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EDITORIAL

Any important House office almost always entails a *damnosa hereditas* of accumulated account books and letters which at first sight bear little relation to the immediate tasks. The editorship of THE VENERABLE is no exception. But among the more ancient and treasured items in the editorial archives is a short document, dated April 1927, which outlines the *Policy On Which The Venerable Is Being Run*; a document which has effected over the years a truly remarkable consistency in editorial policy. Forty-six years is a long time in the history of any magazine and after thirty-four editors it is perhaps time to review that policy.

THE VENERABLE was to be a 'college magazine pure and simple', that is, it was never to engage in general theological writing 'after the model of . . . *The Downside Review*'; an odd comment when we realize that the very first issue of this magazine carried a long article on 'The Psychology of the Passion of Our Lord' and that one of the aims of the magazine set forth by Cardinal Gasquet was to record the 'great achievements in the Schools'. This magazine always was and always will be a vehicle for reflecting and recording the life of the College and the exclusion of more serious non-collegiate writings has, we feel, led to a certain imbalance in its pages. Apart from the odd reference to the Gregorian there is little to suggest that this college is a constituent part of a university nor that its members are primarily concerned, at least as far as time goes, with the academic and the scholarly. In short, THE VENERABLE has too often been a record of *doings* rather than *thinking*. And if we now begin to sail on new tacks, it does not mean that we are abandoning the course set by our forbears lightly, but that new times require new policies if we are, like them, to faithfully record the life of the College.

Of course, it can always be argued that those who wish to read theology have numerous periodicals to their purpose, and we are not going to argue for a moment that the college could ever hope to find within its walls enough material to justify a *Zeitschrift für theologische Wissenschaft* of its own. But it seems to us that the writings of students, especially those which have been submitted to the Gregorian, are as much an indication to the future historian of the college 'atmosphere' at any given time as the records of more peripheral pursuits. Read in this light, the more

serious contributions to these pages will take on a new and we hope more interesting significance. Perhaps the best way to record those 'great achievements in the Schools' is to print them and let others judge of their greatness.

The disappearance of the '*Romanesque*' from the pages of this issue is not yet another tradition sacrificed to youthful iconoclasm but a humble recognition that we no longer have as many wits in the college as in former days!

A final note to the disconsolate : if the present offering displeases :
O quam brevis est vita, especially that of an editor !



*Palaces, shrines, temples ...
Stones, stones, stones ...*

THE TEACHING LANGUAGE AT THE GREGORIAN

With the demise of Latin as the general, though not as the official, language of the Roman Rite, itself preceded by the gradual disappearance of Latin in schools, it will come as no surprise that the use of Latin as the normal teaching-language at the Gregorian University is now also undergoing critical examination.

When the Gregorian was founded in 1555 Latin was, of course, the international language of the universities; and since that date Latin has held constant and almost exclusive sway as the teaching-language. Italian, however, has been used sporadically for such courses as Physics, Christian Archaeology and even Church History. Further, in the Faculty of Social Sciences (opened in 1951), where a knowledge of English and French is a pre-requisite for entrance, lectures are held in Italian. Also, in the last two years, Italian has been frequently used in minor courses, and even for the exceptional major course. Both written and oral examinations have, where possible, been held in the student's vernacular since June 1967. To date, however, Latin remains the official and most commonly used language for lectures.

The official linguistic demands of the Congregation for Catholic Education (formerly the Congregation for Seminaries) have themselves changed considerably over the last forty years. In 1931, in the norms (art. 21) towards the implementation of the Apostolic Constitution *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*, we read: '*Sacra Scriptura, Theologia Dogmatica, Theologia Moralis, Philosophia Scholastica, Codex Iuris Canonici et Ius Romanum tradantur lingua latina*'. The following article shows some concern for the students' knowledge of their own languages, but the basic demand for the use of Latin receives no modification. In 1962, Pope John XXIII's Apostolic Constitution *Veterum Sapientia* laid further emphasis on the use of Latin. (Note particularly Part II, Art. 5: 'In accordance with numerous previous instructions, the major sacred sciences shall be taught in Latin'.) In response to this constitution, the Gregorian introduced a course, *Latinitas Fontium*, on the development of

Scholastic Latin. In Vatican II's Decree on Priestly Formation, approved in 1965, however, a far more general statement is made. 'Seminarians should acquire a command of Latin which will enable them to understand and use the source material of so many sciences, and the documents of the Church as well' (cf. *Optatum Totius*, art. 13). It is to this article which the Congregation for Catholic Education refers itself in the norms issued on 20th May of this year, up-dating *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*.

Unaquaeque Facultas in lectionibus et examinibus linguam eligat ad scientiae communicationem aptiorem.

Uniuscuiusque Facultatis erit definire qualis notitia linguarum biblicarum etc. . . . requiratur ad studium in variis curriculis aggreendum etc. . . . servatis semper iis quae in Decreto 'Optatum Totius' n. 13 praescribuntur pro institutione sacerdotali, praesertim ad linguae latinae studium quod attinet (art. 14).

This statement, in putting the emphasis on communication rather than on the peculiar importance of any one language, seems to suggest to each educational centre the consideration of many factors before deciding on its choice of language. For the majority this will no doubt cause little difficulty, if it has not long since been decided. The Gregorian University, however, has many issues to face.

The teaching-language of the Gregorian has been a much discussed topic this academic year, and I hasten to point out that what follows is not merely personal reflection, but stems from what I have learnt as a member of a student commission, which, in co-operation with certain professors, discussed this problem and finally presented a report thereon to Father Carrier, S.J., the University Rector. Language is clearly a touchy subject—the group consisted of an Australian, an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, an Italian and a Spaniard—but tempers remained intact and some agreement was reached.

There is no doubt that the knowledge of Latin will remain a pre-requisite for the serious student of philosophy and theology, whether or no it be used as a teaching-language. Apart from the explicit statement of *Optatum Totius* (art. 13) quoted above, this same document clearly indicates the importance of the Latin philosophical and theological traditions. '(Students should base) themselves on a philosophical heritage which is perennially valid . . .' (art. 15) and further, 'should learn to penetrate (the mysteries of salvation) more deeply with the help of speculative reason exercised under the tutelage of St Thomas' (art. 16). Granted the importance of Latin, it remains true that as a teaching-language it has long proved insufficient. In itself no easy language

to master, it has occasioned a wonderful variety of pronunciation and syntax among professors, while at the same time seriously limiting their ability to express their thought. The language of Scholasticism is Latin, but, particularly in theology, it is far more common to meet with scholastic thought as one school among others than as the meat of a tract. New ideas demand a living language. The Latin knowledge necessary for a normal degree course is facilitated by the use of Latin in lectures, but can equally well be catered for by a short linguistic course covering the basic terminology and vocabulary. Pressure would continue to be brought to bear on the student by professors in lectures, examinations and written work to ensure that he attain and/or maintain a definite standard of Latin knowledge.

Also, the average knowledge of modern languages of students at the Gregorian allows for speculation into the choice of a teaching-language. The percentages according to first language of the four main linguistic groups are : Italian, 25.9 per cent; English, 25.5 per cent; Spanish, 22.2 per cent; French, 9.1 per cent. A language questionnaire, however, issued by the university before Easter, and answered by 76 per cent of the students revealed a modified picture. Italian, as is to be expected, is by far the best known language : 98 per cent professed at least some knowledge, and 85.9 per cent the ability to follow a lecture in Italian. Neither English nor Spanish, however, proved to be the second language, but French, with percentages of respectively 92.25 and 51.6. There followed English (81.55 per cent and 43.3 per cent) and finally Spanish (62.92 per cent and 36.3 per cent).

Taking into account major courses, minor courses, special courses and examinations, the student commission was in favour of a basically multi-lingual solution. It then turned its attention to general or compulsory courses.

A number of combinations seem feasible. On the basis of international status or theological import, English, French, or even German may seem desirable choices. On the basis of facility or of host-country, Italian. Given the data above, however, and the uniquely international status of the university, it would be a minimal solution to choose only Italian, at least as a long-term policy. In principle, such a choice would be untrue to the university's character; Latin at least has the semblance of an international language, Italian most certainly does not. In practice, the choice of teaching language(s) could seriously affect the university's make-up; the number of foreign students and professors could diminish in favour of their Italian counterparts. On the other hand, a certain balance must be struck between an open linguistic system which attracts an international selection of good professors, and one limited to the students' linguistic capacity. At present, Italian would be the only choice. Given the time for linguistic studies, perhaps the most fruitful combination would be French and Italian, both Romance languages, and the

former at least very much an international language. In ten years time it may well be that English, as opposed to French, predominates as second language. For the moment, English appears to remain largely a mystery to the big Spanish-speaking and Italian contingents. Its use for general lectures is limited to those occasions where a course can be given simultaneously in another language; which, given the shortage of staff, would be impossible on a large scale. Or again, a course repeated in two languages by the same professor would demand too much of one man besides compromising the unity of the university.

I have by no means raised all the questions relating to the language problem in these few lines, but sufficient has been written to enable the reader to grasp the complexity of the situation and some of the more important principles to be considered in coming to a decision.¹

JOHN G. KOENIG

1. Since this article was written there have been some unofficial changes at the Gregorian. From the start of the 1968-69 academic year, many major and minor courses, especially in the Theological Faculty, are being given in Italian by virtue of *facultates speciales* conceded to individual professors by the Rector.

THE BROKEN HEART

A PLEA FOR HUMANITY

TUTOR: *'Palaces, Shrines, Temples—with so many of them is your memory peopled that you could write a guide-book of all Greece.'*

ORESTES: *'Palaces, statues, pillars—stones, stones, stones! Why, with all these stones in my head, am I not heavier?'*

(*Les Mouches*—J. P. Sartre)

Many of us today suffer from this same *taedium memoriae*. Indeed Orestes' comment aptly describes the Roman Forum as we see it now, and if our immediate reaction to his question is to reply that one cannot add a cubit to one's stature merely by taking thought then there is need of justifying any laudatory mention of the Forum. Orestes is essentially pragmatic but we cannot work totally on this level to encourage acceptance of Byron's invitation to 'Come . . . plod your way o'er steps of broken thrones and temples'. That there are other levels is evidenced by Lawrence Durrell's narrator in 'Justine' who 'spoke of the uselessness of art but added nothing about its consolations'. We have chosen to discuss the Roman Forum as an archetype and well-spring of great diversity and influence, not unhistorically but without recourse to copious footnotes, thus attempting a Horatian mediocrity. Our task then is to show that the Forum has some intrinsic interest to the modern Orestes.

The first requirement for an advantageous absorption of the Forum into one's experience is a certain receptivity. The Blue Guide baldly states that 'to appreciate the value of what he sees here, the visitor should prepare himself beforehand; a casual stroll among the ruins may leave him unimpressed'. Similarly, Simone de Beauvoir, in her autobiography *The Prime of Life*, recalls a visit to Naples in 1935 telling us that 'the Guide Bleu boasts of its charms but fails to explain them'. According to Augustus Hare, 'what Madame Swet-

chine says about life, that you get out of it what you put into it, is also true of Rome', and thus he laments the passing of the slow-coach to Rome which gave the traveller time to read Gibbon, Merivale and Milman and thus arrive in Rome fully prepared. This sort of preparation, however, often leads to confusion and mental indigestion, and it is only 'after many days companionship that its stones become as dear as those of no other building can be; . . . the gradually acquired knowledge of the wondrous story which clings around each of these ancient things and which tells how each has a motive and a meaning entirely unsuspected and unseen by the passing eye'.

What are these charms, these consolations? Their appreciation needs not only receptivity but communication, a problem with which we have become all too familiar. Orestes felt no bond between himself and his Greek stones. Simone de Beauvoir describes a similar attitude. 'At Paestum we had our first sight of a Greek temple. Sartre was disconcerted because, as he said to me, "There was no stimulus to thought in it". I too found this beauty altogether oversmooth and oversimple: for me it contained no magic . . . Once more [at Selinus] we investigated some Greek temples; but we still could find nothing to say of them, and they certainly said nothing to us. Yet their silence carried more weight than most loquacity.' But Rome is a different thing for her, as she writes for 1933, 'It pleased me that the Forum should now be a vast garden, with oleanders growing along the Via Sacra, and scarlet roses blooming round the circular temple of the Vestals: and to think that I was actually strolling up the Palatine!' It would appear from her language that she was more affected by Greek temples than Roman monuments as she does not make explicit the sort of pleasure caused by the latter. Not so Chateaubriand who finds communication easier: 'Whoever', he said, 'has nothing else left in life, should come to live in Rome . . . The stone which crumbles under his feet will speak to him, and even the dust which the wind raises under his footsteps will seem to bear with it something of human grandeur.' A certain hyperbole in this passage surely indicates a striving to communicate some appreciation of the ruins.

Others may prefer not to be communicative, like the narrator in 'Justine' who has retired to 'a sunburnt headland in the Cyclades . . . free from every reference,—no temples, groves, amphitheatres, to corrupt ideas with their false comparisons'. In doing so, he has more aptly than others pointed to the clues which will stimulate our appreciation, *viz.* reference, idea and comparison. We have for some lines now laboured a comparison of Greek and Roman and it would be as well to reassure the reader that our broken heart is the forerunner of the panting heart, not the epitaph on the grave of the finest of all ancient civilizations. So far the Greeks are winning 3-1 with goals of beauty, perfection and weighty silence versus human grandeur. The contrast between the spiritual and the humanistic is obvious, but it is further validly

affirmed by comparing the Greek to a manuscript and the Roman to a printing press. Athens was unique but Rome can be seen and felt all over the Roman empire, and with somewhat monotonous sameness. The equation of the Ages of Pericles and Augustus paradoxically highlights the differences, the former the height of Athenian glory, the latter a mere retrenchment, sowing the seeds of the incipient empire's demise. History passes beyond Greece after the fourth century B.C., but hangs like a millstone round the neck of Rome, until the renaissance of Greek culture some five hundred years ago. It is for this reason and not only on account of the excellence of the artists and craftsmen that the masterpiece of Athens, the Parthenon, survives whereas nothing remains of the pristine glory of the Capitol.

In our attempt to appreciate Rome, we shall confine ourselves to a discussion of the Forum, that small area 230 yards by 80 nestling under the shadow of the Capitoline and Palatine hills, the heart of Rome. We may approach it first in a spirit of mere curiosity or more profitably for inspiration; from it we may learn much about the nature of the Roman mentality, the history of the people, their daily life and their art. The first striking feature is the variety of the surviving material, though some may think confusion a better term. Before we can assess its value, we must first understand the reason for its variety. Here we see the rise and fall of a mighty empire, a process which occupied more than eighteen-hundred years. The whims of nature and of man took their toll by which the whole area was devastated by six major fires and was remodelled piecemeal many more times. So we are looking at a cross-section as it were through the rich gateau of life at Rome. We hesitate to engage in a detailed analysis and will content ourselves with a simple selective method, pointing out with a few words of explanation the salient features in the context of the stages of the site's growth and decline.

The earliest political history of the Forum can be read in Livy's History, and the religious background in Ovid's *Fasti*, both written at the time of the Augustan restoration when a sense of the importance of history and religion was most acutely perceived. The earliest archaeological evidence was discovered in the necropolis in the eastern corner which contained the ashes of an early large square-headed people in miniature cremation huts, the archetype of the temple of Vesta, and the eighth century oak coffins of an indigenous mediterranean people with narrow flattened skulls, both of which can be seen in the Antiquarium Forense. This evidence confirms the account of the Sabines and the Romans living on neighbouring hills using the area of the Forum as a common meeting-place. To achieve unity the kings sited here the shrine to Vesta, the source of fire, drained the marshier parts, constructed a meeting place for the elders, the Curia, and allotted an area to the popular assembly, the Comitium, and to traders, the original market.



*beautifully
proportioned
entablature*

But all this was not sufficient to endear the kings to the populace, and ten years after their expulsion in 510 B.C. there was erected a temple to Saturn, the mythical god-king whose reign was the fabled Golden Age. The eight Ionic columns of *lapis psarronicus* date from a fourth century A.D. restoration. The temple was unique in that the worshippers had uncovered heads and were the first to use wax tapers. Here originated the Saturnalia, the modern carnival, with its temporary abolition of social barriers, where later the state treasure was stored. The victory of the Romans at Lake Regillus through the miraculous intercession of Castor and Pollux (496 B.C.) led to the dedication of a temple in their honour in 484 B.C. Peripteral in plan, it still has three forty-one feet high Corinthian columns in Pentelic marble with a beautifully proportioned entablature. Heavily restored by Tiberius, its last despoliation was as late as 1773. The eventual settlement of the disputes between the Patricians and the Plebeians was commemorated by the temple of Concord dedicated in 366 B.C. by Camillus. Although little survives, interest is aroused not only by its lack of orientation (a common feature of later Roman temples unlike their Greek and Etruscan precursors) but also by its shape, being broader than its length (hence its use for meetings of the Senate including that during which Cicero fulminated against Catiline) and by its enrichment with famous Greek paintings and sculptures.

