

THE
VENERABLE

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

SUMMER 1969

Vol. XXV No. 1

*Printed by the
Leinster Leader Limited, Naas, Co. Kildare, Ireland*

CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
Editorial	4
Ralph Sherwin, Missionary Priest 1550-1581 (Part III, 1580-1581)	<i>Michael Brown</i> 7
Proclaiming Christ in the Secular City	<i>Frederick Martin</i> 27
Nove et Vetera	
<i>Liber Ruber</i>	41
<i>A Prophecy Reviewed</i>	42
<i>From THE VENERABLE of Forty Years Ago</i>	44
Poems	48
Book Reviews	52
College Journal	66
Personal	72
Obituary	73
Catalogue of the Archives—5	76

EDITORIAL

Any one who has made even the most cursory study of the recent history of THE VENERABLE'S cover may surely be forgiven if he believes in Heraclitus's famous dictum. Change is endemic, it attacks even the most venerable institutions and THE VENERABLE is not impassible. But with this issue we reach our twenty-fifth volume—cause for a minor *memoria* we feel, even if we must wait a further three years for the solemnity of our fiftieth anniversary; and what better way is there to celebrate than by decking ourselves in new plumage? The underlying reason for the change is, however, less frivolous. In a word: the former cover was unsatisfactory. Not aesthetically the most pleasing of designs, its worst feature was its lack of distinctiveness. With the abolition of the coat of arms, the cover had lost its intrinsic nexus with the institution it signified and the contents could as well have been a railway timetable or a catalogue for the plumbing trade. The present design is one which we hope will last. Designed by Mr David Cawkwell it shows the fifteenth century Hospice seal preserved in the Lincoln Museum.

The year 1969 is one full of anniversaries. The last thesis of any examination in Church history refers to an event of forty years ago (see 'Nova et Vetera') and it is a similar length of time since the death of our first contributor and the appointment of Cardinal Merry del Val as his successor. Thirty years ago the Golf Hut, complete with large Union Jack, was officially opened on a fateful 3rd September. Last but not least it is the fortieth anniversary of the second edition of *Vermeersch*, a book reviewed in Volume IV of this magazine! Which leads us to the point of our musings: Book Reviews.

'From Our Bookshelf' was always a regular feature of THE VENERABLE and if this custom has lapsed somewhat in more recent years it was because we felt that the evaluation of theological books could be done better elsewhere. In response to demand, however, we purpose to revive our ancient traditions with the proviso that what we shall review will be works of interest to Romans *qua* Romans. *Horseman, pass by!*



Peter Burke

RALPH SHERWIN

MISSIONARY PRIEST

1550-1581

III

(1580-1581)

'There will never want in England men that will have care of their own salvation, nor such as shall advance other men's. Neither shall this Church here ever fail, so long as Priests and Pastors shall be found for the sheep: rage man or devil never so much.'¹⁷⁰

During the first days of August 1580 Ralph Sherwin and John Paschall landed on the Hampshire coast under cover of night. Government spies were keeping their usual watch on all possible landing-places along the coast-line, to seize the priests arriving from the continent.¹⁷¹ On their arrival in England, priests had to avoid the homes of parents and friends, otherwise the danger was too great for everyone involved. Until they reached a place of safety, the priests kept well clear of the main roads and villages, by tramping about the fields and woods.¹⁷² So as soon as Sherwin and companion reached the coast, they would have parted company, and, in disguise, set-off for London to meet Robert Persons who was to help organise Sherwin's missionary work.¹⁷³ Eventually Sherwin reached one of the houses where he was provided with equipment for his journeys, and a precious list of addresses where 'friends' could be found throughout the country.¹⁷⁴ Paschall, however, was not so lucky; he was captured soon after he landed.¹⁷⁵

We have very little precise information about Sherwin's three-month period of missionary work, yet historians are unanimous in their praise of his

energy and the effectiveness of his work. In the Diary of the English College, Rome, the entry for December 1581 records the 'ardour' and 'impatience' of Sherwin to start work among his countrymen.¹⁷⁶ Robert Persons refers to this 'ardent enthusiasm', and says that while Sherwin worked 'throughout various counties of the kingdom, his work was blessed with graces and influence which were truly outstanding; he laboured greatly for almost six whole months'.¹⁷⁷ On 25th September 1580 William Allen writes to Agazari in Rome that, 'In England Father Sherwin proves himself to be an outstanding athlete'.¹⁷⁸ The biographer John Pits says that Sherwin's missionary activities were, '*labores breves quidem, sed valde utiles*'.¹⁷⁹

In the accounts, then, of Sherwin's work performed during the period when he was free to serve the Catholic population, we find a story of great success. The Diary of the English College describes the work of Sherwin and companions in this way, 'they labour with great success, and to God's greater glory in spreading the Catholic faith. They are assiduous in preaching and hearing confessions; they celebrate Mass, administer the Holy Eucharist and other sacraments to the Catholics, bring back heretics from error to the truth, in a word, they are wholly given to the work of the sacred ministry. A notable result of this may be seen in the reconciliation of no less than ten thousand who have been received this year into the Church, though, as we are aware, a great, not to say the greater part of this abundant harvest is, under God, to be ascribed to the blessed martyrs, Campion, Briant and Sherwin'.¹⁸⁰ Five months after arriving in England, Edmund Campion wrote to the superior general of the Jesuits in Rome, describing a typical day in the life of a 'missionary priest' of the time: 'I ride about some piece of the country every day. On horse back I meditate my sermon; when I come to the house, I polish it. Then I talk with such as come to speak with me, or hear their confessions. In the morning after Mass I preach. They hear with exceeding greediness, and very often receive the sacraments'.¹⁸¹

In his work, Sherwin was able to make use of the special faculties which had been given to Persons and companions four days before they left Rome.¹⁸² This meant that 'the missionaries were allowed to perform their spiritual functions in secret, to reserve the Holy Sacrament without ceremony, to say Mass in the presence of protestants and excommunicated persons. They were permitted, and even directed to dress as laymen; . . . they were not on any account to carry about with them objects of devotion and other articles forbidden by English law. They must reveal their status as priests or jesuits only when it was necessary, or when the knowledge of it would bring certain benefit to souls'.¹⁸³

In spite of the extreme care taken by the priests, their continual travelling throughout the country was just as risky as the initial landing in England.

Government spies were everywhere. 'Even in the bosom of the family, men did not feel safe; . . . and not even prisoners in prison were safe from espionage.'¹⁸⁴ Campion spoke for all his fellow-priests when he said, 'I can not long escape the handes of the heretikes; the enemies have so many eies, so many tonges, so many scoutes and crafts. I am in apparell to myself very ridiculouse; I often change it and my name also.'¹⁸⁵

One of the references quoted above about Sherwin's activities in England prior to his capture mentions a number of letters he wrote to Alfonso Agazzari. On 25th September 1580, William Allen wrote from Rheims to Agazzari in Rome, to recommend two youths on their way from England to join the college in Rome; he says, 'the first of those two young men, Edward Throgmorton, will give your reverence letters from Father Sherwin'.¹⁸⁶

The next we hear of Sherwin is when he spent the night in one of the houses belonging to Persons, where he rested and relaxed with a small group of priests. Persons writes that on this occasion, 'two days before his capture, Sherwin spent the night with me, and the cold being very severe (for winter had set in) slipped himself in with much difficulty between two or three of us at the very small fire which we had'.¹⁸⁷ This was the house prepared by Persons on the banks of the Thames at Bridewell as a central meeting place and refuge for himself and others. He was able to store vestments and books here, and to welcome those who came to consult him, and where also other priests would sometimes assemble for a little relaxation.¹⁸⁸

In another place, Persons again refers to this meeting with Sherwin: 'Sherwin met me the night that Bosgrave followed me home from Hogsdon; we passed the night together in spiritual conference, wherein he told me of his desire to die. The next day he came to tell me what danger we were in, and then he went away to preach; for we had agreed that he should stay in London for the arrival of a certain gentleman who had asked for him, and in the meantime should occupy himself with preaching.'¹⁸⁹ It is impossible to establish the exact day of this meeting; Persons himself gives four different dates. In his *Autobiography* he says the date was 'the night before he was taken',¹⁹⁰ whereas in his *Life of Campion*, the evening of the meeting was 'shortly before Sherwin's capture';¹⁹¹ in a letter (of August 1581) to Agazzari, he gives the day as 'two days before his capture'.¹⁹² Lastly, Persons mentions in another letter (of 17th November 1580) that, '*Pater Sherwinus ante quadrimum est captus*'.¹⁹³ Of these suggestions, only the last gives a definite date for the meeting, i.e. 13th November. But this is impossible, because we know for certain that Sherwin was arrested during the first few days of November.

While he delayed in London to meet the 'gentleman who had asked to see him',¹⁹⁴ Sherwin followed the normal custom of going around Catholic

households, preaching to small gatherings. All the time, pursuivants roamed in search of priests, 'breaking, spoiling, tossing, and turning poor Catholics' houses at their pleasure . . . sifting every corner of their houses, chambers, parlours, stables, barns, lofts, privies, and chimnies, yea, . . . so that no place remained unsought, no door, chest, coffer, desk, casket, or whatsoever thing that was locked, was left unlooked or broken open'.¹⁹⁵ Amid these dangers, 'Sherwin occupied himself in all functions belonging to the priesthood, with great zeal and charity . . . until he was taken in *M. Roscarrock's* chamber in London';¹⁹⁶ 'and it was while preaching there that he was captured'.¹⁹⁷ In this way Sherwin became the first member of Persons's expedition to be arrested. Persons explains how a band of 'pursuivants, constables, searchers and other catch-poles'¹⁹⁸ went to the London home of Nicholas Roscarrock to look for someone other than Sherwin: 'while looking for someone else they chanced upon him'.¹⁹⁹ Again, it is not possible to establish the exact date of the arrest, because we possess only one imprecise reference: 'Sherwin was taken *after Michelmasse*'.²⁰⁰ However, we know for certain that Sherwin was resident in the Marshalsea prison on 9th November;²⁰¹—he was thus arrested sometime during the first week of November.

The Marshalsea prison in Southwark was attached to the court of that name and supervised by the steward and marshal of the King's (Queen's) Bench. From one of Persons's letters we get a detailed account of Sherwin's entry into the prison: 'When he was taken into the inner court of the prison, they fastened on him very heavy chains which he could hardly move. The gaolers then went away for a time to find out in which cell or dungeon he was to be confined. On this, he looked round, and finding himself alone, he gazed upwards with great joy showing in his face, and he thanked God. Then he looked at his feet weighed down with chains and tried to move them; but as he moved he heard the clank of the chains, and he could not help breaking into laughter and then into tears of happiness. This scene was witnessed by two "heretics" of the Family of Love who were confined in a nearby part of the prison; they were astonished at the sight and have described the scene over and over again.'²⁰²

Sherwin stayed in the Marshalsea for a month, almost to the day. A week after his arrest he wrote to Robert Persons to thank him for money received from him on the previous day. The last paragraph of the letter reads, 'I wear now on my feet and legs some little bells, to keep me in mind of who I am, and whose I am. I never heard such sweet harmony before. If I were with you again, they would make room for me at the fire, and you would not crowd upon me. Pray for me that I may finish my course with courage and fidelity.'²⁰³

On 12th November Sherwin was brought before the marshal of the King's

Bench to be examined for the first time. The procedure usually followed in these examinations was: (1) to ask the prisoner six 'articles' (questions) one after the other; (2) after each article the prisoner would give his reply; (3) these replies were recorded and later used as evidence.²⁰⁴ The replies given to these articles by Sherwin have survived in this summarised form: when asked whether the pope's bull excommunicating Elizabeth was valid or not, he refused to answer; secondly, when questioned about whether he recognised Elizabeth as 'his lawfull soveraigne', again he gave no answer; once more he was asked whether the pope's bull was able to alter Elizabeth's position as rightful queen of England, 'he prayed to be asked no such question as may touch his life'.²⁰⁵

Writing shortly after this first examination, Persons also gives a short report of the questioning. He adds to the information already given above that the examination was presided at by John Aylmer, bishop of London: 'Sherwin made a splendid confession of his faith before the pseudo-bishop of London'.²⁰⁶ This Aylmer was the 'ferocious and pitiless persecutor' of Catholic recusants, who not only supervised the official examinations of priests, but often personally applied torture to those who refused to answer the questions.²⁰⁷

We know that in the Marshalsea, Sherwin 'was treated with great respect and courtesy', and that he was promised the chance 'to hold discussions with the heretical ministers, which he had earnestly asked to do'.²⁰⁸ About the middle of November, the prison governor was ordered by the knight marshal—Sir John Carey—to find out whether there were any priests who 'would maintain their cause by disputation'. With two other priests, John Bosgrave and John Hart, Sherwin accepted the invitation at once and drew up a list of topics for public debate; they signed the list and sent it to the knight marshal. The topics chosen did not meet the approval of the marshal who drew up another set, and sent a copy of this to the prison.

The disputation was fixed for 5th December.²⁰⁹ But in spite of the detailed arrangements on the part of the prison authorities, the debate never took place; the day before it was due, the three priests were removed from the Marshalsea and sent to the Tower.²¹⁰ On many occasions Robert Persons complained that the Protestant divines *always* refused to hold *public* disputations with Catholic priests,²¹¹ yet in the case of the one organised for 5th December, the disputation would have been open to the public. The original reason for Sherwin's demand for a public debate was to demolish the widespread rumours that Protestant divines had been successful in private theological discussions with the Catholic priests in prison.²¹²

The Diary of the English College contains an account of Sherwin's brief imprisonment in the Marshalsea. It is worth noting how the entry for

December 1581 further develops the 'missionary' aspect of Sherwin's life, by showing that 'he could not be idle in prison, but felt he should spend his time serving his neighbour; he reconciled many of his fellow-prisoners to the Church. Among them there happened just then to be two members of the sect called the "Family of Love" who were in prison for heresy. They made an attentive study of Sherwin whose cell was next to theirs. Seeing the joy and delight he seemed to take in his chains, they regarded him as a lunatic. They could not know that the inner joy and delight which appeared in his bright and cheerful bearing, sprang from the fact that he was "a prisoner of Christ"—as he used to call himself in his letters. Once they began to observe him more closely, they of course discovered that he was far from being a madman: for not only had he control of his senses, but he was also very learned. On one occasion, when they had prolonged the conversation until it was time for Sherwin to resume his breviary, he politely excused himself. He knelt down and prayed with great reverence and devotion—at which all were greatly impressed. At the evening meal they began to talk about religion, and after a long dispute, they were so convinced by Sherwin's arguments that soon after he reconciled them to the Church. They renounced the immoral heresy for which they had been arrested, made a profession of belief in the Catholic faith, and on that account are still in prison.'²¹³

After a stay of four weeks in the Marshalsea, Sherwin was brought to the Tower on 4th December²¹⁴ (or perhaps 5th December).²¹⁵ Another date suggested is 'towards the end of December',²¹⁶—but this date will be shown to be impossible.

