have had to have done more than ordinarily well in his undergraduate work.

In his second year of Theology, then—still working for the professional degree—he would at the same time be working towards an M.A. He would be working side by side with lay men and women for his degree. (There is now a great demand for trained teaching theologians. It is less and less the exclusive province of the religious. For instance, in Boston College there is one woman teaching theology, at least one non-Catholic and probably more teaching Scripture or History, and a Jew lecturing, I think, on Old Testament Studies. Obviously, for teaching systematic Theology, the non-Catholics aren't so well prepared.)

So, in short, and on the other side of the coin, the candidate for the priesthood could be doing well enough for the Divinity School and the Professional Degree, but not necessarily well enough for the Graduate

School Degree, the M.A. All would be doing many courses in common, but the difference would be one of *requirement*. Candidates for the M.A. would be required to take some courses not required of all the students in the Divinity School.

But does this not seem to suggest that a general university standard is going to be expected from students for the priesthood?

I should clarify here. In the U.S. we speak of the university where you would call it post-graduate studies. Undergraduate studies we would class college and institute work. A university is only such when it has a graduate level department. The Divinity School then would be a professional school associated with the university, but not everyone there would be accepted as a graduate candidate.

Some would be able to work for legitimately recognized degrees *in the normal course* of their training. At the moment, they tend to regard the S.T.L. as a type of professional degree. The ecclesiastical degrees are not known or understood too well in the U.S.A. Anyway, to continue. This is how I understand it. It will be possible to fulfil all requirements for the M.A. by the end of the third year. Having the M.A., in his fourth year, the student would be taking *courses towards* the civil doctorate *before* he had the S.T.L. or the professional degree, though this would be quite separate from any move towards an ecclesiastical doctorate—the regulations of the Church insist that he first obtain his S.T.L.

The second advantage, less tangible, but very real, would be that all are associated with the university and living the life of a university student. They are on the scene and open to the intellectual stimulation there—presuming, of course, that the individual concerned is inclined and open to it. Granted the time, there can be a broadening through participation in other interests and courses. Competition could also enter, and this among the graduate candidates of all walks, whether they themselves are doing that Master's Degree or not. Outside students would bring in a professional interest in Theology—something which the priest himself should have, whether he's teaching in a class-hall or from a pulpit.

Then you'd see no reason why this shouldn't happen to any seminary, and not just be a privilege for a certain qualified élite in a seminary?

Not at all. For everyone concerned it would be education in the broadest possible sense. I'm sure it will succeed. It seems a sound project. There's another move coming soon, the Woodstock Theologate of Maryland. It seems that it is about to move to Fordham to begin the same experiment. More interesting still, it might go to Yale, the old Protestant sectarian foundation, once founded for the training of ministers. They have main-

tained a Divinity School, basically Congregational, but less so today than before. The decision hasn't been made yet, but Woodstock might move in as close as possible to associate itself with the Divinity School. Yale has certainly shown itself interested. I think the initiative came from Yale, possibly due to John Courtenay Murray's teaching association with Yale some years back. Anyway, one of these two moves will be made. In other places, too, the idea is being considered.

These moves are being facilitated by a great improvement in Catholic schools and university standards—in theology—and it is expected that more and more of the seminaries will move into the orbit of these universities, as at St Louis.

At the risk of looking too far ahead into the crystal ball, what do you think will be the role of a papal university like the Gregorian and the colleges grouped around it, in the face of the reorganization at home?

It is an unusual and peculiar situation here in Rome. In fact, are there any other *purely* ecclesiastical universities outside of Rome? Up to ten years ago, the Gregorian was the only one. There is an obvious limitation here to the concept of a university. True, we have a good number of faculties, but they are mostly ecclesiastical and therefore limited. (This is true also of secular universities without theology. Newman said that you need the sacred sciences for a *full* university.)

The Gregorian has many of the good qualities of a university: the number of its faculties; an inter-fecundation between them; students working side by side with others studying for higher degrees in other faculties. Also, for example, the Church History Faculty is simply the science of History as applied to the Church; Canon Law is Law applied to the ecclesiastical scene. Over the street too, we have the Oriental and Biblical Institutes.

However, there is missing that contact and stimulation from the secular profane sciences—and this is a definite limitation. Possibly this could be overcome either by affiliation or broadening of our own scope. I just don't know what the future might hold in that direction. Theoretically, I think it would be better to be part of a larger university.

A point you mentioned to us some time ago: the possibility of the Gregorian becoming a purely Graduate Institute. Could you enlarge?

Well, there are two different questions involved here. One, of whether we are to broaden into the profane sciences, and the other of whether the Gregorian would in fact limit itself to higher ecclesiastical studies, accepting only those who had the basic 'professional' requirements of a priest.

This Graduate-School status is already the case with the Biblical Institute, and the Faculties of Canon Law and Church History. In fact it is only Philosophy and Theology that form the exceptions. These faculties provide the 'professional' studies. At the moment, many are proposing a change in this and have done so publicly, claiming that it would be better for the Roman universities to accept only priests and no longer seminarians. There are a number of arguments in favour of this point of view, though personally I feel it would be a disadvantage for instance to have had to do four years already elsewhere. Certainly, on the other hand, it would allow us to concentrate energy and forces on the training of professional theologians. It would mean smaller courses, special individual attention and a more efficient system where all the time and energy of the professors could go to these students. The advantages of such a move are not to be denied.

Personally, however, I'm still inclined to think that there would be some real losses. Four years would be spent in a seminary where you couldn't expect the same interest and ability in the *whole* class. Force him into such a mould for four years and you might stultify or kill the interest of a promising candidate. (This I say with regard to the present set-up, granted that the seminary system isn't going to change overnight.) Of course in some places—Belgium, I believe—the seminaries maintain a good high level, so that, say, Louvain can say of a student candiated that his previous training was of a definite high grade.

Alternatively, keep the present system here at the Gregorian, but I'd insist on the quality of the student accepted rather than the numbers thereof. This would be so as to offer a pace, atmosphere and stimulation from the competition of one's fellow students. According to recent studies, perhaps the most decisive factor in achievement is the stimulus of one's fellow students. This could be the principal advantage of the Roman situation. Raise standards to produce a more homogeneous group of students. There's a very definite stimulus for the man who arrives and soon has to admit: 'If I were at home, I'd be top of the heap, but here I'm not!' There are definite limitations in Rome, but I feel there are also definite advantages.

The Church needs many priests soundly prepared intellectually—whether they're teaching in class or church. In the U.S., at any rate, a growing proportion of Catholics have had a better education than their priests. It is the reason why *all* seminary life has to improve intellectually. We need well-educated priests and this demands a corresponding improvement in the seminary's standards. Competition in this regard, I feel, is essential. And there will still be a place for the training of the intel-

lectually higher-qualified aspirant—his advanced training shouldn't begin *after* ordination. I'd put emphasis, then, on quality, not numbers.

Do you think that the numbers would automatically go down—if you were to insist on higher qualifications?

Well, this would be our level and there would be no point in maintaining it unless it's going to benefit those ready for it. You would raise the standard gradually and demand a level of achievement for staying in the course. The aim would not be to get rid of people, but to get rid of the idea that once you're here we'll do our best to get you through. That's not education. Then, a further aim would be to improve the course itself. That's another facet of the whole problem.

One last point. Not all those admitted to the course should be ultimately marked out for professional work. Somewhere along the course it might be possible to separate those who *know* they're going on for teaching and similar work, and, say, after three years in common, there could be re-grouping when the future teachers would do two years more for a Licentiate in the full and restored sense of what a Licentiate is supposed to mean. Others would finish after four years with a Bachelor's Degree, a professorial degree or something similar.

Many thanks, Father, for giving us your ideas and your time.

RALPH SHERWIN

MISSIONARY PRIEST

1550-1581

II

(1577-80)

‘... with such greatness of soul, and steadfastness, that they fear neither spies nor prisons, neither executioners nor instruments of torture for the sake of religion and the salvation of souls’.⁴⁶

After his ordination at Douai, Ralph Sherwin may have felt ready to begin his work in England but William Allen had other plans for him. He had a high opinion of Sherwin and described him as ‘a godly, wise, discreet and lerned prieste’.⁴⁷ So it was that as Sherwin travelled southwards, through France and into Italy, he was well aware of the responsibility given him by Allen to help establish the new English College in Rome. And time was to show how decisive a role he played in those early years.

The six students who had left Douai at the beginning of August 1577 arrived at the old Hospice together,⁴⁸ but because accommodation was lacking the new arrivals were lodged in a house adjacent to the Hospice.⁴⁹ Here Sherwin met old friends from Douai since all nine students already in residence had been sent by Allen. Their studies were supervised by Gregory Martin, also sent from Douai for this purpose.⁵⁰

The first constitutions of the College were published on 4th February 1577,⁵¹ but soon afterwards they were revoked and replaced by a new set.⁵² In accordance with these, Sherwin was first interviewed by a deputy of the cardinal protector, Giovanni Morone, and was then required to make a profession of faith in the form prescribed by the Council of Trent.⁵³ In swearing this oath, the student affirmed his belief in the pope and the teachings of the Church. It had no direct bearing on the reason

for the student's presence in the College, for it did not contain the missionary aspect of their training which was expressed in the college ('missionary') oath later tendered to every student a few months after his admission.⁵⁴

On entering the College, Sherwin received the customary issue of clothing: a cassock, a gown and hat, shirts, shoes and socks.⁵⁵ From the description that follows it can be seen that the outdoor dress worn by Sherwin and the first students remained virtually the same for close on three hundred and ninety years: 'Nicholas Flute of Dartmouth . . . saw four or five young men go in the streets in black gowns and cornered caps, which were said to him to be Englishmen of the College there; but what they were he heard not, neither had he any words with them'.⁵⁶

Within the College the rule of life which Sherwin faced was closely modelled on that of Douai College,⁵⁷ but when Jesuit Fathers entered the new College in the spring of 1578 another system of education was introduced, which was marked by a greater strictness.⁵⁸ The student began each day with half an hour's mental prayer and examination of conscience; this was followed by Mass (plus a sermon on major feasts). Saturday evening was the usual time for confession and on Sunday the students received communion.⁵⁹ Throughout the day Latin was the 'house' language, Italian being permitted only during the hours of recreation. Accommodation was comfortable, though in the first few years a little crushed: students were placed 'three and four in a chamber very finely decked, and every man his bed appointed alone', the bed being 'two little trestles, with four or five boards laid along over them, and thereon a quilted mattress'.⁶⁰ The time allowed for sleep was seven and a half hours. A student of the time described the food as 'plentiful, fine and delicate'. The morning was spent at lectures in the Jesuit *Collegium Romanum* (now the Gregorian University). Lunch was followed by an hour's recreation, then studies were resumed and continued until supper. Sundays and Thursdays were days of recreation 'spent in a garden-house or vineyard' where facilities were available for tennis and bowls.⁶¹ Even in Sherwin's day discussion-groups were all the rage.

The warden of the English Hospice was the Welshman Morus Clynnog; in this capacity he governed the students for more than a year until May 1578 when Henry Henshaw was elected warden. Thereupon, Cardinal Morone, at the instigation of Owen Lewis, separated Hospice and College government and appointed Clynnog as first rector of the College.⁶² By this time twenty-six students were resident either in the Hospice buildings or in an adjacent house.⁶³ Lewis persuaded Pope Gregory XIII to obtain two Jesuits to help Clynnog in his work; as a result, Giovanni Paolo Navarola became spiritual director and Ferdinando Capeci prefect of

studies.⁶⁴ Yet while the College was finding its feet, the seeds of future Anglo-Welsh troubles were being sown. For the English students began to complain of the Welsh rector's excessive partiality towards his own countrymen, and the English demanded redress. But the two Jesuits and some of the more senior scholars told them to bide their time.⁶⁵

Towards the end of 1578 Cardinal Morone issued a decree, backed by a papal *motu proprio*, which expelled the Hospice warden and chaplains, and made over all Hospice properties for the use of the College. This only made matters worse, for Clynnog was now given still more influence by his new appointment as 'permanent' rector of Hospice and College.⁶⁶

On the very day the chaplains departed (just before Christmas 1578) Clynnog records how Navarola approached him and demanded that Bishop Thomas Goldwell be removed from his quarters in the College. Clynnog refused this request, and (in his own words) 'all at once some students began to shout and declare that they would no longer regard me as rector; they exempted themselves from all discipline and the five or six leaders of the revolt refuse to study or allow others to do so'.⁶⁷ According to Clynnog, then, all the troubles began with the Goldwell incident; he does not say who was to blame—whether the Jesuits, the scholars, or the English residents in Rome. Neither Anthony Munday nor Robert Persons S.J. mention the incident. Both attribute the origin of the troubles to Clynnog's continual partiality to the Welsh students, at the expense of the English.⁶⁸ However, in Persons' account we can trace the more profound reason for the disturbances. He points out how radically different were the views held by Allen's Douai students from those held by Clynnog, concerning the purpose and *raison d'être* of the College.⁶⁹ The students were eager to prepare themselves as soon as possible to return to work in England, and this 'new' missionary spirit was completely foreign to Clynnog. So it happened that the rector's favouring of the Welsh students, combined with his failure to grasp the deeper reasons for the students' unrest were the real cause of the troubles. Throughout the last months of 1578, relations between Clynnog and his English students grew more and more strained.

On 12th January 1579 the storm broke. Now Sherwin emerges as a leading figure in the contention. His eagerness to return to England had been checked when he was sent to help establish the new College in Rome; his energies were now brought to bear on this task. He saw clearly that discipline and intensive training were needed to prepare students to work as priests in England. He was disappointed by the sincere but inadequate efforts of the rector Morus Clynnog. So with the help of Martin Array—a fellow-priest from Douai—Sherwin composed a written petition, signed it 'Rodulfus Sherwinus Sacerdos', and sent it to the cardinal protector.⁷⁰

This drew from Morone a sharp reprimand: in an interview he told the students to calm down.⁷¹ At this, Owen Lewis wrote a short letter to the cardinal, expressed his regret at the students' behaviour and apologized for them.⁷² The first petition had been a calm and reasoned exposition of the Sherwin viewpoint: discipline was slack, some were living in idleness, and quarrels between the English and Welsh were becoming more common. The solution proposed by Sherwin and Array was that each student be questioned about his motives for being in the College, and be asked to swear an oath that he was ready 'to goe to England and preach against Heretikes'.⁷³ At this time Robert Persons was living in the Roman College. He was the confidant of Sherwin and other scholars, and it was he who gave Sherwin the suggestion about the oath-taking.⁷⁴

A second petition was then drawn up and sent to Morone, this one more forceful and personal in tone. The impulsive element in Sherwin's character can easily be detected in the document where again the appeal is for discipline and the removal of Clynnog from the rectorship. But a new element in this petition is the request that the Jesuits be put in charge of the College, as was already the case at the German College.⁷⁵ After reading the memorial, Morone sent for Navarola to discuss the students' grievances. The Jesuit reassured the cardinal of the students' good faith, but he was summarily dismissed with a vague promise of 'a new order' which would *curare omnia gravamina illorum*.⁷⁶ Morone also promised the students an audience. The persistence of the students had angered Lewis who wrote again to Morone, this time suggesting that the ringleaders be threatened with expulsion; (he gives the number of students as forty: thirty-four English and six Welsh).⁷⁷ Morone was adamant about Clynnog remaining rector, and saw no good reason for introducing full Jesuit rule into the College.⁷⁸

A few days passed before the students were summoned to appear before the cardinal protector. In Clynnog's presence they were rebuked for disobedience and threatened with expulsion if they refused to obey the rector. Instead of departing, they protested loudly that the cardinal had missed the main point of their complaints. In the name of the rest Sherwin stood up to explain why they could no longer endure Clynnog as rector, but 'the Lord Cardinall byd [him] hould his peace with some choler'.⁷⁹ Sherwin was not so easily put off, and proceeded to make a long speech concluding with an appeal that the Jesuits take control of the College. He spoke on behalf of the others as 'beeing there esteemed a singuler Scholler, bothe for his eloquence, as also his learning'.⁸⁰ Anthony Munday reports the speech in a colourful and dramatic way, but the reporting does Sherwin little credit, for the speech appears as little more than a list of petty grievances concerning Clynnog's partiality. It makes

no mention of the more serious reasons for their discontent. When Sherwin had finished, Clynnog jumped up and began to defend himself against the charges, but Morone, seeing the interview getting out of hand, brought it to an abrupt end. He requested that each student give his personal opinion on the suggestion that Clynnog remain in control of temporal administration, while the Jesuits looked after studies, spiritual direction and discipline. He ended the proceedings by asking Clynnog to defend himself in writing against the charges levelled by the students.⁸¹

By now Sherwin and companions had lost all patience with Morone, so they went over his head to Pope Gregory himself. Their first appeal to him discussed the problem under four headings, and is the clearest and most comprehensive exposition of the students' complaints. It was ignored by the pope,⁸² but a copy of the petition found its way into the hands of Clynnog; his defence dealt with the same four headings.

During the last ten days of January, Clynnog produced his apologia, a detailed document ten and a half pages in length.⁸³ With little effort he vindicated himself of the charges of partiality, but in claiming that the Goldwell incident was the cause of the troubles, he failed to explain why the students had petitioned for his removal eight months previously. At the same time Morone received the written opinions from the English students. All were brief and to the point, and they reached the unanimous conclusion that the College must be placed under Jesuit control. Again Sherwin's opinion headed the list:

'I, Ralph Sherwin, call as my witness God the reader of all hearts, that solely for the sake of increasing his honour and for the good of my country, I believe and humbly beg that the government of this seminary be given to the Fathers of the Society.

Ralph Sherwin Priest'.⁸⁴

Following this came a long list of similar judgments, all individually composed and autographed. Yet none of this made any impression on Cardinal Morone who remained deaf to the scholars' pleas, and was apparently satisfied with Clynnog's defence. Mgr Spetiano, one of the cardinal's attendants and a personal friend of Owen Lewis, came to the College and asked each student to swear an oath of obedience to the rector; everyone of them refused.⁸⁵

The next move came from the scholars who sent the second of their many petitions to Pope Gregory. The tone is now urgent and threatening: 'if the Jesuits are not brought in, we shall leave the College'.⁸⁶ This was followed by yet another letter from Lewis to Morone, saying that if the scholars would only calm down, their grievances would be heard, but if

not 'a Brief should be published to keep those youths in order by establishing strict discipline'.⁸⁷ In addition to this, he sent a long memorial to the pope which was primarily a defence of his countryman Morus Clynnot.⁸⁸ In response to Lewis' appeal, Morone had a Brief prepared in which he threatened to expel anyone who objected to the present system of government. The Brief was never published and survives only in draft form.⁸⁹

During the second week of February, Pope Gregory gave the scholars audience and heard their side of the story; Sherwin acted as spokesman. On Sunday February 15th the pope sent for Cardinal Morone and gave him instructions to call the scholars to him, and to accept Clynnot's resignation. The scholars were told to suggest some Englishman who would succeed as rector.⁹⁰

The students wrote at once to the pope and thanked him effusively. As they could find no Englishman suitable for the post, they suggested the Jesuits as the obvious alternative.⁹¹ On the same day they presented Morone with a petition to explain the reasons why the Jesuits were most suited for the job.⁹² But the pope delayed: though encouraged by the memorials to pursue the matter, he saw difficulties in the Jesuits running both Hospice and College. Before he proceeded further he asked for the opinion of the other Englishmen living in Rome.⁹³ Prompted by the pope's request, the students lost no time in sending a circular to Bishop Goldwell, Prior Shelley and other members of the English colony.⁹⁴ In a short time Goldwell's reply reached the scholars,⁹⁵ and together with it was a detailed plan suggesting how the administration of Hospice and College could be carried out by one rector.⁹⁶

It was only natural that Sherwin should think that the two-month negotiations were almost over; all that was needed was the pope's final approval. So in preparation for his next meeting with the pope, he collected copies of the scholars' recent petition to Morone, and added the two documents sent by Goldwell.⁹⁷ It was Sunday February 25th. The pope was out of Rome. Sherwin set out after him.