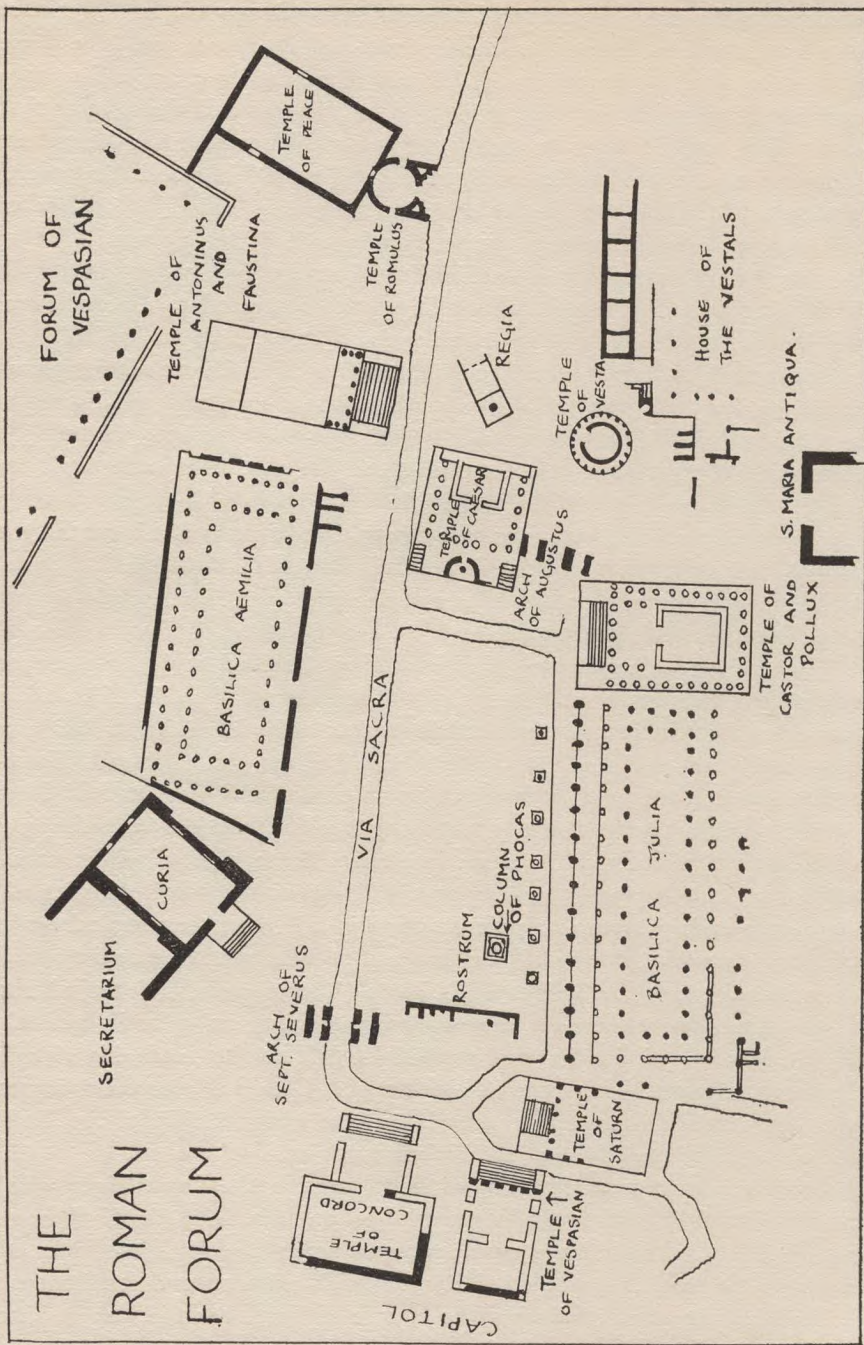
With the advent of internal concord there came rapid external growth and a consequent neglect of religion for the sake of socio-economic considerations. The acquisition of the Eastern Mediterranean for an empire increased the erstwhile city-state's business commitments which were catered for by the erection of basilicas. The first of these was

erected on the south-west side of the Forum by Sempronia in 184 B.C. and was later renamed Julia after the instigator of its restoration. The present ruins date from the restoration of 305 A.D. Deeming its use as a Law Court and Exchange insufficient, Caligula stood on the roof and threw coins to the crowd. By the eleventh century only one row of pillars survived; the rest were incorporated into the basilica of St Paul outside the Walls and the travertine paving and facing can be found decorating the Villa Giraud-Torlonia. Another basilica was erected on the opposite side of the Forum in 179 B.C. by M. Aemilius Lepidus of which little but the fine pavement survives. Finally, records of all state undertakings were consigned to the Archives of the Tabularium erected in 85 B.C. under the face of the Capitoline Hill.

The return of the Golden Age heralded by Julius Caesar's assumption of all power led to a vast rationalization and restoration, and the Forum was not unaffected. What Caesar only began Augustus finished, including the restoration of eighty-two temples throughout the city, so that he could truly say that he found a city of brick and left one of marble. Caesar's own temple, the first to a deified mortal, was erected within two years of his death on the site of his pyre and it was in this edifice, decorated by Apelles' picture of Venus Anadyomene, that Augustus rested on his bier. The temple went the way of its owner when it was burned for lime in 1547.

The early promise of the empire was not fulfilled and while we have comprehensive restorations after the catastrophes of 64, 80, 171 and 283 A.D., the construction of new buildings was only intermittent. The main interest centres on the rise of the Imperial Fora to the north-east. However there survive in the west corner three beautiful Corinthian columns of Carrara marble and an important frieze portraying sacrificial devices from the temple of Vespasian erected by Domitian in 94 A.D. Some eight cipollino columns with ill-executed capitals remain at the front of the temple dedicated to Antoninus and his notorious wife Faustina in 141 A.D.; the remainder of the temple is now the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda: the ancient marble steps now decorate the Basilica of St Peter. Other emperors left their heritage to posterity elsewhere except for one curious memento of a family quarrel on the Arch of Septimius Severus erected in 203 A.D. to mark his victorious Eastern campaigns. The name of his elder son, Geta, was erased by Caracalla who murdered him some ten years later. The craftsmanship of the Pentelic marble columns and Hymettean reliefs is very fine.

For the sake of completeness we must mention the Lapis Niger with its nearby Chalcidic boustrophedon inscription on tufa from the sixth century B.C. The Rostra, which can be seen portrayed on the Arch of Constantine, show us the earliest examples of Roman brick (44 B.C.) and are famous for being Mark Antony's platform. The temple of Vesta has the longest history,



since the sacred fire was kept burning here from earliest times until its closure by Theodosius in 364 A.D. The edifice was still intact in 1489, but had completely disappeared in 1549. The associated Atrium of the Vestal Virgins, called by Lanciani 'the prototype of all the nunneries in the world', furnished extensive interesting fragments relating to daily life, and also a *ripostiglia* of English pennies of the time of Alfred, Athelstan and Edmund which may well be 'Peter's Pence'. From the Curia we have only the bronze doors to be found at the basilica of St John Lateran, the building itself being of little interest. Despite the apparent scarcity of material, we have discussed enough examples to evidence the variety in the heart of Rome in its heyday.

We come now to the turning point. The conversion of Constantine led to conversion in the Forum though at the same time the seeds of decay were sown. The latter conversion concerned the advent of Christianity to the pagan atmosphere of the Forum. The Secretarium of the Senate-House became the church of St Martina whose body was discovered in 1634, and it was from here that Pope Gelasius instituted the Candlemas procession in competition with the pagan Lupercalia. In a building of the Domitian period located behind the temple of Castor and Pollux, now the church of S. Maria Antiqua, can be found the oldest and most important Christian remains. The church has had a turbulent history, details of which can be ascertained elsewhere, but it is most famous for the frescoes preserved by the superimposition of another church which was dismantled in 1900. The most interesting are the Mother of the Seven Martyred Maccabees, palimpsests dating from the sixth-eighth centuries and a Crucifixion with the Virgin and SS. John and Longinus.

The first example of the conversion of a temple into a Christian church is that of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the body of which was constructed in the forum of Vespasian with the temple of Antoninus and Faustina for a vestibule. 'Among the many relics preserved in this church are "*Una ampulla lactis Beatae Mariae Virginis*"; "*De Domo Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae*"; "*De Domo Sancti Zachariae Prophetae*". But deserving of the most minute attention is the grand mosaic of Christ coming on the clouds of sunset' (Hare). The mosaics, dating from 526-30 A.D., are the finest of ancient Rome. Kugler describes the Christ as follows: 'Countenance, attitude and drapery combine to give him an expression of quiet majesty, which, for many centuries after, is not found again in equal beauty and freedom . . . A feeling for colour is here displayed of which no later mosaics give any idea.' But the best evidence is that of the beholder's own eyes which is beyond any credible expression.

The last restoration, that of Theodoric, occurs about this time. Only one surviving monument has a later date, Byron's 'nameless column with a buried base'. It is a borrowed Corinthian column on which the fourth century inscription has been erased by Smaragdus to the greater glory of Phocas, and

restored to posterity by the Duchess of Devonshire in 1813. The last date rather anticipates the rest of our story which must be as brief as it is memorable. The decay of the Forum is attributable to the removal of the seat of Empire to Constantinople, and to the waves of barbarians from the north. The Goths arrived in the fifth century and during the sixth Rome changed hands several times between Vitiges who destroyed all the water supplies and Belisarius who repaired the fortifications with priceless treasures. The Saracens sacked the city in 846 and Charlemagne had already 'set the example of carrying off ancient columns and sculptures . . . The priests were indefatigable in transferring antique columns and marbles to their churches . . . For several centuries Rome may be said to have resembled a vast lime-kiln, into which the costliest marbles were recklessly cast for the purpose of burning lime; and thus did the Romans incessantly pillage, burn, dismantle and utterly destroy their glorious old city' (*Gregorovius*, iii, 565).

After the Normans under Robert Guiscard had destroyed the city in 1084, there came to pass the era of family forts constructed out of the old ruins, and both the inundations of the Tiber and the great earthquake of 1349 took their toll. In the fifteenth century after the return of the Pope from Avignon, a brief period of prosperity encouraged the rebuilding of the city with the material to hand as we have indicated above. Pope Paul III in 1536 laid level a greater part of the Forum for the triumphal procession of Charles V. Urban VIII continuing the ravages of his predecessors encouraged Pasquino to compose the epigram:

'Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecit Barbarini.'

But as with Greece 1500 years earlier, history passed beyond Rome and the ruins were allowed to rest uneasily until the renaissance of interest in classical culture led to the disinterment of the few bones that were left, the ruined appearance of which led Forsyth to comment that 'deep learning is the grave of good taste'.

These are the bones which we have attempted to clothe with some sense. Niebuhr comments that even before seeing them they are familiar—particularly through literature. It is for this reason that the Roman era is closer to us than the Gothic. No one who has read Horace's words can but be thrilled at the thought of his ancestor:

*'Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus Via'*

and most of us at some time have met the sort of Bore that Horace met as:

*'Ibam forte via Sacra sicut meus est mos
Nescio quid meditans nugarum et totus in illis ...'*

Lawrence Durrell may well be close to the mark when he says that 'the real ruins of Europe are its great men'. What interests us about, for example,

the Mamertine prison is not the origin of its name but the fact that it certainly held the Catalinarian conspirators, Sejanus, Jugurtha and Vercingetorix, if not Peter and Paul as well. All these people live now only in literature. But as for the ruins that survive them, Baedeker says 'Rome's destiny seems to have been to gather from external sources the wealth in which she revelled . . . Ancient Rome furnished nothing beyond a magnificent arena for the art of her day; in later times the artist found in Rome herself his sources of inspiration, compelled as he was to contemplate perfection reflected in the dazzling mirror of antique art.'

There is a deal of truth in this eulogy, and although Rome's debt to Greece may be great, our debt to Rome may be even greater. The ruins of fora, arches, temples, amphitheatres, and basilicas across North Africa and Europe are only the symbol of the influence which sprang from their archetype at Rome. Bannister-Fletcher attempts a more rhetorical comparison of Greece and Rome than ours above with Simone de Beauvoir: 'The characteristic of Roman (Greek) art lies in its forcefulness (simplicity). The Romans (Greeks) were rulers (artists) by nature, and Roman (Greek) art was the outward expression of the national love of power (beauty)'. Power corrupts not only individuals but also great civilizations. Let us then learn from Rome, and not merely look on her mighty works, like those of Ozymandias, and despair.

PETER E. HUMFREY

THE VILLA

A golden cage, quiet, beautiful;
A lull to contemplate, sit back and watch the race.
A dripping tap, a crying bird, the falling sun;
The purple sky aflame in red, and night comes on.
So sad.
Watch the sky, hear the bird and stem the drip with thirst.
Forget the cage but see the gold; the sun in folds of black.

THOMAS FINNIGAN

ON NATURE'S INNATE FINALITY

The child becomes a youth, the youth a man,
Who, having spent his brief allotted time
On earth, accomplishing his mortal span,
Must, by his very nature, downward climb
Into the hollowed sepulchre of clay
And sand and damp, foul-smelling, dark grey mud
Encased in polished deal, while others pray
And listen for the solid, wooden thud,
Resounding from eternity, one feels,
As fresh-dug soil is heaved into the tomb.

A graven slab of marble now reveals
The end of our short journey from the womb,
And marks the nothingness of man's attempt
To fashion for himself a kingly throne,
And demonstrates the gods' divine contempt
For who lies here, uncared for, and unknown.

FRANCIS CUMBERLAND

I smell the smoke in the smokeless dawn
I feel the heat of the absent fire
I see the shoots of the ungrown seed
And still I fall before the storm.

FREDERICK MARTIN

CHRISTMAS 1967

The bankers traffic in the market-place
Amid the madding surges of the crowds
For gilt-edged presents. Chartered, the wage-slaves laugh;
And all is tinsel in the clearing house.

Cerchio la pace.

Fine poetry was a mother; she grew cold,
I sensed my lips grow slack against her teat.
My books a girl-friend who returned my ring;
I slept alone—my pillow drenched, soul dry.

Schlaf in himmlischer Ruh.

And then I knew my plight was not in vain;
My stuttered starts had some point after all.

I felt the Christ-child move within my heart
Gripped by sudden birth-pangs of the Cross.

THOMAS COOPER

THE COLLEGE CHURCH

(PART THREE)

The second part of this article traced the story of the church as known to Talbot, and as presented by him to the public. This final part will attempt to follow the progress of the actual work of construction and the financial transactions which accompanied it.

There exist masses of papers concerning the accounts, but each appears to deal with a different aspect of the work, and there is nothing so straightforward as a summary of the total amount received and spent each year. To add to the confusion, figures are given in two monetary units, of which the more usual is *scudi*—at an exchange rate of approximately five to the pound sterling—and the more rare *lire*, then standing at about twenty-seven to the pound, thus giving much higher figures. It is not always clearly indicated which system is being used.

It appears from a report of 1869¹²² that work began as early as June 1864, but very little money was available at this time, and the reference is probably to Pugin's visit when he came to inspect the site and prepare his plans. It was not until the September of 1865 that the storehouse which had occupied the site of the former hospice church since 1820 was demolished.¹²³ During the next few months the ground was cleared and preparations made for the laying of the foundation stone. This ceremony took place on 6th February 1866 and was performed by Pope Pius IX, in the presence of the Neapolitan royal family and various bishops, princes and other distinguished guests.¹²⁴

122. Liber 617: item 3 of entry for 16th July 1869. References are given along the lines indicated in Part II of this article (see note 73); thus most unsupported statements come from papers as yet unclassified in the 'New Church Box'.

123. Cf. 'Memoria della Fabbrica della Chiesa' among the New Church papers.

124. This event is described in Gasquet (*op. cit.*, pp. 262-4), with quotations from a report of the event printed in *The Tablet* on 17th February of that year, and also in *THE VENERABLE*, VIII, pp. 334-8, an eyewitness account taken from the diary of Laurence Johnson, one of the students. Neve's speech is quoted by neither; there is a manuscript copy in the New Church papers.

After the stone had been blessed and lowered into position,¹²⁵ the Pope gave a long sermon praising the achievements of England, '*regina dei mari*', but regretting the loss of the true faith which St Thomas had died to defend. Yet now the '*chiesa del governo*' was finding in the recent converts a reproach to itself, and paying by its disunity for its rejection of the authority of the Catholic Church, to which all are to subjugate their intellect, and for which in the present time of persecution all must be prepared to suffer.

After the ceremony, the Pope had breakfast in the library, then went up to the billiard room, where the Rector, kneeling at his feet, read an address of thanks proclaiming that because '*a voi, Padre Santo, era riserbata la gloria ed il compimento di questa opera gloriosa*', then, '*noi pure, O Padre Santo, prostrati umilmente al bacio del sacro piede, nell'atto di porgervi i nostri piu teneri, sinceri e figliali ringraziamenti per averci degnati di tanto onore, uniamo i nostri ai vostri voti*'. Henceforth all the printed subscription lists were headed with the Pope's donation of £100, and Talbot's appeals could add that he was personally interested in the completion of the work.

Despite such an auspicious start, the building did not proceed as rapidly as Talbot had hoped. Because of the loose soil, five lines of foundations to a depth of forty feet were needed, taking eighteen months to complete, and using most of the money available. By September 1867 the work was at a crisis, for Talbot was running short of funds, and he told Neve that the scheme might have to be discontinued. The Rector replied, 'It would be a great pity to stop the works *now*, and so leave them in a state in which there is nothing to show'.

'If it is better to wait until there is more money, still it would be foolish not to pull down the house, so as to show at least the outline of the foundations, all of which are now invisible, and I do not see why we should not spend our money to at least within a thousand pounds of what there is in hand . . . (and so) show the outline of the building, and a certain amount of marble paid for.'¹²⁶

The house mentioned by Neve was the one at Via Monserrato 46-48, the site of the old hospice church being too small to accommodate the new building. In May 1865 Pugin sent Neve amended plans to avoid this demolition, but the whole design was abandoned, and Vespignani's church needed the extra area.