The transfer to the Tower prison brought with it the prospect of more interrogation and torture. No other prison was so well equipped with instruments of torture: 'in the long, vaulted dungeon under the armoury of the Tower, the rack and the "scavenger's daughter" were always ready and seldom idle'.²¹⁷ When we read of Sir Richard Barkley the governor of the Tower who resigned from office after seeing the courage of priests under torture, we get some idea of how penal justice exceeded the severity common at that period.²¹⁸ In the Tower, 'each prisoner is confined in a separate cell, where, under the eye of his own keeper, he is continually immured, excluded from the sight and conversation of his fellow-captives and cut-off from every means of communication with others, either by letters or by messengers. It is from this cell that he is led forth to the various scenes of his sufferings,—to the punishments which the caprice of his persecutors is permitted to inflict on him, to the examinations to which he is subjected, and to the rack, by which his confessions are sought to be extorted from him.'²¹⁹

On 15th December—eleven days after entering the Tower—Sherwin was brought before the interrogators, and to help him answer 'correctly', he was

placed on the rack.²²⁰—‘The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor: his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers, at the ends of the frame: these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put; and, if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more, till the bones started from their sockets.’²²¹ On the rack Sherwin was asked, (1) where Campion and Persons were hiding; (2) what was the purpose of his being in England; (3) who were his friends and helpers in England; (4) whether he had said Mass in Nicholas Roscarrock’s house; (5) whether he had been given financial help by Roscarrock.²²² The inquisitors obtained no answer from Sherwin, and eventually ordered him to be taken outside where the racking continued—this time in the deep snow. Nearby stood Roscarrock who was forced to watch Sherwin’s torture and listen to his screams of pain.²²³

The following day Sherwin was again racked and questioned.²²⁴ This task of questioning belonged to the commissioners of the Tower, and their enquiries were not always confined to general matters. When they racked Sherwin for the second time they wanted to know the names of all the people he had reconciled to the faith, and also the substance of the confessions he heard among his fellow-prisoners.²²⁵ Sherwin still refused to give any answer.

On 19th December he was tortured on the rack for the third time.²²⁶ It was probably on this occasion that John Sherwin visited his brother Ralph in the Tower. During the meeting, Ralph told his brother, ‘that he had been twice (?) racked, and the latter Time he lay five Days and Nights without any Food, or speaking to any body. All which Time, he lay, as he thought, in a Sleep before our Saviour on the Cross. After which Time, he came to himself, not finding any Distemper in his Joints by the Extremity of the Torture. It was offered to him by the Bishops of Canterbury and London, that if he would but go to Paul’s Church, he should have the second Bishopric of England.’²²⁷ This gives evidence of the excessive cruelty of the torturers, and explicitly mentions one of the many occasions when Protestant bishops came to offer Sherwin ‘great dignities and positions’ if he would attend Protestant services.²²⁸ The interrogators could not have found an offer less likely to break down Sherwin’s defence. It was the prospect of comfortable positions in the Protestant Church which had originally driven many Catholics (and converts like Sherwin) to study for the priesthood in Catholic universities on the continent. Furthermore, Sherwin’s refusal to co-operate with those questioning him, destroyed the common belief that Catholics might obey the law about attending Protestant services without compromising their consciences.

Throughout the years of persecution, the colleges abroad continued to

receive regular information about their ex-students at work in England. On 22nd December 1580 a letter arrived at Douai College, describing the imprisonment and torture of Sherwin, and mentioning his offer to debate publicly with the *haeretici*.²²⁹

On Christmas eve, John Paschall was brought to the Tower to be examined under torture.²³⁰ This was Sherwin's former pupil at Oxford, and his companion on the journey back from Rome. Robert Persons, who knew Paschall well, says that, 'he was dearly beloved of Mr Sherwin; and being young and sanguine of complexion, and fervent in his religion, would oftentimes break forth into zealous speeches, offering much of himself . . . but Mr Sherwin would always reprove him, saying, "O John, John, little knowest thou what thou shalt do before thou comest to it"'.²³¹ There is no evidence that Paschall was tortured, but on 15th January 1581 he was marched to the Guildhall to appear before Sir Owen Hopton. By a mixture of promises and threats, Paschall had been persuaded 'to speak against the true religion and attend the heretics' church'.²³² Persons records how the lieutenant of the Tower used to drag Catholic prisoners to hear the sermons of Protestant ministers, and then declare that all the prisoners under his charge would be happy to do this at any time: the idea being to both impress the government and to encourage other Catholics to do the same.²³³ Paschall fulfilled his promise in public, before crowds of citizens and a large number of soldiers.²³⁴ Next day he was set free 'to encourage others to follow his example'.²³⁵ This apostasy caused 'much grief and disedification to his fellows', particularly to Sherwin.²³⁶ But this was not the end of the episode, because Persons adds that, 'Paschall, repenting of his weakness and inconstancy, retired with great sorrow and shame from London'.²³⁷ In later years he became known as 'John of Rome', for he was often fined for recusancy.²³⁸

The same day that Paschall appeared in the Guildhall—15th January—Sherwin and others were led out by soldiers and forced to attend Protestant services. Once more, Sir Owen Hopton publicly announced that every prisoner in his charge would 'willingly go to the protestant worship'.²³⁹ Before long, the government and the Catholics realised that Hopton had been lying, with the result that 'he fell into discredit . . . and the constancy of the Catholics was strengthened by these frauds'.²⁴⁰

An English priest arrived at Douai on 25th January with the news that Sherwin's arms and legs had been badly disjointed by the racking, but that after massaging them with olive-oil, 'his limbs were now almost completely restored to health'.²⁴¹ This news suggests that Sherwin was given a chance to recover from the rackings, although we find that he was never free from the threat of more torture. A priest who was a prisoner with Sherwin in the

Tower, wrote to friends in other prisons that, 'Mr Sherwin . . . was lately threatened with renewed tortures, and then he and his companions were to be executed; but Sherwin, preferring a present death to longer life, received all their threats undismayed'. This was written early in 1581.²⁴²

On 26th January, the guards repeated the practice of compelling Sherwin and other Catholic prisoners to attend the Protestant services.²⁴³ This happened again on 5th February when 'all the prisoners were carried by force to hear John Nicholas formerly a calvinist minister and afterwards a pretended catholic—who mounted the pulpit to inveigh against the Roman pontiff, at whose expense he boasted that he had, for some years, lived in Rome. But the prisoners interrupted him more than once, in the midst of his raving, and, when his sermon was finished, hooted him away.'²⁴⁴ The Tower diarist goes on to say that from 5th February 'until the feast of the following Pentecost, we were, every Sunday, dragged by our keepers and the soldiers to hear heretical sermons, which were preached by ministers specially appointed for this duty. As these men, however, descended from the pulpit, we publicly, and in the face of the people, convicted them of falsehood, and challenged them to disputation; whilst Hopton, the lieutenant, in vain endeavoured to silence us, by the threats of the torture he would inflict.'²⁴⁵

In the official Tower bills, we find that on 25th March the lieutenant of the Tower prepared a list of charges for food and other expenses: the cost of keeping 'Ralph Sheringe' in prison from Christmas 1580 until 25th March 1581 was £5-19-2.²⁴⁶ The vigilance of the prison guards did not prevent the priests from serving the needs of their fellow-prisoners. In this way, many people were able to receive the sacraments for the first time in several years. There survive contemporary accounts which tell of guards who were so impressed by the courage and spirit of the priests, that they asked 'to be reconciled to the faith'.²⁴⁷ We have, for instance, an account of the effect which Sherwin had on his guard: 'the order of *M. Sherwines* life in his spare diet, his continual praier and meditation, his long watching, with often and sharpe discipline used upon his body caused great admiration to his keeper, who would alwaies call him, *a man of God*, and the best and devoutest priest that ever he saw in his life'.²⁴⁸ All this explains Persons's remark that imprisoned priests are often more useful than those at liberty.²⁴⁹

Midsummer's Day 1581 saw the beginning of the court proceedings against Ralph Sherwin. On this day—24th June—all the Catholic prisoners were brought before the knight lieutenant. Sherwin was immediately asked whether he was willing to attend a Protestant service; he answered 'No'. The next step was to threaten him with indictment on the recently passed Statute of Recusancy which legally obliged 'all citizens of the realm' to attend such services.²⁵⁰ The indictment threatened here was in fact brought to court,

and on 28th June was found to be a 'true bill'; the list of persons indicted included 'Ralphe Sheringe clerk'.²⁵¹ We should notice that this charge concerns refusal to attend a religious service; as yet there is no mention of the charges of treason and 'plotting' which were to be brought against them later. Both Sherwin and Campion made this point during the actual trial when they said that every Catholic prisoner had been offered his freedom if he would attend a Protestant service; so, they concluded, religion was the sole reason for their imprisonment.

At midsummer, Sir Owen Hopton claimed another £5-19-2 for the expenses of keeping 'Ralph Sheringe' in the Tower from 25th March until 24th June.²⁵² Sherwin had now been in prison for seven months, and still had been given no chance to take part in a public debate—something which he and Campion had requested and been promised on numerous occasions. Finally, a public disputation was arranged for the last day in August. It was to be held in the chapel of the Tower, and the disputants for the Crown would be Dean Nowell of St Paul's and Dean Day of Windsor. Each day of the debate Sherwin, Campion and other Catholic prisoners were to be led into the chapel; the day's discussion to begin at eight and continue until eleven, then to be renewed after lunch at two until five.²⁵³ Only Sherwin and Campion would be allowed to speak.²⁵⁴

The first day of the disputation was 31st August. The prisoners were given no opportunity to prepare themselves, and the whole affair was conducted in such a way that the Protestant divines would be able to publicly discredit Sherwin and his companions. As happened in so many of these disputations, the authorities lost ground and the accused received a great deal of support and sympathy from those present.²⁵⁵ The second conference took place more than a fortnight later, but this time it was held in the privacy of Sir Owen Hopton's Hall: the date, 18th September.²⁵⁶ The third conference was argued on 23rd September, and the last on 27th September; these two, like the second, were held privately in Hopton's Hall.²⁵⁷

After the second conference Campion was left to conduct the disputation on his own, 'for the heretics would not tolerate the presence of Sherwin, because they said he was too choleric'.²⁵⁸ Another account speaks of Sherwin as 'the learned man who two or three times showed clearly to all present at the public debate, how false and frivolous were the discourses and arguments of the Calvinist ministers; even these adversaries noted this, and praised his debating ability much more even than they praised Campion—his most eloquent and learned colleague'.²⁵⁹ From these references to Sherwin's behaviour during the disputation, we catch sight of his academic learning and eloquence, combined with an irascible and forceful temperament. This was Sherwin's first and last chance to debate. He was led back to his cell in the Tower where

he remained until the prosecution had drawn-up the 'new' charge against him: the charge of high treason.²⁶⁰

By 6th November the new indictment of treason had been published, and this was read to the twelve judges of the King's Bench in Westminster Hall.²⁶¹ By this charge Sherwin and nineteen others were accused of various acts of treason both on the continent and in England during the years 1580-81. Although the accused were not present at this first reading of the indictment, they could hardly have been surprised a week later when they were brought before the same court to hear the reading of the indictment. This was when Sherwin was formally charged with high treason before the grand jury in Westminster Hall; the date was Tuesday, 14th November.²⁶² One by one the group was charged, and all pleaded 'Not Guilty'.²⁶³ When Sherwin was asked by whom he wished to be tried, 'with great courage, clapping his hand upon the barre, answerd, that they would be tried "by God and the countrie, and by all the trials that be in heaven or earth, that God or man hath"'.²⁶⁴ Sherwin prolonged this outburst and began his defence with the words, 'the plain reason of our standing here is religion, and not treason'. Yet before he could continue, he was silenced by the Chief-Justice who told him to reserve his defence until the actual day of the trial. When told 'to hold his tongue', he jokingly replied, '*tenebo linguam, tenebo et fidem*'—a reply which brought laughter from those present and won their praise for his courage.²⁶⁵ After this the day's proceedings came to an end, and the accused were marched back to prison.

On 16th November the group of prisoners were brought to court again. Final arrangements were made for the trial to begin on the following Monday; the members of the jury were named, and the accused were remanded in custody and ordered to reappear before the court on 20th November.²⁶⁶

Ralph Sherwin appeared in court to stand trial on Monday, 20th November.²⁶⁷ In front of the King's Bench Bar he was charged with high treason. The court-room was full of people from every section of society, all eager to see the outcome of this treason trial—a trial described as 'a marvellous tragedie, contening so many strong and divers acts, of examining, racking, disputing, treacheries, proditions, subornations of false witnesses.'²⁶⁸

The part of the trial which concerns Sherwin in person is preserved word for word in a contemporary account of the trial; it reads as follows: 'Evidence was next given against Sherwin, who, before the commissioners, had refused to swear to the supremacy, neither would answer plainly what he thought of the pope's bull, but confessed that his coming into England was to persuade the people to the Catholic religion.

'*Queen's Counsel*: You well knew that it was not lawful for you to persuade the queen's subjects to any other religion than by Her Highness's instructions

is already professed, and therefore if there had not been a further matter in your meaning you would have kept your conscience to yourself and yourself where you were.

Sherwin: We read that the apostles and the fathers in the primitive Church have taught and preached in the dominions and empires of ethnical and heathen rulers, and yet were not deemed worthy of death. The sufferance perhaps and the like toleration, I well hoped for in such a commonwealth, as where open christianity and godliness is pretended. And albeit in such a diversity of religion, it was to be feared lest I should not discharge my conscience without fear of danger, yet ought I not therefore to surcease in my functions; although that conscience is very wandering and unsteady, which with fear of danger draweth from duty.