Just after 6 p.m. on the same day, Sherwin slipped out of the College with three companions, but it was next morning before they found the pope at Cardinal Farnese's palace at Pallo.⁹⁸ They were allowed to kiss the pope's feet and deliver their written petitions; nevertheless they were dismissed with the words '*non erat tempus nunc*'! They returned to Rome and next morning Sherwin went to see Gregory. He was received by the papal *Maestro di Camera*, Mgr Ludovico Bianchetti, who said that his Holiness had promised to send someone to end the differences.

A papal consistory was held on Friday 27th, and Morone took this opportunity of persuading Gregory to revoke his concessions to the

scholars. His request was granted, for later on the same day the Cardinal of Como—the pope's Secretary of State—told a group of students that the pope did not think it 'expedient' to grant their desires. The whole matter was referred back to Cardinal Morone whose decision would be final. Sherwin was puzzled by Como's message. Early next day he led a group of eight scholars to see the cardinal protector who then made Como's words much more explicit: the pope's will was that they obey Clynnog, and the Jesuits would not be given control of the College. Morone gave the group a day to decide, either to obey or to leave.⁹⁹

Such was the position on the first day of March, St David's Day, when the Welsh students began collecting the signatures of those who would accept Clynnog as rector; only ten promised obedience: six Welsh and four English.¹⁰⁰ Sherwin set about drawing up a counter-petition from those who wanted Clynnog's dismissal and the introduction of Jesuit rule; thirty-one signed the paper, the first being 'Ralph Sherwin Priest'.¹⁰¹ By lunchtime, nerves were frayed and tempers on edge. During the meal, the Welsh rector had a forged letter of appointment read, but the reader—an English student—noticed the forgery and cried '*falsatum est!*' A riot broke out but the Jesuits were able to restore order before violence was done.¹⁰² That evening, after vespers, the English faction approached Morone with their petition. They stressed their readiness to obey the pope, and once more demanded that Clynnog be removed from office. The cardinal refused to listen and told them 'to go and be hanged'. Those of the contrary party were then admitted and were treated well.¹⁰³

By this stage Morone had decided that something drastic had to be done, so on the morning of March 2nd he called Lewis and Clynnog to him. He decreed that four of the ringleaders must take an oath of total obedience to Clynnog or leave the seminary, and if they still refused they would be imprisoned.¹⁰⁴ Straight after lunch this ultimatum was delivered to the chosen four: Array, Gore, Haydock and Mush. It is interesting to note that Sherwin, the leader of the students, was not asked to take the oath; John Mush was asked instead. These four were given no chance to answer because the whole of the English faction loudly affirmed their common-cause and solidarity. Once more they approached Morone in a group, but he dismissed them impatiently and 'banished them all from the Cittie'.¹⁰⁵ They returned to the College, their minds set on departure.

The following afternoon Sherwin led a delegation of six to present one last petition to the pope, and to ask his blessing for their journey. As Gregory came out of St Peter's, Sherwin approached him and began to put their case, but the pope cut him short with the words 'If you can't obey, you must leave'. Yet when they asked for his blessing 'his countenance changed wonderfully'.¹⁰⁶ In spite of this rebuff Sherwin's last petition

reached the pope's eyes, thanks to Bianchetti who remained a supporter of the English faction throughout the troubles.¹⁰⁷ Further support for them came the same day in the form of a written appeal in their favour. It was sent to the pope by Goldwell, Morton and other Englishmen.¹⁰⁸

At daybreak on Ash Wednesday, March 4th, thirty-three students, under the leadership of Sherwin, went to the house of John Creed an English friend of Dr Morgan.¹⁰⁹ There the group cooked and ate lunch. For the long journey ahead of them—to Allen and to England—the students needed money. This the Jesuits obtained by appealing from the pulpits all over Rome.

The walk-out shocked the whole city; Lewis, Morone and Clynnog had never foreseen such a possibility. But Pope Gregory was the most disturbed by the turn of events, and sent a messenger to bring the rebels to him. Meantime Sherwin and companions were preparing to visit the pope to assure him of their obedience and good conscience, because Gregory had written on the back of the last petition 'come to me before you leave the city'.¹¹⁰ The pope's messenger found that the scholars had already left the College; from there the Jesuit Agazzari rushed to Creed's house to deliver the message. More than twenty-four of them hastened to meet the pope on his return from the church of Santa Sabina.¹¹¹ Once they were inside the papal palace, the students had a long private discussion with the pope, during which Sherwin explained the whole situation from the students' point of view.¹¹² When Gregory heard the story he was moved to tears. He sent them back to the College with one of his chamberlains, with orders that Clynnog was to re-admit them, and that they were to submit names of Englishmen suitable for the post of rector.

When they heard the news the Jesuits were overjoyed. Owen Lewis was instructed by the pope to explain the situation to Clynnog and students; he did this after first calling Sherwin and two others to represent the student body. But the English party had lost no time in pressing home the new-won advantage. Before even Lewis could carry out the pope's instructions, they had sent a memorial to the pope, suggesting two candidates for the vacant rectorship: Dr Morton and Dr Bavand. The Welsh party counter-petitioned with Dr Bristowe as their candidate, a man much favoured by Lewis himself.¹¹³ And in an attempt to further Bristowe's chances, Lewis wrote to the protector, bitterly attacking Morton and Bavand.¹¹⁴ The matter now rested with the pope, but another two weeks had to pass before a final decision was reached.

Next day, March 5th, the pope sent the College four hundred crowns, to repair the house and to purchase 'for the students all needefull thinges'. From that day onwards the house was to be called a 'Seminarie not a Colledge'. Cardinal Morone divided the building into two parts: the

seminary, and the Hospice where Clynnog remained warden by papal appointment.¹¹⁵ The students were in high spirits and their reaction to the victory can be deduced from the letter of thanks and the 'odes of congratulations' which they sent to Bianchetti.¹¹⁶

After lunch on the following Saturday March 7th, four students went to Cardinal Como who assured them once more of the pope's favour and promised them a new rector within two days, but added that neither of their candidates had been chosen. Even though Lewis had been pressing hard for Bristowe, Sherwin's group now realised with joy that Jesuit rule was almost a certainty.¹¹⁷

On Tuesday March 10th, Lewis wrote to Allen that they were still awaiting the pope's decision. He also mentioned that a group of student-priests had approached the pope with the request that they be allowed to return to England; but the pope had replied 'No, you are not ready to do so'.¹¹⁸ There can be little doubt that Ralph Sherwin was associated with this request.

Days passed and still no decision came from the pope. On March 17th the scholars decided to investigate rumours that Lewis and Clynnog were 'scheming' against them. They approached Cardinal Como and were informed that Morone had received the pope's decision nine days previously on March 8th.¹¹⁹ They returned home in anger, suspecting that their cause would suffer a further set-back. That night was spent in composing a bitter attack on Lewis and Clynnog; they also asked that the pope's wishes be carried out at once.¹²⁰ Next day the petition was delivered to the pope who sent it straight to Morone.¹²¹

St Joseph's Day 1579 gave the students their dearest wish. Cardinal Morone sent for Everard Mercurian, the General of the Jesuit Order, and in the name of Pope Gregory ordered him to take charge of the College.¹²² By this appointment the Society was given complete authority over the College, and all the buildings were made over for the exclusive use of the seminary. Morus Clynnog remained in office as 'guest-master for pilgrims'. The same day, March 19th, Morone sent Spetiano, Lewis, Clynnog and Agazzari to divide up the buildings. Due to this, Bishop Goldwell and two old English chaplains still resident, were moved to nearby houses. After this re-organisation, accommodation was provided sufficient for two hundred students.¹²³

The battle had been won, but minor engagements were still to be fought and this delayed the arrival of a permanent state of peace. On March 28th Lewis wrote once more to the cardinal protector, claiming that three of the students—Array, Gower and Morton—wanted to rid the College of every Welshman, and put the Jesuits in charge of the pilgrim affairs of the Hospice.¹²⁴ Whether Lewis' accusation was true or not, at

the end of March the students had fresh cause for complaint. They learnt that Lewis was in league with John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, to get Scottish students admitted to the College.¹²⁵ The scholars were quick to see this as another attempt by the Welsh faction to advance their own ambitions. The English party rejected the suggestion in a calm and reasoned petition to the pope, on Saturday April 25th.¹²⁶

Robert Persons was now controlling the College, and he was asked by Sherwin's group to invite Allen to come from Rheims and settle the Anglo-Welsh differences.¹²⁷ It is at this point that the official annals of the College begin. The first entry is for St George's Day 1579 when the 'missionary' oath was administered to every student. The oath was first suggested by Persons,¹²⁸ and its purpose was to question each student on his motives for being in the College, and his readiness to be ordained and go to England when so ordered by his superiors.¹²⁹

On this historic day, 23rd April 1579, there assembled in the College Mgr Spetiano—the delegate of the cardinal protector, John Cola—the Jesuit provincial, and Robert Bellarmine from the Roman College. In the presence of these witnesses, the first student to take the oath was Ralph Sherwin. His longing to return to work in England could not be sufficiently expressed by a simple affirmative; his answer is recorded on the first page of the college diary:

'Father Ralph Sherwin, aged 29, an ordained priest and student of sacred theology, placed his hand on the sacred scriptures and swore that he was ready to answer the wish of his superiors, and to go into England "rather today than tomorrow" to the aid of souls'.¹³⁰

In taking the oath Sherwin signed his own death-warrant, for to the above entry a later hand has added the words 'He was sent to England and was MARTYRED'.¹³¹

A week later, Pope Gregory issued the Bull which officially founded the English College in Rome. Though the document bears the date '1st May 1579', it did not reach the College until 23rd December 1580. With this, the College replaced the Hospice.¹³² Allen had heard by now that the new College was running smoothly, and wrote to Lewis expressing his satisfaction that the Jesuits were in control and making an excellent job of it.¹³³

The next step in strengthening the foundation came on June 12th when the cardinal protector published a new set of constitutions.¹³⁴ The pope himself was anxious to see how things were going, and within the space of three weeks he paid two visits to the College. Attended by ten cardinals

he came on July 22nd, found everything to his liking, and left 'in an exceedingly happy frame of mind'.¹³⁵ He returned for a second visit on Wednesday August 12th. We have an account of this visit written by a spy of the English government, Charles Sledd. He wrote that on this occasion 'the Pope . . . made The Colledge a seminary *re* which before was a Colledge *nomine*', and gave a large sum of money to improve the 'maintenance' of the students. 'This dealinge of the Popes so encouraged the said scollers that no grounde wold scarce bare them'.¹³⁶

September 26th of the same year was an important day for the English residents in Rome, and especially for the ex-Douai students in the College. On this day William Allen ('Mr President of Douai') arrived in Rome and was met by Sherwin and others who escorted him to the College.¹³⁷ The main reason for Allen's visit was the pope's desire to consult him, but he spent much time in the College, giving to all the benefit of his experience.¹³⁸ On October 8th he was present in the College for a disputation 'in Naturall Philosofye', and afterwards invited 'many of the beste english men in the cittye' to be his guests at dinner. After the meal, they were joined by a group of thirteen students among whom was Ralph Sherwin. Allen addressed the gathering, and after explaining his reason for being in Rome, he asked for priests for the English mission. Six were appointed and these left for England on October 28th.¹³⁹ Shortly after, Allen wrote to Rheims a description of the good spirit which now prevailed in the new College.

Contrary to his wishes, Sherwin was not among the first group of priests sent to England, but his last six months in the College were happy months. Thanks to Pope Gregory, to the Jesuits and to William Allen, the College was unified and the old spirit of Douai was now acquiring a new character. Robert Persons and professors from the Roman College played a large part in forming this new outlook which was missionary—as Douai was—but placed more emphasis on the academic side of the students' training.¹⁴⁰ Above all it was Robert Bellarmine, the professor of controversial theology, who most influenced the English students. His 'dogmatico-polemical' works prepared them well for their later meetings with non-catholic divines; his lectures were always pastoral in scope and relevant to the needs of the English mission. Bellarmine was a regular visitor to the College and became the counsellor and friend of many of the first students. It has been noted that he made great efforts to carry out this spiritual direction according to methods suited to the '*indoles Anglorum*'. Later, as bishop and cardinal, he ordained many students from the College.¹⁴¹

We have traced the life of Sherwin far enough to observe the chief elements in his character. He had outstanding qualities of leadership, and

though he was impulsive and determined he never acted without serious thought and consideration. Yet there were occasions when his impetuous and adventurous spirit got the better of him, as we shall soon see. At Oxford he earned a reputation as a scholar, and this continued and increased during the two and a half years that he studied at the Roman College. The force which gave his last months in Rome unity and purpose was his 'burning desire' to join fellow-priests at work in England. As a general rule the annals of the English College have little to say about individual students, but the entry on Ralph Sherwin is significant: 'It is impossible to exaggerate the burning desire Sherwin had in Rome to rush off to the assistance of his country'.¹⁴² His chance eventually came, almost two and a half years after he entered the College. It was Monday 4th January 1580 when Sherwin learnt that he was to leave Rome for England.¹⁴³

To guarantee success to the work in the English mission, it was essential that Jesuits should work with the seminary priests as fellows not as rivals. Thus the Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Persons were to form part of Sherwin's group. During the next three months a party of fourteen was formed: Bishop Thomas Goldwell and Dr Nicholas Morton; Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby and Edward Rishton; Dr. Edward Bromborough, Dr. William Giblet and Dr Thomas Crayne; William Kemp, John Paschall and Thomas Brisco; Edmund Campion S.J. and Robert Persons S.J.¹⁴⁴ Campion came from Prague and joined the rest on April 5th.¹⁴⁵ As soon as he arrived, he struck up a friendship with Sherwin; it was a brief friendship, but it lasted throughout the journey home and till their death together at Tyburn.

Before their departure, Goldwell and his party had two visits to make. The first was to Pope Gregory, to ask his blessing and to obtain money for the journey.¹⁴⁶ Their second visit was to St Philip Neri who lived in a house (which still stands) across the road from the College. The incident cannot be described better than by the words of Newman: 'They went for a saint's blessing; they went to a calm old man, who had never seen blood, except in penance; . . . who had longed indeed to die for Christ; . . . one by one, each in his turn, those youthful soldiers came to the old man . . . for the salutary blessing'.¹⁴⁷

The expedition set out from Rome on Low Sunday, 18th April 1580.¹⁴⁸ Led by Persons, the group travelled through Viterbo and Siena to Florence, and from there across the Apennines to Bologna where Persons was troubled by an injured leg, an injury which caused a week's delay. The cardinal archbishop of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotto—a close friend of Charles Borromeo—entertained the travellers as his personal guests. In the presence of the cardinal and his theologians, Sherwin delivered a Latin

oration 'excellently well to the great edification of the hearers'.¹⁴⁹ From Bologna they passed quickly on to Milan where the archbishop, Cardinal Charles Borromeo, gave them a warm welcome and lodged them in his own palace. Each day after lunch Sherwin and Campion were asked to entertain the cardinal with 'spiritual conferences in Latin'.¹⁵⁰

The journey continued through Turin, and from there they entered France by the Mt Cenis pass.¹⁵¹ As they travelled through Savoy they came across Spanish troops who had commandeered all available accommodation along the route. Thus the party of Englishmen had to change their route; they could go west *via* Lyons, or east *via* Geneva. But as the road by Lyons was blocked by rebellious Huguenot peasants, they were forced to take the road *via* Geneva. Sherwin was most eager to visit Geneva, the centre of Calvinism and the home of Theodore Beza. And indeed his appetite for adventure and fondness for theological debate were both to be satisfied during his visit to the city.

Before entering Geneva, Persons insisted that everyone disguise himself. Campion played the part of a poor Irishman and acted as the servant of Paschall. In this part Campion was a constant source of amusement to Sherwin. As soon as they set foot in the city they were interrogated, first by soldiers, then by the magistrate. There was no avoiding the question; each of them declared himself a catholic. The magistrate showed no surprise at hearing this, and promised them three days' hospitality in the city; whereupon they were escorted to an inn.

Sherwin's impatient spirit would not permit him a moment's delay; after a quick meal he left the inn and went in search of Beza. Sherwin and companions found him at his home, and a friendly discussion proceeded until Sherwin and Campion began to probe Beza on deeper matters; at this point, feeling himself outnumbered, Beza courteously excused himself and disappeared. Sherwin, however, was not so easily deterred. He returned to the inn where he found an old friend from Oxford days, Mr Powell, and with him Mr Browne, a protestant schoolmaster resident in Geneva. While Persons entertained Powell, Sherwin walked the city streets with Browne, arguing and disputing with him till midnight. Sherwin was irrepressible and wound up the discussion by issuing a challenge to Beza and his fellow-ministers. He suggested a public disputation on all points of controversy, the loser to be burnt at the stake.¹⁵² Whether wisdom or sheer rashness prompted Sherwin's action, Persons judged it safer to leave Geneva and postpone all disputations until they reached England.

Early next morning Powell returned to the inn to lead the group out of the town and set them on their way. After leaving Geneva, the first stop they made in France was at the town of St Claude where they visited

the ancient abbey-church, a popular place of pilgrimage.¹⁵³ The journey continued through France: through the Cote d'Or and Aube, through Marne towards Rheims. All went well till Whit Monday when eight of the company fell sick. They were compelled to complete the rest of the six weeks' journey to Rheims in short stages, and on May 31st Sherwin and company were re-united with William Allen in the English College, Rheims.¹⁵⁴

Sherwin spent just over a week in the town. Messages brought from Rome were passed on to Allen, and Sherwin even delivered a pair of rosary beads to a student there who had a brother in Rome.¹⁵⁵ Bishop Goldwell had arrived at Rheims a week before the rest of the party, and as soon as Sherwin arrived he was appointed to accompany the bishop into England. But almost immediately Goldwell was struck down with influenza. Sherwin offered to remain with him until he recovered, and planned to set out for England on June 10th.¹⁵⁶ Meanwhile Persons, with Campion and Emerson, set off on June 6th towards St Omers, and then to Calais.¹⁵⁷

Shortly after his arrival in Rheims, Sherwin began a letter to Alfonso Agazzari, now rector of the English College in Rome. In this he gives a lively account of the Geneva episode, and the letter reveals the charm and gaiety of the writer, and his optimism at the thought of leaving for England in two days' time, i.e. June 6th.¹⁵⁸ The letter was then sealed and taken to Paris where it was enlarged and sent to Rome.