The financial accounts for the church were under the personal direction of Talbot, and quite distinct from those of the college, which received nearly

125. '35 feet below us', writes Johnson, who was standing 'three or four yards' from the Pope. *The Tablet* declared that 'the well prepared for the (stone's) descent was lighted at the bottom . . .' As far as is known, no-one has since succeeded in locating where this stone lies.

126. TAL 765.

£400 *per annum* in rents from this four storey property, and was already the poorer by the 80 *scudi* received annually in rent from the storehouse which had occupied the site of the church. In spring 1867 the tenants of these apartments were asked to move, and all did with the exception of the occupier of the third floor, Niccole Statuti; as a result the college received only 80 *scudi* rent that year instead of the usual 436. Talbot was quite prepared to sacrifice the interests of the college to those of his beloved church, and if there was opposition from the Rector (we have no record of any), he overrode it with impunity. But Statuti, consulting his own interests, and hoping to avoid eviction, reported the whole matter to Pius IX, who, more anxious than Talbot that the construction of the church should not cause financial harm to the college, ordered work on it to be suspended. Neve wrote again to Talbot suggesting that he should buy some shares in favour of the college, so that 'St Michael and all angels terrestrial and celestial would then be satisfied, and honesty would become its own reward'.¹²⁷

Vespignani's report at the end of the year shows how much had been completed at the time of the stoppage; the old workshop on the site had been demolished, all the foundations had been laid, and the cellar had been 'systematized' except for that part which was beneath the house under demolition (i.e. where the foundation of the apse had been laid), the bases of all the columns had been set in position, and travertine from Cività Castellana had been brought for the doorway. Work on the walls had not yet begun. The labour costs alone for this amount of work (there is no record of the sums paid out for building materials and other expenditure) reached 12,684 *scudi*—about £2,500.¹²⁸

So at the close of 1867 the outlook for Talbot was bleak. Work had ceased and funds were low: there were assets of only £2,716 of which £967 were with Plowden and Cholmeley's bank in Rome, £360 at the London Joint Stock Bank, and the bulk of the remainder invested in the Anglo-Roman Gas Company. Talbot was not fortunate in his choice of shares, which had dropped from the 65 *scudi* per share for which he had bought them to 57.

Naturally the Pro-protector did not refer to this blow to his hopes in his public appeals, but he informed several personal friends of his disappointment. By way of consolation, he had an assurance from (the later Cardinal) Vaughan of his continuing support, and encouragement not to give up, even if it took ten years instead of the five Talbot had expected.¹²⁹ It is surprising that things should have reached such a state, for the extant subscrip-

127. TAL 766. The information in this paragraph comes from these two letters of Neve and the 'Memoria della Fabbrica della Chiesa'.

128. This report is 'Allegato no. 1' in the New Church Box.

129. Vaughan to Talbot, 10/10/1867. TAL 708.

tion lists show that Talbot was not far short of his expressed target. The 1864 appeal had realized £2,800, including £150 from Cardinal Wiseman, £50 from Mgr Manning and the Oblates of St Charles, and ten guineas from the staff of Ushaw. In mid 1866 the fund stood at slightly over £5,000, at which time Talbot appealed for the final £3,000 needed to complete the undertaking. Most of this had already come in *before* Talbot's 1868 campaign, for the list which he then circulated adds up to £7,800.¹³⁰

In this financial situation it was clearly impossible to allocate to the college the necessary capital investment to provide an annual return equal to the loss of rent on the house, but in order to enable work to proceed Talbot was forced to meet the Pope's stipulations by compensating the college for its losses in rent from the church fund. The only solution to the financial difficulties was an even greater effort to raise money, and with this in mind Talbot resolved personally to conduct a concentrated campaign in the summer of 1868 which he hoped would bring in enough to pay off the college and complete the building.¹³¹

By July of that year work was once more well under way, and Vespignani sent in another report promising that within a week the walls would begin to go up, and soon would be followed by the doorway once it had been fully sculptured. The Pope had presented a fine piece of African marble, discovered in recent excavations, and this would provide the step into the street. Things were now going well (*è proseguendo il lavoro con . . . alacrità*), and the work would be finished and the church opened by 1870, in time to be consecrated during the Council, provided that the generosity of the English was all that the architect expected it to be. It was not, if Vespignani's expectations equalled those of Talbot, but by the end of 1868 there was a marked improvement in the situation. A considerable amount of progress had been made, and there was £3,577 in credit. But there was £1,000 in wage bills to be met out of this, and the reimbursement of the college for rents lost, which had now reached 911 scudi—nearly £200, had still to be paid.

It is clear from a letter to O'Callaghan in the course of his tour, that in mid-1868 Talbot still hoped to raise enough money to realize Vespignani's design in full, but soon afterwards he must have acknowledged that this was

130. This subscription list is undated, but I suggest it accompanied Talbot's campaign of 1868 for the following reasons: (i) Neve's name has been replaced by that of O'Callaghan and that of Stonor as signatories; (ii) The collections taken in the London parishes on Manning's order (cf. Part II, page 164) are not included. The combined wage bill and credit at the end of 1867 was about £5,200, leaving £3,600 (minus whatever of this £7,800 arrived in early 1868—probably not very much) as the expenditure on material and other incidental costs.

131. The estimated costs of executing Pugin's design was £10,000-15,000. Cf. Part II, p. 170. There is nothing to suggest that Vespignani's plan was cheaper.

impossible. A set of photographs taken in 1869 shows that the wall of the house was still standing, and any demolition which may have been begun earlier had been repaired. Thus Talbot seems to have accepted a foreshortening of the full design and the abandoning, at least for the foreseeable future, of the intended apse. The reason for this, however, was not, as is usually supposed, shortage of funds to pay for the additional construction costs, which would have been comparatively small, since the foundations were already complete (these may still be seen in the cellar of the bar adjoining the college), but rather the papal order that college finances were not to be depleted in any way by the church. Perhaps this was partly Talbot's fault, since he laid so much stress on the idea of a national church in Rome, and so little on that of a church for the college, that the demolition of the house could not be seen as a purely internal reorganization of its own property. The Pro-protector's last hope of bringing in the huge sum needed to ensure the college an income of 436 scudi a year from investments was his tour of 1868, and when this was frustrated, there was no course but to accept an incomplete building occupying only the site of the original church.

This disappointment may have contributed to Talbot's sickness, which led to his leaving Rome in 1869. With his departure our major source of information on the college church comes to an end, for O'Callaghan preserved little of his personal correspondence, while Vitelleschi, the new administrator, left nothing personal at all. This leaves only the progress accounts and reports, documents which are frequently undated and whose figures are usually difficult to correlate.

On 29th January 1869 Cardinal de Reisach became Protector of the English College, with Mgr Vitelleschi to help, especially with regard to the new church.¹³² The latter ordered a thorough investigation, and during February Vespignani prepared a comprehensive report on the state of the works.¹³³ Vitelleschi followed this up with an apostolic visitation that summer, the report of which was presented to the Pope in October. The financial position of the church was desperate, and emergency measures were necessary to keep work in progress. He asked that for five years the interest from a bequest of £1,000 to the Collegio Pio in 1867, now invested in shares, should be directed to the church, since that college contained only two members and did not need the money.¹³⁴

132. Scr. J 145.

133. 'Piano Preventivo' among the New Church Papers.

134. The Pio was always in difficulties and did not long survive Talbot's departure. It finally closed in 1875. Cf. T. Curtis-Hayward, 'Henry O'Callaghan', *THE VENERABLE*, XVI, p. 225, n. 22.

Furthermore, he asked that part of the sum which the English College was bound by legacies to give in alms should come to the church fund, to provide in all an extra 450 scudi per annum towards the building costs.

So there was no completed church for the English bishops to see when they stayed at the college in 1870, and four years after the laying of the foundation stone its completion was likely to be delayed indefinitely. Pius IX stopped to survey the progress after his visit to the deathbed of Bishop Grant, and, it is recorded officially, 'inspected and approved'.¹³⁵ Yet despite the funds which the Pope had agreed to release, a sum amounting to 2,312 *lire*, Vitelleschi found himself in a vicious circle, for most of this was eaten up in the annual repayment to the college for the loss of rent in 46-48 Via Monserrato, leaving little over with which to effect repairs and make the house habitable again. No longer was there the ebullient Talbot to launch another appeal, and O'Callaghan was not the man to undertake a fund-raising tour once the Proprietor was no longer in a position to compel him. Talbot sent off the occasional begging letter still, but the amount he forwarded to Vitelleschi was only £400 by 1874, and money coming in from other benefactors had dropped to negligible proportions. However in 1871 the house was at last repaired and let out to tenants again; the proposed demolition had been a costly error, for in all nearly 10,000 *lire* had been lost in rent, and the cost of repairs amounted to 2,700 *scudi*. (Further restoration was needed in 1917, for the foundations of the house had been weakened when those of the apse were laid.¹³⁶) The state of the finances at this time is well illustrated by the inability of Vitelleschi to pay off the Pugin debt of 1874, when he had to borrow £120 from the college for this purpose.

The acute lack of funds was clearly the reason why the work dragged on for so long, and there seems nothing to indicate that the capture of Rome in 1870 in any way hindered the progress of construction. Nor was the church fund affected by the laws regarding the liquidation of Church property, since its only investments were some gas shares and a few Roman *Consolidato*. The college, however, was not let off so lightly from these acts of the new Italian government, and lost a long law suit intended to prove that it was exempt as British, not Italian property.¹³⁷

135. This papal visit is recorded on the memorial plaque to the First Vatican Council in the main corridor of the college.

136. Cf. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 266, and the inscription over the doorway of Via Monserrato no. 48. A report on these buildings prepared during the Rectorship of Bishop McIntyre (1913-17) links their deterioration directly with the work undertaken on the apse. (Scr. M 106).

137. For an explanation of how these laws affected the college cf. T. Curtis-Hayward, *op. cit.*, p. 266, n. 24.

O'Callaghan then got together with the Rectors of the Scots and Irish colleges, and appealed to the British government but this refused to make any representations to Italy on their behalf.¹³⁸ However, although the law was applied without mitigation to college property, O'Callaghan managed to secure a specific exemption for the college buildings themselves (namely Via Monserrato 41-48) and for the villa at Monte Porzio.

So throughout the 1870s and 1880s work on the church proceeded steadily, though extremely slowly; it appears to have been some time in the late seventies that the shell of the building was completed and Vitelleschi passed to the embellishment of the interior. The stained glass windows were made by Hardman's of Birmingham, and sent out as the personal gift of Sir Stuart Knill, the Lord Mayor of London.¹³⁹ Two important links with the hospice church were the plaques around the walls and the paintings in the tribune. These former were set in position during 1883 by the Capo d'Arte, Stefano Moraldi, and were in all but a few cases copies of the destroyed originals. Frescoes representing the martyrdom of British saints from the very beginning of the island's Christian history and extending to those who had recently suffered in the current persecution had been executed on the walls of the hospice church by Pomericiano in 1583-84. These were copied and printed in J. B. de Cavalleriis' *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea* (Rome 1584), from which book they were again copied to be painted in the new church by an artist named Capparoni, who was also responsible for the four scenes from college history at the back of the church.¹⁴⁰

A few other monuments had survived the ruin of the hospice church to be preserved in the college, where they were seen by Jeremiah Donovan, D.D., during his visit to Rome in 1843 or earlier. He records that three of the most important were positioned in the branch corridor leading to the *salotto*. 'The horizontal effigy in relief to the right, supported by two lions, belonged to the tomb of Cardinal Bainbridge, Archbishop of York . . . Affixed to the wall on the left is the marble monument of Martha, the daughter of Henry and Martha Swinburne of Northumberland, who died in 1778, and whose Latin epitaph by the celebrated Father Morcelli, s.J., author of *Inscriptionum Latinarum*, etc., and several other learned works, is recommended by its classical purity and the elegance of its lapidary style . . . The rich and massive monument at the extremity of the corridor was designed by the Cav. Fuga, and sculptured by Philip Valle, and is sacred to the memory of Sir Thomas

138. Cf. letters to O'Callaghan from the British Embassy in Rome, 8/2/1875, and from the Foreign Office, 2/3/1876. The British government had taken the college under its protection during the revolution of 1848-49, (Scr. E 108)—But Palmerston had been at the Foreign Office then.

139. Scr. J 149.

140. *Ibid.*, and the Apostolic Visitor's questionnaire cf. *infra*.

Dereham of Dereham . . . In the spacious hall preceding the college library is a large painting of the Blessed Trinity, with St Thomas of Canterbury and Edward the Confessor kneeling beneath, ascribed to Durante Alberti.¹⁴¹

The three monuments on the ground floor were transferred to the church in 1883,¹⁴² and four years later the organ was taken from the sodality chapel to be installed in the tribune. Finally on 2nd January 1888 the 'Martyrs' Picture' was once more set in place above the high altar of the English College Church. There are in the archives several photographs of the church immediately after its completion, showing the nave and the right-hand wall. Apart from the pervading look of newness, several small features attract attention. A canopy hung over the picture, and the wooden altar was adorned with six cherubic candlesticks. The monument to Julian Watts-Russell was of course not yet in position.¹⁴³ and in the place of the Ralph Sherwin picture hung a specimen of a very *kitsch* Victorian painting. The side altar was beneath this, and where the Lady altar is now positioned stood a plaster statue of the Madonna, on the wall next to which three votive hearts had already been placed. The three-pronged light fixtures—still in use—were in position, and the benches appear to be those now lining the wall of the sodality chapel.¹⁴⁴

So Talbot's dream had eventually materialized, and the church was completed, though forever to be without the apse and choir which might have helped to redeem its imposing ugliness. Yet the work which he had begun with such a bang came to completion in what was very much a whimper. Henry O'Callaghan was due to be consecrated bishop of Hexham and Newcastle on 8th December 1887,¹⁴⁵ but he had an attack of nerves and the

141. J. Donovan, D.D., *Rome Ancient and Modern and its Environs* (Rome 1843), vol. 3, pp. 966-8.

142. A college tradition relates that the Dereham monument, the only tomb from the earlier church which has been preserved, was bricked up in 1798 to preserve it from the French. It is difficult to see why anyone should have gone to such trouble to preserve this particular monument while neglecting those of the more famous Allen, Persons and Bainbridge, especially since it is more likely to have been disrepair than malicious damage by the French which finally ruined the old church. Yet this monument is in a perfect state of preservation, which certainly suggests some form of protection during the vicissitudes of that period. If it had spent the Napoleonic wars in the ruined church, it must have been removed during the building operations of 1819-20 (cf. Part I, pp. 36-7) and would probably have been placed in its temporary position in 1834 as part of Wiseman's restoration of the *vetusta monumenta* of the college.

143. This monument to the ex-student of Ushaw who died as a papal Zouave at Mentana in 1867 was erected on the battlefield in 1868, but torn down in 1870. Mgr Claude Lindsay, from San Silvestro, found it in an *osteria* in 1894 and brought it to the college church. Cf. the inscription on the base, and *THE VENERABLE*, VI, p. 55.

144. The present benches were installed about 1924 as a gift from Miss Donnington Jefferson. Cf. Scr. N 108 (Rector's report 1923-24).

145. Not 18th December, as T. Curtis-Hayward states (op. cit., p. 227). Cf. Scr. J 149.

ceremony was postponed until 18th January. The archives contain hundreds of letters to Talbot, and a mass of financial papers concerning the construction, but the only manuscript reference to the opening seems to be a laconic entry for 18th January in George Burton's diary: 'Rector consecrated in new church by Cardinal Parocchi. In afternoon visit catacombs.'¹⁴⁶

There is, however, a fuller account, given by one of the English pilgrims who were in Rome for the jubilee of Leo XIII.¹⁴⁷ Despite certain inaccuracies it is worth publication in full. 'The consecration of the bishop of Hexham and Newcastle took place in the new church of the English College. Many reasons combined to make the ceremony one of unusual interest, and I think everyone present must have recognized the happy gracefulness of the thought which had arranged that the consecration of Mgr O'Callaghan should be coincident with the opening of the new church of the English College, for which he had worked so constantly and so well. The college church too was the Rector's work so that it was most appropriate that it should be first publicly used for his consecration. The church is in good Lombardic style, reminding one strongly of some of the old churches in Ravenna. There is a dash of the Byzantine about it, however, in the elaborate decorations in gold and colour, in the massive closely placed marble pillars, and the highly wrought and gilded capitals which support the galleries that run round three sides of the building. The galleries, which are to be reserved for the use of the students, are adorned with a grand series of frescoes, reproductions of the famous paintings of Pomerancio, which played such a conspicuous part in the beatification of our martyrs. The beautiful circular stained glass windows in the aisles are the gift of Mr Alderman Stuart-Knill—one has a pleasure in occasionally unearthing one of Mr Stuart-Knill's stealthy good deeds—and I hear that the marble holy water stoup and the curious pre-Reformation sacring-bell, used in the Mass, were presented respectively by Mrs Mawson and Mrs Baker Gibb, both in memory of the same martyred priest and student of the English College, David Lewis, *alias* C. Baker, who suffered in 1679. The ceremony of consecration, which began at eight a.m., was performed by the Cardinal Vicar, assisted by the bishops of Clifton and Portsmouth. When it was nearly over a lady who was near me, and to whom I had just explained a few details of the function, suddenly said impetuously, "How I hate it all". For the moment I thought she was a Protestant, and simply said, "Why?" The whispered answer came back: "Why can't they leave him here? You dont' know what a friend he has been, and how many will miss him".'