One of the Judges: But your case differeth from theirs in the primitive Church, for that those apostles and preachers never conspired the death of the emperors and rulers, in whose dominions they so taught and preached.

'The clerk of the Crown read a letter which showeth that, by the fireside in the English Seminary beyond the seas, Sherwin should say that if he were in England he could compass many things: that there was one Arundell in Cornwall who, at an instant, could levy a great power: and that if an army were to be sent into England the best landing would be at St Michael's Mount.

Sherwin: I never spake any such matter, God is my record: neither was it ever the least part of my meaning.'²⁶⁹

Edmund Campion made the concluding speech for the defence, after which the jury retired to consider the verdict. They returned an hour later to pronounce every one of the accused 'Guilty'.²⁷⁰ Even though this verdict was a foregone conclusion from the government's point of view, no one really believed the priests to be guilty of high treason; Queen Elizabeth herself scoffed at the idea that the accused had been plotting against England.²⁷¹

The only charge which could have been proved against Sherwin was refusal to take the oath of supremacy and to attend Protestant services. Consequently, the jury's verdict was considered by all to have been the 'most unjust verdict that ever was given up in this land'.²⁷² 'Probabilities', 'conjectural surmises', 'aggravations', 'invectives', 'presumptions',—these were the tools which proved the never-proved and never-provable charge of treason. As was said above, all that could be urged against Sherwin was his refusal to give a plain answer to the question of the pope's power to excommunicate Elizabeth, and an alleged statement that, 'by the fireside in the English Seminary beyond the seas' he had spoken of what might be done in the west of England, and how the best place to land would be St Michael's Mount.²⁷³

After the verdict of 'Guilty', the Lord Chief-Justice Wray gave judgment on the accused. He pronounced them guilty of high treason, and condemned

them to death with the traditional formula: 'You must go to the place from whence you came, there to remain until you shall be drawn through the open city of London upon hurdles to the place of execution, and there to be hanged and let down alive, and your privy parts cut off, and your entrails taken out and burnt in your sight; then your heads to be cut off, and your bodies to be divided in four parts, to be disposed of at Her Majesty's pleasure. And God have mercy on your souls.'²⁷⁴

The reaction of the prisoners to this is reported to have been a show of great relief and joy.²⁷⁵ In the course of the trial Sherwin and Campion had made it clear that they were being tried for their religious beliefs and not for politics. When Sherwin heard the sentence pronounced he cried aloud, '*Haec dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et laetemur in ea*'.²⁷⁶ It was shortly after midday when Sherwin—now under sentence of death—was escorted back to his cell in the Tower.

While he waited for the day of execution to be fixed, Sherwin wrote to his friends outside the Tower. This letter reveals a great calmness and eloquence, but also his courage and impatience for death: 'delay of our death does somewhat dull me. It is not without cause that our master himself said, "*Quod facis fac cito*".'²⁷⁷ This refers to the delay there was in settling the day for the execution; in fact, the date was changed twice. From among those condemned, Lord Burghley had chosen three to die on Saturday, 25th November: Edmund Campion from the Jesuits, Ralph Sherwin from the English College, Rome, and Alexander Briant from the English College, Douai. The uncertainty of the authorities was shown when the execution was postponed until Wednesday, 29th November. We are told that the prisoners welcomed the chance to die on this day, the vigil of St Andrew, and expressed their joy with St Andrew's own words, '*O bona crux!*' This reaction caused another change of plans, for once more the execution was postponed: the day now chosen was 1st December.²⁷⁸

On Tuesday, 28th November, Sherwin found himself again in the Lieutenant's Hall. It is possible that the main reason for this visit was to be informed about the change of date, but Sherwin appeared as ready as always to argue with anyone about anything at any time: 'there Sherwin talked with a minister who was never so holden up to the wall in his life'.²⁷⁹ As he came out of the Hall, Sherwin looked up at the sun and said to Campion, 'Ah, Fr Campion, I shall be shortly above yonder fellow'.²⁸⁰ Those present in the Hall again paid tribute to Sherwin, saying that, 'he was the resolute man that ever they saw'.²⁸¹

The last letter written by Sherwin is dated 30th November—the eve of his death—and addressed to his uncle, Fr John Woodward in Rouen.²⁸² This is a letter of thanks, a statement of his innocence, and a final request for prayers.

The last words of the letter are these: 'God graunt us both His grace and blessing until the ende; that living in His feare, and dying in His favoure, we may enjoy one the other for ever. And so, my good old John, *farewell*. Salute all my fellow-catholikes. And so without farther troubling of you, my sweetest benefactor, *farewell*.'²⁸³ These are the words, we can remember, of a man who had been informed only a few hours earlier that on the following day he was to be hanged, drawn and quartered: 'this very morning . . . I was advertised by superior authoritie that tomorrow I was to ende the course of this life'.²⁸⁴

Friday, 1st December, dawned cold and rainy. Ralph Sherwin was brought to the Coleharbour Tower where he met the others to be executed with him that day.²⁸⁵ Before they were led out of the Tower, one of the prison guards whom they had reconciled to the Church showed them great kindness, 'and brought them a strengthening drink which certain catholics had prepared for them, and used his utmost exertions for their comfort'.²⁸⁶ As he waited to leave the prison, Sherwin chatted with the Protestant ministers who were present; these spoke of his innocence, saying that 'his words could not come from a guiltie conscience'.²⁸⁷ During the delay, the three priests encouraged and comforted one another, and when they were called out, they embraced for the last time.²⁸⁸

Outside the main entrance to the Tower a large crowd had assembled. Two horses were waiting there, each with a hurdle tied behind it: Sherwin and Briant were tied to one, and Campion to the other. The horses set off on the three-mile journey to Tyburn, dragging the 'traitors' through the mud and rain. Behind them followed many Protestant ministers shouting insults; the prisoners paid no attention, and continued to recite hymns and psalms.²⁸⁹

The procession passed slowly through the streets of London. Hundreds of men and women lined the route, large numbers of them standing at the doors of their houses to watch the priests go by. On the route lived one of Sherwin's cousins, 'Helen Allen wyfe of Wyllm Allen Lynnen draper and cytisen of London, . . . she the same helen and Raphe Sherwyn being brothers children. The same daye that the said Sherwyn was executed and passing by upon the hardell by the said helens howse by Saynt M'tins the sayd helen beinge at that instant great with chielde and sore dismayd with the sight of her Kynsman, after the thronge of people were gone by, she went over the way to one of her neighbours houses called Richard Amyas, who presently said unto her, I am sory for the heavyness you take for your Cosen Sherwyn, and she answered indeed I am sorrowfull, but it is for that he hathe led so evell a life as to deserve this deathe. And Amyas sayd holde you content, for they that have procured theirs deathes wyll come to a worsse ende. And she that

is the cause of it one mischefe or other wyll happen unto her, and then the world wyll amende, and untyll then it will not.²⁹⁰

When the procession reached Tyburn, the crowd assembled there was larger than had ever been seen before at any execution. Campion was the first to die. Then came Sherwin's turn. 'Rafe Sherwin seemed a man of better judgment [than Campion], more learned and more obedient.'²⁹¹ Several accounts highlight the calm joy with which Sherwin approached death: 'Fr Sherwin was conspicuous for his zeal and the great warmth of his charity; and so when mounting the scaffold he was full of joy and exultation, and gave infinite thanks to God for so great a benefit'.²⁹² The hangman's hands were covered with Campion's blood, and as he seized hold of Sherwin he said, 'Come, Sherwin, and take your reward'.²⁹³ Sherwin turned to the executioner 'with a smiling countenance, embraced him, kissing his gory hands',²⁹⁴ and so gave 'expression to the inward joy of his soul with such a torrent of words that all were amazed'.²⁹⁵ For a time he stood in the cart, engrossed in silent prayer. 'The bystanders were so moved at this that they compelled the Sheriff to let him speak, if he would. He, therefore, took his stand on the ladder, and made a most powerful address to the people, forgave everyone, prayed for all, calling his persecutors and those who had sought his life, his dearest friends.'²⁹⁶ He again began to pray, this time aloud: 'He said the Lord's prayer in English, believing that God made him, in Christ His Son that saved him, and in the Holy Ghost that sanctified him'.²⁹⁷

William Allen provides an eye-witness account of Sherwin's last moments alive: '*M. Raph Sherwine* was brought into the carte, a man so mortified, so feebled with fasting, watching and such other spiritual exercises, as was wonderful unto such who had conversed with him before his imprisonment.

'He standing upon the carte, with closed eyes, with handes lifted up to heaven in contemplation and praier, all men marking his demeanor, with milde voice first made this demaund: *Doth the people expect that I should speake?* Being answered of many and some of nobilitie, "Yea, yea"; with stoute courage and strong voice he said, "Then first, I thanke the omnipotent and most merciful God the Father for my creation, my sweete and loving Saviour Jesus Christ for my redemption, and the Holy Ghost for my sanctification; three Persons and one God".

'After this thankes-geving unto the holy and blessed Trinitie, entring into the discourse of his faith, his condemnation and death, he was interrupted and staid by *Sir Francis Knowles* and the Sherifes, saying, "You have declared your faith, and we know it. Come to the point, and confesse your treason and disloyaultie towards your Prince." Whereupon he constantly said, "*I am innocent and guiltles*". And being still urged, answered, "*I will*

not belie myself, for so should I condemne my owne soule. And although I have confusion in this world, yet I doubt not of my salvation in Christ Jesus, in whom only I looke to be saved, and in whose death, Passion and blood I only trust." And so he made a sweete praier to Jesus, acknowledging the imperfection, miserie and sinful wretchedness of his owne nature, still protesting his innocencie from all Treasons and traitorous practises, and that his going out of this realme beyond the seas was only for his soules health, to learn to save his soule.

'And being againe interrupted by *Sir Francis Knowles* he answered in this wise, "*Tush, tush! You and I shall answeere this before another Iudge, where my innocence shall be knowen, and you see that I am guiltles of this.*" Whereupon *Sir Frauncis* said, "We knowe you are no contriver or doer of this treason for you are no man of armes, *but you are a traitor by consequence*".

'But *M. Sherwine* boldly answered, "*I to be a Catholike onely; if to be a perfect Catholike be to be a traitor, then am I a traitor*". After which wordes being by authoritie debarred of further speach, he said, "*I forgive all who either by general presumption or particular error have procured my death*", and so devoutely praied unto Jesus. After which praier he was urged to speake his opinion touching *Pope Pius* his Bull, to which point he gave no answer.

'Being willed to pray for the Q. Maiestie he answered, "*I have and do*". At which wordes the *L. Howard* againe asked which Queene he meant, whether Elizabeth Queene? To whom somewhat smiling he said, "*Yea, for Elizabeth Queene, I nowe at this instant pray my Lord God to make her his servant in the life, and after this life coheir with Christ Jesus*".

'When he had thus praied, there were there which said openly that he ment to make her a Papist, to whom he boldly replied, "*Els God forbid*".²⁹⁸

Sherwin paused for a moment, then put his head into the noose. All this time he kept shaking his head and making gestures of joy, and then with a most happy countenance and in a voice of exultation he kept repeating, as long as he was able to speak, "*Jesus, Jesus, be to me a Jesus*".²⁹⁹ When the crowd saw that the treason-charge was being read aloud,³⁰⁰ the men and women began to shout, 'Good Sherwin, may the lord God receive your soul'. The cart was drawn from under Sherwin; the people's shouts continued long afterwards.

Ralph Sherwin thus died at Tyburn on 1st December 1581. He was thirty-one years old when he died, and was the first student of the English College, Rome, to die for his priesthood.³⁰¹

MICHAEL BROWN

[concluded]

¹⁷⁰ Letter of Edmund Campion to Everard Mercurian, c. 17th November 1580, printed in the *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia* (ed. in 1588 by Bridgewater, T.), pp. 3-4. English versions are in Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, pp. 21-26, and in Simpson, R., op. cit., pp. 246-50. 525.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Person's words in his *Memoirs*, C.R.S., 2, p. 200.

¹⁷² Cf. *Diary of the English College, Rome*, in Foley, H., *Records*, 6, p. 84 (=V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303).

¹⁷³ Cf. n. 148 above. Concerning Person's appointment as 'Superior of the Mission', cf. C.R.S., 2, pp. 195.200.

¹⁷⁴ In August 1581 Persons wrote to Agazzari about a house in London where priests assembled for discussion and relaxation; the letter is printed in Rishton's edition of Sander, N., *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani* (Roma 1586), p. 462. The letter is translated in C.R.S., 39, pp. 83-90, and cf. Bede Camm (ed.), *Lives of the English Martyrs* (London 1905), pp. 379-80. Note that there is no reason to suppose (as does Bede Camm, op. cit., p. 380) that this was the first meeting of Sherwin with Persons since they parted company at Rheims on 6th June 1580. About this and other places of refuge in London, cf. C.R.S., 39, p. xxvi; 2, pp. 200-1.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Allen to Agazzari, C.R.S., 7, p. 28.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. n. 142 above.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Sander, N., op. cit., p. 461; C.R.S., 39, p. 90. Clearly, the 'sex integros fere menses' is an error: Sherwin left Rouen on 1st August 1580, and was captured in the first days of November.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Allen to Agazzari, C.R.S., 7, p. 28.

¹⁷⁹ Pits, J., *De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus* (Paris 1619), p. 778.

¹⁸⁰ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, entry for December 1581; cf. Foley, H., op. cit., 6, pp. 77-8.

¹⁸¹ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 23. Cf. n. 170 above.

¹⁸² The original text is in the Public Record Office, London, State Papers, Domestic Series, Elisabeth, vol. CXXXVII, no. 26.

¹⁸³ Meyer, O., op. cit., p. 202. Throughout this book there is much detailed information about the mission and the priests at work there in Elisabethan England.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-1, and cf. pp. 90.154.172.176.394.

¹⁸⁵ Campion to Mercurian, in Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 23.

¹⁸⁶ C.R.S., 9, pp. 28-29.