After much deliberation it was decided that Goldwell was too sick to travel, and that full recovery was unlikely. He stayed in Rheims until 8th August 1580 when he left for Rome, where he died five years later.¹⁵⁹ On the eighth of June 1580 Sherwin bade a last farewell to Allen, and set off in the direction of Paris.¹⁶⁰ His travelling-companion was John Paschall whom he had taught ten years previously at Exeter College, Oxford; they were also students together in the College at Rome. Sherwin was fond of Paschall, and both shared the same impulsive temperament. Paschall's devotion was sincere, but his courage later gave way under threat of torture.¹⁶¹

Two days after their departure from Rheims, they had reached Paris, and the same day Sherwin completed the letter to Agazzari begun on June 4th. Paschall added a postscript to this, and the letter was posted off to Rome on June 10th.¹⁶² While at Rheims, Sherwin had started a long letter to Ralph Bickley—a contemporary of his at Exeter College, and now a student at the College in Rome. This too was completed in Paris and sent off on June 11th.¹⁶³

We have no record of when they left Paris, but we do know that they reached Rouen in the middle of June.¹⁶⁴ This gave Sherwin an opportunity

to visit his uncle Fr John Woodward who was living there in exile. No doubt Sherwin and Paschall would have stayed with the old priest. The meeting would have been of great value to Sherwin who must have picked up many a useful tip; but their stay in Rouen was longer than originally intended.¹⁶⁵ From Paris he had written to Agazzari: 'we are travelling to our country with all speed'. It is possible that the five-week delay was caused by Paschall's illness, referred to in another of Sherwin's letters to Agazzari, this one dated 'Rouen 1st August 1580'; '... Paschall [now] being well advanced towards his recovery'.¹⁶⁶

Now began the last stage of their journey: from Rouen to the coast, and from there across the Channel to England. They left Rouen on August 1st: 'exactly on the feast of St Peter's chains, I left Rouen and started for England'.¹⁶⁷ From Rouen to the nearest point on the French coast is barely twenty-five miles, and knowing Sherwin, we can be sure that he took the first passage that was offered. So if he sailed from Le Havre or Dieppe during the afternoon of August 1st,¹⁶⁸ he would have been put ashore under cover of darkness on the following morning, at one of the inlets or coves along the Hampshire coast.

After an absence of exactly five years, Ralph Sherwin stood once more on English soil. Yet he knew well enough that with spies in every college abroad, the government must have supplied the official searchers with not only his description, but also the approximate date of his landing. Catholics in London were prepared for the mission of 1580, and Sherwin probably benefited from their help as Persons and Campion had done. But first he had to reach London and call at one of the addresses given by Persons.¹⁶⁹

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(To be concluded)

⁴⁶ Robert Persons S.J., *Philopater*, para. 73.

⁴⁷ William Allen, *Briefe Historie*, ed. Pollen (1908), p. 34.

⁴⁸ T. F. Knox, *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douai*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ Cf. Vatican Library, Bart. Lat., 8624, 1.

⁵⁰ Cf. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 113. Gregory Martin was later to translate the New Testament for the Douai version of the bible.

⁵¹ Vat. Lat., 12159, ff. 176 sqq.—is most likely a copy of the first constitutions.

⁵² *Ibid.*, ff. 164 & v.

⁵³ Cf. Denzinger-Schönmetzer, pp. 425–7.

⁵⁴ Cf. n. 129 which event is the origin of the practice; the new constitutions of 12th June 1579 made this oath compulsory. For the oath, cf. V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303 (*Liber Ruber*), p. 1 (C.R.S., 37, p. 2).

⁵⁵ Cf. Vat. Lat., 12159, ff. 187 & 209; these are bills sent by the rector to Cardinal Morone, the protector.

⁵⁶ Salisb. IV, 582, which passage is dated 16th August 1594.

⁵⁷ For a description of the system in force at Douai College, cf. the first part of this article in *THE VENERABLE*, Summer 1966, p. 243, or A. C. F. Beales, *Education under Penalty*, pp. 115–6.

⁵⁸ The description which follows is mainly based on A. O. Meyer's *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 102–4, on A. Munday's *The English Romayne Lyfe*, *passim*, and on B.M., Add. MS. 48023, ff. 95 sqq.

⁵⁹ B.M., Add. MS. 48023, f. 96.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 95v, and Munday, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶¹ Cf. Lewis Owen, *The Running Register*, p. 22.

⁶² Cf. *THE VENERABLE*, Sexcentenary Issue, May 1962, p. 240.

⁶³ Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 316, which is Gregory Martin's letter to Campion, 21st May 1578.

⁶⁴ C.R.S., 2, p. 93; cf. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁶⁵ C.R.S., 2, p. 144. My account of the domestic troubles is brief and pinpoints the role played by Sherwin. I owe much to the fuller accounts which appear in *THE VENERABLE*, April 1940, pp. 307–24; November 1940, pp. 414–26; November 1961, pp. 171–96. But in the light of the original sources, I here correct the previous accounts in certain details, and in places I suggest a different chronology.

⁶⁶ C.R.S., 2, p. 144. Clynnog speaks of the papal Brief in Dodd-Tierney, *Church History of England*, II, ccclxxii. For a copy of Morone's decree, cf. Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 153.

⁶⁷ Dodd-Tierney, *op. cit.*, loc. cit. Clynnog's original account is in Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 135, and was composed in January 1579.

⁶⁸ Cf. Persons' *Domesticall Difficulties*, in C.R.S., 2, pp. 144 sqq.; and Munday, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 sqq.

⁶⁹ C.R.S., 2, p. 144.

⁷⁰ The original autographed petition is Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 145; there is a copy in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 7 & v; also in C.R.S., 2, pp. 102–3.

⁷¹ Persons in C.R.S., 2, p. 103.

⁷² Lewis' original letter is preserved in the collection of Morone's papers, Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 97.

⁷³ Persons in C.R.S., 2, p. 87.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, and pp. 144–5.

⁷⁵ Cf. V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 10–11. Also in Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclviii, and C.R.S., 2, pp. 104–5.

⁷⁶ Persons' account in C.R.S., 2, p. 145.

⁷⁷ Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 124 & v.

⁷⁸ Persons' report in C.R.S., 2, p. 113.

⁷⁹ C.R.S., 39, p. 12. Accounts of this interview are in Munday, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–5; C.R.S., 2, p. 146; and C.R.S., 39, pp. 12–13.

⁸⁰ Munday, *op. cit.*, p. 82. The speech is reported in pp. 82–5; I reproduce it as Appendix I at the end of this article. It is interesting to note that on his journey to Rome, Munday was helped by Sherwin's uncle John Woodward in Rouen; but Munday's own account (pp. 3–8)

maintains that this happened in Amiens, not Rouen.

⁸¹ Cf. especially C.R.S., 2, pp. 117–8, and C.R.S., 39, p. 13.

⁸² C.R.S., 2, pp. 106–7.

⁸³ Vat. Lat., 12159, ff. 135 sqq. There is a copy in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 5–6v.

⁸⁴ C.R.S., 2, p. 118. The Latin text appears as Appendix II of this article.

⁸⁵ Persons in C.R.S., 2, p. 148.

⁸⁶ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 18 & v, where it is dated 28th January 1578. Cf. also C.R.S., 2, pp. 108–9.

⁸⁷ The original is Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 120; and cf. *THE VENERABLE*, Sexcentenary Issue, May 1962, p. 250.

⁸⁸ A copy of this memorial is among Morone's papers, Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 114.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 215–17v.

⁹⁰ C.R.S., 2, p. 149. That Morone asked the scholars to elect an Englishman in place of Clynnog is deduced from the letter printed in Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclxxiv–v.

⁹¹ Dodd-Tierney, *ibid.*

⁹² The petition is in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 23 & v, and C.R.S., 2, pp. 113–4. The list of reasons is in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 24–25v, and C.R.S., 2, pp. 114–7.

⁹³ C.R.S., 2, p. 109.

⁹⁴ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, p. 21.

⁹⁵ Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 132; in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 28 & v; in C.R.S., 2, pp. 110–1.

⁹⁶ Vat. Lat., 12159, ff. 142–144v; also in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 27–8.

⁹⁷ Cf. nn. 92, 95 and 96.

⁹⁸ Richard Haydock's letter (of 9/3/1579) to Allen, in Dodd-Tierney, II, cccl–ccclxi; and Owen Lewis' letter (of 10/3/1579) to Allen, *ibid.*, ccclxi–ccclxxi.

⁹⁹ The previous paragraph is based on the letters of Haydock and Lewis, cf. the previous note.

¹⁰⁰ This 'dignified little petition', in Vat. Lat., 12159, ff. 147–8, is original and autographed.

¹⁰¹ The original is Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 146; a copy, but without signatures, exists in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, p. 31.

¹⁰² Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclv. Three Jesuits were now in residence, cf. Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

¹⁰³ Dodd-Tierney, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Lewis to Allen, Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclxi–ii.

¹⁰⁵ Munday, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. C.R.S., 2, p. 151; C.R.S., 39, p. 18; Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclvi.

¹⁰⁷ This petition survives in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 33–34v; and cf. C.R.S., 2, pp. 120–2.

¹⁰⁸ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 35 & v; C.R.S., 2, pp. 122–4.

¹⁰⁹ For a list of English residents in Rome, cf. Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 129. Cf. Munday, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–3.

¹¹⁰ Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclxii.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, ccclxiii. Note that Haydock says 'sixteen or seventeen' was the number (*ibid.*, ccclvii).

¹¹² Munday, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹¹³ Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclxiii; C.R.S., 2, p. 124. The English memorial is V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 38–39v; and cf. Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclix.

¹¹⁴ The letter is Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 155 & v. Cf. *THE VENERABLE*, Sexcentenary Issue, May 1962, p. 259, n. 94.

¹¹⁵ Munday, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–4.

¹¹⁶ V.E.C. Archives, Lib. 304, pp. 63–5. Cf. C.R.S., 2, pp. 124–8, where Persons gives the date as March 17th; but in view of the subsequent disputes at that time, I think the letter and odes fit the present context better.

¹¹⁷ Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclix.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, ccclxiv.

¹¹⁹ C.R.S., 2, p. 156.

¹²⁰ Cf. C.R.S., 2, p. 157. A copy of the petition is Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 122; V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 43 & v; and C.R.S., 2, pp. 128–9.

¹²¹ C.R.S., 2, p. 157. In Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 128v, there is evidence that Gregory passed the petition straight to Morone.

¹²² C.R.S., 2, pp. 129, 157.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 158; cf. Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclxiv.

¹²⁴ The letter is Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 152.

¹²⁵ Cf. Persons in C.R.S., 2, pp. 129–30. Allen refers to the matter in a letter to Lewis, 12th May 1579 (Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclxix). A further reference is in the students' letter to Bianchetti (C.R.S., 2, p. 126), which suggests a date earlier than I think possible.

¹²⁶ Cf. Anthony Kenny's comments in *THE VENERABLE*, Sexcentenary Issue, May 1962, p. 263. The students' petition is V.E.C. Archives, lib. 304, pp. 65v–66; and in C.R.S., 2, p. 130.

¹²⁷ C.R.S., 2, pp. 135–7.

¹²⁸ He made the suggestion in mid-January 1579, cf. C.R.S., 2, p. 87.

¹²⁹ The form of the oath is in the V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, p. 3v; it is reproduced in Dodd-Tierney, II, ccclxiii–ccclxiv, and C.R.S., 37, p. 7. It has been said that Owen Lewis was responsible for composing the oath, but the arguments are not convincing; cf. *THE VENERABLE*, Sexcentenary Issue, May 1962, pp. 277–8.

¹³⁰ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, p. 4. This is reproduced in C.R.S., 2, pp. 131–2; C.R.S., 37, p. 8; Foley, *Records*, VI, p. 130. For a fuller account of this 'historic ceremony', cf. *THE VENERABLE*, Sexcentenary Issue, May 1962, p. 263.

¹³¹ *THE VENERABLE*, *ibid.*

¹³² The original Bull is in the V.E.C. Archives; there is an undated copy among the Morone papers, Vat. Lat., 12159, f. 215. For the date of its arrival, cf. V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, pt. 2, p. 12.

¹³³ Knox, *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, pp. 78–84; the letter is dated 12th May 1579.

¹³⁴ The original document is Vat. Lat., 12159, ff. 105–112; these are printed in A. O. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 481–5. Note that a different set were in force when Cardinal Sega carried out the official Visitation of 1585; this set of constitutions are in V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, pp. 1–3; Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 509–14; C.R.S., 37, pp. 1–5.

¹³⁵ Cf. V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, pt. 2, pp. 5–8, and Knox, D. D., p. 155.

¹³⁶ B.M., Add. MS. 48023, f. 96v. This report (by Charles Sledd? or Robert Woodward?) is in C.R.S., 53, pp. 214–45.

¹³⁷ B.M., Add. MS. 48023, f. 98v (C.R.S., 53, p. 222). Persons claims that Allen arrived on October 10th, cf. C.R.S., 2, p. 137.

¹³⁸ Persons' *Memoirs*, in C.R.S., 2, *passim*.

¹³⁹ C.R.S., 53, pp. 224–5.

¹⁴⁰ For details of professors, *horaria*, etc., of the *Collegium Romanum* in Sherwin's day, cf. R. G. Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, pp. 84–96; 321–36.

¹⁴¹ H. Van Laak has written an article on 'Martyres Angli et S. Bellarminus', in *Gregorianum*, vol. XI (1930), pp. 336–70.

¹⁴² V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, pt. 2, p. 24; cf. Foley, VI, p. 78.

¹⁴³ B.M., Add. MS. 48023, f. 103; cf. C.R.S., 53, p. 231 (but N.B. the error: for 1579 read 1580).

¹⁴⁴ This is the group which finally set out on 18th April 1580; cf. V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, pt. 2, p. 11; C.R.S., 2, pp. 26, 160, 195–6; Knox, D. D., pp. 297, 360; Foley, VI, p. 69. Morton was English Penitentiary in St Peter's; Sherwin, Kirby and Rishton were priests of the College; Bromborough, Giblet and Crayne were members of the old Hospice confraternity; Kent and Paschall were laymen, the former lived in lodgings outside the College, and the latter lived in the College as a student.

¹⁴⁵ R. Simpson, *Edmund Campion*, p. 151. I have found Simpson's work to be most accurate; I leave his chronology unchallenged.

¹⁴⁶ The main sources which describe the journey home are Persons' *Memoirs* (C.R.S., 2, *passim*, but especially pp. 195–9), and Sherwin's letter from Paris to Ralph Bickley in Rome (cf. *The Month*, September 1897). The journey has been described elsewhere (Simpson, *op. cit.*; *THE VENERABLE*, November 1950; J. H. Pollen in *The Month*, September 1897). My account is therefore brief. As was done in the episode of the Anglo-Welsh troubles, I under-

line the parts relevant to Sherwin.

¹⁴⁷ J. H. Newman, *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*, pp. 181–2.

¹⁴⁸ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, pt. 2, p. 11. For an early account of the journey, cf. P. Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campiani*, pp. 64–89.

¹⁴⁹ Persons in C.R.S., 2, p. 197.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ From this point onwards our main source is Sherwin's letter to Bickley, cf. n. 146. The letter appears as an appendix at the end of this article. Cf. also the relevant passages in P. Bombino, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–86.

¹⁵² Sherwin's account is generally more vivid and detailed than Persons', for he wrote much sooner after the event. The words of Sherwin's challenge are recorded in Bombino, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–2.

¹⁵³ Cf. Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 165, who quotes from Persons' life of Campion.

¹⁵⁴ Sherwin to Bickley. The Douai Diaries date the group's arrival at Rheims as May 27th, cf. Knox, D. D., p. 166.

¹⁵⁵ Sherwin to Bickley.

¹⁵⁶ Allen, *Briefe Historie*, p. 38. Sherwin (to Bickley) says he was 'appointed' to assist the bishop.

¹⁵⁷ Sherwin to Bickley. The Douai Diaries claim they departed on June 7th, cf. Knox, D. D., p. 166.

¹⁵⁸ The original letter is preserved in the Stonyhurst Archives. It appears as an appendix at the end of this article.

¹⁵⁹ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Persons in C.R.S., 2, p. 199; Knox, D. D., p. 169.

¹⁶⁰ Knox, D. D., pp. 166, 261.

¹⁶¹ Cf. *Essex Recusant*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 92. And cf. Persons' words quoted by J. Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers* (Second Series), p. 295.

¹⁶² The original is in the Stonyhurst Archives; there is a copy in A.R.S.I., Ang. 37, f. 339. A transcript appears as Appendix IV.

¹⁶³ Cf. nn. 146 and 151. A fragment of the letter survives in A.R.S.I., Ang. 37, f. 339.

¹⁶⁴ Deduced from facts given by Sherwin in a letter from Rouen to Agazzari, Stonyhurst Archives, *Anglia*, i. f. 32, n. 9. This appears as an appendix at the end of this article.

¹⁶⁵ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Persons, C.R.S., 2, p. 199. And cf. *Essex Recusant*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 92, and Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 169. For John Woodward, cf. n. 12 above.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. n. 164.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ L. Hicks maintains (on what evidence?) that Sherwin crossed to England on August 1st; cf. his remarks in C.R.S., 39, p. 53.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Simpson's account of Persons' and Campion's landings, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–8.

AFTER THE FLOOD

'Who would have thought the old Arno had so much mud in her?'—my first thought on walking through the muddy, oil-stained streets of Florence. On every street corner, at every cellar door lay heaped mounds of sludge, churned up from the basements. I travelled up with a working party of students from the English, Irish and Scots Colleges, and found myself shovelling away in one of the poorer, lower-lying areas, savagely hit by the recent floods.

The Arno rose, bursting its banks early on November 4th. Most people were still in bed. They awoke to find their famous city afloat in a sea of swirling mud. The worst flooding for 700 years—claim the Italian authorities. Work-squads and army units alerted to the spot swung into action immediately. Rescues continued round the clock.

Those desperate days of literally fighting the flood water from the front-door are mercifully over, but the mopping-up goes on. The Arno has dropped; the main streets are clear; the churches and art galleries open their doors again. Yet for all this, the back-streets, where I was shovelling, still tell the sorry tale.

Our task involved clearing out cellars that contained a coating of six to twelve inches of mud. Buried beneath the silt lay decaying junk, broken wine bottles and debris from the river-bed. We even chanced across occasional dead cats! The stench was overpowering. It meant emerging for a 'breather' every short spell. Dim candle-light lit the greasy path down to the slippery mess. Despite the far from congenial conditions we waded in manfully. Soon the buckets were clanking from hand to hand—at a never-ending rate.