146. Liber 824, entry for 18/1/1887. H. E. G. Rope (op. cit., p. 101) asserts that the church was blessed by Bishop Clifford the previous day. It has never been consecrated.

147. J. G. Cox, *Jubilee-Tide in Rome* (London 1888), pp. 45-7.

Thus the church was opened, quietly and without fuss, causing no stir in the college or in English Catholic life. By now it was once again nothing more than the college church, for a stream of English visitors to their national church next door to an ecclesiastical college was not the sort of situation which fitted in with O'Callaghan's ideas on seminary reform. Courses of sermons and confessions in English were available in several Roman churches, and in 1885 Mgr Stonor secured from Pope Leo XIII the use of San Silvestro in Capite as the English church, to be administered by Pallottine Fathers, who took possession of it in the following year.¹⁴⁸ This was far more convenient for the English community centered around Piazza di Spagna than the college would have been.

It may be presumed that the use to which the church was put was not at variance with the present practice, that is, it served principally as a chapel for the students, though the public were admitted to the more important functions.¹⁴⁹ The answers given to a questionnaire circulated by the Apostolic Visitors of 1904 confirm this. The church is open to the public on Sundays and feasts for High Mass and evening devotions; it is unusual to have a large crowd, but when this situation arises the gentlemen are allowed to go into choir if there is room. On the rare occasions that ladies go to communion, a bench is placed outside choir for them. Three other points made in this report are of interest. The church possesses no source of income separately from the college, the organ is of English design and '*in stato discretamente buono, benchè un po' vecchio*'¹⁵⁰ and the sacristy is not that designed by the architect, which could not be constructed for lack of funds, but a room of the college which serves its purpose adequately enough.¹⁵¹

As it turned out, then, in 1888, the role, like the edifice, of S. Tommaso degli Inglesi was a much reduced version of what Talbot had hoped for twenty-five years earlier. Of the original enthusiasts for the idea, only Manning, now a Cardinal, lived to hear of its completion. Wiseman had died in 1865 and Ferretti had been followed to the grave by two other Cardinals Protector, de Reisach and his successor Capalti, so that the position was now filled by Cardinal Howard. Pugin died in 1875, and Vespignani soon afterwards.¹⁵² After the longest papal reign ever recorded, Pius IX was succeeded

148. Cf. J. Gaynor, *The English-Speaking Pallottines* (Rome 1962), pp. 162-6.

149. In fact it was probably used slightly more than at the present time, since the sodality chapel was occupied by the Beda after 1898. There is no indication how much, if at all, this chapel was used in the intervening decade. (During its earlier period in the English College the Pio had used a room on the first floor—possibly what is now the third library. Cf. Scr. G 110.)

150. The present organ was installed in 1925. Cf. THE VENERABLE, II, pp. 179-81.

151. Scr. L 102. At this time the sacristy was less than half its present size.

152. Scr. J 149. Direction of the work passed to his son Francesco.

by Leo XIII in 1878. Last of all, only shortly before the church was opened, died Talbot and Neve, the former at his mental hospital in October 1886, the latter as a Provost of Clifton, in the following month.

(concluded)

ANTHONY LAIRD

APPENDIX

I am very grateful to Squire de Lisle of Gracedieu Park for information concerning Talbot's correspondence with Ambrose de Lisle in 1865-66, and for xerox copies of these letters. Most of them are taken up with de Lisle's ideas concerning corporate re-union between the Church of England and Rome, but Talbot does not let slip the opportunity to suggest a donation towards the church fund. The two extracts given here are from letters dated 24th November 1865 and 8th February 1866; they are those immediately preceding and following de Lisle's letter of 13th January, quoted in Part II of this article.

(1) 'Now that I am writing to you I lay hold of this opportunity to interest you in a work which I have much at heart.

'The Holy Father desires that the Venerable Church of S. Thomas of Canterbury, which is attached to the English College, and has lain in ruins for more than half a century, should be restored.

'Already the Holy Father, Cardinal Antonelli, all the English Bishops, and most of the English Catholic nobility and aristocracy have contributed to this good work, as an offering to God at this crisis of the Holy See.

'I am sure you are too good a Catholic to refuse to give something towards this holy undertaking. The memory of S. Thomas of Canterbury is dear to us all, as the Church has declared him the Defender of the Rights of the Church, and it is a pity that whereas the English nation was the first to build a national church in Rome, yet it should now leave *S. Tommaso degli Inglesi* in ruins.'

(2) 'As for our national church of S. Thomas of Canterbury in Rome, I anticipate my thanks for your promised subscription. The Holy Father himself laid the first stone last Tuesday in the presence of all the English Catholics in Rome and the more distinguished Protestants. He made a magnificent homily, strongly recommending the English Catholics to complete the work which they had commenced. There was an immense enthusiasm on the occasion. The consequence of this is that the Church must be completed. No one is obliged to contribute, but no Catholic can oppose the wishes of the Pope. The Church will be in the Romano-Byzantine style, and the designs excited the admiration of even the ultra-Goths present. When I can get them done I shall send you a Chromolithograph so that you may judge for yourself.'

THE WEDDING OF THE LAMB

'Man thinks by pictures,' writes M. de Jouvenal¹ and these pictures, or images, lead on to insights.² The mind does not take easily to pure speculation and man moves more readily in the existential world of the imagination, ever biased to an idea that can command his affections as well as his intellectual faculty. It is the task of an image both to capture the mind from its habitual inattention and the will from the solitude of its own self-love and thence to draw the whole man outwards to an object which can satisfy his nature as a thinking and willing person. The poetic has a dynamic cognitional purpose; it captures the mind and leads it to a new consciousness of intelligibility; it is a 'heuristic moment in the continuum of knowledge's thrust into the unknown'.³ Μετανοια cannot be achieved by purely cerebral reflection, by a contemplation of pure being as the Greek philosophers would have us believe. It is achieved, as we see in the Gospels, by a cleaving to a Person, a Teacher, who can command the assent of men by drawing their affective and imaginative natures to his ideal. 'When the imagination is choked,' declares St Thomas, 'so also is our theological knowledge',⁴ since the image is the principle of human knowledge from which intellectual activity begins 'not as a passing stimulus, but as an enduring foundation'.⁵ The primitive catechesis has a poetic element, as can be seen, for instance, in Peter's use of the apocalyptic images of Joel and the poetry of David in his preaching in Jerusalem; preaching, which we are told, cut his hearers to the heart.⁶ Likewise, Paul makes use of sounding brass and tinkling cymbal; and

1. *Sovereignty: An Inquiry into the Political Good* (Cambridge 1957), p. 37.

2. Cf. Lonergan, *Insight: A Study of Human Understanding* (London 1958), p. 545. Also cf. S.T. 2a-2ae clxxx, 5 ad 2.

3. Lawler, 'The Poem as Question', in *Continuum*, II, 3 (1964), p. 166.

4. *Opusc. xvi, Expo. de Trinitate, vi, 2 ad 5* (Gilby's tr.). Cf. Bouyer, *Rite and Man* (London 1963), p. 63: 'any expression of a reality which is conceived without ... natural symbolism will be completely artificial and become a mere convention'. Also, de Jouvenal, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7.

5. *Ibid.*, *eodem loco*.

6. Acts 2:16-21, 25-28, 34-35, 37.

it is from their imagery that Isaiah and the Apocalypse draw their power to change men's hearts. The ecclesiology of *Lumen Gentium* is truly pastoral in character; its prime concern is not so much with the conceptual formulations of the professional theologian as with its missionary task of shedding the light of Christ on all men.⁷ Thus it is not surprising that '*sicut in Vetere Testamento revelatio Regni saepe sub figuris proponitur, ita nunc quoque variis imaginibus intima Ecclesiae natura nobis innotescit*'.⁸

Images, like words, do not exist *in vacuo*. They have meaning only in relation to man's experience and frame of reference. They are effective 'only in the measure that the speaker or writer correctly estimates the cultural development of listeners and readers and chooses just the words that have a meaning for them'.⁹ The theologian's task, therefore, is to look for those images which can speak to modern man; images which by their immediacy to his frame of reference will capture his imagination and his affectivity. A hall-mark of present theological renewal is the increasing return to biblical sources and the Council sets before us various biblical images of the Church as a means to a greater understanding of her nature. We must be aware, however, of the widely differing *sitz im leben* of biblical and contemporary man. Images drawn from a pastoral and agricultural environment¹⁰ need an authentic 'demythologizing' in order to make them meaningful to modern man.¹¹ The Council recognized the growing industrialization of the whole world with the social and cultural changes which this entails¹² and, since symbolism is in some way a product of an environment, such far-reaching changes in an economic and cultural environment necessitate changes in symbolism. This is not to deny the perennial fruitfulness of the agricultural and pastoral symbols and images of the Church, but merely to recognize the varying strength and importance of images, both as related to each other and as existing in time and place. Symbols are subject to temporal and local change, they are dynamic not static, and yet some possess a universal significance since they are concerned with the basic given of human existence. Motherhood is one, the family another; and perhaps those which have most significance for man are those stemming from his sexuality. The significance

7. *Lumen Gentium*, 1, 1, esp. '*naturam missionemque suam universalem ... pressius fidelibus suis et mundo universo declarare intendit*'.

8. *Lumen Gentium*, 1, 6.

9. Lonergan, op. cit., p. 544.

10. E.g. *oves, pastor, viniculum, templum*.

11. Cf. Brown, 'Bultmann and the Post Bultmannians', in *The Bible Today*, 14 (1964), p. 906.

12. *Gaudium et Spes*, 6. '*Eo ipso communitates locales traditionales ... pleniores in dies immutationis experiuntur. Typus industrialis societatis paulatim diffunditur ... similiter vitae urbanae cultus ac studium augetur.*'

of womanhood has a perennial place in symbolism¹³ and if modern literature—especially that of the station bookstall—and the methods of commercial advertising are any indication, then sexuality is at least a highly important, if not the chief, pre-occupation and anxiety of Western society. Walk down any street and you will be subject to a barrage of sexually-loaded stimuli urging us to find in sex a solution to our need to overcome our separateness and leave the prison of our loneliness.¹⁴ It is a common complaint against moralists that they are too much concerned with sexual problems, but, true as the criticism may be, it is surely a reflection of the anxiety of the average penitent. The fascination and significance of sexual imagery, however, is not confined to our own civilization; it has an enduring quality that transcends all limits of space and time. It is the recurrent theme of poet and dramatist. It is our present purpose to indicate, albeit briefly, the frequency of the bridal image of the Church in Christian tradition and the immense riches which it contains, and thence to show its foundation in scripture.

TRADITION

‘Both on the level of spontaneity and on the level of reason, marriage is the real apprehension, the intense appetite, the full expression of union with another self.’¹⁵ It is the sacramental sign of Christ’s love for his Church, the revelation to oneself of another self in Christ.¹⁶ The fullest expression of this theme lies in the poetry of St John of the Cross. In much of his poetry he employs the image of the bride as representing the soul in mystical union with God. Possibly the loveliest example is the ‘*En una noche oscura*’ where he apostrophizes the night which has joined the lover with the bride and continues to describe the final union :

Lost to myself I stayed
My face upon my lover having laid
From all endeavour ceasing :
And all my cares releasing
Threw them amongst the lilies there to fade.¹⁷

13. Cf. Weber, ‘On Marriage, Sex and Virginitv’, in *Quaestiones Disputatae* (London 1966), p. 84.

14. Cf. Fromm, *The Art of Loving* (London 1962), p. 14. Also, Fromm, *The Sane Society* (London 1963), pp. 30 seq. Also, *Sex and Morality: Report to the British Council of Churches* (London 1966), p. 45: ‘The erotic is more and more unremittingly celebrated, whether with the delicacy of a French film or the suggestiveness of an English advertisement’.

15. Lonergan, *Collection* (London 1967), p. 32.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

17. The poems of St John of the Cross are quoted in the translation of Roy Campbell, *St John of the Cross. Poems* (London 1960).

The image is used also to describe the incarnation and redemption of men by Christ :

A shepherd lad was mourning his distress
Far from all comfort, friendless and forlorn,
He fixed his thought upon his shepherdess
Because his breast by love was sorely torn . . .

Then, after a long time, a tree he scaled,
Opened his strong arms bravely wide apart,
And clung upon that tree till death prevailed,
So sorely was he wounded in his heart.¹⁸

St John's doctrine is most clearly and exhaustively set forth in his meditation on the prologue to the fourth Gospel. There the creation of the bride is seen to flow forth from the love of the Trinity :

I wish to give You, My dear Son,
To cherish You, a lovely bride . . .

and the Son will join all the members of the Just

To form the body of the Bride

who will live with him the life of the Trinity :

There with the single, same rejoicing
With which God revels, she will thrill,
Revelling with the Son, the Father,
And that which issues from their will.

She will partake of an eschatological meal :

And she will eat bread at our table
The selfsame bread on which I've fed.¹⁹

18. Cf. the echoes of this in what Ben Jonson was to call the greatest poem in the English language, Blessed Robert Southwell's *The Burning Babe*. Also Crashawe where he speaks of Christ as 'thy faire spouse'—in the hymn to St Teresa, and among Protestants, Donne's image of the ravishment by God in *Batter my heart three person'd God*.

19. Cf. Hopkins :

And, Poverty, be thou the bride
And now the marriage feast begun,
And lily-coloured clothes provide
Your spouse not laboured-at nor spun.

And finally we see at Bethlehem, Christ

*Así como desposado
De su tálamo salía.
Abrazado con su esposa
Que en sus brazos la traía,
Al cual la graciosa Madre
En un pesebre ponía.*

The same images recur throughout liturgical tradition. At Christmas we meet Christ '*tamquam sponsus . . . procedens de thalamo suo*' and later in the same nocturn we note the use of the royal wedding psalm.²⁰ At the Epiphany we sing that '*Hodie caelesti sponso iuncta est Ecclesia . . .*'²¹ At First Vespers of Low Sunday we are invited to the Lamb's wedding feast²² and Christ is the '*sponsus decorus gloria qui pergis inter lilia*'.²³ At Vespers of the Dedication of a Church the liturgy eulogizes the Church as :

*O sorte nupta prospera,
Dotata Patris gloria,
Respersa sponsi gratia,
Regina formosissima,
Christo iugata Principi,
Caeli corusca nivitas.*

The Church is the cherished and only bride of Christ, won at the cost of his blood.²⁴

The Church as bride of Christ was one of the favourite themes of Patristic ecclesiology. One of the most developed uses of this image occurs in the *Ευμποσιών ἠ περὶ ἄγνεύσεως* of Methodius (ob. 311). In this work the author imitates the dialogues of Plato ending with an epithamalion to Christ the Bridegroom and his Bride, the Church.

20. Matins of Christmas, Nocturn 1, Antiphon 2. For the attribution of Ps. 44 to the Church as Bride of Christ, cf. Methodius, *Ευμπόδιον*, 2, 7, 50. English translation Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht-Antwerp), vol. 2, p. 132. Hereinafter quoted as Q followed by volume number.

21. Lauds, *ant. ad Benedictus*.

22. Hymn, *Ad regias Agni dapes*.

23. Hymn for Common of a Virgin not a Martyr: *Iesu corona Virginum*.

24. Preface for Dedication of a Church, *Consilium ad Exsequendum Const. De Sacra Liturgia*, Civitas Vaticana, 9th Oct. 1967.

Leaving marriage and the beds of mortals
 And my golden home for thee, O King,
 I have come in undefiled robes,
 In order that I might enter with thee
 Within thy happy bridal chamber.²⁵

Didymus the Blind (ob. 348), the teacher of Jerome, represents the Church as a bride,²⁶ while Cyprian (ob. c.200) sees other religions as adulteresses when compared to the chastity of Christ's Bride.²⁷ Ignatius of Antioch instructs Polycarp: 'Tell my sisters to love the Lord and to be content with their husbands in body and soul. In like manner, exhort my brethren in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives as the Lord does the Church'.²⁸ The oldest extant Christian sermon glosses Genesis 1:27: 'The male is Christ, the female is the Church'.²⁹ Taking up the Genesis theme, we find that whereas Irenaeus saw in Mary the Second Eve³⁰ for Methodius Eve was principally a type of the Church; 'Whence it was that the apostle directly referred to Christ the words that had been spoken of Adam. For thus will it be most certainly agreed that the Church is formed out of his bones and flesh'.³¹ Earlier we find Tertullian writing (c.210), '*Si enim Adam de Christo figuram dabat, somnus Adae mors erat Christi dormituri in mortem, ut de iniuria perinde lateris eius vera mater viventium figurarentur ecclesia*'.³²

Origen would seem to have been the first to have laboured the ecclesiological content of the Song of Songs.³³ We have his commentary on that book fragmentarily preserved in Rufinus and Jerome.³⁴ For Origen the young maiden was the Church singing her love for the Bridegroom, Christ. Others saw the bride to be the individual soul and though the Church as bride was 'an interpretation that Gregory [of Nyssa] does not neglect, [he] relegates [it] to a minor role'.³⁵ The commentary on the Song of Songs composed by Nilos of Ancyra (ob. c.430) equates the bride with either the Church or the

25. Q2, 130.

26. *De Trin.* 2, 6, 23.

27. Q2, 373. Cf. Hippolytus of Rome (ob. 235): *Comment. in Daniele*, where Susanna is the Church and Joachim, her husband, is Christ.

28. *Ep. ad Polycarpum*, 5, 1. Q1, 68.

29. *2 α Ep. Clementis*, 14, 1-4. Q1, 56. It is interesting to note that we have the first recorded reference to the Church as Mother in the same text.