¹⁸⁷ Persons to Agazzari, in Sander, N., op. cit., p. 462; and C.R.S., 39, pp. 82-3. The letter is in English in C.R.S., 39, pp. 83-90; and in Bede Camm, op. cit., pp. 381-3. Cf. C.R.S., 2, p. 27.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Persons, R., *De Vita Edmundi Campiani* (in Grene, C., *Collectanea P*), chap. 14. Cf. also C.R.S., 39, p. xxvi, n. 35.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Person's Life of Campion, chap. 15 (cf. previous note). This passage is in English in Simpson, R., op. cit., p. 258. There is no way of discovering the identify of the 'certain gentleman' for whom Sherwin was waiting.

¹⁹⁰ C.R.S., 2, p. 27.

¹⁹¹ C.R.S., 39, p. 73, n. 1. Cf. n. 189 above.

¹⁹² Cf. n. 187 above.

¹⁹³ Persons to Agazzari, in C.R.S., 39, p. 53.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. n. 189 above.

¹⁹⁵ Dodd-Tierney, op. cit., 3, p. 91.

¹⁹⁶ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 39. Cf. C.R.S., 2, p. 29; C.R.S., 39, p. 82.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Persons, R., *De Vita Campiani*, chap. 15; and cf. Simpson, R., op. cit., p. 258.

¹⁹⁸ Persons, R., *De Vita Campiani*, chap. 4.

¹⁹⁹ Persons to Agazzari, C.R.S., 39, pp. 53.60.

²⁰⁰ Persons, R., *Autobiography*, in C.R.S., 2, p. 27. In C.R.S., 51, p. 222, the date suggested for Sherwin's arrest is 16th July 1581; this is obviously wrong.

²⁰¹ Dasent, J. R., *Acts of Privy Council*, 12, p. 264; cf. C.R.S., 2, p. 29.

²⁰² Persons to Agazzari, in Sander, N., op. cit., pp. 461-2; cf. Bede Camm, op. cit., pp. 381-2.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, the whole fragment will appear as an appendix to this article.

²⁰⁴ A list of the 'Articles ministered to the Jesuits and Seminary Priests' is given in Foley, H., op. cit., 2, p. 157; cf. also 3, pp. 770-1.

²⁰⁵ Lansdowne MS. 982, fol. 25; cf. Dodd-Tierney, op. cit., 3, pp. xi-xii.

²⁰⁶ Persons to Agazzari, in C.R.S., 39, pp. 53.60. In this letter, the 'pseudo-Bishop of London' is mentioned twice. For other references to John Aylmer, Bishop of London, in Person's letters, cf. C.R.S., 39, pp. 81.89.116n.117.231.237.

²⁰⁷ Cf. White, F. O., *Lives of the Elisabethan Bishops* (London 1898), pp. 202-214. Also, Foley, H., op. cit., 1, p. 636n.

²⁰⁸ Cf. C.R.S., 4, p. 33.

²⁰⁹ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 39; C.R.S., 4, p. 32; 2, p. 29. In Foley, H., op. cit., 3, p. 283, another date is suggested: 29th December. This is an error, for by this time Sherwin had been moved to the Tower.

²¹⁰ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 39; C.R.S., 4, p. 32. Also cf. Persons in C.R.S., 2, p. 29.

²¹¹ Cf. the comments of Foley, H., op. cit., 2, p. 326.

²¹² Cf. Foley, H., op. cit., 3, p. 283.

²¹³ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303. For an English translation of this, cf. Foley, H., op. cit., 6, pp. 78-9.

²¹⁴ Cf. Persons in C.R.S., 2, p. 27. The Tower bill drawn up for Christmas 1580 by Sir Owen Hopton (lieutenant of the Tower), charges 27 shillings and 6 pence for the food and expenses of 'Ralfe Sheringe'; the period begins on 4 December: cf. C.R.S., 3, pp. 9-10.

²¹⁵ *The Tower (Rishton's) Diary* (—printed in Sander, N., op. cit., at the end, unpaginated), entry for 5 December 1580. Cf. Dodd-Tierney, op. cit., 3, p. 151; S.C.R., Hist. Sect., 148, p. 307; Lingard, J., *History of England* (London 1823), 8, p. 522.

²¹⁶ Foley, H., op. cit., 3, pp. 283-4.

²¹⁷ Bede Camm, op. cit., p. 384.

²¹⁸ Cf. Morris, J., *The Condition of Catholics* (London 1871), p. ciii. There is a description of the instruments of torture used in the Tower, in Dodd-Tierney, op. cit., 3, p. 150.

²¹⁹ *Tower Diary* (refs as in n. 215 above), in the Preface.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ Dodd-Tierney, op. cit., 3, p. 150.

²²² Cf. Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 39. Also Bede Camm, op. cit., p. 385.

²²³ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 40. Nicholas Roscarrock had been brought to the Tower on 5th December; he remained there until his release on 6th March 1586; cf. Gillow, J., *Bibliographical Dictionary*, 5, p. 447.

²²⁴ Refs as in n. 215.

²²⁵ Cf. Allen, W., *A True, Sincere and Modest Defense, etc.* (Rouen 1584), pp. 21-2; also Simpson, R., op. cit., p. 267.

²²⁶ Refs as in n. 215; and cf. C.R.S., 39, p. xxxv.

²²⁷ Archives of Westminster Cathedral, London: Series A, vol. 4, p. 119; cf. Challoner, R., *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, pt. 1 (London 1741), pp. 57-8; and S.C.R., op. cit., pp. 339-40.

²²⁸ Cf. Chalcedon's Catalogue (1628), in Archives of Westminster Cathedral, London: Series B, vol. 28, pp. 73.128; (—printed in S.C.R., op. cit., p. 314).

²²⁹ Cf. Knox, T. F. (ed.), *Douai Diaries*, p. 174.

²³⁰ Cf. Dasent, J. R., op. cit., 12, p. 295; and cf. *Essex Recusant*, vol. 8, p. 14.

²³¹ Cited by Morris, J., op. cit., p. 295; the original MS. is in Stonyhurst Archives, MSS., P. fol. 107.

²³² Refs as in n. 215; entry for 15th January 1581.

²³³ Cf. C.R.S., 4, p. 11.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ Refs as in n. 215; entry for 15th January 1581.

²³⁶ Cf. Persons, R., *Memoirs*, in C.R.S. 2 p. 196.

²³⁷ C.R.S. 4, p. 11.

²³⁸ Cf. the article 'Paschall of Great Baddow', in the *Essex Recusant*, vol. 8, pp. 12-5.

²³⁹ Refs as in n. 215; entry for 15th January 1581.

²⁴⁰ Persons in C.R.S., 4, p. 11.

²⁴¹ Knox, T. F., op. cit., p. 175.

- ²⁴² Cf. State Papers, Dom. Elis., 1581, vol. 149, n. 61; cf. Foley, H., op. cit., 2, p. 160.
- ²⁴³ Cf. Bede Camm, op. cit., p. 386.
- ²⁴⁴ Refs as in n. 215; entry for 5th February 1581. About the minister John Nichols, cf. C.R.S., 4, p. 11; and Simpson, R., op. cit., p. 290.
- ²⁴⁵ Refs as in n. 215; entry for 5th February.
- ²⁴⁶ From the Tower bills printed in C.R.S., 3, p. 10.
- ²⁴⁷ Cf. Meyer, O., op. cit., p. 212.
- ²⁴⁸ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 40.
- ²⁴⁹ In a letter, for which cf. Theiner, A., *Ann. Eccles.*, 3, p. 475.
- ²⁵⁰ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 40.
- ²⁵¹ Cf. Jeaffreson, J. C., *Middlesex County Recores* (1886), I, p. 124.
- ²⁵² Cf. C.R.S., 3, p. 11.
- ²⁵³ Refs as in n. 215; entry for 31st August 1581. Also cf. Simpson, R., op. cit., pp. 363 ff., who gives a full account of this famous disputation. In my account, I mention only the parts which directly involve Sherwin's part in the debate. The many contemporary reports of this disputation are listed in C.R.S., 21, p. 32. As yet I have been unable to study these reports in detail.
- ²⁵⁴ Cf. Foley, H., op. cit., 3, p. 284.
- ²⁵⁵ Refs as in n. 215; entry for 31st August 1581.
- ²⁵⁶ Cf. Harleian MSS. 422, fol. 148.
- ²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵⁸ C.R.S., 39, pp. 118-9.
- ²⁵⁹ Cf. Pits, J., op. cit., p. 778.
- ²⁶⁰ The genesis of this 'new' charge is traced in Simpson, R., op. cit., pp. 380-94.
- ²⁶¹ The Indictment is in the Public Record Office, London; its reference is, K.B. 27/1279, Crown side, rots. 2 & 3. For copies of this, cf. S.C.R., op. cit., pp. 293-5; Simpson, R., op. cit., pp. 394-6; Lansdowne MS. 33, no. 65 (=draft indictment?); Foley, H., op. cit., 2, pp. 164 ff.; Stow, J., *Chronicles of England* (London 1587), p. 1322.
- ²⁶² This date is supported by Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 16; K.B. 27/1279, Crown side, rot. 3; *Tower Diary* (refs as in n. 215), entry for 14th November 1581. An alternative suggestion—12th November—is backed only by the MS. account of the trial reproduced in Howell, T. B., *State Trials*, vol. I (London 1816), cols 1049-1084.
- ²⁶³ Cf. Howell, T. B., op. cit., loc. cit.
- ²⁶⁴ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 18.
- ²⁶⁵ Bombino, P., op. cit., pp. 237-8.
- ²⁶⁶ K.B. 27/1279, Crown side, rot. 2.
- ²⁶⁷ For accounts of the trial, cf. Stow, J., op. cit., pp. 1322-29; K.B. 27/1279, Crown side, rot. 2; K.B. 9/656, pt. II, 41; C.R.S., 39, p. 123; Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, pp. 18-20; C.R.S., 4, p. 33.
- ²⁶⁸ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 18.
- ²⁶⁹ B.M. Harleian Ms. 6265, printed in Cobbet, *State Trials*, vol. I, pp. 1050 ff.; Simpson, R., op. cit., pp. 421-2; Bede Camm, op. cit., pp. 388-9.
- ²⁷⁰ Cf. K.B. 27/1279, Crown side, rot. 2; *Tower Diary*, entry for 20th November 1581.
- ²⁷¹ Cf. Camden, W., *Annales Rerum Anglicarum, etc.* (London 1617), vol. I, pp. 326-7.
- ²⁷² Quoted by Simpson, R., op. cit., p. 434. But n.b., the meaning of 'treason' in the time of Elizabeth is discussed by Meyer, O., op. cit., pp. 147 ff. Cf. also *Recusant History*, vol. 6, pp. 114-40, 205-27.
- ²⁷³ Cf. Hughes, P., *Rome and the Counter-Reformation* (London 1944), pp. 249-50.
- ²⁷⁴ Cf. Stow, J., op. cit., p. 1326; K.B. 27/1279, Crown side, rot. 2; C.R.S., 39, p. 123.
- ²⁷⁵ Cf. More, H., *Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu* (St Omers 1660), p. 106.
- ²⁷⁶ Bombino, P., op. cit., p. 275; cf. More, H., op. cit., loc. cit.; B.M.: Egerton Ms 2679 FD (—the 'Jozberrique' of this letter is Ralph Sherwin; cf. the explanatory note by Morris, J., in *The Month*, vol. 78, p. 461).
- ²⁷⁷ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, pp. 41-2. The letter will appear in an appendix of this article.
- ²⁷⁸ Cf. Simpson, R., op. cit., p. 446.
- ²⁷⁹ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 40.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Cf. above n. 12.

²⁸³ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, pp. 42-3. The letter will appear in an appendix of this article.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ The earliest printed account of the execution is *A true report of the death and martyrdome of M. Campion Iesuite and prieste, and M. Sherwin, and M. Bryan preistes, at Tiborne the first of December 1581 Observid and written by a Catholike preist, who was present therat* (London 1582). There is reason to believe that the author of this was Robert Persons. This work is the basis for Allen's account of the execution in *Briefe Historie*.

²⁸⁶ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303; the English translation is in Foley, H., op. cit., 6, p. 102.

²⁸⁷ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 41.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 20-1. For a description of the method of execution, cf. Meyer, O., op. cit., pp. 185 ff.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Persons to Agazzari, 23rd December 1581, in More, H., op. cit., pp. 107-110; Stow, J., op. cit., p. 1327; V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303; Knox, T. F., op. cit., p. 184.

²⁹⁰ S.P., 12/170, no. 95 (dated 1584). Simpson, R., op. cit., p. 535, comments, 'It was George Eliot, whose impulses towards repentance were always brief, and who sank to the trade of spy and informer, who raked up this story in 1584'.

²⁹¹ Stow, J., op. cit., p. 1329.

²⁹² Persons to Agazzari, 1st March 1582, in C.R.S., 39, p. 129.

²⁹³ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303; cf. Persons to Agazzari, 23rd December 1581, in More, H., op. cit., loc. cit.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ More, H., op. cit., loc. cit.

²⁹⁶ V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303; cf. Persons to Agazzari, in C.R.S., 39, pp. 129-30; and Persons to Agazzari, in More, H., op. cit., loc. cit.

²⁹⁷ Stow, J., op. cit., p. 1329; cf. Foley, H., op. cit., 4, p. 361.

²⁹⁸ Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, pp. 34-6; cf. Stow, J., *ibid.*; Foley, H., *ibid.*

²⁹⁹ Persons to Agazzari, in C.R.S., 39, p. 134; cf. V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, entry for December 1581; Allen, W., *Briefe Historie*, p. 36. These, and other accounts, stress the joy and happiness so evident in Sherwin's attitude to execution.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Stow, J., op. cit., *ibid.*

³⁰¹ Cf. Stow, J., *ibid.*; Persons to Agazzari, in More, H., op. cit., loc. cit., V.E.C. Archives, lib. 303, entry for December 1581; C.R.S., 4, p. 35.