It took eight such workers the best part of a day to clear out one cellar completely. Calls for help were pouring into the *Centro Operativo Firenze*, for whom we were working, at more than 40 a day. The 150 volunteers at the *Centro*—surprisingly several of them girls—could cater for only half of these calls.

Of the 150, nearly all were foreign students who had come on special cheap fares. The Germans were in the lead numerically, and assuming control they efficiently organised the rest into manageable work-parties.

Burkhart—one leader from the German army—drilled his men most systematically, barking out orders in a commanding, high-pitched voice: ‘Today we vill vork harder. There vill be only one break’—he meant for dinner. Being denied ‘smoking-breaks’, ‘tea-breaks’ and every other excusable time for a pause, the buckets rattled along the human chain at a spanking pace. At the end of the day Burkhart was, he told us, proud of the Englishmen’s work. But for all this, the tag was bandied around, ‘You will work-hard, with Burkhard’, and this stuck—till he got the joke himself!

For the first few days we were clearing out the cellars of the *Case di Lavoro* where we were staying. After this, the work-parties moved steadily from house to house. In our group, besides the leader, were Nancy and Joan—two Americans studying in France, who came down to help out for three days. There was a classicist from Cambridge, an indomitable Scot named Eddie; and Andrew, roaming, from Guildford—‘I just wanted to do something useful in my life for once’, he explained. Dietes, a self-styled Anarchist, was forever sporting a greased anarak and thick matted beard. Although sharing the same ‘protest’ convictions, he was by turn surly and voluble. It was hinted that he lived in the long-haired, Beatnik-roaming regions around the Spanish Steps!

Altogether as varied and motley a bunch as might have ‘wente their way to Caunterbury’ any day with Chaucer. Communists, Catholic student priests, rebels with or without a cause . . . anyone you care to mention. Only our intention was not ‘the holy blisful martyr for to seke’, rather ‘the holy blisful city for to save’. Big hopes and fine ideals for such a lowly job as shifting mud. But, as the Mayor of Florence himself admitted when he walked into the *Centro* that was crammed with masses of mud-caked overalls and wellingtons, ‘It is *you* who have saved Florence. My city will always be grateful’.

Gratitude came in the unexpected form of a Grand Reception given by the City Council, a special concert in the famous Palazzo Vecchio, and the promise to name a street after us.

Even this, however, pales compared with the genuine expressions of joy that came to the face of every householder we helped. ‘I could never have cleared it by myself’, exclaimed one ageing Florentine. ‘Never thought it would be moved’, chirped in another. Perhaps the kindest remark, and the one which gave us the most pleasure, came from one elderly woman. ‘We do not give you presents’, she wrote, ‘because we know you don’t want them’. ‘But’, she added significantly, ‘if we could, every true Florentine would give you all he has’. This we felt made the dampness, discomforts and depressing task enormously worthwhile.

MICHAEL HEALY

THE COLLEGE CHURCH¹

(PART ONE)

After the liberation of Rome in 1944, a wooden plaque was put up on the wall of the college church by the Allied military authorities. It read: 'Church of St Thomas of Canterbury. Founded by Offa, King of the East Saxons, in 775. Destroyed by fire in 817, but rebuilt in 1159 and dedicated by Pope Alexander III to St Thomas à Becket, the English martyr who had once lodged in the adjoining hospital. The attached College preserves portraits of Roman Catholics who suffered for their faith in England under Henry VIII and Elizabeth'. This information is taken directly from Augustus Hare,² who in turn probably took at least the first two dates from Murray's *Guidebook to Rome and Central Italy* (1843). Like so many authors, they confuse the present site with the Schola Saxonum; yet even with regard to the Trastevere establishment their information is quite inaccurate.

¹ To avoid the obvious dangers of merely duplicating inaccurate information, I have gone to the original documents wherever possible, except for the section concerning the 'Schola Saxonum' where I follow Parks. It has been impossible to read all the account books of the various college officials which may have references to the Church, and later research into these may show omissions in the following account. Unfortunately, some of the standard stories about the Church (e.g. the alleged desecration of the tombs for lead in 1808) in works on college history are completely without references; in such cases I have usually expressed doubt about the event, though it may simply be that I have not looked in the right place.

Many of the standard works on Roman Churches refer to the English Church, but their information is almost invariably inaccurate (cf. B. Linares, 'The Origin and Foundation of the English Hospice' (THE VENERABLE, Vol. XXI, pp. 23-5) for an excellent summary of the versions of the foundation of the Schola and its relation to the Hospice. To his list should be added Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, 1891, p. 413).

Previous articles on the old church in THE VENERABLE include 'The Church of St Thomas of the English' by J. Cartmell (THE VENERABLE, Vol. III, pp. 31-40), which is generally accurate but incomplete and altogether without references to the sources; 'Englishmen in Rome and the Hospice' by J. Allen (THE VENERABLE, Vol. XXI, pp. 43-60); and part of 'Pilgrims and the Hospice' by G. Hay (THE VENERABLE, Vol. XIX, pp. 329-339, and Vol. XXI, pp. 99-109), which gives a very full account of the church at the close of the fifteenth century.

² Augustus Hare, *Walks in Rome* (1871). Cf. pp. 175-6 in the 1887 edition.

According to Parks, a twelfth-century legend maintained that King Ine of Wessex founded the Schola Saxonum, which was a colony of houses, not just an individual building, in 726.³ This was enlarged by Offa II in 793, and rebuilt by Leo IV after the great Borgo fire in 848. He doubts, however, whether Offa ever went to Rome, and points out that there is no mention of the Schola in any original document earlier than 799; but Swinburne is prepared to accept the traditional date, given the numbers of Saxon pilgrims in the early eighth century and the likelihood of some permanent settlement.⁴ In either case the settlement was destroyed in the fire, and it is as part of the ensuing reconstruction that the first mention of an English Church occurs. This was '*Sancta Maria quae vocatur Saxonum*', mentioned in 874 as the burial place of the King of Mercia.

As was the custom, this was coupled with a hospice, which served English pilgrims to Rome for the next three centuries. There is no evidence that Becket ever stayed here, but he came to Rome three times, in 1143, 1147, and 1151⁵ and such a visit is quite possible. However, the reference to a dedication in 1159 is fanciful. Becket was still alive at the time, and three years later received a letter from the Deacon of *S. Eustachio* complaining of the decay of the Schola as a building and as an institution.⁶

The number of pilgrims continued to decline, and in 1201 Innocent III handed it over to a French order, the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit, whence the amalgamated name of *Santo Spirito in Sassia* which is still preserved. During the thirteenth century English priests served the church of *San Pantaleo*, which may have been allotted to them in compensation.⁷

What, then, is the true story of the site on which the college church now stands? The sixteenth-century Morone papers date the first hospice chapel as early as 1363,⁸ but these are often unreliable and the earliest certain date is 1376,⁹ and this is likely to have been a few rooms knocked together rather than an independent construction. It may not have been in existence much earlier than this, since only in 1377 was the establishment of the chapel confirmed and the administration of certain sacraments to pilgrims permitted by Gregory XI.¹⁰ In the first half of the fifteenth century the whole hospice was rebuilt,¹¹ and the new chapel and

³ George Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy* (1954), pp. 32-36.

⁴ Gerard Swinburne, 'The Date of the Schola Saxonum', *THE VENERABLE*, Vol. VIII, pp. 306-12.

⁵ Parks, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁶ *Materials for the History of Becket*, v. 64, Rolls series. Cf. Parks, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁷ Cf. Linares, *op. cit.*, *THE VENERABLE*, Vol. XXI, p. 17.

⁸ Vat. Lat., 12159, ff. 206r-v. Cf. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁹ Membrane 86 (11.1.1376).

¹⁰ Reg. Vat. 284, f. 56v.

¹¹ Gradwell (*Z* 68, f. 65) suggests 1412, but Allen (*op. cit.*, p. 51) believes that this is too early.

cemetery consecrated by permission of Eugenius IV in a bull dated 1445.¹²

No patron was mentioned in this document, but the hospice was already generally known as '*Ssmae Trinitatis et beati Thomae Martiris de Urbe*', and the church will have assumed that title. This building soon proved inadequate, and at the end of the century, '*... non riuscendo la ditta cappella comoda, fù poi redotta in forma miglior con la cantina sotto l'anno 1497, per opera del Ecc.mo Sig. Roberto Shirborno Ambasciator all' hora del Re Arigo settimo di Inghilterra in Roma, et consecrata in honore della Santissima Trinità e Santo Tomasso Martire a di 27 di settembre 1501*'.¹³ This consecration was also noted on the back of the 1445 bull and in the Hospice chronicle which records, '*Notandum quod anno domini 1497 ecclesia hospitalis sanctae trinitatis et Thomae martyris transformata est in meliore forma una cum cantina seu cella vinaria studio et domini Roberti Shyrbon*'. This building was to last for three hundred years.¹⁴

Like so many of the Roman Churches, that of the hospice was pillaged by the Imperial troops during the sack of Rome in 1527, when it lost most of its silver plate, vestments, and documents.¹⁵ The bull of Clement VII granted indulgences to all who help the church '*in suis structuris et edificiis debite reparetur et conservetur et manuteneatur*'.¹⁶ No record exists of any further large-scale restoration, except for a curious document in Liber 6, p. 224, which allows the Fathers of the English College to buy at Rome or Tivoli, '*fino al num^o di Ruba 25 di Calce acciò che possino restaurare la lor Chiesa*'. But this is dated 1599, and the repairs necessary are probably not a result of the trouble of seventy years earlier. As regards furniture and vestments, the response must have been generous, for by 1585 the church was once again well supplied.¹⁷

¹² The date of this bull is sometimes given (e.g. by Allen) as 1446, following the seventeenth century note on the outside of the parchment. In both the 'Indice Cronologico' and the 'Monumenta Omnia' (1774) this later date is given first, then corrected in the same hand. The Bull itself is clearly dated '*millesimoquadragesimoquadragesimoquinto Decimo kl Aprilis*' (i.e. 23rd March) and the correct date is given in the translation published in THE VENERABLE, Vol. XIX, p. 494. It would appear, however, that Allen is correct in asserting that the actual consecration, which was to be performed '*per aliquem Catholicum Antistitem gratiam et communionem apostolicae sedis habentem*', did not take place until the following year, as stated by an early 16th-century annotation: '*Consecrata erat capella primo cum cimiterio deputato 1446*'.

¹³ Lib. 246, p. 3. This is the first of a three-volume description of the College property in Rome in 1630.

¹⁴ Lib. 17, f. 20v. The Latin has been modernised. For a description of the church immediately after this restoration, cf. THE VENERABLE, Vol. XXIII, p. 35 ('Burchard's Diary 1502). For the very end of its hospice days, cf. THE VENERABLE, Vol. XX, p. 7 (Kenny quoting Douai Diaries 25.110, V.L. 137, Spetiano's visitation of June 1576). This ordered a painting of the Trinity to be hung behind the altar; i.e. the 'Martyrs' Picture'.

¹⁵ In 1926 there was still in existence at Monza a cope bearing the arms of Cardinal Bainbridge (THE VENERABLE, Vol. III, p. 33).

¹⁶ Membrane 259 (3.3.1530).

En passant, it is well to reaffirm that there was no rebuilding in 1575. The source of this seems to have been Moroni¹⁸ who is quoted by Gasquet as referring to a reconstruction undertaken by Cardinal Howard at this time. Gasquet should have known that this was impossible, since he later spends three pages discussing Howard's work in the seventeenth century. The error is copied by Armellini,¹⁹ and followed in several lesser works.

The church, like the rest of the hospice buildings, passed into the use of the College,²⁰ and remained unchanged for the next hundred years. It was untouched in the fires of 1654,²¹ and met with Cardinal Barberini's satisfaction when he conducted his visitation on 6th June 1657, '*Primum Ecclesiam comitantibus Patribus ingressus tabernaculum et custodiam Ven. Eucharistiae inspexit, reperitq. omnia munda, et ad Sacrorum Canonum formam compositam inde Summum Altare, et deinceps cetera per Ecclesiam obiit, viditq. bene esse constituta*'.²² He was also satisfied with the sacristy, which contained ample supplies of vestments, sacred vessels, and relics, not least of which was a fragment of Our Lady's veil.²³

In 1664 the obligations of the old oratory of St Edmund in Trastevere was transferred to the College church;²⁴ this had retained the privileges of its period under the hospice, and gained others during the next two centuries, e.g. a perpetual indulgence to visitors for the feasts of the Trinity and St Thomas, 1580;²⁵ jubilee indulgence to visitors on the third Sunday of November 1625;²⁶ Mass and Office of St Thomas with

¹⁷ Lib. 34 passim.

¹⁸ Moroni, *Cappella Pontificia* (1841), pp. 385-6, Cf. Gasquet, p. 190 (which contains at least 5 major errors).

¹⁹ Armellini, op. cit., p. 413.

²⁰ Membrane 308 (1.5.1579), Bull of foundation.

²¹ Gasquet's dating (1653) must again be questioned here. He presumably follows Scr. 47.5, the 1657 (which he persistently dates 1667) visitation; this gives one of the reasons why the number of students is so low (there were 22 then, compared to 43 in 1624 (Scr. 30.14)) as '*perché nell'anno 1653 vennero nel Collegio tanto [sic] strani accidenti, o di meglio malitiosi attaccamenti di fuoco*'. One must be careful of contradicting a source so near the event, yet Cartmell's date of 1654 (THE VENERABILE, Vol. I, pp. 306-314) seems the correct one. Unfortunately he does not quote his sources, and I have been unable to find 'The Prefect of Studies' unofficial diary' which records that the first outbreak was on March 8th of that year. But the Pilgrim Book (Lib. 282) can be checked, and it is on June 20th 1654 that the servants suspected of the crime were released from imprisonment (of only a fortnight). Moreover, Scr. 21.7 contains the Rector's reports and other details, all of which are dated 1654, and none earlier than June. (Incidentally, Shutt's date of 1563 (THE VENERABILE, Vol. XIII, p. 106) is obviously a misprint.)

²² Scr. 47.5, p. 73.

²³ Scr. 12.15 contains inventories of the sacristy at regular intervals from 1525 until 1773. None of its possessions survived the French occupation.

²⁴ Lib. 11, p. 3. The commemorative plaque may still be seen in the sacristy.

²⁵ Membrane 310 (7.12.1580).

²⁶ Membrane 352 (8.11.1625).

²⁷ Membrane 371 (23.3.1641) and Lib. 9, p. 266.

Octave, 1641,²⁷ and of St Edward and St George, 1733.²⁸ It was also constantly the object of gifts and bequests,²⁹ with the corresponding obligations, so that the earliest surviving Mass obligations book (1705) already lists 1,139 'foundation Masses'. Bishop Goldwell of St Asaph frequently conferred orders in the church before his death in 1585. After that College students were usually ordained at the Lateran, but in 1685 the ceremony was again allowed to be held in the College church.³⁰

In 1682-85³¹ Cardinal Howard's rebuilding of the College took place, but it did not include the church. A description of this in about 1662 is given in the contemporary *Status Rerum*, '*Ha il choro, organo, sacristia, e campanile con tre campane ed un'horologio. Ha cinque altari, e due sepolture communi, con alcune altre di particolari. Detta chiesa e suffittata e sopra di essa della parte del cortile vi è la libreria del d.o Collegio*'.³² Above the sacristy were three rooms, one for the sacristan, another '*per esercitare li Scholari nella musica*', and the third for sermons and other spiritual exercises. The next report in this series is for 1685,³³ when the writer was quite carried away in his description of the new college buildings, '*L'anni passati l'Emin.mo Sr. Card.le di Norfolcia Protettore del d.o Coll.o conoscendo d.e imperfett.ni, e scomodi del d.o Coll.o ha supplicata alla Santità di N.S. ed ottenuto licenza di vender certi loghi di Monti, per far' un'altro Coll.o nuovo da fondamenti, con incorporar' le case del med.mo Coll.o, che vi erano dalla chiesa fin al palazzo di già Corte Savella*,³⁴ and d.o Coll.o *hora è quasi finito, assai magnifico, come appare: e già vi sono andati ad habitare li Scholari, e alcuni Ministri del d.o Coll.o. La libreria, che stava sopra la Chiesa, di li fu levata e posta in uno stanzone illustre, e commodo del d.o Coll.o nuovo verso il giardino, e ciò basti, che tutto il resto di d.o Coll.o nuovo meglio si può vedere con l'ochii che descrivere con la penna*'. But '*Nel resto del Coll.o* (i.e. the church and that part of the old buildings to the east of it) *tutto è vecchio assai, senza ordinanza, e senza architettura: ha scale strette, è scommodo etc. E questo è quanto si può dire della fabrica di d.o Coll.o vecchio*'. The description of the church interior is exactly the same as in 1662, showing that the only change to the church during the general restoration works was the removal of the library from above it. There is still in the archives a ground plan and cross-

²⁸ Lib. 12, p. 240.

²⁹ Cf. *Indice Generale dell'Archivio*, pp. 1-15.

³⁰ Vicariate Archives, Tomo 57, p. 48. Cf. G. Anstruther O.P., 'Ordinations in Rome', in *Recusant History*, Vol. IV, p. 138.

³¹ Membrane 401 (13.11.1682).

³² Scr. 31.5. The actual date has been torn off.

³³ *Ibid.* 1685.

³⁴ This was the old prison of the Inquisition, and stood at the south-west corner of the present college site.

section of an oval baroque church, rather similar to Sant'Agnese; on the back is written, in a contemporary hand, '*Disegno di F. (Frater?) Pozzo per nostra Chiesa*'. Nothing further on this seems ever to have been discovered; possibly it was intended as part of Howard's reconstruction, since Pozzo was the artist of the refectory and sodality chapel. No work on it was ever carried out. As noted above, the rebuilding of the college had to be paid for in part by the sale of property, and the construction of such a grandiose church would probably have doubled the expense. Moreover, it did not fit in with the style of the new buildings. As a former Editor of *THE VENERABILE* exclaimed,³⁵ 'Bad as our present church may be considered, this would have been a thousand times worse'.

Even as it was, the amount of property sold to finance the reconstruction badly reduced the college finances, so that the 1737-39 Apostolic Visitation³⁶ had to recommend a 40% reduction in the number of students. The situation was worsened in 1768 when the college lost the Abbey of San Savino in Piacenza, a long-standing source of income which it had owned since 1581.³⁷ At the close of the Jesuit regime the crisis was so acute that the Rector was forced to pawn the College plate.³⁸ Under the Italian seculars a financial revival took place³⁹ and by the time of the dissolution the economic state of the college was again satisfactory.