30. Q1, 299 seq.

31. Q2, 132.

32. *De anima*, xlvi, 10. *Corpus Christianorum, Series Lat.* II, 2. Cf. Q2, 330.

33. But cf. Hippolytus of Rome, *Comment. in Cant. Canticorum*, Q2, 174.

34. Q2, 50.

35. Q3, 266.

Soul³⁶ but Theodoret of Cyrus in his *Interpretatio in Canticum Canticorum* follows Origen in representing Christ's bride as the Church.³⁷ Didymus the Blind sees the baptismal font as the Church which remains a virgin while giving birth to the members of Christ's body,³⁸ an image taken from Eusebius' sermon at the consecration of the Cathedral at Tyre which sees the erection of the baptistry as a type of the 'final glorification in heaven of Christ's bride, the Church'.³⁹

THE SCRIPTURAL FOUNDATION

In the closing verses of Revelation, we hear the Spirit and the Bride say 'Come',⁴⁰ and this bride, we are told, is the heavenly city of Jerusalem, the Church.⁴¹ In these passages we are shown the ultimate sign of the New Alliance. In the Old Testament Yahweh concludes a marriage alliance with his people, an alliance sealed in the blood of bullocks sprinkled on the people. Now Christ has entered a new and everlasting marriage with his people, who have washed their robes white in his own precious blood.⁴² In this second half of the essay we mean to explore, still in a retrogressive way, the biblical significance of the bridal relationship established between Christ and his Church.

John saw on Patmos 'the holy city, and the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, as beautiful as a bride all dressed for her husband'.⁴³ In the following verse this image of the Church is taken to symbolize God living with his people, God united and one with his people for ever. The Church is a virgin bride in contrast to the prostitute Babylon, the symbol of idolatry.⁴⁴ This contrast between the purity of Christ's bride and the lust of prostitution is present also in St Paul. Paul has betrothed the Church of Corinth to Christ; she is a chaste virgin⁴⁵ and thus the believer must not become one flesh with a prostitute since he is a member of Christ's body and

36. Q3, 501.

37. Q3, 540.

38. Q3, 97. Cf. the liturgical expression of this idea in the triple penetration of the baptismal water by the life-bearing Paschal Candle (Christ) and then the scattering of the water (Church's children) to the four corners of the earth.

39. Q3, 343.

40. Rev. 22:17.

41. Rev. 21:9-10.

42. Rev. 7:14. Cf. 19:7-9. Cf. Léon-Dufour, ed., *Vocabulaire de Théologie Biblique* (Paris 1964), (hereinafter cited as VTB), col. 294: where in the Old Testament the husband of Israel was Yahweh, here the Church is married to the Lamb, Christ.

43. Rev. 21:2.

44. Rev. 17:1-7. Cf. VTB col. 294, also Jerusalem Bible (JB), Rev. 17a.

45. 2 Cor. 11:2.

one spirit with the Lord.⁴⁶ Christians as members of the Church are children of a free-born wife.⁴⁷ In Ephesians, a letter which 'establishes a bridge between the doctrine of marriage on the one hand and the mystery of Christ and the Church on the other',⁴⁸ Paul sees the relationship of Christ and his Church as the model and exemplar of that relationship which should exist between Christian husbands and wives.⁴⁹ The face to face encounter with each other, the rich experience of each other's nakedness before the lover, is symbolic of the total self-giving which Christ has made to his Church and of that total response which his self-giving demands.⁵⁰ Paul announces the new covenant in the marriage symbolism of Hosea⁵¹ and, as the wedding customs of the day made the bride bathe before her ceremonial journey to the house of her new husband, he sees Christ washing the Church in the waters of baptism.⁵² The essence of love is complete self-giving; the lover experiences the power of producing love by his act of loving,⁵³ and St Paul shows us the ultimate self-giving of the cross as the means by which Christ makes his bride holy, that is, elicits her full response of love.⁵⁴ It is in and through this total response of the bride to her husband's overpowering love that the two are made one body.⁵⁵

Jesus himself shows us his death as the sign of his unsurpassable love for his bride⁵⁶ and the tenderness of his love for men is shown in the whole discourse at the last supper. John the Baptist saw Christ as the Bridegroom,⁵⁷ an appellation that Jesus applies to himself in answer to John's disciples,⁵⁸ and the presence of the bridegroom is seen as a time for feasting. This eschatological wedding feast is underlined in Matthew's account of the wedding feast where the King arranges a banquet for his son's wedding,⁵⁹ a passage that Fr Grelot sees as perhaps an allegorization of the primitive catechesis by the early Church.⁶⁰

46. 1 Cor. 6:15-17. Cf. Col. 1:18

47. Gal. 4:31.

48. Grelot, *Man and Wife in Scripture* (London 1964), p. 105.

49. Eph. 5:21-25.

50. Cf. Grelot, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7.

51. Hosea 2:1 in Rom. 9:25-33.

52. Eph. 5:26. JB Eph. 5f.

53. Cf. Fromm, *The Art of Loving*, p. 34.

54. Eph 5:25. Cf. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 106: 'This is the first miracle of his [Christ's] nuptial love, which demanded on his part the surrender of self even to the final sacrifice'.

55. Eph. 5:31.

56. John 15:13.

57. John 3:29

58. Matt. 9:15; Mark 2:19; Luke 5:34-35. Cf. Matt. 25:1-13 where the Virgins wait for Christ's coming as the Bridegroom.

59. Matt. 22:1-14. Luke (14:16-24) does not use the nuptial symbolism.

60. *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

At the burning bush God revealed his mysterious name of Yahweh⁶¹ but to the prophets he revealed himself under '*autres noms, tirés de l'expérience quotidienne de la vie, le font connaître dans ses rapports avec son peuple: il en est le Père, il en est aussi l'Époux*'.⁶² The great theme of the prophets is the incredible love of Yahweh for a wife who has played the whore. The sexual imagery of the prophets must be understood in the whole context of Israel's separation by Yahweh from the polytheistic and idolatrous cults which surrounded her. It was from Baal, the God-spouse who fecundates the earth in the ritual of sacred prostitution, even more than from the human oppression of the Egyptians that God delivered Israel.⁶³ Israel is reproached by Ezechiel for not renouncing the 'whoring begun in Egypt, where men had slept with her from her girlhood, fondling her virgin breast, debauching her'.⁶⁴ It was in Egypt that her nipples were first handled, her virgin breasts first fondled.⁶⁵ Israel had perpetually 'hobbled first on one leg and then on the other', she had never remained true to her belief in a jealous God.⁶⁶ She had lapsed into idolatry under the influence of foreign queens, when 'she began whoring worse than ever, remembering her girlhood, when she had played the whore in the land of Egypt, when she had been infatuated by profligates big-membered as donkeys, ejaculating as violently as stallions'.⁶⁷

For Hosea, idolatry was not merely prostitution but adultery.⁶⁸ 'Hosea's whole mission is inextricable from a symbolic action which in turn is his private predicament.'⁶⁹ Ephrem has not merely played the whore⁷⁰ but has proved unfaithful to Yahweh and has fathered bastards.⁷¹ We see in Hosea's relationship with his prostitute-wife the tremendous condescension of God, his surpassing love and tenderness (*hesed*) for a people who have broken and rejected his covenant. Although Yahweh has called her 'No-people-of-mine',⁷² although he has said to her 'You are not my people and I am not your God',⁷³ he buys her back for the price of a slave and tells her :

61. Exod. 3:14.

62. VTB col. 292, cf. col. 24.

63. Cf. Grelot, op. cit., pp. 28 seq.

64. Ezech. 23:8.

65. Ezech. 23:3.

66. 1 Kings 18:21.

67. Ezech. 23:19-20.

68. Cf. VTB col. 292.

69. JB Jer. 18a.

70. Hos. 5:3. Cf. 4:12-14.

71. Hos. 5:7.

72. Hos. 1:9.

73. Hos. 3:1. Cf. JB 3d.

I will betroth you to myself for ever,
 betroth you with integrity and justice,
 with tenderness [*hesed*] and love⁷⁴

and the day will come when she will call Yahweh her husband and no longer call him her Baal.⁷⁵ On that day there will be a new alliance and the universal justice of the messianic age.⁷⁶ For Isaiah the marriage of a young man and a virgin symbolizes the '*noces messianiques*' between Yahweh and Israel⁷⁷ and her creator will be her husband.⁷⁸ Jeremiah, the spiritual heir of Hosea, remembers the affection of Israel's youth and the love of her bridal days.⁷⁹ Unlike the ancient sex-mythologies, sexuality never became for the Israelites an image of God in his transcendence but a tender love of Yahweh for his virgin Israel, a love which would transform the harlot into a virginal bride, united to her lover in a new and perpetual alliance.⁸⁰ The prophets succeeded in giving the old notion of alliance, which had ever had a juridical connotation, an affective appeal by its relevance to human experience. Sinai had become a love-affair.⁸¹

It is in the Song of Songs that we find the highest poetic expression of this love-affair. Originally a collection of secular love-songs, it has had a long tradition of allegorical interpretation, firstly by the Rabbis who applied it to the Israel-Yahweh marriage of Hosea and, secondly, by Christian Tradition which has seen the Church joined to her Bridegroom, Christ.⁸² We experience in this poem something of the tenderness of Christ's love for his Church.

Come then, my love,
 my lovely one, come.
 For see, winter is past,
 The rains are over and gone.
 The flowers appear on the earth.
 The season of glad songs has come,
 The cooing of the turtle dove is heard
 in our land . . .⁸³

74. Hos. 2:21.

75. The name 'Baal' denotes 'master'. JB Hos. 2n.

76. Hos. 2:16-20.

77. VTB col. 1118. Cf. Is. 62:5.

78. Is. 54:5.

79. Jer. 2:2. VTB col. 293.

80. Bouyer, *Woman and Man with God* (London 1960), p. 6. VTB col. 293.

81. VTB col. 24.

82. Cf. JB p. 991. Ulanov, 'The Prayer of Love', in *The Bible Today*, 22 (1966), pp. 1484-9.

83. Song of Songs 2:10-12.

This love is exclusive since it is passionate.

Your two breasts are two fawns,
twins of a gazelle,
that feed among the lilies.⁸⁴

And it is a love

no flood can quench,
no torrents drown.⁸⁵

After describing the beauty of the Bride we see in the ecstatic sexual climax of the poem the final consummation of Yahweh's love for his people, of Christ for his Church. Apart from the obvious sexual imagery of the lines

I will go to the mountain of myrrh
to the hill of frankincense⁸⁶

we see, also, the hill as Jerusalem, the holy mountain of Yahweh, the place of sacrifice, the Church. We appreciate in these lines the ecstatic union of Bride and Bridegroom, the ultimate beatitude of the eschatological time. The covenant of Sinai had been ratified by a meal⁸⁷ and the new covenant, the nuptials of the Bride and the Lamb, are often seen in the context of feasting.⁸⁸ Likewise in the Song of Songs, we are reminded of this new covenant by the description of the fruits of the earth which will abound in the fulfilment of time.⁸⁹ Yahweh has all the nations in his power and yet his dove is unique,⁹⁰ and he will reward her with fruitfulness in the eschatological time.⁹¹ For she is like a garden enclosed, a traditional image for the new Israel.⁹²

'To love somebody,' writes Dr Fromm, 'is not just a strong feeling—it is a decision, it is a judgment, it is a promise.'⁹³ The love of Christ for his Church,

84. *Ibid.*, 4:5.

85. *Ibid.*, 8:7.

86. *Ibid.*, 4:6.

87. Exod. 24:11.

88. Cf. Ps. 23:5; Matt. 22:1-14.

89. Song of Songs 7:11-14. Cf. Lev. 26:9-10.

90. *Ibid.*, 6:8/7-10.

91. *Ibid.*, 5:2—'my head is covered with dew'. An eschatological symbol; cf. Ps. 133:3.

92. *Ibid.*, 4:12. Cf. Ezech. 36:35; Is. 51:3.

93. *The Art of Loving*, p. 44.

which will reach its final fulfilment in the *parousia*, in the completion of the new and everlasting covenant, demands a response, a decision, from each individual member of the Church. Each man is called by his very nature as a social being to make and enjoy personal relationships, relationships which in this life usually find their fullest expression in the intercourse between a wife and her husband.⁹⁴ These relationships are intimate and central to man's every-day experience and 'hence the images which express such personal relationships as those of spouses . . . have a special significance for the self-understanding of the Church'.⁹⁵ As Adam *knew* his wife Eve, in the eschatological reversal of the cross Christ will espouse his Church in faith and she will *know* that he is the Lord.⁹⁶ We have seen how Christian tradition has followed the prophets in taking images '*tirés de l'expérience quotidienne de la vie*'⁹⁷ and we see in the symbolism of the bride and groom a particularly fruitful image for drawing the minds and affectivity of modern man; for 'the tragedy of love, which the prophets had already recognized in the history of Israel recurs in the life of every man. This is why the ancient texts which evoke the tragedy of the people of God have a perpetual relevance: they shed light on the life of every individual. In the story of Israel called to her nuptials, then in turn unfaithful, punished, repentant, purified, pardoned, restored to grace, finally called again to enjoy beautifying union with her heavenly bridegroom, everyone can recognize his own experience.'⁹⁸

THOMAS COOPER

94. For the ordering of marriage towards final beatitude, see Lonergan, 'Finality, Love, Marriage', in *Collection*, pp. 16-53.

95. Grillmeier, in commentary on *Lumen Gentium*, 1, 6, in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. I, ed. Vorgrimler (London 1967), p. 143.

96. Hosea 2:20.

97. VTB col. 292. Cf. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

98. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MORE FAMILY TO COUNTER-REFORMATION

I CHARLES BASSETT

Such are his virtues that I doubt not you will be grateful to me for having directed him to your college. I had rather have them known to you by your own experience than by any words of mine. He is a youth of an illustrious and wealthy family. Had he no other recommendations he should be dear to you on this sole account—that he is the great-grandson of the illustrious martyr Thomas More.¹

With this introduction from Father Robert Persons, s.j., began the brief career of Charles Bassett at the English College. Like so many students, Charles Bassett stood out as an individual among his contemporaries without really achieving any great personal fame beyond the college. Of course, part of the reason is that the events for which members of the college would be noted during the recusant period were the kind of underground happenings whose security rested in silence. Because, unlike Father Persons, Bassett left no memoirs of his England, we know little about him, other than his outstanding 'talents, manners, virtues worthy of himself and his ancestors'.²

His connection with Thomas More makes it easy to trace his ancestry. His father was James Bassett, the second husband of Mary Roper, second daughter of William and Margaret Roper.³

1. Letter of recommendation from Persons to Agazzari, Rector of the English College, carried by Charles Bassett, dated 30th August 1581. This extract is quoted in Persons' *Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra, L'anno 1581*, §13 (C.R.S., vol. 4, p. 14f; vol. 39, p. 90f).

2. *Ibid.*

3. See the genealogy of the Roper family (Appendix II, B) in E. E. Reynolds, *Margaret Roper* (London 1960).

Margaret Roper died at Christmas 1544, only nine years after the execution of her father; her husband William did not remarry. Between the time of Margaret's death and that of Henry VIII in January 1547, we know nothing of William. After Edward's accession, Roper applied himself to the settling of the More family's affairs which had been left undone for fear of attracting the displeasure of the King. The youth of the monarch now made it possible for Roper to live without catching the notice of the ruling bodies, which were in a state of turmoil and rivalry, thus preventing any kind of firm policy being agreed upon let alone executed.

However, during the reign of Edward VI, the influence of the King's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (Duke of Somerset), brought about many actions hostile to the comfort of Catholics in the country. With Cranmer in charge of Church affairs and with Seymour holding the powers of the monarch, the way was paved for Protestantism. The publication of the Book of Homilies with its strong injunction to preach against 'the Bishop of Rome's usurped power', the destruction of the images and shrines, that had been 'abused with superstition', and the 1548 Order of the Communion made it increasingly more difficult for the More and Roper families to practise their religion. Eventually many of the circle exiled themselves and settled in the Spanish Netherlands, particularly in Louvain, beginning with John Clement (husband of More's adopted daughter Margaret Giggs) in July 1549. But William Roper remained in England.

His action was to be indicative of the attitude of the family in their resistance to the Reformation. When Mary Tudor came to the throne in July 1553, hopes of restoration brought the emigrés back to England. After the death of her first husband, Stephen Clarke, Mary Roper married James Bassett, youngest son of Sir John Bassett of Umberleigh, Devon, who may have been at Louvain with the others. He became a courtier of Queen Mary, and his wife a lady-in-waiting. Bassett died a few months before the Queen, whose death on the same day as her kinsman Cardinal Pole died, left the Catholic Church in England bereft of a strong leadership. 'Then came the hour of Satan, and the power of darkness took possession of the whole of England.'⁴

4. Nicolas Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* (tr. Lewis, London 1877), p. 232f. First published as *De Origine et Progressu Schismati Anglicani*, with a continuation (Book III, 1568-85) by another Catholic priest, Edward Rishton, at Cologne in 1585.