PROCLAIMING CHRIST IN THE SECULAR CITY

INTRODUCTION

One of the greatest problems facing the priest of today is what might be called the missionary problem—only this time it is a missionary problem which has to be faced at home. It is many years now since Europe was startled by the announcement that France, to all intents and purposes, must be considered as mission territory: and the phenomenon has continued to spread. The attitude of most people to God today could be summed up in the words of one of the Beatles' early songs—'He's a real nowhere man, sitting in his nowhere land, making all his nowhere plans for nobody!' Much of Christianity would be dismissed in much the same way—no one seems to want to listen to us any more. More often than not we do not matter sufficiently to be opposed—we are just irrelevant. Our problem is to present Christ, not so much to a world which doesn't want him, as to a world which doesn't seem to need him; to a world which is occupied with its own problems and which is confident of being able to find its own answers to them. Problems like poverty, hunger, over-population and war, which used to have a convenient niche in Christian teaching, are now being tackled as human problems without any reference to Christianity; and in our saner moments we have to admit that this seems to be the only reasonable way to tackle them. The world doesn't seem to need Christ, and we, as Christian ministers, are convinced that the world can only be fully understood in terms of Christ—how are we to bridge the gap? One answer is to improve our explanations; but explanation can only be used effectively when people are prepared to listen, when people are persuaded that you have something of value to offer. Our problem has certain resemblances to that of the apostles after the resurrection; they knew that Christ was important, that nothing else was quite as important as getting to know him. They couldn't explain this, for the most

part they were simple fishermen with no time for training in the art of explanation. Even St Paul, in many ways the most educated of the apostles, met with his greatest missionary failure when he tackled the question on intellectual grounds. This happened at Athens (Acts 17:16-34) when he attempted to be as sophisticated as the most sophisticated of the Athenians on the Areopagus—and when he came to talk of the resurrection from the dead ‘some of them burst out laughing’; this was not something that could be explained.

Before we can tackle this problem with any hope of success we must understand the world we are living in; the Vatican Council encourages us to do this; ‘We must therefore recognise and understand the world in which we live, its expectations, its longings and its often dramatic characteristics’.¹ Clearly it must be understood on its own terms if Christ is to be found and proclaimed in the twentieth century. We must accept the world as Christ accepted our humanity—totally except for sin.

Over the past few years an attempt has been made, particularly by English-speaking theological writers, to examine the world on its own terms and to wholeheartedly accept it as far as possible. The most well-known example of this is *Honest to God*, written by John A. T. Robinson, the Anglican Bishop of Woolwich. This book reached a larger audience than any other ‘theological’ work of this century, at least at the popular level, which seems to indicate that he had at least succeeded in communicating with the present generation. His book was by no means original and its roots can be traced to pre-war theological thinking. Its real originality lay in the honesty and sincerity with which he tackled the problems which trouble many of today’s Christians. This book has been followed by many others, particularly in America, which have tried to follow up his insights in a much more scientific way. One of the most notable of these is *The Secular City* by Harvey Cox, a professor of theology at Harvard’s Divinity School. I should like to take a closer look at this book, and to use it as a basis on which to examine the world of the twentieth century, or, as he would call it, ‘the secular city’.

THE SECULAR CITY

Before examining the secular city in detail it is necessary to grasp what Cox and many other similar writers consider the main feature of the secular city, namely secularisation. Briefly, secularisation could be said to be the freeing of man from the tyranny of religion, or, as Cox defines it, ‘the liberation of man from religious and metaphysical tutelage, the turning of his attention away

¹ *Gaudium et Spes*, n. 4.

from other worlds and towards this one'.² 'Secularisation' and 'religion' are here used as opposed terms, and it is essential to understand exactly what they mean by 'religion' in this context. For us 'religion' or 'religious' tend to be consecrated terms; at times they seem almost to be synonymous with 'Christianity' and 'Christian', but here they are used in their more general senses to mean any kind of non-reflective dependence on the non-essentials of Christianity. It means putting details and structures in the place of Christ himself; placing an adherence to an outward legal morality before the two great commandments of the new law; Martin E. Marty, introducing Bonhoeffer's *Christology*, puts this even more strongly—'By religion Bonhoeffer meant hyperindividualism, self contained inwardness, bad conscience or the sin-sick soul as psychological *a priori*s for Christian experience, devotion to a particular metaphysic, stance or piety'.³

It will be easier to understand what is meant here if we examine what Cox considers to be the three main processes involved in the phenomenon of secularisation: namely, the disenchantment of nature, the desacrilisation of politics, and the deconsecration of values. Let us examine each of these in turn.

(a) *The disenchantment of nature.* Here nature and the universe are stripped of any pretensions to the divine and become things created by the one God and put into the hands of man as their steward. This is contrasted with presecular man who lived 'in an enchanted forest' where 'reality is charged with a magical power that erupts here and there to threaten or benefit man'.⁴ Cox links this process to the Genesis account of the creation where one of the main points of the story is to show that God made everything, and that things like the planets and the stars were not gods or semi-divine beings in their own right. Chapter one, verse one, of Genesis is generally accepted as being a later, though integral, addition to the story in order to make this specific point even clearer. Through this process 'man becomes in effect a subject facing nature. He can still enjoy it and delight in it, perhaps even more so since its terrors have been reduced for him. But man is not a mere expression of nature, and nature is not a divine entity'.⁵

(b) *The desacrilisation of politics.* No one rules by divine right in the secular city. The political and the religious spheres are separated; this means that no political system can exercise complete rights over its citizens. According to Cox desacrilisation began at the Exodus in what he calls 'a massive act of insurrection or "civil disobedience"' which was sanctioned and organ-

² *The Secular City*, London 1965, p. 17.

³ Bonhoeffer, *Christology*, Introduction, Edwin H. Robertson, p. 16.

⁴ *The Secular City*, p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

ised by Yahweh himself! He adds 'no government could ever be safe after that!'⁶ Even though we may disagree with this rather whimsical exegesis, we must agree that history has taught us to value the separation of Church and State, even though the lesson was often a difficult one to learn.

(c) *The deconsecration of values.* Paul Tillich once called this age 'a land of broken symbols', this image is particularly apt here. Relativity is perhaps the key to our age; customs and habits change noticeably from year to year, 'man's values have been deconsecrated, shorn of any claim to ultimate or final significance . . . they are no longer the direct expression of the divine will . . . they have ceased to be values and have become valuations'.⁷ This process conceals a great danger, and is, perhaps, one of the elements of the secular city for which we might well temper our enthusiasm. While it holds a great deal of truth it can easily be taken to imply, and quite logically, a complete relativism. Cox himself admits the danger—'is there anything in this which prevents sheer anarchy? Why need it not lead to individual and group solipsism?'⁸ Once again Cox gives this a biblical setting in an attempt to redeem it, and this time it is the Sinai Covenant when Yahweh prohibits the making of any graven image of their God. This means, Cox continues, 'that the Jews were forbidden to worship (that is, to take with any real moral seriousness) anything which could be fashioned by man himself'. What saves this process from complete anarchy is the fact that the 'reality to which these values and attitudes are directed remains the constant'.⁹

'Secularisation . . . marks a change in the way men grasp and understand their life together, and it occurred when the cosmopolitan confrontations of city living exposed the relativity of the myths and traditions men once thought were unquestionable. The ways men live their common life affects mightily the ways they understand the meaning of that life, and vice-versa.'¹⁰ Whether we accept this situation as desirable or not, this statement seems acceptable as a description of the facts. We must now examine the secular city in a little more detail to find out how they do in fact live their life together, and so to see in what ways it has affected their understanding of that life. Bernard Murchland in an essay on *The Secular City* criticises Cox's method of procedure here, 'Perhaps . . . this is a failure of methodology. Cox looks first to the situation, to what is going on, and then follows with a theological justification. The problem here is that there is no guarantee that what is there calls for such justification . . . What men as a matter of fact do has some bearing on the ethical question of what they ought to do. But it is

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

not the whole picture. The facts of human life are after all functions of our ideals and not vice-versa.¹¹ There is a certain amount of truth in this accusation; while Cox makes an attempt to see both sides of the problem, he often tends to brush aside the dangers inherent in modern civilisation. An examination of his ideas must take this into account.

Cox's examination of the secular city is divided into two parts; first he examines the way in which its people live, this he calls the 'shape' of the secular city; and then he discusses the ways in which they think, this he calls the 'style' of the secular city. Cox admits that this distinction is an analytical one because 'in reality shape and style merge'.

(a) *The shape of the secular city.* Two main characteristics are isolated for examination, namely anonymity and mobility. The reason for concentrating on these two aspects is that they are also the two features which are most often singled out for attack by both religious and non-religious critics.

Anonymity is often taken to be one of the curses of modern living; Cox understands it as one of the achievements of modern civilisation and one of its most important liberating principles. How can these two opposing evaluations be reconciled, if they need reconciliation? Firstly, no attempt must be made to deny the agonising problem of loneliness which exists in the modern city, and which is here to be found in its most subtle form—to be desperately lonely, without ever being alone. Perhaps this is the heart of the problem—constant contact with others, particularly of a superficial or functional kind, robs one of the freedom to discover within oneself the necessary resources to combat loneliness. In the older more rural type of living nearly all one's contacts were of a personal nature—the everyone-knows-everyone-else mentality of the small village or rural community is still very well known. This left most people with little or no real personal privacy, and the recluse was always viewed with suspicion—the results were often tragic; think of the various 'witch' trials even as late as the last century. In this kind of society people are known by their names and not by their functions—today the tendency is the other way round. We speak of the milkman and the postman, and not of Joe Smith or Jimmy Wilson: today, in fact, a milkman or a postman who tried to make all his contacts into personal relationships would be considered as a menace or an intruder.

How is this anonymity a liberating principle? First of all it should be remembered that city living multiplies the number of functionaries we need and come into contact with; we are so much more dependent upon others for the necessities of life—to personalise all these relationships would be next to impossible. Since a great many of our daily contacts are of this functional

¹¹ *The Secular City Debate*, ed. Daniel Callahan; part 1, chapter 3, 'How do we speak of God without religion?', Bernard Murchland, p. 19.

or objective kind we are left free to choose our personal friends and to develop this kind of relationship in a way which was impossible before, where most of our friendships were to a large extent determined—this can be seen in an exaggerated form in the old custom of arranged marriages, which still prevails in certain less urbanised parts of the world. Functional relationships can be seen as a much needed protective device whose function is much the same as an unlisted telephone number—our real friendships, and who has our telephone number, depend entirely on a definite personal choice. This is not unsocial or a refusal of responsibility, although it may well be both, but a refusal to live at a superficial level (which a multiplicity of semi-personal relationships would entail). It also indicates a very responsible attitude to other people's privacy. It is the inability and the unwillingness to form any deep personal relationships which has led to the crippling loneliness with which we have become familiar: how often is the suicide or the attempted suicide the person with whom many have come into contact but whom no one really knows? Cox concludes this section and summarises the change in attitude involved in this situation in the following way: 'Unlike my parents, who suspected all strangers, he (the modern city-dweller) tends to be wary not of the functionaries he doesn't know but of those he does'.¹² Mobility, the second main characteristic of the secular city, is not just a spatial concept; it involves an attitude of mind—usually one that is more open to change. On the other hand, it can just as well signify a rolling-stone mentality and a refusal of responsibility, a kind of flight from reality. Yet more and more today promotion within a secular career demands a high degree of mobility—the willingness to move from one aspect of a job for another, or from one centre to another, often at very short notice. It is easy to see how this can be considered as a liberating factor—the wider one's world becomes the more opportunities it will present, the greater the need for personal choice and responsibility. Harold Wilson's redeployment plan to solve the unemployment problem in England was based on the principle of mobility; his plan failed because the very people he expected to move were those most unlikely to move because of the very nature of their upbringing—security for them involved a job and a home which would remain a fixed point of reference for the rest of their lives.

Cox goes on, 'let us admit at once that high mobility does play havoc with traditional religion'.¹³ This can be most clearly seen in the breakdown of the traditional parish structure, which for a large extent depends for its effectiveness on the immobility of its people. Local loyalties are far less binding than they were, and people are becoming much more ready to pick

¹² *The Secular City*, p. 46.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

and choose which church they will go to, and which priest they will seek advice from. But, as Cox points out, Christianity is a non-spatial religion; Yahweh was for the Jews the God of history and the God of a people, not the god of a particular place like the Baalim. Christ is non-spatial in the same way; he is the Lord of history, and our life is essentially a pilgrimage 'to a place he will show us'. With Christ we can never settle down and put down permanent roots, at any time we may be asked, like Abraham, to pack up and set out for somewhere else. Cox concludes, 'High mobility is no assurance of salvation but neither is it an obstacle to faith'.¹⁴

So much for the background against which modern man lives, we must now consider how much this affects his attitude to his life and to the purpose of that life. This Cox does by considering the style of the secular city.

(b) *The style of the secular city.* Urban-secular man is pragmatic; this, Cox discovers, is the main characteristic of the style of the secular city. This term, however, needs to be very clearly understood before it can help us to see what is involved here. 'To say that technopolitan man is pragmatic means that he is a kind of modern ascetic. He disciplines himself to give up certain things. He approaches problems by isolating them from irrelevant considerations, by bringing to bear the knowledge of different specialists, and by getting ready to grapple with a new series of problems when these have been provisionally solved. Life for him is a set of problems, not an unfathomable mystery. He brackets off the things that cannot be dealt with and deals with those he can. He wastes little time thinking about 'ultimate' or 'religious' questions. And he can live with highly provisional solutions.¹⁵ Beneath the rather adulatory tone of this passage lies a very real appreciation of modern man's attitude to life. He is certainly more concerned with 'practical or material affairs' and he has little interest in 'borderline questions', and even less in metaphysical questions. The dangers inherent in this kind of attitude are obvious, and the 'materialism' of modern man is too well known to need any detailed discussion here.

The repercussions of this type of mentality on the teaching of religion are very far reaching indeed. Since modern man is practically minded, almost belligerently so, he has no time for religious teaching which is either scholastic, metaphysical or speculative; for him such an approach is almost entirely foreign and irrelevant. This is the area in which the clerical and lay mentalities of today meet head on, and we are no longer in a position to dictate the answer. If we are to be true ministers of Christ and the gospel we must enter his situation and show him that Christ is there—a ministry of service begins to have a real meaning in that context. Modern man is no

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 758.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

longer concerned with religion because religion no longer seems to be concerned with the things that matter to him. We must be able to show that since Christ became man he is deeply committed to man, and that through his entry into history and his death he has already overcome man's difficulties. The difficulty is how to do this in the present context.