But by this time age was beginning to tell on the college church. Moakler⁴⁰ states, 'The Church was already (by 1808) in a ruinous state, and had been so for many years. Even during the time of the Italian seculars it was never used, and permission had to be obtained every year to celebrate the feast of St Thomas in the sodality chapel'. From this time on it becomes increasingly difficult to discover how much the church was used. The 1737-39 visitation found the church satisfactory, and suggested only minor matters concerning the side altars, and some repairs to the gutters on the south side of the roof.⁴¹ It can also be assumed that in 1770 the church was in general use for the community. An anonymous diary of that period⁴² begins each day's entry with the rising time, followed by 'Med. Mass'. Only occasionally, and this usually when there is a sermon or on a Sunday, is 'ye Sodality' expressly mentioned, which means that it was an exception

³⁵ *THE VENERABILE*, Vol. III, p. 37.

³⁶ Lib. 324, pp. 27-43 (*dello stato economico*). The report came out in 1739, but the visitation was opened on 14th September 1737 and most of the work done in 1738.

³⁷ Lib. 5, p. 355.

³⁸ Scr. 48.5.

³⁹ Cf. *THE VENERABILE*, Vol. XVI, p. 83, 'Decline and Fall', part 3. Curtis Hayward attributes this to better management rather than increased resources.

⁴⁰ *THE VENERABILE*, Vol. XVI, p. 169, 'Decline and Fall', part 4.

⁴¹ Lib. 324, p. 125, and Scr. 43.42.

⁴² Lib. 815.

for Mass to be said in this chapel. Eight years later, Martha Swinburne, whose memorial plaque may still be seen, was buried in the church, after a High Mass celebrated there by the Rector,⁴³ and the office sung by the students (all, the report notes, giving their services *gratis*).

Nevertheless, the roof was still giving trouble, for in 1774 an architect's report⁴⁴ noted that repairs were again necessary, this time '*sopra la navatella della Chiesa verso il Cortile*': the estimated cost of repair was 82.20 *scudi*, the price of a fair-sized building operation. Whether or not these were ever carried out, by 1789 the College authorities had to apply to the Pope for a privileged altar in '*la pubblica cappella*', presumably the sodality chapel, since in '*tutte le S. Funzioni supplisce alla Chiesa del med.o Collegio che si deve riattare*'.⁴⁵ From various other documents it would appear that the church continued to be used until the French invasions. The Mass obligations books give no indication of the place of celebration, but always contain the formula '*L'intavolazione in questo libro degl' Obblighi perpetui di Messe della Venerabile Chiesa di S. Tommaso degl' Inglesi*'. However, the administrator's reports clearly state⁴⁶ '*Messe Celebrate nella Chiesa di S. Tommaso Cantuariense degl'Inglesi*' even as late as 1797. For 1789, the year in which permission for the change was granted, the bill of the hired singers on St. Thomas' day was '*per la Messa Cantata nella Chiesa del d.o Collegio in occasione della Cappella Cardinalizia*'.⁴⁷ On the other hand, Servi's report in 1819⁴⁸ clearly indicates that the church was disused at this time, and it must be presumed that the clear distinction in terminology between *chiesa* for the old church and *cappella* for the sodality chapel was not always followed.

The due number of Masses was said regularly until March 1798, when the students left for England, though the Rector continued to celebrate until the 4th of April. In all, only 150 of the 1,351 Masses for the year were celebrated, and from 1799 until 1802 the custom lapsed altogether. The grand total of 6,605 *mancanze* was absolved by the Congregation of the Council on 16th March 1803,⁴⁹ and from then until the restoration the obligations were carried out by Italian clergy in *S. Giacomo degli Incurabili*, *SSma Trinità dei Pellegrini*, and later also in *SS. Ambrogio e Carlo*, *S.*

⁴³ Scr. 43.37.

⁴⁴ Scr. 43.41.

⁴⁵ Scr. 49.9. Scr. 49.8 is listed in the index as being a similar permission for visitors on the feast of St Thomas, and is probably Moakler's source, but it is now missing.

⁴⁶ Section 261.5 *passim*.

⁴⁷ Section 261.5, vol. 8, document 139. The '*Cappella Cardinalizia*' seems to have been a function rather than a place.

⁴⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Lib. 660 *addenda*.

Carlo al Corso, and *S. Andrea degli Scozzesi*.⁵⁰ The standard stipend was 15 *baiocchi*, and the bills were sent monthly to the college administrators.⁵¹ As soon as the College reopened the obligations were resumed, but Gradwell asked for the number to be reduced since there were so few priests in the College.⁵² This was done by the 1828 Apostolic Visitation, which set the number at just under 1,000, a norm which remained in force until a further Visitation in 1907.

The first French invasion of Rome took place in 1798, and caused the College's property to be put up for sale. Although much was later recovered by the administrator, Mgr Dandini, the only surviving possession of the old church was Alberti's painting, which spent twenty years in the Second Library.⁵³ Tradition has it that the church was looted by the French in 1808, when the college was used as a barracks.⁵⁴ This was certainly the story believed by Gradwell⁵⁵ and Wiseman,⁵⁶ and later told to visitors such as Neligan,⁵⁷ but there appears to be no contemporary document proving this. As early as 1801 Rev. Robert Smelt, the English bishop's agent in Rome, described the college as 'like some houses in London destroyed by the Gordon mob in 1780'.⁵⁸ The effect of carelessness in the removal of altars and other goods, twenty years neglect,⁵⁹ and especially the removal of the roof, would cause a great deal of damage. Those who returned in 1818 knew that the French had occupied the College, and saw a ruined church, which they may have believed was in good condition before the revolution. Might they therefore have presumed that it was looted? The chief difficulty of this viewpoint is that it does not explain how there came to be bones strewn around the church; this lends considerable weight to the traditional story, which is supported also by the known propensity of the French troops to looting, and the likelihood that they expected to find valuables buried with the dead in the old coffins.

The only reliable source we possess about the state of the church in this period is the report of the College architect, Ascenso Servi, in June

⁵⁰ Libri 666-694.

⁵¹ Cf. 'Filza' for these years.

⁵² 'Filza' 1825-29, doc. 174.

⁵³ Scr. 55 (Dandini papers), *passim*, cf. *THE VENERABLE*, Vol. XVI, pp. 165-8.

⁵⁴ Cf. Gasquet, p. 204; Rope, *The Schola Saxonum, the Hospice, and the English College in Rome* (1951), p. 90; Moakler, *op. cit.* Unfortunately none of these accounts quotes a source.

⁵⁵ Z 68, p. 51. Gradwell is the origin of the story that the College was used as Murat's *quartier-général*, Wiseman of the tradition that the coffins were dug up for their lead.

⁵⁶ *Recollections of the Last Four Popes* (1858), p. 12.

⁵⁷ *Rome: Its Churches, Charities, and Schools* (1858), p. 262.

⁵⁸ Cit. Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England* (1909), Vol. II, p. 222.

⁵⁹ 'Filza', 4th March 1808, mentions repairs to all parts of the college except the church. There is no mention of French looting at all in this volume.

1819.⁶⁰ 'Several years before the Republican era, the church adjoining the Venerable English College in the via di Monserrato was declared unsafe on account of the state to which it was reduced. There were various projects for restoration and renovation, but they were all useless and inconclusive. In fact they were instead harmful to the fabric, since while these plans were being discussed it remained for many years abandoned; to prevent its complete ruin, it was decided to take the roof off, and leave the idea of reconstruction for more favourable circumstances'. The report goes on to elaborate the reasons for the damage; the walls were too weak, and the beams of the ceiling had partly rotted, so that when the general repairs to the college took place most of the roof was condemned. What was useful for restoration work elsewhere was utilised, and the rest was burnt. This left the interior open to the rain, and destroyed the guttering, so that the cellar of the church was frequently flooded out, causing damage to the foundations of the church itself and of the adjoining house (opposite *S. Girolomo*) which consequently had to be supported externally with iron bars. The only way to stop the damage spreading was to cover over the site of the church again, but the walls, weakened by age and years of neglect, were incapable of supporting the roof, and would therefore have to be demolished. Servi recommends an octagonal building on the site; this could contain a sacristy and a cemetery, while the rest could be used as store-rooms. If the college authorities wanted to build another church on the site, this would be a very useful base. The cost of demolition and of rebuilding the walls to the height of 25 Roman palms (about 18 feet) would be 3,000 *scudi*, but the use of some materials from houses belonging to the College in Trastevere which would have also to be demolished would bring the price down to 2,200 *scudi*.

At his meeting with Gradwell on 19th July, the Cardinal Protector, Consalvi, gave his full approval to the plan, but insisted that costs should not exceed this lower estimate; '*richiamo su quest'oggetto tutta la vigilanza della Congregazione* (of College administration) *e la responsabilità dei Ministri del Collegio*'.⁶¹ An average of 250 *scudi* a month was paid for this work during 1820, the final entry being on 4th December in that year. After this the college church disappears from the record for forty years.

Meanwhile, the sodality chapel was used for all services. Although

⁶⁰ Gradwell, *Miscellanea* 3. (These papers have not yet been inserted into the '*scritture*'). The original is in Italian.

⁶¹ Lib. 614, p. 12.

⁶² Lib. 531, pp. 104-133. The usual formula is '*A spese occorrenti per la nuova Fabrica nel locale dell'antica Chiesa*'.

there was a chapel on the second floor,⁶³ only this would have been big enough for general use, and it is clearly the place mentioned in Gradwell's note to Cardinal Zurla,⁶⁴ '*... riapertosi il Collegio venne alla distrutta Chiesa surrogata la Cappella interna di detto Collegio, . . . ove si sodisfano tutti i Legati alla Chiesa infissi; ed ove finalmente si tiene la Cappella Cardinalizia il giorno di S. Tommaso Apostolo*'.

There still remains the problem of William Kavanagh's grave. He was one of the students who entered in 1818, but died in September 1820, and according to the *College Register*⁶⁵ '*sepultus (est) ad partem Evangel. Cappellae majoris, prope locum ubi sedere solebat Vice-Rector*'. This led Hay⁶⁶ to maintain that the Church was in use for some time after the return and was not demolished until 1826. Servi's report shows that this was not the case, and '*solebat*' must refer to the former century. However, during the summer months of 1820 Servi's building could have been completed, and this contained a cemetery (see photograph); it was planned for the epistle side, but this could have been modified. There appears to be no indication of what happened to this grave in Talbot's later reconstruction. The date of 1826 for the demolition is also inaccurate; the '*Filza*' for this year does mention a change in chapels, but this is at Monte Porzio!⁶⁷

The other problem is that of Valadier. Wiseman⁶⁸ wrote, 'The unsightly shell of a thoroughly modern church was substituted for the old basilica, under the direction of Valadier, a good architect, but one who knew nothing of the feelings which should have guided his mind and pencil in such a work'.⁶⁹

Despite Wiseman's knowledge of the College, this assertion must be questioned. Valadier was certainly commissioned to draw up a plan, but

⁶³ 'Filza' 1825-29. Document dated 18th Jan. 1828. This chapel was near the recreation room. Could it have been that used later by the Beda and now incorporated into the Common Room?

⁶⁴ Scr. 43.43.

⁶⁵ Lib. 551, p. 60. *Liber Ruber*, vol. II.

⁶⁶ THE VENERABILE, Vol. XIX, p. 335.

⁶⁷ 'Filza' 1825-29, doc. 222.

⁶⁸ Wiseman, op. cit., p. 12.

⁶⁹ This passage is also quoted in Cartmell's account, where it is made to appear that Wiseman's mistake consists in confusing Valadier with Vespignani, the eventual architect of the present church; but the latter was not appointed until after the cardinal's death.

this was never carried into effect,⁷⁰ and it seems that Servi's temporary building remained on the site until it was demolished to make way for the present church. This was reported in at least two contemporary guide-books. In 1844 Jeremiah Donovan D.D. wrote, 'In 1818 . . . the college was restored to its original owners, who, finding their church in a state of irreparable dilapidation, fitted up anew the ancient oratory, which has since served as the College chapel, sacred to St Thomas of Canterbury. Even the naked walls of the church no longer exist entire; and the locality is now converted into a storehouse'.⁷¹ The other description was published in the same year as Wiseman's memoirs; it is by W. H. Neligan. 'Adjoining the college was the church of St Thomas of Canterbury, which was destroyed by the French when they had possession of Rome, in the beginning of this century. A carpenter's shed now occupies its site, and some of the tombs that were in it have been removed to the cloisters of the college. A neat chapel has been fitted up within the college, which is dedicated to St Thomas of Canterbury'.⁷² So things remained for another five years, until Mgr George Talbot conceived his grand design of building an English church in Rome.

⁷⁰ Cf. Talbot's first appeal, 1st January 1864.

⁷¹ *Rome, Ancient and Modern* (1844).

⁷² Neligan, *op. cit.* p. 262.

ANTHONY LAIRD

ROMANESQUE

GARGANO AND ELSEWHERE

When Easter is early, as it was this year, the question of where to spend your *gita* is upon you almost before you've drawn breath from Christmas. Browsing through the pages of the *gita* book—when the person who has currently lost it has found it once again—you are struck immediately by the enormous popularity enjoyed by certain areas: the bay of Naples, for example, is an old favourite (I was there myself Easter '65), and Tuscany is another (I was there Easter '66). On the other hand, some areas, if the *gita* book is anything to go by, remain almost entirely unexplored, for example the Gargano peninsula. So it was that six of us decided to remedy, as best we could, this desperate situation.

By strange coincidence at about the same time that this momentous decision was reached, I was approached by the Editor of this magazine in that how's-about-it way that is the *sine qua non* of every editor. He explained that he was short of a 'Romanesque' and suggested that, as I had little better to do, I might fill the few blank pages. You have only to walk slowly along the bottom corridor on the evening when everyone has returned from their *gita*, catching the odd phrase as it is thrown out from this group or that, to realize how much *everyone* likes talking about their week's experiences. This was obviously an opportunity too good to be missed. After all, the *gita* is an integral part of College life, a time when we betray our idiosyncracies as much as any other time. So I agreed to the Editor's suggestion, and must now tell you all about Gargano . . . and elsewhere.

For transport we decided on a Fiat 850 minibus. It is supposed to seat seven and can . . . just. It accommodates six quite comfortably, though leg-room is rather scarce in the back. If this seems to smack too much of the grand manner, it is interesting to learn that the six days was, on the whole, slightly cheaper than the more traditional week spent in Florence, Venice or Ischia. The advantage of a car is that you cover far more ground and at your own convenience—virtues which are not to be sniffed at on what is, after all, a holiday.

We got away from the car hire place at 9.45 on the Monday morning. Twenty minutes later we spluttered to a halt. We had been assured that there were six litres of petrol in the tank, and they ought to have got us further than this. (Our petrol gauge, by the way, was the one thing in the car that didn't work.) Fortunately there was a garage only a hundred yards or so behind us, and a can was soon found and filled, and the petrol poured into our parched tank. We tried the engine. It worked once again. Much relieved at our narrow escape, we continued our drive through Tivoli and Vicovaro, stopping for lunch at Tagliacozzo.

There we were introduced to the local wine which we were happy to meet at a number of our stops in that part of the world. If you, like me, enjoy a white wine, smooth and lightish, I can recommend it, though, as you will realize, like most *comune* wines, it is not too refined.

After lunch, we continued towards Isernia, where we had decided to put up for the first night. This first day's drive was a long one, but it took us through the magnificent Abruzzi scenery. Here, as many will know, you do not find the open, cultivated, Tuscan plain, but instead a seeming infinity of greens and browns which lend sparse colour to the gnarled mountainsides. Occasionally we had to slow down as a small, bedraggled herd of sheep and goats—not yet divided—crossed the road.

Do you know Isernia? The single entry in the *gita* book dates back to '49, and describes it as 'the home of golden mediocrity'; it is still an accurate description. It remains the unhappy meeting place of badly-preserved antiquity and ugly modernity. Moreover, it has only two hotels and at 7.45 in the evening these were our particular concern. (The Albergo Ricci which is mentioned in the *gita* book is now closed down.) The first of the two now operating is the Grand. It offered us six beds at L1,250 a head. In hope of better things we moved on to the second, the Sayonara. It offered us the same accommodation at L1,200 but by the time you had accepted the private bathroom which went with three of the rooms, and various other extras as well, you found yourself coughing up considerably more. We left, not sure where we would stay, but certain it wasn't there. In fact we came across the *locande* which solved our problem at the more palatable L500 a head.

The next day we drove on to Lucera, Saracen Lucera, with its 'grave old Suabian castle (sitting) on its emerald slope. It does not frown; it reposes firmly, with an air of tranquil and assured domination; it has found its place'; thus Norman Douglas in 1915. Certainly a visit to the place makes you realize quite vividly that medieval warfare was not always the tin-soldier affair some historians would have us believe. This vast castle which used to contain two palaces, each three or four stories high, and is a kilometre in circumference, is said to have held sixty thousand people and commands the whole of the Apulian plain.

It goes without saying that the present custodian of this castle is not the 'worthless old fellow, full of untruthful information' whom Douglas met there fifty or more years ago. He was all the same a character. It is true that most people we meet on a *gita* think we are Germans, but they do normally ask as well. Our guide presumed. Now this didn't matter until his friends came along. Up till then he had been quite happy to chatter on in Italian, but with the arrival of an audience he switched over to German—and none of us understands a word of German. Caught off guard by this unexpected turn of events, we decided to 'yah' good-naturedly at intervals, and so hurt no one's feelings. All would have been well had he not forced a visitors' book on us, insisting that nationality be stated. Fortunately his friends had just left, so the *dénouement* was staged privately, and his pride, if slightly bruised, was not too much the worse for wear.

That night we stopped at San Giovanni Rotondo and believe we may have unearthed a more natural explanation of one of Padre Pio's miracles. The story goes that three youths visited the town to assist at Padre Pio's Mass. But when 4.15 came and with it the time to rise and go up to the Church, one of the three thought better of it and decided to stay in bed. The other two went on without him. Five minutes after Mass had begun, the third joined them panting. Afterwards, when they got outside, he explained what had happened. He seemed to have been kicked out of bed. Our more natural explanation? Well, one of us fell out of bed too, but not so near *sveglia*, and the crack as he hit the floor echoed round our prefabricated *pensione*, waking all of us up. During our visit we smelt no sweet smells nor witnessed any strange occurrence. We were, however, impressed by a humble old man, saying his Mass with great devotion.

On to Monte Sant' Angelo. There in the church in the underground cave which has water dripping continually from its roof, the sacristan gave us pieces of holy rock, taken from the cave where Michael the Archangel appeared to a Greek bishop of Sipontum. Seeing our slight reluctance to accept his gift, he kissed each chip and pressed it into our palms—then he brought the hat round.

In Manfredonia on Wednesday night we noticed the same phenomenon Norman Douglas had observed in Lucera, an infinity of barbers. We did not test their skill. A cheerful young priest, Don Michele, found us a good, cheap hotel for the night. Going out for supper we were nearly caught by a hanger-on who first proposed conversation (he wanted to improve his English), then wine, then women; we refused all three.