At first no direct attack was made on Catholics, as Cecil⁵ was of the opinion that with the shortage of priests and the enforcement of uniformity in worship, Catholicism would die a natural death. But, wishing to accelerate events somewhat, he saw to it that two Acts of Supremacy were passed in 1559, which required an oath to be sworn by all who held government offices. As a Protonotary, William Roper would have been required to take the oath. In a country deprived of hierarchy and pastoral direction, the situation was chaotic; with Catholics conforming to the imposed pattern, yet attending Masses said in private by priests after they had conducted the Prayer Book Service. Roper was able to avoid the notice of churchwardens, as they were not to know at which of his residences he would be at any given time. He was not idle during this time, but employed himself like so many lawyers in the transactions involving Church property which was changing hands rapidly and in great quantities. Some of the profit from this business went towards supporting those of the More circle who had once again exiled themselves to the continent. Certainly Nicholas Harpsfield, More's biographer, received his aid, for he refers to the 'long and great benefits and charges employed and heaped upon me'.⁶ It is also probable that Roper helped the English College at Douai, when it was founded in 1568.⁷

It was in this year that pressure began to be applied to Catholics. William Roper went before the Privy Council of 8th July 1568 :

Submission of William Roper before the Lords of the Privy Council for having relieved with money certain persons who have departed out of the realm, and who, with others, have printed books against the Queen's supremacy and government.

5. 'A man supple in mind, counsel and conscience' (Sander, *op. cit.*, p. 243); and 'a man of extraordinary abilities, and of still greater prudence and cunning, [who] was the chief prop of her [Elizabeth's] throne for nearly forty of the forty-three years of her reign' (William Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland*, §298). Alternating according to convenience between being a pious Catholic and a devout Protestant, his conduct has been summed up as 'a miracle of evasion' (A. F. Pollard, *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth, 1547-1603* [London 1915], p. 91).

6. Nicholas Harpsfield, Epistle Dedicatory (to the Right Worshipful Master William Roper) to *The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, Knight* (ed. Reynolds, London 1963), p. 54. Harpsfield had met Roper at least as early as 1557, as we find Roper's name in Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation Returns for that year (C.R.S., vol. 45, p. 128).

7. Roper died 4th January 1578, and the following entry for 10th February in the Diary at Douai records the loss: '*Die 10 . . . celebrabantur in collegio nostro exequiae pro obitu reverendi Dni Roperi, catholicis omnibus tum hic tum Angliae viventibus longe desideratissimi*' (*The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, ed. Knox, p. 133).

His generosity was well known and attested to. As late as 1600, he was remembered by Ro.Ba. (the unidentified biographer of Thomas More), who quotes the figure of £1,000 per annum as the amount of his ordinary almsgiving, while his extraordinary alms reached as high as four thousand pounds on occasions.⁸ This sum went towards improving the lot of prisoners in the four city gaols, and also, as we have said, towards the support of the new seminary at Douai.

William Roper's name appears in 1577 in a list of recusants, along with the names of his two sons Thomas and Anthony, and Philip Bassett, eldest son of Mary.⁹ No mention is made here of Philip's younger brother Charles. For while these others were known to be recusants, Charles who did not occupy any public office or status was of little concern to those interested in protestantising the country through governmental channels.¹⁰

Charles Bassett was probably the companion of Edmund Campion during the first Missionary Tour (18th July—October 1850), just as his dear friend George Gilbert had been with Father Persons.¹¹ On the arrival of Persons and Campion in England from Rome, they gathered with several leading Catholics at the church of St Mary Ovaries, Southwark, where they discussed matters of some importance: how they were to defend their apostolic purpose from the slur of treason, that is, how they should make it clear that their 'crime' was one of religion and not of direct malice towards the Crown; they also decided that 'a Catholic cannot without great impiety bind himself to be present at those acts [the Protestant service on Sundays and feast-days]' as was required by the Act of Uniformity 1559. They also accepted the Roman observance of days of fasting and abstinence as the common basis for the national practice. This 'Synod of Southwark' finally determined the areas each priest was to cover, and, immediately afterwards, Persons and Campion

8. Reynolds remarks that some MSS give the figures as 'hundreds' rather than 'thousands' (*Margaret Roper*, cap. VIII), which is still a considerable sum in Tudor values.

9. 'Theis persons, for suspicion had of their religion, for not Recevinge the Comunyon:—

William Roper, of Kent, of yerely Revenewe 1000*li*, as we thinke :

Thomas Roper, his eldeste sonne, one of ye twoe Protonotaries of ye Quenes benche :

Anthonie Roper, his brother, clark of ye Papers in the same Courte : . . .

Phillipp Basset, sonne & heire of Mrs Basset late of ye privie chamber.'

Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales, 1577: 47 [Lincoln's Inn]. (The Record Office, Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. 118, n. 70; also C.R.S., vol. 22, p. 101f.)

10. 'Mr William Roper of Eltham, Esquior, nether receiueth the communion, nether commeth to the churche; his landes valued at 400*li* lande at the leaste beside the profit of his office, and his goodes worthe 300*li*.' Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales, 1577: [Diocese of Rochester]. 2 [Kent]. (Dom. Eliz., vol. 117, n. 2; also C.R.S., vol. 22, p. 11.)

11. See C.R.S., vol. 39, p. xxii.

made arrangements for their journeys, taking with them a number of young men who wished to share the dangers. At last after thirty years of deprivation, order was being restored to the Church in England. The Counter-Reformation was under way on home ground.

As a precaution against the slander that would inevitably abound upon the capture of any of them, Persons and Campion both wrote declarations, signed and sealed, stating the reasons for their coming to England. Persons wrote his *Confessio Fidei*, an address to the Magistrates of the City of London; while Campion wrote his famous 'Challenge' 'To The Right Honourable, The Lords of Her Majestie's Privy Council'. Leaving the copies with a fellow Jesuit, Thomas Pounce, they started off on their tours: Persons to make a circuit of Northampton, Derby, Worcester and Gloucester, and Campion to make a smaller journey through Berkshire, Oxford and Northampton.

'It was not long after our departure,' writes Persons, 'that the Council, by their spies and other persons whom they apprehended, had notice of our journey and presently they sent divers pursuivants after us into most shires of England with large authority to apprehend us wheresoever they should meet with us. But we had always warning by the diligence of the Catholics so as we easily avoided them and they lost their labour.'¹²

When Persons and Campion met again at Uxbridge, they found everyone talking about 'The Challenge'. What seems to have happened is that Pounce, fearing that the testaments might be lost when he was moved from London to be committed to solitary confinement at Bishop's Stortford, made copies of the letter which he passed around in London. Other copies were made, and within a very short while a general chase was after Campion, which made it dangerous for him to go any nearer London than Uxbridge. Persons, always an opportunist, considered how best this publicity, unfortunate as it was, could be put to use. He decided that Campion should prepare a short address to the students of Oxford University where his memory was still fresh. The resulting work was his *Decem Rationes: quibus fretus, certamen adversariis obtulit in causa Fidei, Edmundus Campianus &c.* The printing of this little book was necessarily slow both on account of the dangers and the small stock of type. However, when eventually the book was ready, William Hartley contrived to leave copies on the benches of St Mary's, Oxford, where a lecture was to be delivered. When he saw that the students were reading the book and ignoring the official speaker, Hartley withdrew to Stonor Park to report that the book had struck its target.¹³ Happy as this was, the success

12. *Life of Campion*, bk. ii, cap. 1.

13. See Persons's *De Vita Campiani*, cap. 26.

of the book led to the eventual capture of Campion. He took 'the road to Norfolk, where his presence was much desired, and in order to get there sooner, it was decided that he should avoid, as much as possible, the houses of the Catholic gentry on the way, who would have detained him. He asked, however, to visit a house two or three days' journey from there, belonging to a Catholic gentleman named Yates. He promised that he would remain a day only for the assistance and spiritual consolation of the Catholics of that house, where he remained only for a day, and departed with Ralph his companion. But after three days he was recalled with such insistence by several Catholic gentlemen who had come to Lyford from various parts and particularly from the University of Oxford to hear him preach, that he returned, preached, and was taken the following Sunday, July 15 [1581] ...'¹⁴

While Campion had been writing the *Decem Rationes* in the north (particularly Lancashire), Persons had been equally busy with his pen in the south. Meanwhile, the authorities had not been idle either :

... several persons were occupied in devising various artifices for discovering Persons; for Campion was away in the country, and the council had heard that many gentlemen of mark communicated with the before-mentioned Father, especially the younger men, and amongst others George Gilbert, Gervase Pierrepont, Thomas Fitzherbert, Philip and Charles Bassett, brothers, Stephen Brinkley, Francis Throckmorton and others. They diligently watched where these gentlemen went, and above all they kept their eyes, as was said, on Gilbert, who was thought to be the inseparable companion of the Father, and this trick was played by Henry Carey,¹⁵ then Marshal of England, and afterwards Baron Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen. Having heard that the said George Gilbert wished to sell some part of his estate and possessions in Suffolk for the support of Catholics, he encouraged the tenants to offer him a good sum of money, to be paid in London, in the house of a notary named Higgins,¹⁶ in St Paul's churchyard, with this intent, that the said George having to be there to ratify the deeds and receive the money, he, the said marshal, should come with a number of soldiers, and not only seize the money, but also force George Gilbert to confess afterwards the whereabouts of Persons.¹⁷ ... But F. Parsons suffered not Mr Gilbert that day to goe, but to send two others in his place, whoe were Sir

14. Persons, *Punti, L'anno 1581*, §§16-17 (C.R.S., vol. 4, p. 16-19).

15. In Person's *A Storie of Domesticall Difficulties*, this Henry Carey is called by his correct name, Sir George Carey Knight Marshal (C.R.S., vol. 2, p. 183). He became the second Lord Hunsdon in 1596.

16. Anthony Higgins, 'a scrivener knowne to be Catholikely given', was afterwards imprisoned in the Fleet from 10th-27th August 1582 (C.R.S., vol. 2, p. 229).

17. Persons, *Punti, L'anno 1581*, §11 (C.R.S., vol. 4, p. 10-13).

Frauncis Browne, brother to the Lord Montecute [Montagu], and Mr Charles Bassett, who bothe were taken and sent to the Marshalsee.¹⁸

What happened to Bassett next is not clear, but within months he is found in France with Persons. How Bassett came to be released remains unsolved.¹⁹ Bassett must have realized that the climate in England was growing rapidly too dangerous for him. George Elliott, who betrayed Campion, made a list of 'Popish priests' and 'such Popists as carry the countenance of gentlemen':

I verily think Mr Francis Brown or Mr Chas. Bassett can tell of the Jesuits where they are, for that indeed Mr Browne and Mr Bassett were . . . not long ago very often in company with the said Jesuits . . .²⁰

After Campion's capture, Persons made the difficult decision to leave the country. When precisely Bassett joined him is not certain, but in August 1581, Persons wrote to Alfonso Agazzari, the Rector of the English College in Rome, saying:

Charles Bassett is to follow him [George Gilbert] immediately; he is Thomas More's great grandson, of good family like George, a young man of zeal and piety. I think both of them will come to Rome.²¹

The generosity of both Gilbert and Bassett is well evidenced from the writings of both Cardinal Allen and the writer of the Diary of the English College in Rome. In a letter to the Rector, Allen says of Gilbert: 'Out of what remains to him he has been a large benefactor to the Catholics; also to us at Rheims, seeing the great poverty of our college, he has afforded no small relief—eighty golden crowns [Agazzari records it in a letter to the Jesuit General as 800 scudi]. And imitating his example, Charles Bassett has done the like; which for gentlemen in a strange land, exiles, and spoiled of their patrimony, was princely munificence, or rather, to give it the right title, saintly charity.'²² The following year, 1582, Allen wrote to Gilbert: 'Farther, Sir, about mooney matters; here is one Mr Robert Walley that hath here 1000 crownes, and wold gladly receive the same in Rome and bank the same or bye a rent as you and Mr Basset intend to doo'.²³

18. Persons, *Domesticall Difficulties* (C.R.S., vol. 2, p. 183).

19. In the Jesuit archives, *Anglia Historica*, there is a note probably written by Father Paul Bombino, S.J., '*Quaerendum, quomodo hic Carolus Bassettus, qui supra captus dicitur in venditione illa, liberatus sit*'.

20. '10 Aug. 1581. A declaron of certain Papists, &c., writ by G.E., is by one that was servant to the old Ladye Petre.' (Lansdown MSS, Burghley Papers, 33 Plut. n. 16; also, Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. 2, p. 589).

21. Persons to Agazzari, August 1581 (C.R.S., vol. 39, p. 74, 84).

22. Allen to Agazzari, 30th August 1581 (Foley, *Records S.J.*, vol. 3, p. 677f).

23. Allen to [Mr George Gilbert], Reims, 12th May 1582 (*The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*, ed. Knox, p. 133).

In fact, both George Gilbert and Charles Bassett did come to Rome as Persons had thought they would: 'Such are his [Charles's] virtues that I doubt not you will be grateful to me for having directed him to your college, [upon which] I have wished these two youths to shine, as already for some time they have shone forth upon our England'.²⁴

They entered the college on 8th October 1581. The note on Charles Bassett in the *Liber Ruber* is brief and purely factual, with a mention of his skill in logic. Stanley Morison had conjectured that Bassett, being the earliest relative of Thomas More to come to Rome, may well be the source of the details of the portrait of More which was hung in the college chapel. Gregory XIII allowed the portraits of the martyrs to be exhibited with their names in the chapel, as an inspiration to the students, encouraging their heroic spirit with what they might expect to suffer on their return to England. Among these paintings, which were the gift of George Gilbert, was one of the execution of Thomas More. They were painted by Niccolò Circignani (1519-90), usually known as 'Il Pomerancio', and a book of etchings was made from the originals under the auspices of the Jesuits. This book, the *Trophaea*, as it turned out was to save those early portraits of the martyrs from complete oblivion. For, when the French overran Rome and Pius VI was exiled by General Berthier, the paintings were destroyed; but their restoration was made possible by making replicas based on the etchings in the *Trophaea*. 'There is reason to accept the details of this picture as authentic; for, according to the Annual Letter of the English College, Gilbert was accompanied by "a young relative of the illustrious martyr, Sir Thomas More, who had conferred many benefits on the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and the Catholic cause, and whose conduct among us proves that he is not unworthy of his sainted kinsman"'.²⁵ It seems probable that Bassett would have possessed or have had access to pictures of More which were treasured by the family. It is even more probable that Thomas More would have been remembered in the time of his grandchildren, especially when it is remembered that Thomas Stapleton wrote his life of More in 1588, relying a great deal on the memory of Dorothy Harris, who had been Margaret Roper's maid at Chelsea some fifty years earlier.

Mr Ingram Thwing of the Yorkshire family, was admitted to the Hospice of the English College as servant to Charles Bassett on 14th April 1582 and remained for eight days as a poor pilgrim.²⁶ Charles joined the Society of Jesus, but was not to proceed very far towards the priesthood, as ill health carried him off to Rheims in April 1583. Hearing that Charles was ill,

24. See note 1, supra.

25. Stanley Morison, *The Likeness of Thomas More* (London 1963), p. 42; for the Annual Letter, see Foley, *Records S.J.*, vol. 6, p. 77.

26. Foley, *Records S.J.*, vol. 7, ii, p. 1341.

Cardinal Allen wrote to Agazzari, recommending that 'it would perhaps be expedient to send him to France'.²⁷ Agazzari thought this the best course of action and Charles was despatched with George Gilbert as his travelling companion. Even on this journey, the pair met with situations that required their aid, as the Diary of the English College (Rome) shows: '... [Gilbert] betook himself first to Rouen, where he made the nuns a present of four hundred crowns; thence to Rheims, where he gave Dr Allen eight hundred crowns for the support of the English College, and prevailed upon his companion Mr Charles Bassett to bestow similar sums on the same objects'.²⁸ Allen was looking forward to the arrival of the newcomers and, it seems, '*reliquos tam presbyteros quam alios scholares et peregrinos*',²⁹ who still had not arrived by June the 10th.³⁰ They arrived shortly afterwards, and Allen took an immediate liking to Charles, as he says to Agazzari: '*... domino Georgio mihiq[ue] amantissimus Carolus Bassetus*'.³¹ There he 'lived most holily, gave all his temporal goods to the said seminary and to other pious works ...'.³² There is an entry in the accounts in Rome for 24th August 1583, after his departure, which seems to suggest that the English College in Rome was among his 'other pious works', even while he was away from it.³³ It is probable that Gilbert carried something back with him from Rheims when he returned to Rome.

George Gilbert died in Rome on 6th October 1583, only two years after arriving, and only one year after joining the Society. He left a fortune of 2,720.80 scudi.

Writing to Agazzari, Persons 'speaketh much in praise of Sigr Carlo, I suppose he meaneth Carlo Bassetto'.³⁴ He then mentions that Charles had left Rome for his health's sake, and 'he has now recovered it in France by the favour of God ...'.³⁵ Another letter of Persons pinpoints Charles in Rouen on 30th September 1584.³⁶ Persons and Bassett were still together in Paris on October the 24th, when Persons decided to go to Rouen and '*il Sigr*

27. Allen to Agazzari, Reims, 23rd April 1583: '*Ego de domino Bassetto vereor ne fiat indies imbecillior. Fortassis expedierit ipsum in Gallias remittere*' (Knox, *Allen*, p. 189).

28. V.E.C., Annals for A.D. 1583 (Foley, *Records S.J.*, vol. 6, p. 108).

29. Allen to Agazzari, Reims, 30th May 1583 (Knox, *Allen*, p. 190).

30. Allen to Agazzari, Reims, 10th June 1583 (Knox, *Allen*, p. 195).

31. Allen to Agazzari, Reims, 26th June 1583 (Knox, *Allen*, p. 197).

32. Persons, *Punti, L'anno 1582*, §23 (C.R.S., vol. 4, p. 70f).

33. V.E.C., Archives, *liber* 37, folio 173.

34. Note added by Father Christopher Grene, s.j., who transcribed many of Persons's works in the seventeenth century, to a letter dated 24th March 1584 (C.R.S., vol. 39, p. 200f).