Having examined the secular city from its own point of view, but always with a biblical corrective in mind, we are now free to tackle the main problem—how to proclaim Christ realistically and relevantly to that world. It is by no means an easy task; theology, perhaps more than any other science, has grown used to its own methods and categories. It has shown itself less ready to adapt to new factors and a new environment, and, to a large extent this has been the cause of the present crisis. The Second Vatican Council has shown very dramatically how the impact of the Christian message can be strengthened, and it has done this by a re-examination of itself in the context of the present day. *Gaudium et Spes*, 'The Church in the World of Today', certainly the most revolutionary document to issue from the Council, shows us to what extent this is possible. Theology is not a dead science, but, as Cox remarks, it is '... a living enterprise. The gospel does not call man to return to a previous stage in his development. It does not summon man back to dependency. Rather it is a call to imaginative urbanity and mature secularity. It is not a call to man to abandon his interest in the problems of this world, but an invitation to accept the full weight of this world's problems as the gift of its maker. It is a call to be a man of this technical age, with all that means, seeking to make it a human habitation for all who live within it.'¹⁶ The Church, with its concern for man and his problems, has shown us the direction we must follow: perhaps a solution can be found this way?

TOWARDS A SOLUTION

Joan Brothers, an English Catholic sociologist (although not concerned with the present problem) throws an interesting light on the situation in a recent study of the attitudes and religious habits of a group of well educated Liverpool Catholics shortly after they had left school.¹⁷ Many young Catholics, although they consider it 'a severe defection from the accepted norms of behaviour', stop going to church when they leave school. In other words they stop going when the norms can no longer be applied; this indicates the growth of freedom outlined by Cox and how it can serve an ill purpose. It also shows that their conception of what is involved in religion and in

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4.

¹⁷ *Church and School*, Liverpool, 1964.

Christianity is depersonalised and mechanical; they are very much aware of being a minority group and, often enough, their concern is merely apologetic. This shows itself very clearly in their answers to questions about their attitudes to religion after they leave school—'It's not so cut and dried as it used to be', 'I'm awfully stupid in discussion', and 'I could crawl into a corner when I'm asked questions'.¹⁸ How can we replace this attitude which no longer seems to be serving any useful purpose with something which will obviate the necessity to always be able to answer questions? Or, to put it another way, how can we replace Christianity firmly and unequivocally in the world of today? John Robinson, the Bishop of Woolwich, taking a lead from the Lutheran theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, has tried to approach this problem through the person of Christ. Perhaps a solution can be found in this direction? Paul van Buren indicates a similar approach when he says 'the central doctrine for theology is Christology—the doctrine of the saviour, not that of salvation'.¹⁹ Robinson begins his section on Christology with the statement, 'the doctrine of the incarnation and divinity of Christ is on any account central to the entire Christian message and therefore crucial to any reinterpretation of it'.²⁰ But it is here precisely that one encounters the greatest difficulties, because it is here that one encounters a fully worked out theological system. Because it is the centre of the Christian message, and because of the historical circumstances, a great deal of early theological energy was spent on elucidating the problems involved, and so we have the definitions of the early Councils, particularly that of Chalcedon.²¹ To suggest reinterpretation is in no way to attack the authority of those early Councils, but as the introduction to Bonhoeffer's *Christology* states, 'the Chalcedonian definition is cold, statue cold, and requires the warm breath of life before it can be recognised as anything to do with Jesus Christ'.²² The Chalcedonian definition is not so much a solution 'but a statement of the problem. But as a correct statement . . . it had—and has—an irreplaceable value'.²³ In this connection Paul Tillich remarks, 'the Christological dogma saved the Church', but he quickly adds 'with very inadequate conceptual tools'.²⁴ These conceptual tools remained adequate for a long period in the history of theology, but today as an aid to the proclamation of Christ there inadequacy is becoming more and more evident.

Chalcedon and much of scholastic theology considers Christ as he is in

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-58.

¹⁹ Paul van Buren, *The Secular Meaning of the Gospels*, p. 7.

²⁰ *Honest to God*, p. 64.

²¹ Cf. Denz. 148 (301-302).

²² Bonhoeffer, *Christology*, introd., p. 24.

²³ *Honest to God*, p. 65.

²⁴ *Systematic Theology*, vol. 2, p. 161; quoted by Robinson, p. 65.

himself, almost as a philosophico-theological problem; academically this is a reasonable approach, but in the context of modern and pragmatic man it has very little to say. Bonhoeffer suggests that 'Christ is not as Christ in himself, but in his relation to me. His being Christ is his being "pro me". This being "pro me" is in turn not meant to be understood as an effect which emanates from him, or as an accident; it is meant to be understood as the essence, as the being of the person himself.'²⁵ Robinson follows this suggestion with his idea of Christ as 'the man for others', he continues further on, 'our relation to God is not a relationship to a supreme being, absolute in power and goodness . . . but a new life for others, through participation in the being of God. God in human form . . . man existing for others, and hence the crucified.'²⁶ From one point of view this could seem to endanger the divinity of Christ, but it can also be seen as a corrective to the opposite point of view which forgets that Christ is fully a man—and this is probably the prevailing view. Robinson maintains that popular Christology has been, and still is to a large extent predominantly docetic. 'That is to say, Christ only appeared to be a man: "underneath" he was God.'²⁷ This approach is not nearly so revolutionary as it might appear to be if we think of the way Christ himself worked during his public ministry. He never directly proclaimed his divinity, but he allowed his work and his teaching to speak for him. In the gospels the divinity of Christ is always revealed indirectly through the confession of another; we can think of the confessions of Peter or the words of the Centurion at the crucifixion, 'Truly this was the Son of God'.²⁸ Only once in the gospels is Christ directly proclaimed as God, and this occurs in John's prologue—'and the Word was God', but even this represents half a century of theological development.

The late Fr Robert Richard once said in a seminar at the English College that he thought that 90 per cent of our preaching about Christ should be concerned with Christ the man. In this I think he was saying the same thing as Bonhoeffer and Robinson, for the central fact in the life of Christ was his total and absolute dedication to others. It is the whole purpose and meaning of the incarnation—to live and die for fallen man, and so bring them back to his Father. In his second letter to the Church at Corinth Paul puts this in another way, 'God in Christ was reconciling the world to himself, not holding man's faults against him',²⁹ this is a total and selfless dedication to others which in our meeting Christ is the central issue. Christ was indeed fully God

²⁵ Bonhoeffer, *Christology*, p. 47.

²⁶ *Honest to God*, p. 76; Robinson is here quoting Bonhoeffer's outline for a book he did not live to write; cf. E. Bethger in *Chicago Theological Seminary Register*, vol. 51 (Feb. 1961), p. 179.

²⁷ *Honest to God*, p. 65.

²⁸ Mark 15:39.

²⁹ 2 Cor. 5:19.

but he lived and worked for us as a man, and I think we must keep the same emphases today; only in this way can Christ be seen at work in the secular city as he worked in Palestine.

In his introduction to Bonhoeffer's *Christology* Edwin H. Robertson remarks that '... Bonhoeffer is not prepared to find a category for Christ. His questions are not, "How is it possible for Christ to be both God and man?" His question about Christ is never "How?" but always "Who?". He will not even have a disguised "What?" or "How?" in the form of a "Who?" Every avenue of his thinking leads him to confront Christ and ask "Who art thou, Lord?", or to be confronted by Christ and to hear his question, "Who do you say that I am?".'³⁰ Christianity is not a system which can be explained but a message which must be proclaimed,³¹ and this is the centre of our approach to a solution of this problem. How then is Christ to be proclaimed realistically in the secular city? Bonhoeffer has three main ways of tackling this question: first, Jesus Christ is at the border of my existence—the question is no longer coldly academic. It affects everyone personally, and gives meaning and hope to their existence. Secondly, Jesus Christ is the centre and meaning of history—this prevents the first question leading to a purely personal and experiential religion, and places it firmly within the Bible and tradition and under the authority of his Church. In this way too, Christ gives meaning and hope to history as he is seen as the culmination of history; here we come very close to some of Teilhard de Chardin's ideas. And thirdly, Jesus Christ is the heart of nature—Christ, who is already known as God, can be seen and recognised in nature. This approach is certainly based on traditional theological categories but it does not use them, since we are not concerned with explanation but proclamation. Explanation can only be used to deepen the faith and understanding of those who are already committed to Christ, but we are concerned with those who have no faith or whose faith has remained completely undeveloped—they have the gift because of their baptism, but it has not grown as they have grown and developed. As Paul says, 'faith comes from hearing', and he was speaking in the context of the proclamation of the gospel—he himself had the greatest mistrust for philosophical methods!

Harvey Cox has been accused of moving from the incarnation to the resurrection in his appraisal of the secular city, and of playing down the crucifixion—there is a great deal of truth in this criticism. But I think it is a question of emphasis rather than a deliberate avoidance, and it is easy to see the secular city in the context of the crucifixion. Nearly all of his characteristics— anonymity, mobility and pragmatism—are capable of good

³⁰ Bonhoeffer, *Christology*, introd., p. 17.

³¹ Cf. Domenico Grasso, S.J., *Proclaiming God's Message*, pp. 18-21.

and bad effects—they can either liberate or cause a new kind of slavery. This dualism can only be fully appreciated and accepted in the light of the sufferings of Christ. Man was fallen and yet Christ became a man; he became man in order to redeem fallen man, and to enable him to take his fallen and now redeemed humanity and so to begin to lead a new life with and in Christ. The redemption did not remove the fallen elements in man: another way of putting this is in the context of baptism, where we first begin to share in the effects of the redemption—here original sin is taken away but the effects still remain and have to be overcome. This we know we can now do with the help of Christ. Because of Christ's death and resurrection we can commit ourselves to the secular city secure in the knowledge that through commitment to Christ we have the help we need to make full use of what we can achieve as man and to recognise that humanity is not yet perfect, and will not be perfect until Christ comes again to claim his own. This involves difficulties and dangers, failure as well as success; this is put most clearly in the opening paragraphs of *Gaudium et Spes* when it speaks of 'the joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age'; Christianity is fully capable of accepting the world as it is with no illusions, this is its great strength—the strength which gains from the sufferings of Christ.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the most disturbing things today is the fact that we have insecurity as our constant companion. We no longer have the relief of certainty, but on the other hand it could equally well be said that we are no longer paralysed by certainty. The paralysing effect of certainty can be seen in the dilemma of many priests today when face to face with the problems posed by the world they are working in. They are faced, at least in the greater part of the western world, with a people who enjoy a high degree of material comfort and security, and who are mainly concerned with achieving this or bettering it. They are faced with a world which has little time for religion, and many are unable to move into that world and confront it directly because they cannot speak a language that anyone can understand. For the completely secularised man the 'religious' problem is solved, if it can be called a solution, in the fact that these questions no longer arise. If they do arise they no longer have the same urgency they used to. Man has become or is becoming completely pragmatic; he is only concerned with what he can control, and his range of control is increasing daily. Questions beyond his control are for the moment, and for that reason, irrelevant—they can wait. For the priest these problems are acute—his training and the theological categories he is used to will not cope with what appear to be the main problems. You cannot be an apostle if

you have no language to convey your message, or if the language you have is no longer understood by those to whom you wish to convey it. As a result the message is misunderstood at best—at worst it is apparently understood and then rejected as irrelevant.

In the past we have tended to study theology not through history but in history in such a way that we have become cut off from our own times. The insights and understanding of the past are important and we cannot separate ourselves from the development of theology, it is there that we learn exactly what theology is and how it can help us to understand the great mysteries of our faith. It is there also that we keep in contact with the sources of our faith—the Bible and tradition. The insights as well as the problems of the past are completely immersed in the language and modes of thought of their time—and, of course, they cannot be understood except in their own context. But the problems of the past are not our problems, the development of dogma would be meaningless if this were so. No solution can ever be found to a problem unless that problem is first fully understood, and it is our first duty to discover and understand our own problems. There are several ways of approaching the problem of theological understanding: one is to take the subject to be studied and then to use a language, method and approach which is known to have provided many profound insights, and so to follow the same path and make those insights one's own. This is certainly useful and adequate if all that is at stake is one's own understanding and development, but our theology must be missionary and apostolic, it cannot afford to get cut off in the past.

What seems to be required is a complete *volte-face*: instead of running through history, gradually acquiring a firmly based understanding, and so arriving fully equipped at the present day, we must turn around and examine the present day for its problems, and not to begin our 'historical' approach until we have worked out a fairly thorough itinerary to keep our destination in mind. The main reason for this approach is that theology has tended to lose contact with the present, and as time has gone on this gap has widened to produce the kind of situation we have now. One caution: we must never lose sight of the fact that from one very important point of view the truths under discussion are eternal and independent of time and place. But on the other hand, they can only be understood in and through time, this is one of the implications of the incarnation. Another danger to be avoided is to prevent these truths, or better, this message, from becoming inextricably united with any particular age—including the present one. This would be to repeat the problem we are trying to solve. What Harvey Cox and others like him have done to avoid this pitfall is to take both ends of the historical spectrum—the Bible and tradition and the secular city—and first of all to

compare them, or to study one in terms of the other, the secular city in terms of the Bible and tradition. In this way we obtain a basis on which to judge the present day, and then theology can be viewed through this double lens. The insights of the past are not lost, but they are viewed in a way which makes them more relevant to our times and our problems. There are the beginnings of a new theological language here, or at least it is an approach which could well produce a new language. The effect of *Honest to God* showed that we have a ready-made audience if the message and the problems are stated in a way which they can be honestly and directly understood. Robinson's theology may seem woolly and misleading at times, but that is not the point, he had the courage and the insight to strike out in a new direction and to bring to light the problems which were worrying, at least implicitly, so many of today's educated but theologically lost Christians.

Finally, whatever we may decide or whatever may be discovered in the way of theological method and language, one thing seems to be clear in the writings of those who tackle the secular city as it is—and that is that it is Christ who must be proclaimed directly. It is only through him that we can understand and accept our world. He is God, yes, but he lived and died as a man. While it seems that in our age the emphasis of our preaching must be on Christ as a man, as 'the man for others', it must never be forgotten that it is here that we come up against the central mystery of our salvation—namely that Jesus Christ was not just a man, he was *the* man, and he could and can only be *the* man because at the same time he was fully God.

FREDERICK MARTIN

NOVA ET VETERA

LIBER RUBER

In the article on the Liber Ruber in *THE VENERABILE*, vol. XXIV, pp. 96-101 ('The Book of Life' by Stephen Dean) the author posits 2,762 as the number of students who had then passed through the college, although various obscurities in the several volumes make any figure conjectural. One particularly difficult period is the quarter century of Italian secular regime, when for a time the upkeep of the Liber Ruber was neglected, and other contemporary documents suggest that there were several students at the college whose names never made their way onto the official record.