From Thursday morning on, our travel was more conventional. We had not the time to go further south and so, on Don Michele's advice, we beat across to the west coast and Salerno. The weather had changed; the rain was to be fairly continual from now on. The only slight and much-appreciated break came the following morning when we paid homage at Paestum.

Friday night found us at Amalfi, and by late Saturday afternoon, after a long drive, we were back in Rome. We returned refreshed with more than thirteen hundred kilometres behind us.

C. R. STRANGE

DR. HERBERT CROFT AND THE JESUITS

It is difficult to think of any more curious blend of the gross clown and the out-and-out scoundrel than that found in Titus Oates, but his performance in the so-called 'Popish Plot' was to earn him a niche unique in English history. His allegations of a Catholic plan to take over the country seem ridiculous to a later age, but his extraordinary ability to engender confidence was helped immensely by the ease with which religious fears and fanaticism could be stirred up in seventeenth-century England—most people were ready to believe almost before Oates had told his tale:

'. . . the mass of Englishmen . . . regarded the Pope as Anti-Christ and Roman catholicism as idolatrous and superstitious and its adherents as traitors. The mere presence of Roman catholics in England seemed a mark of internal weakness and a constant encouragement to an external foe. . . . Hatred of Roman catholicism was particularly strong among those classes with political power. Consequently, parliament was a steady advocate of penal legislation and its enforcement'.¹

To this was added powerful support for the Plot by political elements who sought to use it as a weapon against Charles II.

The clinching factor for the credibility of these revelations poured out almost daily by Oates, however, was a basically authentic knowledge of

¹ Godfrey Davis, *The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660*, Cambridge 1959, p. 206. This extract refers to the Civil War period of forty years before, but applies equally well here.

and acquaintance with many of the leading English Catholics and especially those shadowy and sinister figures, the fathers of the Society of Jesus. This knowledge he had gained at first hand, from his movement in Catholic circles in England and then in the English colleges in Valladolid and St Omers, all of which had taken place within about fifteen months in 1677 and 1678.

From the actual 'breaking' of the Plot in the autumn of 1678 until December 1680 more than 30 people were tried and executed, the ripples reaching out ever farther from London until most provincial centres were affected. Oates' original document of accusations was a folio pamphlet of 68 pages, entitled the '*True and Exact Narrative of the Horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish Party against the life of His Sacred Majesty the Government, and the Protestant Religion*'. The Jesuits were cast as the evil force behind it all. Article XXXIII of the 'Narrative', which may be taken as typical, took the action to the Marches and South Wales:

'In the month of July, 1678, Father Ashby² came to London to treat with Sir George Wakeman,³ by Father Whitbread's⁴ instructions, for poisoning the King, for which they were to offer him the said £10,000 in the goldsmith's hand. Father Ashby showed deponent the written instructions; the same instructions also contained an order from Father Provincial to secure the assassination of Dr Herbert Croft, the Bishop of Hereford, an apostate from the faith, being resolved that no apostate should be spared!'⁵

The Jesuit district of South Wales, called the Residence of St Francis Xavier, covered also Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset. There were only some seven Jesuits in the whole of this area, but the blow was not long in coming. On the morning of 17th November 1678, the Superior of the district, Fr David Lewis, usually known as Charles Baker,⁶ was preparing to say Mass in a house in Llantarnam

² Fr Richard Ashby s.j., alias Thimbleby. Rector of St Omer from 1672 until his death in the College in 1680.

³ Sir George Wakeman, physician-in-ordinary to the Queen, and the leading Catholic of his profession. Was in the English College, Rome, as a convictor from 27th October 1647 until 25th September 1650. He also had a brother in the Jesuits.

⁴ Br Thomas Whitbread s.j., alias Harcourt. English Provincial from early 1678, and as such had Oates expelled from St Omers. Condemned and hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, 20th June 1679.

⁵ Titus Oates, '*True and exact narrative of the horrible plot and conspiracy of the Popish party against the life of His Sacred Majesty, the Government, and the Protestant religion*'. As quoted by Foley, V., 101.

⁶ Bl. David Lewis s.j., alias Charles Baker. Entered English College, Rome, 6th November 1638; entered Jesuits 19th April 1644. Superior of S. Wales district since 1674. Condemned and H.D.Q. at Usk, 27th August 1679. He was the last martyr from the Venerable.

(Cwmbran), about four miles up the Usk valley from Newport, when he was arrested by six dragoons sent for the purpose. After his trial and sentence he was summoned to London and closely questioned concerning the Plot, but when it was seen that he knew nothing of it and would not conform to the Church of England, he was returned to Usk to await execution.

By now, the alarm had been raised in this area and the Jesuits were rapidly going into hiding along with the rest of the Catholic clergy. Fr Philip Evans was captured on 2nd December and eventually suffered the full penalty.⁷ Ignatius Price, *vere* Andrews, died from the privations of living in the woods in midwinter (he was 69) on 16th January 1679. Fr Charles Pritchard had been denounced by Oates as one of the leaders of the Plot and there was a reward of 80 crowns for his capture; he evaded the pursuivants, but died just over a year later as the result of an accident in the house in which he was hiding.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits having been scattered, it was decided to root out the nest itself. In December 1678 a letter of warrant was sent by the House of Lords to Dr Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, to seize and search the headquarters of the district, which were situated at a place called Cwm or Combe:

‘Die Sabathi, Decembris, 1678.

Upon information given to this house of a place in Herefordshire called Combe, that the said house and three hundred pounds (per annum) belongeth to the Church of Rome, and that five or six Jesuits commonly reside there, and that in the chapel there Mass is said constantly, and that the place is commonly called and known by the name of the Jesuits’ College by the Papists. Upon consideration had thereof it is ordered by the lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled that it be, and is hereby recommended to the Lord Bishop of Hereford . . . to send for and examine such persons as his lordship or assistants shall think necessary for finding out the truth of the matter of fact concerning the said place called Combe, and to give this house a full account thereof as soon as his lordship conveniently can.

Jo. Browne,
Cleric-Parliamentor’.⁸

⁷ Bl. Philip Evans s.j. Condemned and H.D.Q. at Cardiff, 22nd July 1679.

⁸ Letter from House of Lords to Bishop of Hereford, December 1678. As quoted in Foley IV, 463.

Cwm was an isolated spot in the parish of Llanrothal, about five miles up the Monnow valley from Monmouth and about ten miles from Hereford. It consisted of two buildings very close to each other and had in fact been known as a Catholic centre for at least 70 years.⁹ The search was carried out some time between 18th November 1678 and 13th January 1679.¹⁰ Although the priests were away, the pursuivants captured the servants and everything the houses contained. It was not long before a report of the whole affair had been written, by Dr. Croft himself, and it was soon printed and put on sale in London.¹¹ It contains a description of the place and what was found there:

‘... And there were found two paper books in folio, in the front of one written, *Ordinationes variae pro Collegio Sancti Xaverii*. (Xaverius was the co-founder with Ignatius of the Jesuits’ Order, and his picture was there set up.)

Ordinationes doth not here signify ordinations as we commonly understand it, but order and rules sent from the Generals of the Jesuits, Caraffa and Paulus Oliva, to the Jesuits here inhabiting. As also instructions from the Provincials of the Jesuits living in London unto those here.

The other paper book contains the great benefactors, being queens, princes, nobles and several others of this and divers other nations, who have contributed towards the foundation of Jesuit Colleges, or the maintenance of them, and likewise the number of Masses appointed to be said for their souls.

... There are about fifteen or sixteen several printed books, containing the decrees of the several congregations of the Society at Rome, that contain only the rules of the Society of Jesus. . . .

... One letter seems written by the Provincial to them of this house, wherein complaint is made “that there was not care enough taken to send young men to Rome, to be there bred up in the English

⁹ ‘Report of the High Sheriff of Herefordshire’, S.P. Dom., James I, XIV, n. 40, 1605. ‘A Relacion of the Jesuites’ proceedings’. ‘Herefordshire and thereaboutes’. As quoted in Foley IV, 370.

¹⁰ Foley IV, 464, note 3. Croft mentions that Lewis is at present in Monmouth gaol; he had been there since 18th November 1678 and was removed to Usk on 13th January 1679.

¹¹ ‘A short narrative of the discovery of a College of Jesuits, at a place called Come, in the County of Hereford, which was sent up unto the Right Honourable the Lords assembled in Parliament, at the end of the last sessions, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Herbert, Lord Bishop of Hereford, according to an order sent unto him by the said lords, to make diligent search, and return an account thereof. To which is added a true relation of the knavery of Father Lewis, the pretended Bishop of Llandaffe, now a prisoner in Monmouth gaol’. As quoted in Foley IV, 464. The allusion to the bishopric of Llandaffe is that according to Oates, Lewis was to be consecrated to this see when the Catholic revolution succeeded.

As quoted in Foley IV, 464. The allusion to the bishopric of Llandaffe is that according to Oates, Lewis was to be consecrated to this see when the Catholic revolution succeeded.

College, and for which", he saith, "the Pope was much displeased, and threatened to take away their College there, and fill it up with scholars of some other nation and order".'

One of the servants captured had been the manager of the estate, and the results of his interrogation are set down, mostly details of administration and finance but also:

'This Pullen names seven several Jesuit priests, viz. Pritchard, Archer, Harris, Lewis, Price, Humphries and Draicot, who were used to resort thither, and say Mass there;¹² but the altar, with all the ornaments thereof, was taken down and conveyed away, only the altar-stone remaining with five crosses cut in it, one in each corner, and one in the middle'.

This masterly grasp of the minutiae of Jesuit and Roman life and procedure was most unusual in a prelate of the Church of England, but the explanation was simple enough: he had himself been a student in the English College in Rome.

Herbert Croft was born on 18th October 1603, the son of Sir Herbert Croft of Croft Castle, Herefordshire. After a highly successful public life culminating in a knighthood, Sir Herbert crossed over to Flanders, became a Catholic, and spent the last five years of his life as a lay-brother in the monastery of St Gregory, the English Benedictine house at Douai. He died there in April 1622.¹³ Of the son, D.N.B. says:

'He is said, on doubtful authority, to have been sent to the university of Oxford about 1616, and to have been summoned thence to Flanders by his father, who had joined the Roman Catholic Church. Wood asserts that he was placed in the English college at St Omer, "where, by the authority of his father, and especially by the persuasions of John Floyd, a jesuit,¹⁴ he was brought up to the Roman Catholic obedience, and made a perfect catholic".'

Croft himself gives a rather different account of his conversion, putting it down mainly to the good example of a Catholic gentleman whom he was visiting in prison:

¹² Pullen seems to have told his examiners no more than he had to. Of these seven Jesuits (and in fact Draicot was a lay-brother), Lewis was already in prison; Archer, Harris, Humphries and Draicot had been dead for periods varying from sixteen years to three months; Price and Pritchard were still on the run but no one knew where to find them. Cf. Foley IV, 75, and VII, 1, under their names.

¹³ D.N.B. and Foley IV, 467.

¹⁴ Fr John Floyd S.J. Entered English College, Rome, 9th October 1590; entered Jesuits

'5. Cum educatus diu in haeresi fuisset, miserrimae meae conditionis misertus Deus, Neutonius¹⁵ cuiusdam saecularis viri nobilis usus ut me gregi suae fideli associaret; hunc nimirum, dum in carcere Londini gravissima ob fidem catholicam pateretur, Dominae cuiusdam exoratus praecibus saepius visitabam, ut dato ab illa argento illius viri miserias sublevarem; cuius ego perspicuus virtutem et constantiam quin etiam gratum illius in me animum, qui saepe effusis lachrymis deplorabat flebilem meum statum, in quo ne huius quidem in se charitatis praemii eram capax, haec inquam ego perspicuus, atque illius sermone vehementer commotus, rebus catholicis operam dare coepi diligentius, easque mecum serio perpendere: quarum ego tandem veritatem divino lumine illustratus clarissime perspexi; deinde me ad sacerdotem contuli nomine Chatwin,¹⁶ qui me Ecclesiam catholicae reconciliavit, in qua, Laus Deo, iam 7 annis perseveravi.'¹⁷

In the same document he mentions that he was at St Omer and also studied in Paris.

On 4th November 1626 he entered the English College, Rome, as a convictor, under the name of John Harley; the full entry is as follows:

'675. Ioannes Harlaeus (vero nomine Herebertus Croft) Oxoniensis annorum 22. habens Confirmationem admissus est ut Convictor inter Alumnos SS. Domini nostri a Rdo P. Th. Fitzherberto Rectore, de mandato Illmi Card. Barberini Protectoris die 4 novembris 1626.

Die octavo Septemb. 1628 discessit in Belgium et bene se hic gesserat.

Sed postea in Anglia turpiter Apostatavit.

Modò Ann. 1666 est Pseudoepiscopus'.¹⁸

The name Ioannes Harleus appears in the House List of 8th 1628 under the heading of *Metaphysici*, or what would today be called 3rd Year Philosophy.¹⁹ The only other places in which his name appears are the

1st November 1592. He was probably teaching theology at Louvain at the time in question.

¹⁵ I have not been able to trace anyone of this name whom it could have been.

¹⁶ Foley IV, 468, note 12: 'This priest was probably Father Ralph Chetwin, a great sufferer for the faith at the Revolution of 1688 . . .'. Foley overlooks the fact that this Fr Chetwin was born only in 1641, more than twenty years after the conversion of Herbert Croft. D.N.B. follows Foley. I have not been able to find mention of any other priest of this name at this period.

¹⁷ English College Archives, Scrittura 24.23, Responsa. This section has not yet been printed.

¹⁸ *Liber Ruber*, published by C.R.S., vol. 37, 212.

¹⁹ Archives, Scrittura 30.18. '*Catalogus Personarum quae in Collegio Anglorum de Urbe degunt hoc die octavo Junii 1628*'. Printed in Foley VI, 514.

account books, particularly the Convictors' Book, which shows his full personal account. His full stay in the College of a month less than two years cost him 184 *scudi*—that is, board and lodging at 100 *scudi* per annum. Music and other extras came to 92.10 *scudi*, and he was given 48.35 *scudi viaticum* for the first part of his journey home, from Rome to Venice. 1 *scudo*, or crown, equalled 4 shillings sterling.²⁰

So his stay in the College lasted less than two years. Godwin, the chronicler of the Anglican bishops, does not give details, saying only:

‘qui cum in partibus exteris ageret, Jesuitarum blanditiis et fraudibus irretitus, ad Pontificios transiit, in Jesuitarum sodalium adscriptus ...’

and that he was induced to return to the Established Church by Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, when he returned to England.²¹

Why did he return to his former allegiance? There appears to be no account of this, so perhaps it might be presumed that his Catholic faith had never been deep enough to become a part of him and collapsed when confronted with the realities of life in England. But he became a sincere Anglican for all that. Foley took a sterner view, saying that he ‘... finally ended by apostasy, receiving as its premium the Protestant See of Hereford’.²² This judgment is less than just as he did not become a bishop until 1661, about thirty-three years after he had left the Venerable.

All the same, there would seem to be some truth in Foley's talk of a ‘premium’. D.N.B. notes that soon after his conformity, by desire of Dr Laud (at that time Bishop of London and Chancellor of Oxford University), Croft entered Christ Church College, Oxford. In 1636 he obtained his B.D. ‘by virtue of a dispensation granted in consideration of his having devoted ten years to the study of divinity abroad’. He was made D.D. four years after this. At the same time, in 1636, he became minister of a church in Gloucester and Rector of Harding, Oxfordshire. Eight years later he was appointed Dean of Hereford, but it must be emphasised that by now Croft had acquired a reputation as a man of ability and devotion to duty. Although he began his Anglican career through patronage, which

²⁰ Archives, Liber 308, ‘*Il Libro delli Convittori dell Anno 1619*’, f. 18. His account shows that he paid nothing until 28th November 1628, more than two months after his departure. This is not remarkable; it may throw some light on College finance to point out that on 31st December 1629, 30 convictors, past and present, owed more than £700 to the College, of which the College had recovered only slightly over £100 by 30th April 1635; (ex ‘*Li Debiti delli Convittori in questo libro (Liber 308) questo di ultimo di Decembre 1629*’, f. 83).

²¹ Franciscus Godwinus, ‘*De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarium omnium Episcoporum* 1743, 497.

²² Foley IV, 469.

was after all the normal way at that time, he progressed in it through personal merit. Many years later Dr Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was to write of him:

‘Crofts was a warm, devout man, but of no discretion in his conduct: so he lost ground quickly. He used much freedom with the king (Charles II): but it was in the wrong place, not in private, but in the pulpit’.²³

This outspokenness had once landed him in serious trouble, in 1645, after the capture of Hereford by the Parliamentary forces. As Dean he was inveighing vigorously from the cathedral pulpit against sacrilege. The troops, mostly presbyterian by opinion, were not accustomed to being addressed thus by clerks of the Established Church. Soon there was murmuring and a party of soldiers loaded their muskets and asked should they shoot him, but Croft’s life was saved by Colonel Birch, the governor of the city, who stepped in and prevented them.²⁴

Croft had been chaplain to Charles I and rendered him much good service. He lost almost everything during the Civil War and Commonwealth, but all his preferments were returned to him at the Restoration. Early in 1662 he was nominated Bishop of Hereford by Charles II, and later on he was also Dean of the Chapel Royal at Windsor.

In an age of written controversies the ageing bishop (he was 72 in 1675) managed to make his mark. In that year he brought out a book entitled *The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Primitive Church, by an Humble Moderator*. It was addressed to both Houses of Parliament and today would be considered an attempt at ecumenism, for the author ‘endeavours to show that protestants differ about nothing essential to religion, and that, for the sake of union, compliances would be more becoming, as well as more effectual, than enforcing uniformities by penalties and persecution’.²⁵ This immediately set off a violent controversy which went on for several years, producing counter-works and counter-counter-works, with such titles as *Lex Talionis, or the Author of ‘The Naked Truth’ stript Naked*. Among others, Andrew Marvell came to his rescue, and Croft wrote to him later, thanking him for the ‘humane civility and Christian charity’ with which Marvell had defended him against the ‘snarling curs’ who had attacked him.²⁶

The Oates Plot was sprung on the public while this pamphlet war was

²³ Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Times*, ed. 1823, I, 448.

²⁴ D.N.B.

²⁵ D.N.B.