35. Persons to Agazzari, 24th March 1584 (*ibid.*).

36. Persons to Agazzari, Rouen, 30th September 1584 (C.R.S., vol. 39, p. 245): '*... Il sigr Carlo per adesso sta qui meco e saluta V[ost]ra R[everenza]* ...'

Carlo torna a Rhems.³⁷ Grene supposes that Bassett was still at Rheims from his reading of a letter of Persons dated 'Paris, 25 November, 1584'.³⁸ Yet the letter as it now stands in its edited form gives no indication of this, other than the silence of Persons about who his companions were, whereas he usually mentions those who are with him. His silence is evidence that he had not yet heard of Charles's death, as Grene says in a marginal note to the letter mentioned above of September 30th: '*Carlo Bassetto obiit Rhemis circa finem Novembris 1584 ut patet fol*'. This is corroborated by a letter of Persons, dated December 6th: 'Our beloved Charles's death I know you will have heard of already from Mr Allen's letters'.³⁹

Thus, the *Liber Ruber*:

Carolus Bassetus Anglus Diocesis Londiniensis annorum aptus ad logicam aggrediendam receptus fuit in hoc Anglorum Collegium à P. Alfonso Agazario Societatis Iesu dicti Collegii Rectore. De expresso mandato Illustrissimi D. Cardinalis Boncompagni tit. S. Xisti Protectoris. sub die 19. nouembris 1581. Recipitur autem tanquam coniuctor qui soluat pro expensis.

*Mense Aprilis 1583. discessit in Galliam propter aduersam ualitudinem. ibique paulo post sanctissime mortuus Rhemis.*⁴⁰

While Charles seems not to have attracted very much attention from the authorities in England, he was certainly very dear to Persons, Allen, Campion and the others with whom he worked in England and studied on the continent. He sacrificed his personal wealth and prospects for the Catholic cause, in common with many others of noble and wealthy families. Although he escaped the ignominious death of a traitor, his sacrifice is comparable with that of his great-grandfather, Sir Thomas More. Thomas More lost his life and wealth to the state for a principle; Charles Bassett and George Gilbert gave their lives and wealth to the efforts of the Counter-Reformation, 'leaving an example of virtue, having, for the love of God, given in alms all they possessed, and at death they distributed what remained to them outside England'.⁴¹

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37. Persons to Agazzari, Paris, 24th October 1584 (C.R.S., vol. 39, p. 255). This letter deals at length '*de pecuniis Caroli Bassetti et aliorum*' (Grene's synopsis).

38. Persons to Agazzari, Paris, 25th November 1584 (C.R.S., vol. 39, p. 263f). Grene: 'I gather also by this letter that Mr Charles Bassett was living yet in Rheims'.

39. Persons to Agazzari, Rouen, 6th December 1584 (C.R.S., vol. 39, p. 265f); see also, *Punti, L'anno 1581*, §13 (C.R.S., vol. 4, p. 14f): 'These two young gentlemen [George Gilbert and Charles Bassett] afterwards died, the one in Rome, the other in Rheims in France.'

40. *Liber Ruber*, n. 111 (C.R.S., vol. 37, p. 34).

41. Persons, *Punti, L'anno 1581*, §13 (C.R.S., vol. 4, p. 14f).

NOVA ET VETERA

CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 1818

December the 18th marks the 150th anniversary of the arrival in Rome of Wiseman and his companions in 1818, twenty years after the college had been hurriedly vacated before the invading French troops. During the intervening period college affairs had been administered by various Italian employees, who in fact did a good job in preserving as much as possible of the furniture and property. They were not glad to see Gradwell, however, who was sent out to Rome as Bishop's Agent and Rector at the end of 1817 and who officially took over the latter position in the empty college in March 1818. One of the complaints made about the Jesuits towards the end of their regime was that as Englishmen they were incapable of handling the financial aspects of college administration and it may be imagined that the officials who for two decades had been allowed to run things on their own initiative were not happy to find themselves once again subject, not only to properly constituted college authority, but to a foreigner but recently arrived in Rome and possessing, to boot, no more than a smattering of Italian. A particularly blatant example of their opposition to Gradwell's authority prompted him to seek the advice of Sir John Hippisley, the informal representative of the British Government, and Mgr Macpherson, Rector of the Scots College, both of whom had helped to ensure that the re-opened college should be kept out of the hands of the Italian seculars and recently reconstituted Society of Jesus and entrusted to the English secular clergy. This in turn led to the following lengthy letter in fluent French (Gradwell had spent several years as a student at Douai) to the Cardinal Protector, Consalvi, in which the Rector displays a charm and diplomacy in the presentation of his case worthy of a more experienced practitioner of nineteenth century Roman politics.¹

Your Eminence,

I did not intend, for the moment at least, to trouble Your Eminence with the topic of this letter. But having learned this morning that Sir John Hip-

1. We are indebted to Father H. E. G. Rope for discovering the original French letter in the Archives.

pisley had spoken to Your Eminence about it without my knowledge, I am afraid that I should be lacking in the courtesy due for so many reasons to my Protector and Friend if I delayed in offering the following brief explanation. This is the real reason which has persuaded me to do so. During the eight days I spent in the college, I employed 'pro tempore' Benedetto Gerolami in the double capacity of tailor and cook. I did not think that anyone could object to this because he had been employed in the college four years before the Revolution and he had been recommended to me. It is true that I can vouch for the fact that he is a far better tailor than cook; but I was pleased with him because he tried to do his best in everything. Last Monday at the very moment when Your Eminence was honouring me with an audience on business of a much greater importance than the intrigues and ridiculous quarrels of the domestics, the *Computista* and the *Esattore* came to the college and found Benedetto about his business. They decided to dismiss and send him away without more ado. Benedetto, although trembling in front of these Gentlemen, nevertheless dared to protest but they replied that he did not have the right to be making a soup for me because he had not been registered in the book. Vincenzo the porter too, a Jubilarian who has lived in the college for more than forty years and who, *horresco referens*, has seen several of my predecessors as Rectors, dared to ask: What will the Rector do for dinner because I do not know how to cook? But under the cruel threat of sending him away too they constrained him to be quiet, and they replied: Let the Rector go to a hotel or do whatever he likes. When I came back from the Quirinal to the college and found what had happened I did not know what to think, whether it was a comedy or a tragedy. But since these Gentlemen had created all this disorder without informing me, without awaiting my return and without a shadow of provocation on my part: and since this conduct was accompanied by other signs of inexplicable incivility, for example one of those having told me that I would not have any say in the appointment of the domestics nor in the administration of college property, I must admit that I felt this petty-mindedness as a personal insult and as a slur on my public reputation. Meanwhile, fully convinced that these Gentlemen were going beyond their power and instructions, I held back. I did not make any complaint to them nor show any resentment but as I was a little upset at the loss of my cook and as I did not want to go to a hotel simply to please these Gentlemen (or rather, for a religious motive which has always been the rule of my conduct, *nemini dans offensionem ut non vituperetur ministerium meum*) two days after this event I consulted the Rector of the Scots College and Sir John Hippisley whom I found together, to learn what in the circumstances would be the surest way of keeping the peace. As one of these considered this act of

these subordinates as the beginning of a system which would be alarming, incomprehensible, and quite alien to the generous nature of Your Eminence, and also insulting to Your Eminence and to me as your *protégé*, he thought it was serious enough to be communicated to Your Eminence without delay : and without my knowledge he did so.

I hope that the purity of my intention will be my excuse for this intrusion. But I take advantage of this opportunity not only to thank Your Eminence with all my heart for the great and inestimable benefits which you have already conferred on me and on my country, but also, *O et praesidium et dulce decus meum*, to assure you of my calm and unshakeable confidence that Your Eminence will always continue to honour the new Rector with your confidence, support and advice : and that when your other higher occupations will allow the time, Y.E. will confer on me a power of administration subject only to Y.E., a power which will enable me to make this college a worthy rival of the famous college at Douay, my Alma Mater, where I had the happiness to begin my academic life, which has been honoured by the protection of the last twenty-four Popes and which has served the Church so well : a power, finally, which will enable the future historian of England to set His Holiness Pope Pius VII and Your Eminence alongside Gregory XIII and Cardinal William Allen, the holy and famous Founders of both colleges as the greatest benefactors of the Catholic religion in England. This is the object of my prayers, of my future labours, and of the life to which I have consecrated myself under the auspices of Your Eminence, I have the honour to be, with the most profound sentiments of respect and esteem,

Your Eminence's most humble and obedient servant,

Robert Gradwell.

Au College Anglais.

18 Avril, 1818.

FROM THE VENERABLE OF FORTY YEARS AGO

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir,

Those upon whom a benign Providence bestowed the unique distinction of being members of the 1919 year of the Venerable,¹ met for the purpose of mutual edification and recreation at the Queen's Hotel, Manchester, on the eleventh of April 1928 at 1.30 p.m. This was the second of such reunions, the

1. This year numbered among its many members such distinguished names as : Archbishops Masterson and Grimshaw.—Ed.

first having proved an eminent success about the same time and at the same venue last year. Amongst those present were noticed the Revv. Wilson, H. R. Kelly, Clayton, McNarney, Williamson, Atkinson, Goodear and Egan; the last named being accounted a member *per fictionem iuris*. The Rev. J. McNulty made a somewhat dramatic appearance later in the afternoon, when he entered with a stage umbrella which bent gracefully in various directions when subjected to gentle pressure from above. The Rev. J. Briscoe, and the Admodum Rev. L. Smith were present as guests on conditions previously decided upon. These conditions were two:— (a) that the person or persons so invited be Romans contemporary with the 1919-26 generation; (b) that they defray their own expenses. The Rev. H. Casartelli was unfortunately prevented by sickness from attending.

After grace, intoned in the ancient Latin formula by the Senior Student, the assembled party sat down to a choice but befittingly frugal repast. This more sordid part of the proceedings was much enlivened and uplifted by frequent sallies of refined wit and many a merry quip and jest, as the Senior Student in the absence of Superiors had given reading off. With the arrival of coffee and smokes, chairs were pushed back and the brethren indulged in dignified reminiscence and discussed those means most expedient and conducive to the rapid conversion of England. And lest the old traditions so jealously guarded by the first year after the war should perish, all present signed the menu card, which presumably somebody sent on to their absent brethren still engaged in their academic course in Rome. The presence of so able a pianist as Mr. Smith enabled us to enjoy a little chaste music in which all joined. At the conclusion of the meeting the 'O Roma Felix', the Greg. Hymn, the Papal March, and 'Till we me-he-heet!' were severally eviscerated with due solemnity and decorum. The bill was introduced, footed in the customary manner, and the venerable brethren in their discreet dispersal said, not farewell, but 'a rivederci', an Italian phrase auguring a subsequent reunion.

The brethren of the 1919 year wish it to be understood that by these meetings no disloyalty is meant or inferred towards the Roman Association of which all are loyal members. For this reason it is intended that the number of guests invited shall be strictly limited to one or two, and that the date of the meeting shall never be in the same week as the Roman meeting. Owing to industrial depression and the high cost of living at the present time, the members of the 1919 year cannot see their way to purchase a minute book. They therefore respectfully beg that this brief account be enshrined in the next number of THE VENERABLE, to which all are regular subscribers, at least *in voto*.

J. GOODEAR

COLLEGE JOURNAL

THE VILLA 1968

It was a sad fact but true that most people this year were not looking forward to the Villa and were perhaps even dreading it. There were many reasons for such an attitude on the part of the House, but primarily it was due to the general disappointment that the Rector's suggestion of a six-week holiday in England for everybody had not materialized; a disappointment which probably affected First Year men more strongly than others, since they are less accustomed than their senior colleagues to the unreliability of rumour and expectation. As a corollary to this, there was a drastic reduction in numbers caused by the alternative arrangements for Second Theology who were to spend the entire summer at home. In addition, the Top Year leaving was unusually large in size and the change from a three year to a two year course in philosophy meant that two years would be enjoying 'Phils' Holiday'. This left approximately only a quarter of the House to experience the delights of Palazzola. The large numbers going home may certainly be considered an improvement on previous practice, but it was a situation calculated to make it more difficult for those who remained.

By the end of June, however, after we had endured the narration of plans for a summer of working, visiting and holidaying in England, most people had accepted their earlier disappointment and were looking forward to a refuge from the Roman heat and noise and a place where the strain and worry of exams could become just an unhappy memory. The second night of the Villa saw a public meeting, which was also attended by the staff. This did much to hammer out difficulties and to discuss the complicated nature of community life. Is it just the sum of everybody's activity or is it a companionship in joint projects, projects which any particular individual might not have chosen for himself? There was no unanimous decision on this, and the pattern which emerged throughout the Villa was perhaps a middle course, though certainly the meeting itself helped to produce an *esprit de corps* which in many ways underlaid the whole spirit of the Villa.

From many points of view there was not much difference from previous years. The wiggery was kept in shape and the cricket pitch had to be mowed. A party went to Sermoneta for the customary youth work and found it as

rewarding as ever. (An account of this will be found at the end of the journal.) A certain amount of contact was preserved with the orphans from Rocca and the Schola as usual provided the music for the feast of the *Madonna del Tufo*. This year there was little or no communication with *Mondo Migliore* but this was compensated for by egg and bacon breakfasts from the English-speaking nuns of the *Via dei Laghi*. As regards sport, volleyball was played whenever numbers permitted, a good deal of walking was done, especially by first year, though the Castelli walk was only attempted once. A swimming gala was held against the Upper Villa, leading to the inglorious defeat of the college, though there were not sufficient numbers to hold a sports day. Squash became popular after Fathers Hine and Chestle kindly donated two racquets and some rock-climbing was attempted on the face beside the tank. The annual cricket fixtures were a great social success, while the visit of the Albano Band, who had played that morning for the Pope, was greatly appreciated.

The number of weddings celebrated in the chapel showed an increase over former years and there was even a confirmation by Bishop Restieaux. Like last year there was no procession at Rocca in honour of the Assumption but instead a concelebrated Mass in the main square of the town; an arrangement approved by all, especially those who have to wear heavy vestments! The Tusculum Mass is always one of the spiritual highlights of the Villa period, though the calm and peace of the Latin Vale and the more bodily joys of an open-air breakfast are not always enough to tempt everybody to climb the steep slopes to the cross.

Because of the small numbers and the absence of many of the more experienced actors in England, the play underwent a change in format and consisted of an initial 'straight' half, being the play from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, followed after the interval by a variety concert. Like all the best college productions this concert was nearly abandoned only a few hours before the curtain was to rise, but the blend of serious and light entertainment caused great satisfaction to our visitors, particularly the younger amongst them.

16th-17th August 1968

The Most Lamentable Comedy and Most Cruel Death of Pyramus and Thisbe
by *William Shakespeare*

<i>Theseus, Duke of Athens</i>	Peter Carr
<i>Philostrate, his Master of the Revels</i>	Simon Payne
<i>Peter Quince, a carpenter</i>	David Cawkwell
<i>Nick Botton, a weaver</i>	Michael Farrington
<i>Francis Flute, a bellows-mender</i>	Francis Ring-Davies
<i>Snug, a joiner</i>	Barry Rawlinson
<i>Tom Snout, a tinker</i>	Francis Cumberland
<i>Robin Starveling, a tailor</i>	Peter Kitchen
<i>Starveling's Dog</i>	Moro Piacentini

Music—Mendelssohn
Producer—Francis Murray

Stage Properties and Costumes	John Metcalfe
Scenery	Peter Humfrey
Lighting	Simon Payne
	William Rooke
Make-up	Peter Kitchen
Stage Managers	Peter Humfrey
	Charles Acton
	Anthony Greenbank

After the play it was time for long gitas, for which up to three weeks were available, although no-one in fact took the full time. The general direction was both North and South; *cams* visited Munich, the Alps, Istambul and the Balkans, and Athens while some stayed in Italy with friends or relations.

Precisely because of the smallness of the student body, the visitors, this year more than ever, were an important factor in the success of the Villa. The families of the new priests, Mr Michael Brown and Mr Charles Acton, were, of course, among the first of the visitors to arrive. Apart from establishing a much-needed link with England their presence helped to remind us of the ultimate goal to which the Villa is leading us. Bishop Restieaux once again enjoyed his annual sojourn by the side of Alban Lake and later Archbishop Dwyer added a touch of purple to the Superiors' table. Father Ronald Fox endeared himself to many students on his first visit three years ago and he surpassed his previous records by visiting the lakeside twelve times in a fortnight. The three Murphy-O'Connors had their first holiday together since ordination, while Father George Richardson was especially welcomed by the bridge-players to make up a much needed fourth. (To understand their joy it must be realized the Blackwoods is not just a magazine but more a way of life!) Father Colin Barker was surprised to find no welcoming committee when he arrived at four in the morning and Father Budd welcomed his year to see him in operation as a Superior!

A welcome change this year was the presence of a large number of brothers and friends of students. Mr Greenbank's brother and cousins form a pop group called The Riversiders and regaled us with their skill, while Mr Peter Koenig tried to kindle in us an interest for Franz Jägerstätter's life and writings. During September a party from London University, led by Mr Price and Mr Loughran, former students of the College, came out for ten days. Much was hoped for from this visit; it was expected by many to be a much-needed contact with those of our generation less isolated from the English intellectual scene and one leading to an exchange of thought and experiences in discussion. In fact, the students were slightly younger than we had expected and only one 'set-piece' discussion emerged. Even this was disappointing, since

it was attended by merely half a dozen of the House and only four students, who confessed afterwards that their reticence was often due to the fact that the discussion was on our ground, about our subject, and on our terms. We were expecting too much at too technical a level; an interesting lesson on our need to adapt ourselves to a non-clerical atmosphere and to avoid any semblance of complacent 'in-group' language. Their visit did much good, however, in pricking the widespread myth of the English university student as a being far superior to us in both intellectual attainment and maturity, and in alleviating our consequent feelings of inferiority.