The last entry in the original volume is in August 1783; after that the Italian Rector Magnani ceased to keep the record up to date, and it was not until he was replaced in June 1787 by Felici that the second volume was begun, opening with the note that all those who had left in the interval would also be entered. One student of that time, however, must have been eminently forgettable, for *Scritture 49:1* contains a '*Reguaglio delli Giovani esistenti nel Collo Inglese nell'anno 1786*', listing eighteen names, of which seventeen are to be found in the book begun the following year. The exception is a certain Richard Reddy, aged sixteen, who had refused to take the oath, '*dicendo di non volersi fare ecclesiastico*'. This list gives no information about dates of arrival, but elsewhere¹ there is a letter informing the Cardinal Protector that in July 1783 the two Delaney brothers and Reddy had agreed to come to Rome, and it may be supposed that they journeyed together, in which case Reddy arrived in February 1784. It is quite possible, of course, that other students arriving after 1783 may also have left even before the 1786 list was drawn up.

Volume two peters out in its turn slightly before the closure of the college, the last student listed being an Italian convictor who came in 1796, although several departures in September 1797 are also noted. This time it is a list of

¹ Scr 50:13:4.

the '*Stato delle Anime*' for the curate of Santa Caterina, drawn up in 1796 and revised in 1797, which helps fill in the gaps. This document² contains a list of all those in the college, and a note on their age. After accounting for those named in the Liber Ruber and the seven superiors who head the list, there are several persons still remaining. It is clear from the ages given that most of these are servants, leaving three teenagers unaccounted for. The first of these, John Cornesy, is almost certainly a student, and the second, Vincenzo Cruciani, is probably related to the Domenico Cruciani who comes immediately before him on the list and is mentioned in the Liber Ruber. The third, however, is last on the list, and probably a servant.

In the second volume, convictors (paying students) are mentioned along with alumni (those supported from the foundation), as was the practice in Jesuit times. Magnani, however, neglected to do this, and although three are mentioned in other documents there may well have been several others. John Kirk's diary³ tells us of two, John Denham from Civitavecchia who came in 1775 and two years later 'was taken away because, it was said, he was found covered with vermin', and Joseph Leoni who was here from 1776 to 1778, when his father's business failed. Kirk may have been one of the students from the senior camerata who sent a petition to the Cardinal Protector complaining that if a convictor named England were allowed to join them they would be caused considerable inconvenience, as his classes in Rhetoric finished half an hour after those of Philosophy and Theology, and they would lose valuable walk time waiting for him.

Thus there are at least six students, Reddy, Cornesy, Cruciani, Denham, Leoni and England whose names for one reason or another were never officially recorded, and while other documents in the archives may reveal still more, it is quite likely that there were others, especially convictors, who have left no record at all of their residence in the college.

A PROPHECY REVIEWED

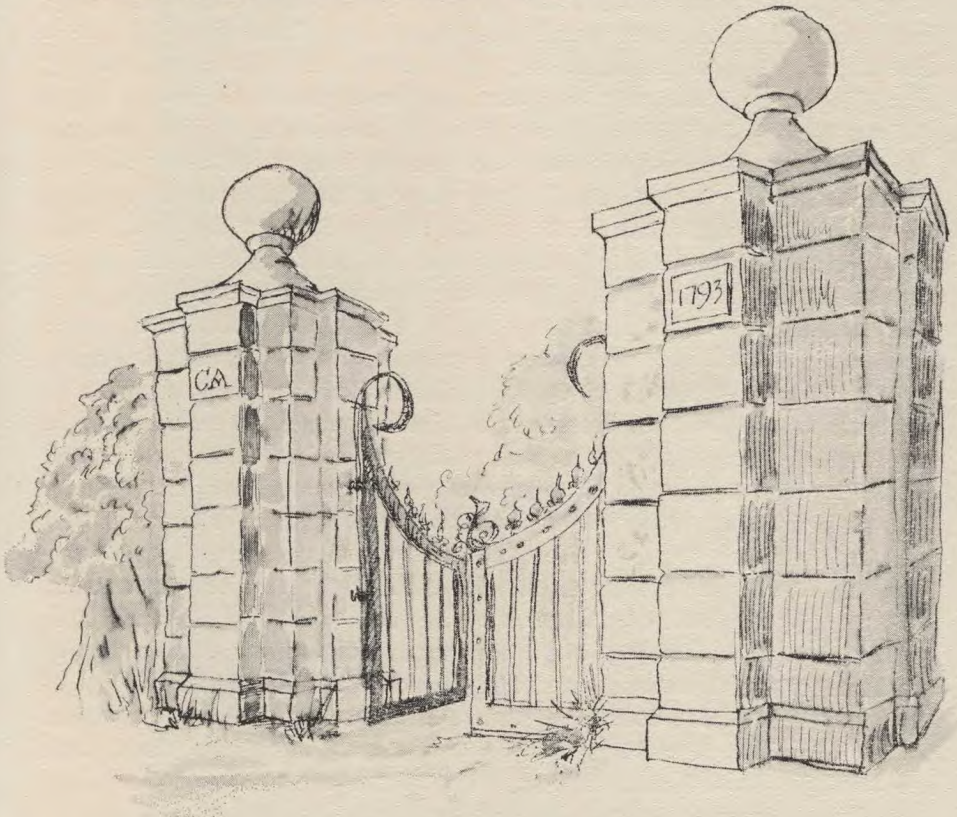
'Forty years on, when Rome extends from Albano to the sea, we will have to change our tune and sing a different song about the beauties of the Via dei Laghi—but by then Palazzola will be a hotel, and we will have moved further afield in search of our *sola beatitudo*' (from a '*Nova et Vetera*' of 1937 commenting on a recently completed road).

There are eight years to run before this prophecy must be tested, but whatever the ultimate fate of Palazzola, present appearances in the Albans makes one think the first statement, if anything, unduly cautious. True, the

² Scr 52:3:7.

³ Liber 851, pp. 38, 43.

beauties of the Via dei Laghi are still there for all to see, but every day the summer haze seems to have afforded cover under which the Roman City Fathers have stretched their multi-storey tentacles even further across the Campagna. To the north, administrative zone LIV already touches the shores of Lake Bracciano, and one wonders how long the castelli will maintain their individuality before sinking into the anonymous obscurity of the urban periphery. It would, perhaps, be rash to postulate a date at which this process will engulf Palazzola, hotel or no, but the sight of the *Sforza*, one of the few areas of meadow in the wooded Albans, must surely invite speculators to rectify aberrant nature by putting it under concrete.



Such a fate has recently overtaken part of the former college property at Monte Porzio, where the villa buildings have long been in the possession of the local *Carabinieri*. The olive groves reaching from the villa down to the Frascati-Monte Compatri road have for the last three years been bisected by a new road leading from the street into the village round to Finocchio. As

one approaches the left turn towards Monte Porzio from Frascati, there is a large gateway leading into the olive groves, the pillars of which bear the inscription 'CA' (Collegium Anglorum?) '1793'. Will the *Sforza* even have that?

FROM 'THE VENERABLE' FORTY YEARS AGO

The End of the 'Roman Question'

Our first view of the city that evening was perhaps the most impressive thing of all. Our proximate ancestors, and we probably more than they, have been accustomed to grand and solemn papal functions—if not a coronation, then a canonisation or a beatification—and have gone expecting something *commovente*, but who ever saw or expected to see the Papal Colours falling gracefully over the *loggia* of the Palazzo Chigi? The white and yellow, holding the place of honour between the banners of Savoy and the nation, exercised such a fascination over our eyes that we were in imminent danger of being run over. All the streets, and particularly the Corso, were fired with colour; only the Cancelleria and the other ecclesiastical palaces preserved their sombre gravity. At frequent intervals on the walls the *cittadinanza romana* was invited to stop and read a large red and green notice which invited it to appear the following morning in the *piazza* of St Peter's, and then later on in the afternoon at the Quirinal. Evidently there was to be some excitement. Even the old *carrozza*-drivers gave vent to their feelings in the form of little papal ribbons in the lamps or twisted round the horses' ears. The *Osservatore* enjoyed a popularity which must have been without parallel in its history, for all the copies were bought up as soon as they appeared; while on the other side the Italian papers made up for their long-imposed silence by an outburst of rhetoric and an array of photographs which only a confirmed habit of similar explosions on a smaller scale could have rendered possible. There was His Holiness and His Majesty, His Excellency the Head of the Government and His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, then the jurists concerned, and after that a host of other satellites with suitable lives of each, popular disquisitions on the rights of the Church and the fooleries of freemasonry. They had to live up to the occasion on the very slightest information, and they did it gallantly.

It was a stirring evening, and in the common-room that night there were few of the customary gita anecdotes exchanged. The Pact was the absorbing question of the hour, and those who had stayed in the city had the more interesting story to tell. A large old papal flag was brought forth from some obscure corner and hung in the room, and it was natural that the strains



Peter Burke



The above late seventeenth century print was recently discovered in the *Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna*. It shows the major reconstruction work of Cardinal Howard (1682-85), which transformed the college from an unorganised conglomeration of medieval buildings into the present 'palazzo'. Nevertheless, the Hospice church was unaffected and it is interesting to note the remarkable resemblance between the church as it is shown here and the less refined representation of the 1580 woodcut (VENERABLE, XXI, facing p. 160). It would seem from the scale that the church was about fifty-six feet in length. Two other less elegant parts of the college, whose antiquity has been recently called into question, are here fully vindicated, since the print clearly shows that the 'Montserrat' corridor dates back to 1685 and reveals an unsightly appendix to the third storey which even three centuries have not yet managed to excise and which now, in modern guise of glass and aluminium, is known as the 'captain's bridge'.

from the indefatigable piano should drift into 'O Roma Felix' and the *Inno Pontificio*. The more we reflected on the eventful day the more we felt it a source of gratification that Providence had placed us in a position in which we could say we had seen the transition from the old regime to the new. We were to belong exclusively to neither the one or the other, but to have lived in one of those periods of Roman and consequently Venerabile history which are the privilege of a few. Just at that moment even those whose memories remained still fresh with us would be wondering incredulously what it was all about—in fact the college had already received a telegram from high quarters asking for a confirmation or denial of the newspaper reports—while it would be left to the imagination of all future new men to picture the days inaugurated by the assailants of Pio IX. And so we went to bed, full of expectancy for the enthusiastic demonstrations of the morrow.

VIEW FROM UNDERLEY BRIDGE

Autumn 1968

The mellow stone velvets beneath my touch,
The mettled river shies away its bent,
Backing up its glitterdrops and dragonflies
To veil my eyes with dazzle; and the scent
Of circling trees that stretch to suck the sun
Steeps my soul; an artist's fleck of dabbed-on green
That breathes and strives and calls me to dissolve
In musk and light; and all that I have been
Is naught, for my mind is palimpsest
To crusted sores of sour success that killed
My prayer with knowledge of formality;
And grants that wonder-dawn that I had willed
Through stony hours; a glimpse which steels me now
To tread the gritty path to workday world.

MICHAEL SMITH

IN THE PAMPHILIJ-DORIA GARDENS

May 1914

The blackbird sings aloof
The swifts go wheeling round the sky,
The jackdaw chatters
The crickets shrill.
The hay-scent sweeps the tuft of pines.
The distance-mellowed bell
Booms from St Peter's,
Wafting around us
The breeze of Eden,
The peace of heaven.

H. E. G. ROPE

ON LISTENING TO A LECTURE

How can he say συντερησις
Or make profound analysis
Of love in abstract terms?

When all this time I ache with pain
Of only wanting you again
To smile or touch my arm.

THOMAS COOPER

NO EXIT

Listen to the scorn of old Roman houses!
Like wizened old women in the market place,
they watched it all, fondled each detail,
And waited just a year.
For it was round, behind, and in these ageless creatures
that it all began.
And knowing what would happen they concealed their spite,
beneath the similar smile of grasping women
in the market.
These battered hulks gave nothing but encouragement,
And waited just a year.

Now the breeze is blowing again,
just as it did before, announcing Spring.
Hush they say romantically—listen!

Do not heed the wind.
Avert your eyes from soon-to-be pink sun-splashed sights.
And walk away before it is too late.

Up on the hill grasses, trees and paper flutter.
Unlike ancient buildings tho', they are as children
and cannot be blamed for the previous year.

So stay on the hill,
And in another year you may laugh
at the pitiless relics from the past.

Or is it already too late? Let's be honest.
Despite the houses' scorn, would you escape now—
Even if you could?

DAVID FORRESTER

MARY

Mary mine your hair is black
Your face is dark and warm
Flushed with shame and eyes cast down
You fear your rounded womb.

Mary dear does God caress
And kiss those whitened lips?
Is the child you feel within
The word you bring with tears?

Mary child you feel the pain
Your face is pinched with drops
Sister sweet your lovely head
Is hot and wets my cheek.

Mary love your lips are red
The sky is in your eyes
Hands and mouth around your breast
I am your little child.

THOMAS FINNIGAN

BOOK REVIEWS

Italy. Muriel Grindrod. Ernest Benn; pp. 244, 1 map, 28 plates; price 42s.

The conversation may take place in the smoke-filled atmosphere of an *osteria* in the remotest parts of the Abruzzi; the local wine will have been urged profusely on the foreign visitors who have turned out not to be *tedeschi* and they will have returned the favour by concealing their boredom with accounts of nephews in London or Melbourne and their incredulity at tales of how the narrator routed the *Wehrmacht* almost single-handed two decades before. Alternatively, it may take place in the padded comfort of that Lancia which inexplicably took pity on the bedraggled hitch-hiker when the '*bravo giovanotto*' has finished yet another explanation of how he comes to be in that remote area of the peninsula and have some knowledge of Italian. In either case there is a certain inevitability about the pattern of conversation, such that any other topic serves as no more than a preamble to a monologue on the state of Italy, the pity that so beautiful a country should be governed by so inept and corrupt a body of politicians and inhabited by so unworthy a population.