²⁶ D.N.B., Marvell, Andrew.

still raging. Croft published his famous report on the Cwm raid, but in fact how anti-Papist was he? D.N.B. says 'in his diocese he was energetic in his efforts to prevent the growth of "popery",' but offers only the Cwm raid in support of this; and this, after all, was the result of a direct order from the House of Lords. Nor did he stoop to betrayal of his former acquaintances among the Catholics. He did publish two polemical works, in 1674 and 1679, against Catholicism,²⁷ but this was no more anti-papist than any other healthy-minded Anglican prelate of his day. On the other hand, there was the question of the pamphlet entitled 'A relation of the knavery of Father Lewis, the pretended Bishop of Llandaffe' (cf. note 11). As can be seen, it was printed in with Croft's account of the Cwm raid. According to D.N.B., Dr Croft wrote this account of how David Lewis had extorted money from a poor widow under the pretence that he would free the soul of her dead husband from purgatory. The pamphlet was produced in court when Lewis was being tried for his life, but the judge, Sir Robert Atkyns, declared it to be false and scandalous. Why did Croft write such a paper? Perhaps because he wished to discredit aspects, or supposed aspects, of Catholic doctrine; or he may conceivably have had something against Lewis himself, or against the Jesuits. However, in the seventeenth century cricket had not yet become the measure of morality in religious in-fighting, and the answer to this problem is not likely to come to light without further evidence.²⁸

The overall impression of Dr Croft is of a devout and forthright Churchman. He laid down strict rules for candidates for holy orders, and refused to confer prebends except on those who lived in the diocese. He also amalgamated various small livings into more economic units and did much for the poor. He died in his palace at Hereford on 18th May 1691, aged 88. Perhaps along with other formative elements which had had their effect on him, the Jesuits and the English College, Rome, played their part in turning him into the father of his flock pictured by Wood:

'He became afterwards much venerated by the gentry and commonalty of that diocese for his learning, doctrine, conversation and good hospitality; which rendered him a person in their esteem fitted and set apart by God for his honourable and sacred function'.²⁹

RICHARD ASHTON

²⁷ *A Letter written to a Friend concerning Popish Idolatrie*, London 1674. *The Legacy of Herbert, Lord Bishop of Hereford, to his Diocess, or a short Determination of all Controversies we have with the Papists, by God's Holy Word*, London 1679, with in addition, *A Supplement to the preceding Sermons; together with a Tract concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*.

²⁸ D.N.B., Lewis, David; text of the pamphlet printed in Foley V, 930.

²⁹ Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, IV, 311, ed. Bliss. As quoted in D.N.B.

NOVA ET VETERA

FROM 'THE VENERABILE' 40 YEARS AGO

In the morning the new men were taken to witness the Papal High Mass in St Peter's attended with the solemn entry of the Pope. At this period of the year the newcomers have to make shift with anything in the matter of dress that their kind brethren can lend them. So that every shade of colour and shape of hat was seen along the Borgo this morning. Yet this is far better than the lot of other youths in Roman Colleges, who wear civilians often for weeks. A *camerata* of weary-looking clerics in mufti simply baffles description.

PRIESTLY CONDUCT

Extract from *A Journey to Italy in 1826* by Robert Heywood. (Robert Heywood was second Mayor of Bolton. During this time he was offered a knighthood by Queen Victoria, but he declined. Apart from his public life he ran a private business, manufacturing quilting. He still found time to travel quite extensively and this was one of the many journals he wrote about his travels. He was a Unitarian.)

Thursday, June 8th. . . . I proceeded to the English College with the letter for Dr Gradwell and found him still more friendly. Went in and dined with the students, about 36 of them. We had soup, beef and beans, also roast beef and potatoes and finished with very nice preserved chestnuts with cherries and oranges. After dinner grace was said by the Dr. and all rose, and I went and sat with the Dr. in his apartment. He said

he was very sorry not to go with me but would send one or two of the students to accompany me which they did and made themselves very agreeable. It would have seemed strange to some of my other friends to have seen me promenading between two priests, for the students all wear cassocks; so much has been said against them but their conduct has somewhat allayed the hostility of feeling that we had against them. No man could possibly be kinder to me or show less of the priest than they did'.

CIRCLES!

Cum intellexerimus quosdam schollares Collegii Anglicani eo temeritatis progressos ut non solum ordinationi superiorum obedire contempserint qua iuebantur ut post Coenam ad Loca Recreationis cuique designata sese reciperent; sed in contemptu dicta Ordinationis negligentia facta portam horti obseratam aperuerint. Nos pro Autoritate Protectoris qua fungimur, Ordinamus et praecipimus ut Deinceps post Coenam ad Designatum sibi Recreationis Locum quisque se recipiat, donec causa a Nobis Discussa, aliud statuendum videbitur In Palatio Cancellaria 20 Aug. 1673.

Card(ina)lis Barberinus Protor. (Scrittura 20, 22b.)

VENI MITTERE IGNEM

An account of William Alabaster's conversion to the Catholic Church and his subsequent apostasy has already appeared in the pages of *THE VENERABLE*.¹ Since then, the corpus of Alabaster's sonnets has been edited by G. M. Story and Miss Helen Gardner² thus making available to the public the works of this minor metaphysical poet, which up to then had been scattered in various manuscripts. It is interesting to note the title of sonnet 59: *Veni Mittere Ignem*. Written in 1597-8,³ a time when the newly-converted Alabaster was a student, or at least a guest, in the College, Sonnet 59 is part of a sequence of meditations on the Incarnation, 'devotional exercises, written under the influence of a profound religious experience, for the purpose of helping to create in himself "newness of life", and to express also the exaltation of that experience (i.e. his conversion)'.⁴ Durante Alberto's altarpiece for the College church was com-

¹ Rope, *William Alabaster's Conversion*, December 1948.

² *The Sonnets of William Alabaster*, Oxford 1959.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

pleted c. 1580, and it does not seem fanciful to suggest that it probably provided the inspiration for this sonnet. It is an unhappy irony that despite his declared willingness to die at 'Tyborne, for testimony of the Catholique truth',⁵ he should have apostacised, while the faithfulness of his erstwhile friends should have been greeted by a *Te Deum* in front of the text on which he had meditated.

God longed for man's love, and down was sent
 Christ Jesus from the bosom of his Sire,
 To cast abroad the flames of heavenly fire,
 To kindle love in our base element.
 He came and took humanity unblent,
 And made a lamp thereof whose threefold pyre,
 Love, likeness, merit, kindle up desire
 In them whose souls are with these sparkles brent.
 Love doth deserve regard, and yet we move not,
 Merit of bounty and such goodness rare
 Might leave the taste of kindness, but we prove not.
 Why we should love are many causes spare,
 But why we shouldn't, or how we should, none are.⁶

⁵ Alabaster's autobiographical account of his conversion, preserved in the College Archives; ad finem.

⁶ The following are noted by Miss Gardner in her critical commentary on the sonnet, op. cit., p. 59: Line 5, *unblent*=unblended (with sin); Line 7, *likeness*=likeness to us, and she compares Donne's 'Likeness glues love' (*Elegy Change*); Line 12, *prove not*: we do not '*gustamus et videmus quam bonum sit Dominus*'; the last line she compares to St Bernard's *Meus est sine modo diligere*.

COLLEGE DIARY

PALAZZOLA 1966

June 30th, Thursday. For the few who had not found an excuse to join the advance party, the pleasant journey to the hills took place by bus and train. We are welcomed to Palazzola by rain and thunder. We find the film company has enjoyed Palazzola so much they are slow to leave; they provide entertainment for anyone who wants to know how they really do make films.

July 1st, Friday. Every villa has its innovations. We now meditate in private and may leave the grounds singly and at will. The *camerata* prevails today, however; the mountaineers climb Cavo, while the less energetic manage to reach *Il Bersagliere*.

2nd Saturday. Normal villa activities are in full swing. Some cut the grass on the golf course and cricket pitch, while others go in search of the tennis court. Everyone can help in some way; the philosophy *ripetitore* makes paper flags for the golf course.

3rd Sunday. We have no high Mass today, but a parish Mass in English. Most of our parishioners, however, speak only Italian. The balance was restored at our Italian-cum-Latin Benediction: not one Italian turned up.

4th Monday. For the third time in four days the telephone disturbs the Rector's after-lunch study. Any suggestions as to what he can do with the phone will be gratefully received.

5th Tuesday. The film company is back again: perhaps the director would like to hire the villa for the whole summer? Bishop Restieaux arrives. I can assure anyone who might be a little worried he is not looking for a doctoral thesis. The villa has really begun.

6th Wednesday. The chapel is taken over for an Italian marriage. The pair liked its simplicity, and it must have a sentimental value if like so many they courted so close to it. When flowers and 'baroquery' are installed, however, one begins to wonder about that simplicity.

7th Thursday. The top-year retreat is in full swing at Nemi.

8th Friday. The recently relaid cricket pitch is opened, and the Rector finds to his delight that it takes his spin—to the tune of five wickets for fourteen runs.

9th Saturday. The Rector and Father McConnon open—and apparently close—the golf season.

10th Sunday. Cardinal Heard ordains Vincent Brennan and Brian McEvoy to the priesthood, and six others to the diaconate. Congratulations to all.

11th Monday. The new priests celebrate their first Masses. Swimming and lunch follow—with strict segregation observed. From the amount of festivity in the Common Room, the ladies didn't seem to mind the segregation—it's only the students who worry.

The World Cup is with us, but England's form against Uruguay doesn't promise a great deal for future matches.

12th Tuesday. Reports have it that the number of adders in Italy has trebled this year. . . .

13th Wednesday. . . . the Vice-Rector nearly steps on one on the *sforza*. . . .

14th Thursday. . . . so we now have anti-viper serum in the Salone fridge, which is a further reason why only the initiated should mix the cocktails. The World Cup is really making itself felt: those not interested are forced to rush their food, suffer indigestion during Compline, and find a new corner for reading the newspapers.

15th Friday. For the more culturally inclined, play rehearsals begin. Some are more happy cleaning the garden wall, but one student fell from a great height onto the Albano path below. Since nature had provided him with ample protection, his only injury was a sting behind the ear by one of the nettles he had cut down.

16th Saturday. A day to be forgotten by the cricket stars. The College were dismissed by the Australians for 28. Perhaps the Rector ought to play cricket—and leave the cricketers to entertain the visiting team's offspring.

18th Monday. Our cartoonists are worried about a recent edition of *Chi Lo Sa?* It has been missing for some time. If any old Roman picked it up on his way through Rome would he kindly return it!

19th Tuesday. Italy eliminated! The majority are delighted—I cannot imagine why.

20th Wednesday. A distinguished member of the OND gets his *Ad Multos Annos*. He is leaving because he finds it as difficult to write his thesis at Palazzola as it was in Rome. He is put in the tank, much to the surprise of the Madre Superiora who came out to see him.

21st Thursday. Tusculum Mass is its usual success in wonderful weather. But tonight there is a storm of prodigious proportions. Some watch it progress across the lake, with lightning every twenty seconds, while others sit it out in front of the television watching their seventh World Cup match.

22nd Friday. The worst damage caused by the storm is the splitting in two of a cypress tree at the Villa Cardinale: our wall-cleaners go up for emergency operations. All the good work on the tennis court is washed away for the second time; the secretary is very philosophic about it which is not exactly my own sentiment. Still, the villa must go on: the orphans come to tea, and the Rector and Vice enjoy themselves very much.

23rd Saturday. Some of our lost pride is regained when the College XI defeats the British Embassy.

25th Monday. This is rather a critical week. In England the pound is in danger. Mr Wilson is off to Moscow for talks on Vietnam. And we are still worried about the disappearance of the latest number of *Chi Lo Sa*?

26th Tuesday. The Rector sings high Mass at Santa Caterina for Sant' Anna. It is classically Roman, but I don't think they have yet heard of the 1917 rubrical changes.

27th Wednesday. A gita day: you may swim in the lake or in the sea, but if you really want to catch the public eye you must trudge the thirty-six dusty miles of the Castelli walk. One walker felt very insulted at being offered a lift along the last mile of the Via dei Laghi by the Vice-Rector and Suor' Massimina. Yes, the nuns are learning to drive, but the Vice feels the first thing they must do is to exchange their frilly bonnets for crash helmets.

28th Thursday. Somehow from somewhere (no-one knows how or from where) we have acquired a dog. He is already well-initiated, for he too passed through the thirteen Castelli yesterday, even if he didn't have the *quartino* at each one.

On the *sforza* the North were made to work hard for victory in the annual North v. South cricket match. They had a definite advantage in the weather conditions which made them feel very much at home; mist and rain *à la* Old Trafford.

29th Friday. The dog is fast learning where it may and may not go, and who are the students most likely to feed it. It doesn't seem too energetic, hardly surprising after the Castelli walk. At the *Salve* it imagines we line up for inspection, but it finishes up in its normal posture—lying on the floor.

30th Saturday. We received the following postcard from two of the brethren who are teaching English to Seminarians in Como: "Work killing us! Rain pouring down! Food atrocious! Absolute slavery! But we love it".

England win the World Cup; the whole house is pleased, half because England have won, half because it is all over, and all because the Vice provides extra wine at supper.

31st Sunday. The first of this year's missionaries to Sermoneta depart.

August 1st Monday. Father Brian Nash arrives: soon there are sounds of riotous laughter.

2nd Tuesday. We are invited to Mondo Migliore for a tour of inspection, a talk on its activities, Vespers in English and refreshments. We come away with a few more facts and less myths about the Centro Pio XII and the Movement for a Better World.

3rd Wednesday. The arrival of Fathers McKenna and Wilcox: the departure of the dog.

4th Thursday. Father Brand arrives, and life in the Salone sounds most interesting at 11.30 p.m.

A week away from Palazzola is too much to bear, so from Sermoneta come both students and boys for a day's *gita*. Mgr Carroll-Abbing is welcomed with a group from Boys' Town. The villa seems more like an Italian Youth centre.

5th Friday. Our Lady of the Snows: Gregorian chant and fish both go down well.

6th Saturday. We were pleased to welcome Father Morris after his summer cruise. He proudly described his trip to Florida, the West Indies and Venezuela, recalling how well he managed the menus and the sailors.

7th Sunday. Seven return from Sermoneta and are replaced; a few remain who as yet haven't had enough. The success of the course is undoubtedly a *teagro*.

8th Monday. The Vice-Rector passes a few days in Switzerland.

10th Wednesday. Father Morris's Golden Anniversary: concelebration from the 'throne' is later followed by a fitting lunch and speeches.

11th Thursday. The third in a series of Sermoneta v. England football matches ends in overwhelming defeat for the English. But we were very sporting about it—we refused to play again.

13th Saturday. The annual tennis match against the British Embassy produced its annual result.

14th Sunday. The fortnight's course at Sermoneta comes to a close. All have enjoyed themselves, but concrete results are not easy to determine. The boys would like greater organisation another year, and we ourselves feel the need for much greater preparation, in order to help overcome the language barrier, which remains a major problem.

The End is marked by Mass in the parish church celebrated by the Rector. Enthusiastically one thirteen-year-old told me he was able to recognise the Rector and the Vice: 'You can tell by their voices', he said.

15th Monday. A schizophrenic Rocca function for the Assumption: the concelebration and Italian *Messa Vaticano II* were definitely opposed to the Gregorian chant, eastward direction of the liturgy and the general restlessness of the congregation. My efforts to classify the *ferverino* might not be appreciated.

16th Tuesday. With all the recent activity, who would produce a play? The present producer must have questioned his decision as he saw our attempts at a dress rehearsal, but . . .

17th Wednesday. . . . it all goes well on the night, and is dedicated to Father Morris.

20th Saturday. The Swimming Gala. *Insiemità* is really running riot.

22nd Monday. The long-awaited day has come. Third-year theologians depart on their experimental holiday to England, while the rest of us set out on *gite*. The Germanophiles found their way to the Teutonic lands, while others were quite happy with Sicily or Friuli. Tuscany for culture (in the broadest sense) remains popular. This year the system for the *gita* is slightly different; we may choose any fourteen days out of a period of three weeks.

24th Wednesday. Those left behind amuse themselves in a yellow submarine

much to the disapproval of the Rector. But he is fighting a losing battle; the Beatles are a definite 'hit'.

26th Friday. A movement for *fettucine* was neatly nipped in the bud by a concerted effort on the part of nuns and superiors.

29th Monday. Very few people have played golf this year. In case the reason may be the lack of a suitable golf hut, some students demolish what is left of the previous one, and build a new one. Its use may be questioned, but it is a work of art; and it kept the builders occupied for a few days if nothing else.

September 1st Thursday. Enzo helps to keep those at the villa happy with one of his barbecues.

3rd Saturday. Postcard from Blackpool: the Vice switched on the illuminations, while Ken Dodd preached an appeal for College funds.

5th Monday. A month until we return to Rome. At the College the usual end-of-summer rush to finish all the maintenance and repair work has begun. Also as usual, it seems there will be plenty of dust left around.

7th Wednesday. A brochure on the English College appears: pictures, map, potted history and an appeal for funds.

8th Thursday. Soccer and rugby make their appearance on the *sforza* bringing the first batch of sprained ankles to the infirmary.

11th Sunday. Congratulations to Antony Jones. Assisted by a *rappresentanza* from the College, he is today ordained by Bishop Petit at Holywell. We remembered him with ice-cream.

12th Monday. Even the Rector has noticed we have nothing to do. So today we begin courses in catechetics, study groups on Council documents and public reading practice.

13th Tuesday. The Senior Student, to be followed by the Deputy, get some pastoral experience at Santa Caterina. They seem to enjoy imparting the Blessing of St Anne most of all.

14th Wednesday. More brave (?) men take thirteen Castelli by surprise, but the Vice still insists they should include Velletri.

16th Friday. It's not every morning students go to the Blue Nuns for blood tests, or have breakfast with the President of the Irish Republic. But the two events coincided today.

17th Saturday. Our thoughts are suddenly turned to Rome: the rooms' list goes up; volunteers for an advance party are sought; the weather takes a turn for the worse.

18th Sunday. Liturgical revival steams ahead, with preparation of a new hymn book for the College, and a booklet of English Masses.

20th Tuesday. Philosophers seem to be enjoying their holiday: one is living it up in New York; another has discovered a loch as bonny as Lake Albano; a third is content with the simple pleasures of Roman life at Walsingham.

22nd Thursday. Sports Day on the *sforza*. Tossing the caber proved the most entertaining event, and provided the nuns with a spot of sewing.

26th Monday. Top Year's barbecue, with *Chi Lo Sa?* to make the evening merrier—at least for some. The Rector announces the appointment of Father

Michael McConnon as professor of Philosophy at the Beda College. After a cheery *Ad multos annos*, Father McConnon rose to thank the Rector for his discretion in delaying the announcement until after the publication of *Chi Lo Sa?*

27th Tuesday. The advance party leaves the villa, and numbers drop to twenty-one.

29th Thursday. Rain curbs the attempt to revive the Hermitage Festival. Instead we had Vespers in the chapel and tea and songs in the library. We welcomed back our new Welsh priest.

30th Friday. Flying to and from London and Rome is no longer an easy matter. Delays are growing, luggage has the habit of being sent to the wrong destination or not being sent at all, or your plane may at the last moment be diverted from Rome without stopping. However, as yet a move of the College to Cairo is not seriously being considered.

October 1st Saturday. Fifteen students become guides for a party of school-children on an educational cruise. Sixteen coachloads arrive from Naples and in five hours have to be shown as much of our city as possible. One hopes the children did not pool the various descriptions given them. After all the coaches had left, only four children were found left behind. But we had had enough for one day, and they were entrained on the next *rapido* for Naples.