The closing days of the Villa were shattered by the Vice-Rector's shout of '*aux barricades*', the barricades being the furniture from the Top Villa which had to be removed before its new owners took possession. Included among the chairs and tables was a stack of eighteen thousand cobble stones whose removal occasioned much amusement and sweat. They are to be used for paving St Edward's *Cortile*.

Given that any more explicit reference to the spiritual is out of place in this context, the most important aspect of the Villa, the opportunity it provided for community growth and self-understanding, is the most difficult to assess, especially in the short term. A few general observations may perhaps be made, however, with the proviso that these may not necessarily be views which are shared by all. It seemed that the usual quality claimed for Palazzola, that it provides those there with a better opportunity to know each other than is possible in Rome amid the pressure of university work, was in evidence again this time, but with the special difficulties and advantages created by smaller numbers. This meant that activities requiring large numbers, sports and even the after-supper social life of the 'morgue' were severely curtailed, and it was not an uncommon complaint that 'there's nobody around'. On the other hand, especially later in the summer, there was an increasing polarization into private tea-circles several times a day. On the whole, the very smallness of numbers increased contact, although the greater freedom to absent oneself for much of the day tended to militate against this. It would perhaps be true to say that too much of the activity was done by too few of those there. The greatest sense of unity was felt when the majority of the students returned from England to take part in the retreat. We felt that a haven had been invaded by those returning, a feeling of privacy was shattered, and it was then that we realized how much we had enjoyed each other's company in the intimate 'family' atmosphere of the Villa. So in the end a balanced picture emerges, with an increase of personal friendships offset by a decrease in the wider and yet perhaps shallower older social pattern and the more personally chosen friendships tending to replace the formal structure of consciously 'house-orientated' life. (It is interesting to note here, that the reduced numbers who patronized the *Bersag* at Rocca were probably not so much caused by scarcity of cash as by more people finding an outlet for their interests within a more 'villa-orientated' life.

The annual retreat was given at the Villa, a spot more conducive to prayer than Rome, by Father Kevin Nichols from Liverpool. It was perhaps because of this growing interiority that the theme chosen for a discussion *cum* Bible vigil was solitude. This reflected perhaps both the increased personal self-discovery available, the ability to be alone with self and God, an opportunity well-provided for by Palazzola, and on the other hand what was referred to as 'animal closeness' which expressed itself in certain social groupings. Suffice it to say, whatever may be the future for Palazzola there will be many who look back upon 'The Villa 1968' with nostalgia and affection.¹

A NOTE ON SERMONETA

On Wednesday, 17th July, ten students set off from Palazzola to begin our fourth annual camp at Sermoneta for the boys of the village. We went not without some misgivings, as only four of us had been before, and we would be faced by a new group of boys. Still, we had men in reserve, as three other students were to follow after a few days, and Father Budd was also to come down for a few days while the catechetical discussions were in progress.

Twenty-three boys, mostly of the fourteen-fifteen years age group, had signed up for the course, although two of these rarely appeared. The punctuality of these boys was not up to the normal standard of previous years, though it did improve towards the end of the course. Time seems to matter little in a sleepy village like Sermoneta.

Our first task was to divide the boys into three groups, each with about seven boys and three students, one of whom had been before and could speak a reasonable amount of Italian. As we had had very little previous contact with any of these boys, we decided that the first few days should be spent primarily in getting to know them and their backgrounds, their standard of education and their hopes for the future. We made each boy write about his family, home, school and hopes, and afterwards these were discussed in groups. By this means the students in each group were able to have some knowledge of the type of boy with whom they had to deal.

The pattern of each morning was roughly the same: discussions from ten o'clock until eleven thirty, followed by games (usually volleyball) until lunch time. The boys were able to take a shower (most of them needed it) before they had lunch. Volleyball is a very suitable game for our purposes, not only because the court is easily set up within the castle grounds, but also because it is a lesson in teamwork. It is easy enough to put six individuals onto the court but a completely different matter to try to teach them to play together as a team. Each morning two of the groups would play each other, while the third prepared for lunch which we ate together at about twelve forty-five.

1. The above account of Palazzola 1968 was the work of a group of individuals who pooled their experiences to make one account.

In past years we have held two discussion periods on most days but this year, because of the boys' younger ages, we felt that this might be too heavy a programme and so decided that in general we would take them into the country for some form of healthy exercise. The first afternoon, then, we marched them up the Bassiano road for two or three kilometres more than most of them were accustomed to walk. We found a suitable area for playing a boy-scout type of 'wide-game'. The boys enjoyed this very much, but whether as yet they are capable of arranging these games for themselves is very much in doubt.

An unfortunate incident that evening, involving two of the boys and a *Guardia della Caccia* over a bird's nest with which the two boys had interfered, led us to try to set before the boys some of the camp's general aims. Most of them seemed to appreciate what we were trying to say, and to accept it—at least in principle. Our aim was to further the general education of the boys, the most basic idea being how to live in community with others, whatever that community might happen to be. The course in its various activities was meant to be a living experience of how we must live together, helping one another and in the discussions, for example, there was an opportunity for them to learn how to listen to others as well as state their own views. The games were an even clearer example to them of how six individuals had to be moulded together into a team to achieve a common victory. This too, was very important, as Italians seem to lack team spirit especially if one or two things happen to go wrong. Accepting the referee's decision was another point which some of the boys, at least, began to appreciate by the end of the course. These things are small in a way, but all part of an attitude which is important. We believe that true living together is only possible under charity, and where Christian principles hold; hence, we did try to underline this aspect in the discussions on religious topics, as well as putting it into practice in the prayers said for a special intention each day before lunch and in the final Mass together. It was also good to note that some of the boys came to Mass during the week as well.

If the aim of this camp is to teach some of these ideas of living together mainly through experience, anything against this spirit of charity had to be excluded. The boys were ready to admit, therefore, that direct contravention of the civil laws was against the whole spirit of the course and they promised not to touch nests again, or do anything else against the authorities. Certainly while the course lasted they kept their promise.

The Friday morning's discussion turned to test their cultural appreciation a little more, getting them to write and discuss and then to go and see what buildings and monuments of cultural interest exist in Sermoneta. Perhaps this did not prove to be too interesting for the boys, but some of them were able to appreciate the exercise.

Saturday was a day out to the sea which was appreciated by all, though at the end of the day they were ready to be home again. I think they found the

sea a little cooler than they had hoped! Sunday was a free day, and was used for keeping in touch with some of the older lads who had attended previous courses.

The following three days were spent in religious discussions. There were differing reactions from the various groups. Some found talking about the Christian life in general far too abstract, while others were able to bring this down to earth fairly successfully. We dealt with the Mass, the Eucharist and Penance as these are the sacraments with which the boys come mostly into contact. One group also brought up its own prepared questions one morning, though some of these were so theological that they seemed to come right out of a text book! These discussions, on the whole, did help to straighten a few ideas in the boys' minds (one said he now knew the difference between God and Christ), but I doubt if they will have any immediate effect on attendance at Mass and the sacraments. The boys do think, however, that they are worthwhile and those who had thought the cultural discussion a waste of time did not hold the same about the religious discussions.

In the evenings of the second week football put in an appearance and we also organized a treasure-hunt to test the initiative of the boys. A group of us laid a trail which ultimately led to some sulphur springs near Sermoneta. The initiative of the boys did not seem too high when only one of the three groups managed to reach the correct destination. The other two groups claimed that a foul deed had been done by someone changing the direction of a certain arrow to point in the opposite direction!

Wednesday saw preparations for the camping expedition which should have been an important event in the course. Alas, Thursday morning dawned stormy and so departure had to be postponed. By the afternoon the weather had improved but rain seemed likely again the following night and with some of the tents not being waterproof we decided that it would not be wise to risk the boys' first camping expedition being a washout. But we made partial amends by taking the boys on a long walk to the Fota and Bassiano on the Friday.

The course ended as usual on the Friday evening with Mass concelebrated by the Vice-Rector, Don Ascensio, and Father Budd. Both the older boys of Sermoneta, who rendered Schubert's *Ave Maria* at the offertory, and the Sermoneta Girls' Choir sang well. Afterwards all came up to the Castle for a reunion, during which the older boys presented the Rector with a memento of previous courses.

It is difficult to assess the fruits of this year's course. Certainly the boys enjoyed it, and we have begun to lay the foundations for friendships which should bear much fruit later on. And if we have shown them this year that living together means thinking a bit more about the other person and always being ready to help and serve, then we shall have achieved something. While we were present some of the boys did come to church each day; this will probably not continue once we are away, as a more permanent witness is

needed to help these boys break out of the traditional religious practices. It is not enough for us to say that they should go to Mass on a Sunday, and that it is a good thing to go whenever they can—it also needs a permanent witness from committed Christians living in their midst.

This review of our stay in Sermoneta would not be complete without mention of the older boys who have been part of the course over the past few years. Some of them expressed their disappointment when we arrived that they were excluded from the camp, but by the end of the course many agreed that perhaps it was the better thing. They were very good in accepting the fact that they must keep away from the Castle during the actual time of the course with the younger boys and instead we had the chance of meeting them regularly each evening in a new and easier relationship. We would go to the bar together, sing together and take walks in common and often conversation would turn to serious problems, where I think we have been able to help some of them. One evening we had them all up to supper, which was a great success. The friendships built up over the years with these boys can only be for the good of both sides.

I must mention a group of Milanese students present in the village doing a similar sort of work to ourselves with a younger group. Here was shown the great difference in mentality between young people from a great city like Milan and the boys of a small village in 'Southern' Italy like Sermoneta—that is Southern as far as the Milanese are concerned. These girls from the North were not mature enough to be able to consider the boys as anything more than village simpletons and the boys were not able to open themselves to enter conversation. Our attempt, one evening, to bring the two groups together to sing songs and enjoy a social evening really ended in failure. At least some of the boys (not a majority, however) realized the difficulties and learned a lesson from the experience; but also, one feels, the girls need to be more willing to understand the village mentality before they will ever make an impact on Sermoneta.

Our ten day course ended on Friday, 26th July. We returned full of many happy memories, hoping that we will be able to continue our meetings during the year and the course next summer. In conclusion, I would like to thank Mr and Mrs Hubert Howard for making our time at Sermoneta possible.

ADRIAN TOFFOLO

PERSONAL

Editor: T. J. G. S. Cooper

Sub-Editor: P. Carroll

Fifth Member: M. Griffin

Secretary: A. Sanderson

Under-Secretary: W. Mellor

Sixth Member: P. Carr

In September 1968 we welcomed the following new men into the college :

For post-graduate studies : Rev. Jean Bourdauducq (Cambrai).

Into Philosophy : William Fearnley (Arundel and Brighton), Alan Griffiths (Portsmouth), Kevin McDonald (Birmingham), Michael Morton (Shrewsbury), Paul Murray (Birmingham), Philip O'Dowd (Nottingham), James Overton (Westminster), Michael Smith (Lancaster).

We are pleased to welcome the return of Rev. Graham Dann (Arundel and Brighton) for post-graduate studies.

In October we welcomed Mr Isaias Aleme from Ethiopia who is to study Missiology at the Gregorian University.

We also welcome Miss Teresa Jones as librarian.

The following post-graduate and top year students have been appointed.

Rev. Wałcaw 'Swierzawski to the Chair of Liturgy at Cracow University.

Rev. Peter Wilkinson to Manchester University for further studies.

Rev. Anthony Cornish to Sacred Heart Church, Exeter.

Rev. Timothy Firth to Holy Trinity Church, Brook Green.

Rev. John Fox to Our Lady's, Middleton.

Rev. Clyde Johnson to the Cathedral, Wrexham.

Rev. Wilfrid McConnell to Ushaw College, Durham.

Rev. Daniel McHugh to the Holy Souls Church, Acocks Green, Birmingham.

Rev. Terence McSweeney to St Ambrose, Speke.

Rev. Frederick Martin to St Francis Xavier Grammar School, West Hartlepool.

Rev. Peter Nealon to Blessed Sacrament Church, Athersley, Barnsley.

Rev. Gerard O'Connell to St Patrick's, Leeds.

Rev. Francis Pullen to Our Lady and St Joseph, Seacombe, Cheshire.

Rev. David Standley to Our Lady of La Salette and St Joseph, Bermondsey.

We offer congratulations to the following students who have been ordained priest during the year :

Revv. Michael Brown, Charles Acton, Adrian Toffolo and Michael Farrington.

Mr Charles Pilkington and Mr John Rafferty have been appointed Senior Student and Deputy for the coming year.

We offer congratulations to Rev. A. Storey who celebrates his silver jubilee this year, and whose name was unfortunately left out of the last issue.

Congratulations also to Very Rev. Canon A. Hulme on his appointment as a *Cavalliere* by the President of Italy.

Among guests at the villa we were pleased to welcome. Archbishop Dwyer (1926-34), Bishop Restieaux (1926-33), Bishop Pearson (1928-34), Revv. P. Murphy-O'Connor (1943-51), B. Murphy-O'Connor (1947-54), C. Murphy-O'Connor (1950-57), J. Allen (1956-63), B. Chestle (1956-63), A. O'Sullivan (1956-63), J. Hine (1956-63), J. Kelly (1959-66), B. Nash (1954-61), G. Richardson (1955-62), R. Ashton (1960-67), C. Barker (1959-61), R. Fox, M. Cooley (1955-62), M. Pick, P. Kirkham (1959-66), H. Martindale (1933-40), M. Youell, L. Stoker, C. Bester, W. Burtoft (1948-55), A. Barrett; Mr A. O'Neil, Messrs T. Payne, P. Koenig, J. Wren, J. Greenbank, P. Eccles, G. Eccles, J. Moran, P. Kilgarriff, G. Andrews, P. Andrews, D. Hart.

ROMAN ASSOCIATION REPORT 1968

The 99th annual meeting of the Roman Association was held at the K.S.C. Club, London, on 3rd and 4th June 1968.

At the Council Meeting in 1967 there was a discussion, as usual, about the place of the next annual meeting and it was felt that some attempt should be made to make this event a cheaper one for those attending. Hotels in recent years have become dearer and dearer. It was proposed therefore that we should meet at the K.S.C. Club in London. This decision resulted in the largest attendance ever known. Fifty-six attended the dinner on the Monday evening, at which we were pleased to have as guests Bishop Christopher Butler and the local parish priest, Father Cyril Wilson. Ninety-seven attended the lunch on the Tuesday, at which we were honoured by the presence of the Apostolic Delegate, who was accompanied by Mgr Berloco. The other guests were Father Wilson and Father Francis Handley of the Catholic Marriage Advisory Council.

Mgr Alan Clark, the President, was in the chair for both the Council and the General Meetings. At these meetings there was discussion on the report of the sub-committee on burses. This committee had felt that the intentions of the original donors were such that the money from these could only be applied to scholarships won by competitive examination. Amalgamation of

some of the burses was recommended in order to produce £400 per annum to meet the annual fees. Difficulties were now caused when a successful candidate was awarded a grant by the L.E.A., which meant that the burses could not be used. Further discussion at the meetings brought out that the welfare state was not meant to be subsidized by private grants. If the original donors had foreseen present conditions, it seems likely that they would wish their money to be applied differently. It was agreed that the opinion of Counsel should be sought in this matter.

It was agreed that a grant of £10 should go to each of the students in the coming Top Year from the funds of the Association. This would be subsidized with money from the Delaney Fund. It was pointed out that the Delaney money is at the complete discretion of the Association.

The Rector referred to the appeal letter which should have gone out to all members before the meeting. Unfortunately it was held up by the strikes in France. He said that as a result of the original appeal, £38,000 had been subscribed. This was an excellent response to the appeal for £35,000. However there was still need for financial help and accordingly members were encouraged to continue to make gifts to the college. The library was being reorganized by the building of the second library. The re-arrangement of the books meant the appointment of a professional librarian for a period of two years, when the books would be catalogued and arranged on a new system. For these two years £2,000 per annum would be required and afterwards £1,000 per annum for the purchase of new books.

There was some discussion about helping priests in need of Mass stipends. Father Fonseca agreed to act as liaison in this matter.

As the arrangements at the K.S.C. Club were so convenient, compared with the usual hotel, the Secretary was instructed to find a similar establishment for next year's meeting in the Midlands. St Paul's College, Newbold Revel, Loughborough, and Keele were suggested. If these were not able to receive us, then the meeting would take place at a hotel in Leamington Spa.

At the lunch there were several laymen present who had been enrolled as members of the Association that morning. This was the result of the changing of Rule 2, which now reads: '*All who have studied within the walls of the College of St Thomas in Rome, shall be eligible as ordinary members*'. The President proposed the health of the College and the Association, to which the Rector replied. Father Maurice O'Leary proposed the health of the Hierarchy, which was represented by the Bishops of Lancaster and Shrewsbury and Bishop Tickle who made the response.

The Rector was elected as the new President.

At the general meeting, the President's letter on behalf of the Association sent to Cardinal Heard on the occasion of his golden jubilee was read out and also His Eminence's reply.

REV. E. M. ABBOTT
Secretary

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