2nd Sunday. Congratulations to Patrick Egan, ordained today in Ruislip by Cardinal Heenan. Although ordination in the College will remain the norm, the possibility of ordination at home is a great blessing to students whose relations would find great practical difficulty in making the trip to Rome.

We were sorry to learn that two students of the Scots College have been killed in a road accident. May they rest in peace.

3rd Monday. Another *thou-thee-you-your-thine* battle at this morning's community Mass.

4th Tuesday. The end of another villa. But unlike past years, when disappointments were forgotten and only the memories of happier occasions cherished, we are conscious of the need for critical reflection on the events of the last three months. The innovations—introduced *per modum experimenti*—will be carefully considered. Discussion will clarify the real facts and possibilities and usefulness of a three-month *villeggiatura*. The experience of this year will make easier the necessary planning for the future. Perhaps it was not just another villa after all.

ADRIAN TOFFOLO

ROME

October 5th Wednesday. The return from England. Traditionalists who travelled overland and individualists fearing catastrophes arrived in dribs and drabs during the afternoon. The majority arrived just after supper by courtesy of the Arabs.

Conditions in the house were not as chaotic as usual, though repainting of the '44' was still in progress and workmen were putting the finishing touches to

the new rooms at the end of the corridor. Others were at work soundproofing a new music room in the old nunnery. The main corridor was sparkling under its new paint and discreet fluorescent lights which have replaced the chandeliers so we can see the new crest.

6th Thursday. The Rector presided at a concelebration, facing a packed Martyrs' Chapel. New members of the OND from England's Big Two took part, as well as a familiar figure from one of their smaller cousins.

Later in the morning, many of the house attended the funeral of the two Scots students.

Father Budd returned just in time for the retreat.

For the first time we use the Grail Psalter at Compline.

7th Friday. Discussions make their first systematic appearance in our retreats. This has possibilities.

8th Saturday. The reader's box in the refectory is being shared by a loud speaker and G. K. Chesterton. Neither of them remembered to read the Obit Book with today's important entry. Sometimes one regrets the passing of old customs.

Father McConnon slipped quietly away to take up his new duties at the Beda.

Permission to wear ties for those not in major orders. This is doubly welcome because they don't have to be black. This allows us to avoid the undertaker or junior seminarian look. We are also exhorted to avoid eccentricity which is a good thing.

9th Sunday. Our first use of recited Grail Psalms at Mass instead of the mysterious snippets from St Andrew's Daily Missal which at present pass as processional chants. Archbishop Dwyer, here in his capacity as chairman of the English liturgical commission, was fittingly president at the concelebration.

10th Monday. A definite holier-than-thou attitude appears among those who remember to pray in the modern idiom.

Canon Purdy comes to stay for a few days before taking up residence in a flat near the new Anglican centre.

11th Tuesday. New men continue their guided tours of Rome (bricking) and the Rector says Mass for them in the catacombs. This is a new and apparently successful idea to help relieve what could otherwise be a very harrowing introduction to the College. Perhaps it also helps to fill the gap in our romanisation created by the cessation of our being driven into the streets every afternoon.

We receive *viva voce* instructions from the chairman of the English liturgical commission on how to run a communion procession.

12th Wednesday. Retreat ends a day earlier than usual having started early. The Rector declined Father Curtis-Hayward's offer of a day in which to repair the damage he'd done. This would have been a thankless task after the challenging and realistic view of the priest's life he'd given us.

First year received a special mention from the Pope at his general audience today, while the Pope received a copy of the *Jerusalem Bible* from the Rector. We were all reassured to hear that the Pope has us constantly in his prayers.

Father Egan and most of the OND returned.

13th Thursday. Feast of St Edward. With the abolition of the biretta, hands became a problem.

Father McConnon returned from the Beda for the occasion and was presented with three books by Teilhard de Chardin. We were relieved to hear that he hadn't read them already.

Archbishop Garrone was also here for lunch.

The film in the evening was *Shenandoah*.

14th Friday. New Greg timetables give most of us no lectures on a Wednesday. A short talk on the *Jerusalem Bible* by Mr White (a representative of the publishers) results in an immediate increase in orders.

The Benjamin of the OND returns, complete with car.

15th Saturday. Inaugural Mass at the temple of St Ignatius—cassocks must be worn—in the morning.

Premiations at the Greg—dress optional—in the evening.

The new Rector impressed on both occasions.

At the weigh-in, one of the returning phils holidaymakers topped the ton—admittedly he had a head start and a week extra.

16th Sunday. We continue to use the Grail Psalter for Lauds, but Compline seems to have reverted to Latin.

The new programme appeared. Apparently we have even more time to work.

There were even more candles in the refectory for supper than at the Benediction which preceded it.

17th Monday. Back to the Greg in pouring rain. Short bells seem to have gone out with cassocks.

The system might be changing, but lectures were much the same as usual. At least there were less of them.

18th Tuesday. Innocence is proved to be the *madre* of invention. We received boiled chestnuts for supper—never to be repeated.

A letter of thanks arrived from Father McConnon full of words like 'aristogenesis' and 'consoling.'

19th Wednesday. An historical day—the first Wednesday without lectures. Nobody seemed to be at a loss.

The literary society opened its season with a talk on Soren Kierkegaard by Dr Fred Sonntag.

20th Thursday. One of the Italian papers carries news of a student strike at the Greg. It's the first we've heard of it.

S.K. seems like an old friend.

A slide-show was held in the evening.

21st Friday. We learn with great sadness about the disaster at Aberfan.

22nd Saturday. Bible vigil for Mission Sunday.

23rd Sunday. We play soccer for the first time on the improved pitch at Pam and beat the British Embassy 4-0.

Deacons retreat to the Villa Cavalletti.

24th Monday. *Colloquia* started at the Greg.

The first house rugby game was apparently a success.

Chestnuts at supper again, but roasted this time.

25th Tuesday. Father McConnon to supper.

26th Wednesday. Father Stransky of the Unity Secretariat spoke *inter alia* about the Church and society. During his talk the College clock-tower seems to have been struck by lightning. No damage was done and the speaker's cigar didn't even quiver.

27th Thursday. The rugby team was beaten 9-18 by the Marina Militare who are so pleased they've agreed to provide transport for this monthly meeting. They also let us use their pitch each week.

28th Friday. Copies of a bigger and better hymnal enable us to praise the Lord a bit more. Another triumph for our budding musicians and printers.

29th Saturday. Deacons return from retreat.

30th Sunday. *Feast of Christ the King*. Dominic Round, Richard Ashton and Brendan Howling are ordained by Cardinal Heard.

The film is called, rather enigmatically, *The Best Man*.

31st Monday. We are spared the Greg to attend Mass offered by the new priests. A reception was held for them and their families and friends in the evening.

November 1st Tuesday. *Feast of All Saints*. John Ainslie was ordained at home.

A visit from the Royal Navy resulted in a 3-2 victory for our soccer team and a 6-15 defeat for the rugby team.

Archbishop Cardinale was here for supper.

The heating came on.

2nd Wednesday. *Feast of All Souls*. David Payne showed us slides of his very interesting summer in America. What price Palazzola now?

3rd Thursday. First Year are at least officially welcomed and entertain us with the usual speeches.

4th Friday. Back to the Greg in the rain. We return to the delights of a public meeting.

Disastrous floods in North Italy.

5th Saturday. The communists are blaming the floods on the government.

6th Sunday. A small group from the College attends Father Morris's golden jubilee Mass at San Marcello, entertained by the lengthy story of his remarkable life.

8th Tuesday. Mr Stewart Perowne informs the Literary Society that *Romanitas* is not simply to be equated with *vino* and Greg-bags.

9th Wednesday. Two members of F.A.O. come to explain to us how to classify documents for them. This was an experimental venture which was later abandoned.

10th Thursday. Halg-day *gita*. Visitors to the Villa found it damp and partly damaged after the bad weather.

Bound copies of the fuller Mass texts appear and once more prove the efficiency of our do-it-yourself liturgists.

11th Friday. Remembrance Day service at San Silvestro. The Rector preached.

Father Edwards, S.J., gave the first of a series of conferences on prayer.

12th Saturday. Father Grimshaw calls on his way to spend three years in Africa.

13th Sunday. An inscribed gothic thurible recently discovered by a zealous sacristan was used at Mass.

The soccer team lost 0-2 against Propaganda.

14th Monday. Requiem Mass for Mgr Elwes who died last week. R.I.P.

John Ainslie returns from England. . . .

15th Tuesday. . . . and presides at the first concelebration involving all the new priests.

Meeting at the Greg to set up a new and effective student organisation.

16th Wednesday. The installation of glass doors on the new showers at the end of the '44' causes a certain amount of consternation.

17th Thursday. A profilation of alma-maternal outings.

18th Friday. Tabs were flying in the common room as Bishop Tickle called on his way home from Cyprus.

19th Saturday. The nuns *fešta* was celebrated with the usual concert and also by concelebrated community Mass in Italian. We even sang some Italian hymns and the nuns and girls seemed to overcome their shyness and really enjoy themselves. Definitely something we should do more often.

20th Sunday. The proceeds of last year's auction (£131) were sent to our Indian student friend in Hyderbad.

21st Monday. Bishop Tickle left for England.

22nd Tuesday. Father Grimshaw left for Kenya. We hope he remembers that *oblivisceris* is future here.

Father Malatesta, S.J., recently appointed with Father Fuchs to co-ordinate relations between staff and students at the Greg, talked to us about reform at the Greg.

24th Thursday. Theologians take advantage of the freer Thursdays, while philosophers make a lot of noise in the common room. . . .

25th Friday. . . . and still manage to produce an excellent concert.

PHILOSOPHERS' CONCERT

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. First Year Song | 7. Musical Interlude |
| 2. Sports Report | 8. Palazzola, Gateway to the Sun |
| 3. Redeployment | 9. Tom's Half-Hour |
| 4. Irish Reel | 10. A Malentendu |
| 5. 5.B.X. | 11. A Rugby Sketch |
| 6. Hadrian's Wall | 12. Whatever Happened to William Allen |
- (or how I stopped worrying and learnt to love the portrait)

26th Saturday. Second Year Theology enjoy a day of recollection given by Father O'Farrell, S.J. . . .

27th Sunday. . . . and receive the first minor orders at the hands of Archbishop Cunial in Ara Coeli. The faithful remnant exercise their new function as readers at the evening bible service. The rest of the house had a day of recollection given by Father Malatesta.

28th Monday. A batch of home-produced hamsters survive their mother's omnivorous attentions.

29th Tuesday. The Vice-Rector encourages the rest of the house to be less selective in its eating habits.

30th Wednesday. Our resident Benedictines (and everyone else) rejoice at the appointment of Abbot Butler as auxiliary in Westminster.

December 1st Thursday. Martyrs' Feast. This marked the second anniversary of concelebration and the first of poisoned peas. Only the former was repeated this year.

The film in the evening was *A Thousand Clowns*.

2nd Friday. We start using the new R.S.V. lectionary.

3rd Saturday. Play practices begin and brass nameplates proliferate.

6th Tuesday. A very successful auction starts . . .

7th Wednesday. . . . and is concluded.

Meanwhile a ref. motion starts the fug or freeze drama—a dispute about the suitability of the Martyrs' Chapel for morning prayers.

8th Thursday. The Commandant of our rugby friends from the Marina Militare is entertained to lunch.

9th Friday. Another member of First Year throws himself downstairs and achieves his desire to ride in the lift.

Father Edwards talks on the anatomy of prayer and sends shivers down our spines.

10th Saturday. Feast of the House of Loreto, so the Italian air force take a holiday.

The fug or freeze controversy warms up as the recommended three deep breaths at the start of meditation almost prove fatal.

Ten worthies go to help in the rescue work at Florence.

11th Sunday. Oggi festa at San Lorenzo.

12th Monday. Ten wearies return, having missed the public meeting's discussion of the fug or freeze question.

13th Tuesday. Father Schall, S.J., mooched around the Common Room while putting the problem of Pius XII and the Jews in its political context.

A group of students holds the first of a series of meetings with a group of nuns.

14th Wednesday. Fuggers and freezers almost come to blows during meditation.

15th Thursday. The Rector is called in to arbitrate a peaceful settlement. It was also a *gita* day.

16th Friday. The soccer team beat the Beda 7-3, while the rugby team lost 6-13 to Marina Militare.

17th Saturday. The Rector's birthday. The nuns joined in the party spirit by hiding him with a bunch of flowers at lunch.

The departure of another group for Florence was cancelled because they only wanted skilled workers this weekend.

18th Sunday. We joined the Beda to provide the choir for a carol service at San Silvestro.

19th Monday. The Rector discourages post haste.

20th Tuesday. Still no decision on whether we fug or freeze.

22nd Thursday. Holly gita.

23rd Friday. We finish at the Greg with a carol concert.

The stage is erected.

24th Saturday. Strange goings on in the Common Room herald the panto.

We sing the third nocturn of Matins in English, the first two having been mixed.

25th Sunday. Christmas Day.

CHRISTMAS PANTOMIME

PETER PANTO

<i>Barbara des Folies-a-Paris, a bit of an eiffel</i>	. . . . .	Anthony Cornish
<i>Michael</i>	} Little Darlings	Terence Rodgers
<i>John</i>		Christopher Larkman
<i>Wendy, heroine</i>	. . . . .	Vincent Nichols
<i>Peter Pan, heroin addict</i>	. . . . .	Peter Burke
<i>Mr. J. Lowe, lost boy</i>	. . . . .	John Lowe
<i>Oglton, a left over</i>	. . . . .	Richard Lohan
<i>A Type-cast</i>	. . . . .	Peter Corbishley
<i>101 lb. of fun</i>	. . . . .	Seamus McGeoghan
<i>Sitting Bull sssh</i>	. . . . .	Richard Ashton
<i>Hiyawatha, an Indian Brave</i>	. . . . .	Terence McSweeney
<i>Lowawatha</i>	} Indian Cowards	Michael Corley
<i>Uppawatha</i>		John Fox
<i>Runningwatha</i>		Peter Morgan
<i>Minnihaha, the laugh's on you</i>	. . . . .	Daniel McHugh
<i>Indian witchdoctor, good with the scalpel</i>	. . . . .	Dominic Round
<i>Juventus, a lad</i>	. . . . .	Alexander Hay
<i>Lazio, alas</i>	. . . . .	Michael Peyton
<i>Lady Mabel, ready and willing</i>	. . . . .	John Joyce
<i>'Arfur 'Ook, man with a curious bent</i>	. . . . .	Anthony Battle
<i>Line</i>	} his mates	Anthony Myers
<i>Sinker</i>		John Ainsele
<i>Pegleg Pete, out on a limb</i>	. . . . .	Peter Nealon
<i>Smee, Hook's left hand</i>	. . . . .	Michael Healy
<i>You (obviously)</i>	. . . . .	John Murphy
Special Effects and Continuity	. . . . .	Antony Sanderson <i>et al.</i>
Music	. . . . .	Brendan Howling <i>et al.</i>
Written by	. . . . .	Michael Farrington
Producer	. . . . .	Michael Farrington

26th Monday. Boxing Day. Dress rehearsal for *Caligula*. Traditionalists escape to the Scots College to see *Iolanthe*.

JOHN LOWE

PERSONAL

THE VENERABLE

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We offer our congratulations to the Rector, to the Very Rev. Mgr B. K. O'Neill (1935-42), and to the Revv. G. Auchinleck, P. McEnroe, B. Keegan, J. Key, H. Reynolds (all 1935-42), T. McDonagh (1937-42) and E. Whitehouse (1938-42) who celebrated the Silver Jubilee of their priesthoods on 10th February. We were very pleased to welcome Mgr O'Neill and the Revv. Auchinleck, McEnroe, Reynolds, McDonagh and Whitehouse who were able to stay at the at the College during Low Week.

We are pleased to announce that the Rev. T. Curtis-Hayward (1950-59) is to return to the College as full-time Spiritual Director from October this year. *Ad multos annos.*

Meanwhile, Father J. Edwards, S.J., for the last year has stepped into Father L. Orsy's shoes, and given the House a series of weekly spiritual conferences. Together with Father Morris and Father Burns he has also regularly heard our confessions.

In the autumn we said good-bye to the Rev. M. J. McConnon (1947-54)—fortunately not a final one—who has been Philosophy Tutor for the last six years. We thank him for all the good work he has done, and offer him our best wishes in his new post as Professor of Philosophy at the Beda College.

OBITUARY

THE REVEREND JOHN JOSEPH SLATER

John Slater, born March 6th, 1906, was baptized and confirmed in St Austin's, Preston. He was educated in the parish school, at St Edward's College, Liverpool, and St Joseph's College, Upholland. In 1926 he was sent to the Venerable, where, after a two-year course, he gained his Ph.D. He was ordained in the College chapel on November 1st, 1931, and in June of the following year he achieved his D.D.

On his return to England he became the first curate to Father McKenna at St Wulstan's, Fleetwood, then had a spell at St John Vianney's, Blackpool, under Father Moah, and later was curate to the then Father Eaxton at the Blessed Sacrament, Preston.

From there he joined the Forces as Army Chaplain, and served mainly in the Middle East. Some time after the end of the war, when de-mobbed, he returned for a short period to the Blessed Sacrament, Preston, and was then appointed to take charge of Catholics in Arnside. While there he opened a chapel at Milnthorpe under the title of Christ the King.

Soon he was sent to start a parish in Layton, Blackpool, which again he begged to be put under the protection of Christ the King. Arriving there before many of his parishioners whose houses were still being built, he offered Holy Mass in a converted cowhouse behind Layton Hill Convent, living first in digs (as he had done for some time in Arnside), then in a house in Poulton Road, and finally in a semi-detached semi-bungalow in St Walburga's Road. He opened the chapel on Chepstow Road and built an Annexe as Infants' School.

While so occupied, he was elected Treasurer of the Lancashire Infirm Secular Clergy Fund, a post he held and a task he performed efficiently until he died. Ill-health and two operations intervened; being relieved of his Blackpool burdens, he was priest-in-charge at St Patrick's, Barrow-in-Furness, for about twelve months, when, that he might be nearer to the hive of L.I.S.C.F. activity, he was made parish priest of St Mary's, Fernyhalgh. After six years, on the feast of St Gregory 1967, six days after his sixty-first birthday, having said his two Sunday Masses and taken some refreshment, he went, as had been his daily custom since August 15th last year, to visit the Ladywell shrine, reciting his rosary. Feeling unwell, he was admitted into the adjacent Convent of the Holy Child Jesus by two good nuns, and immediately collapsed, dying, we might say, on Our Lady's doorstep.

Johnny Slater was a keen sportsman, a conscientious and intelligent student, a homely and witty companion. Any companion of his always recognised he was conscious of being a priest; even in his recreation he sought the company of fellow-priests; priests who were sick, or who lived in single missions, or who were in difficulties, needing comfort or advice, were glad to receive a visit from him, and all this while he himself was far from bursting with good health. His epitaph could aptly be: the sick priest's sick priest. 'The just shall go into everlasting life'.

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