Such an opinion of this country, commonly if somewhat dramatically presented by many of its citizens, and widespread abroad for a variety of reasons (reinforced by such image-fostering presentations as Barzini's *The Italians*) does a great disservice to the modern state, and makes all the more welcome such a serious work as Miss Grindrod's balanced study of the history, politics and economics of the Italian Republic. This is clearly not the book for any casual tourist whose interest extends no further than the sun, the sights, and the food; nor will its approach be welcome to historical Italy's 'more romantically-minded devotees, who deplore the noise and traffic of Rome, the crudity of the new bathing beaches, the tasteless ugliness of much urban development'. Leaving aside the material which may be found in any guide-book, Miss Grindrod presents an analysis of how the Risorgimento, the Monarchy and Fascism dealt with some of the political and economic problems of the country, and how the comparatively young Republic managed to survive the difficult post-war period, bring about the 'economic miracle' and face the particular problems of the *mezzogiorno* and the islands.

If the necessarily brief historical section reads like an article from *Epoca* (it talks of 'Austria's tyranny', Diaz's 'magnificent resistance' on the Piave, and how Vittoria Veneto 'redeemed' Caporetto), nevertheless the long central section is a masterly elucidation of the Republic's political history, and provides a very useful summary of the origin and aims of the seemingly innumerable parties. It deals at length with the pattern of power groupings from De Gasperi to Moro, showing the slow process by which the inadequacy of the *quadripartito* became clear and the need for a new political formula emerged. This realignment of the Socialists is seen, rightly, as the key factor in the last decade, as Nenni slowly freed his party from their alliance with the Communists and Moro persuaded his own right wing (in the face of Vatican pressure) to accept the measures demanded by the Socialists if they were to participate in government. This book was in the press before the last elections, but Miss Grindrod has the reason for the poor Socialist result when she talks of left-wing disappointment at the apparent lack of vigour in implementing the programme of reform.

A section on industry and agriculture is of more specialised interest, but brings out the scope of the Italian post-war achievement in the face of economic and geographical difficulties. The problems of Trieste and Alto Adige are treated fully, though perhaps insufficient consideration is given to the Yugoslav and Austrian case. A chapter on 'social questions' deals with the aspects of Italian life which are most obvious to foreigners, some of whom may question as a result of their own experiences the contention that: 'In general (health services) conform to . . . other Common Market countries, though Italy and Holland are the only ones to provide all treatment free, including medical attention, medicines, and hospital treatment'! A few paragraphs here on modern Italian literature and films is the sum of Miss Grindrod's treatment of the arts (though there are two plates of Nervi's *Palazzi dello Sport* at EUR and Turin), and the blurb's claim that there is 'an excellent commentary on . . . Church-State relations' is not justified. These limitations apart, however, this volume gives a comprehensive view of the structure and policy of the Italian State, and although this may be less diverting than an analysis of the Italian character or a guide to the country's historical treasures, it is nevertheless a well-written, highly accurate and useful aid towards an understanding of contemporary Italy.

ANTHONY LAIRD

The Companion Guide to Umbria. Maurice Rowdon. Collins; pp. 383, 1 colour map, 43 plates; price 42s.

Umbria, the heartland of Italy, is a region beloved of many an Old Roman. Whether we are first attracted by its Franciscan memories, the style of its churches—which offers a welcome change from the often sugary delights of Roman Baroque and which is a poignant reminder to the exile of the Gothic of England—or more prosaically by its being the occasion of a first *Long*

Gita, this region leaves an indelible impression on the mind and heart. Mr Rowdon has given us not only an admirable *vade mecum* for 'doing the sights' but also a souvenir to brighten many a winter evening in a Northern clime. In the same series as Miss Masson's *The Companion Guide to Rome*—incidentally, the publisher does not provide a marker ribbon as he does with Miss Masson's book—we are given not just a dry list of dates and paintings but a personal look at the art and architecture of a people. There is a useful historical summary before each town which is not over-detailed but at the same time more comprehensive than the average guide-book and the author has a pleasing habit of giving the origins of street names—always puzzling to a traveller. Thus, for example, he points out that *IV Novembre* is the date of the Italian Armistice and that the *Via Alinda Bonnaci Brunamonti* in Perugia is named after a nineteenth-century poetess.

Although Mr Rowdon has the annoying habit of pedantically calling the 'renaissance' the 'renascence', and of adopting an insufferably patronising tone when giving gastronomic advice—'if we are in the mood for heavy wine-drinking and don't want a headache afterwards this is the place to go'—his descriptions of the churches and museums are lively and usually just. Describing a side chapel in Assisi's *S. Rufino*, he likens it to a 'superb café (imagination will provide marble iron-legged tables and soft plush chairs). Anyway, it has nothing to do with prayer . . .' Of the presbytery he fairly remarks 'a glance upward at its frescoes will make us want to look quickly down again'. It is in his sallies into religious matters that Mr Rowdon fails. There is the usual crop of misnomers: the Basilica of St Francis is hardly a papal *See* (p. 85) and anyway, the Pope's permanent *Cathedra* is not in St Peter's but in the Lateran. Nor would I expect St Francis to be wearing a white deacon's *cassock*, embroidered by St Clare! (p. 152). The description of the Catacombs as 'dark, underground rooms that echoed with chants all day' is good rhetoric but hardly accurate while what it can mean to say that 'the first Christianity had been practised in Constantinople' is anybody's guess. The summary of St Francis's life-work as making nature 'the radiant possession of a sound and perfect God who answered grace with grace and was not vengeful or *indeed a person at all*' (p. 94, my italics) is odd to say the least. His open hostility to the Friars Minor strikes this reviewer at any rate to be in bad taste. Another cause of complaint is the sometimes faulty indexing: Cascia is indexed as appearing on page 353, when it in fact should read 355, and there is a non-existent reference to St Francis on page 173. But for all these faults, Mr Rowdon is an entertaining and sensitive companion and guide for any journey in Umbria.

THOMAS COOPER

Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century. Maurice Andrieux.
George Allen and Unwin; pp. 223; price 45s.

This is a translation from the French and belongs to a series called 'Daily

Life'. Now that our pattern of life has changed so much we seem better able to appreciate past periods of history with detachment rather than bias. No longer is it the political and economic link with our own day that attracts the attention almost exclusively: we find ourselves often more interested in the human experience of another time, without prejudice. This book and the series to which it belongs serve this interest

This book gives one an opportunity to enter into the eighteenth century Roman scene without the preoccupation of religious polemic. The longest chapter is in fact the one on 'Sports and Pastimes'. This is not to suggest that we keep away from serious topics, but that we keep our sense of life in the round. And in many ways there seems to have been a more rounded existence here than elsewhere in Europe even at this time: the peculiar nature of priestly government and a protection by church patronage and finance against many of the evils of the day gave the Romans a chance to enjoy themselves in a special way. The author does not miss his opportunities and brings us wittily into the midst of that witty age symbolised by the dialogue of the two statues Pasquino and Marforio. There are fifteen illustrations, many of which are contemporary prints by Piranesi.

It would not detract from the entertainment value of this book to mention that the author could be accused of being a little too detached, perhaps even arrogant, seeming at times to deal with his characters as though they were actors in a puppet show remarkable for its quaintness. There are also one or two noticeable slips: the Piazza Navona does not normally have anything like a market (p. 21), the reference must be to the *Campo de' Fiori*; Clement XIII is mentioned in error as preceding Benedict XIV (p. 191); the caption of an illustration opposite page 193 describes the Pope as 'placing the first stone to shut up the Holy Gate' (presumably a mistranslation of 'Porta'). Nevertheless the complaints one makes are very minor, perhaps the biggest one is the price. But this book makes a good present and one is amply repaid by the study of human nature afforded in such unexpected ways: whoever heard, for instance, of actors at a theatre piling up a stack of tiles to throw at the audience?

T. CURTIS HAYWARD

In That Dawn: The Thirteenth Century in Italy. Helène Nolthenius. Darton, Longman and Todd; pp. xviii+268, 48 plates; price 50s.

There is a considerable and reputable corpus of standard works on the *Duecento* and the schools of history with their different approaches still find differing interpretations. But *In That Dawn* represents an attempt in its general narrative to prescind from scholarly argument and give us a 'historical picture of life and society in thirteenth-century Italy'. The 'whole exciting spectrum' includes chapters on the Tuetons, the Popes, the people, the saints, the sinners, the faithful, the penitents, etc. etc. The author 'is concerned to show the contrasts of the period . . . the sordid and the glorious, the blood

and the blossom . . . the "heavenly" figures of Francis of Assisi and Dante . . . the medieval squalor and cruelty' which accounts for the somewhat artificial and antiphonal nature of the alternate chapter headings.

The author's 'warm and lively pen' tells us how 'tyrants roar through the land . . . peasants are hard-working, tradesmen corrupt and scholars hungry; . . . men make history and history makes men and because of this fact it is possible to explain the "phenomenon of Frederick" . . . the citizens were busy folk . . . the knowledge of every age builds upon the achievements of the past'. In her attempt to evoke the past, the author sometimes waxes lyrical. 'Throughout Lazio we come across their (the Cosmati) gay patterns and arabesques: an ambo where one cannot but sing, on a pulpit where eloquence cannot be restrained, in a cloister where peace cannot be destroyed.' We read also of the sleeping clergy in choir and their enjoyment of the pleasant company of the strolling players. Imagination also plays its part with the 'twelve bold knights knocking on the door of a Sicilian palace' in about A.D. 1250, and 'the emissaries of the conclave toiling up the mountain, tearing their silken shows on the rough stones of the mule-track' to fetch the future Celestine V. Some of this phraseology may be the fault of the unnamed translator, who is also fond of talking of 'cash' and 'Kaiser'.

The serious reader, however, can discern that much of the narrative is based on the writings of Gregorovius, Fra Salimbene de Adam and the stories contained in the *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores*. The author claims to overlook the objections to these and other works (e.g. E. Kantorowicz's *Frederick II*) in favour of their anecdotal detail and rich material, but this can lead to certain inaccuracies. The notes on p. 218, for example, state that Frederick II 'in 1229 conquered Jerusalem and other Holy Places' whereas the text on page 7 tells how he negotiated with the Sultan in order to obtain absolution from his excommunication. On page 24 we find that the *Duecento* 'not without reason is regarded as the period marking the zenith of papal power' which ill accords with the description three pages later of the situation at the death of Gregory IX in 1241: 'the excommunicated emperor at the gates of Rome . . . the papal states were in the hands of the enemy . . . in the Holy Land the Christian cause fared ill and Europe lay under the threat of the Tartars'. But as Daniel Waley in his *Later Medieval Europe* remarked: 'to interpret the history of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe as "the struggle of pope and emperor" is to impart a fictitious unity to a complicated theme and, above all, to neglect the feeble temporal resources of these two contestants'. Nearer home, we cannot admit that the shops of the *Via delle Botteghe Oscure* lie under the *Circo Massimo*. Scholarly discussion is confined to the copious notes with their full citations and frequent expansions of the material in the main narrative.

The *Duecento* is variously described as a 'period of reassessment', 'an ordering, an organisation', and the 'Age of Preachers'. It is the latter, with the other categories of *personae* that we mentioned above, that is most adequately treated. The names and exploits of battalions of saints and

penitents and minstrels are reeled off with a copious urgency for the sake of completeness which gives less space than is perhaps fair to the greater figures, except Dante, St Francis and Jacopone da Todi. But for the author (who is an expert and lectures in Medieval Music), as for St Francis 'music is not a past-time but an apostolate'. Music and verse play a major part in at least half the chapters of the book. There are copious quotations from profane and sacred verse. Unfortunately practically no secular music survives—apparently it was never written down—and we are left with only the hymns and chants. But the best hymns were French and 'most of the chants were third-rate plainsong, being little more than pastiches of the past'. The *Canticle of the Sun* has four mentions in the index and the *Dies Irae* one, while other important works mentioned in the narrative are swamped by the welter of detail.

Other chapters include interesting information on bells, guilds, universities, penitential exercises, painting and preaching. The author has attempted to write history from a few biased chronicles, and succeeded in producing no better results than her sources. The book is a pageant of mediocrity, over-detailed and pays scant attention to historical ideas, threads or trends. The Epilogue says that the author has 'tried to see the Italian Duecento as a struggle between heaven and hell, a great living mystery play, that was not a play but a history, with real living people playing their parts in one of Europe's greatest dramas'. We have a picture of the real living people, but the drama of the history remains a mystery.

PETER HUMFREY

The Poems of Robert Southwell S.J. Edited by J. H. McDonald and N. P. Brown. Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press; pp. civ+180; price 55s.

The poet's is a sacred task. In the aesthetic experience man unifies the manifold of his activities, the fragmented elements of his daily living and for a moment becomes more fully aware of his own marvellous unity, of himself as a person constituted by his relations to the whole of created being. He becomes conscious of himself as related to the Absolute Uncreated Being; in a word, he finds where he is and who he is. Aristotle spoke of catharsis, of the quietening of pity and fear, and he perhaps was pointing to that quelling of the passions, beatitude in rest which almost seems to annihilate concupiscence, repair our fallen nature and provide us with a foretaste of heaven. The artist, as the instrumental cause of this state in man, has a religious vocation, co-operating in the work of redemption by restoring the original harmony of creation in the intentional and affective orders and working towards that day when all things will be reconciled in Christ. The poet attains a presence-to-himself, the *reditio completa in se ipsum* of St Thomas, which he must communicate to his listener by uttering what Fr Rahner has called the 'primordial word'. His task is not so very distant from the priest's: both speak the word and both mediate the Absolute, the

mysterium tremendum et fascinans of Otto, to their listeners. The poet speaks to us of himself, he expresses himself; but the priest 'even if he speaks out of the innermost centre of his believing . . . is speaking the words of God' (Rahner). As Miss Brown so rightly points out in her introduction to the *Poems of Robert Southwell S.J.* the secular poet is often concerned with the fickleness of woman, we have only to think of Donne's *Twickenham Garden*, whereas 'the religious poet is the poet of a lover who cannot change'. Southwell himself saw his 'few ditties' as a reaction to those secular poets who had made the 'follies and faynings of love, the customary subject of their base endeavours' and who had 'so discredited this facultie, that a Poet, a Lover, and a Liar, are by many reckoned but three wordes of one signification'. For Southwell

Love, where I lov'de, was due, and best deservde,
No love could aime at more love-worthie marke',

and he was concerned to communicate that love to others. His poetry is not the self-expression of a lover's egotism and possessiveness of Donne's

What I will say, I will not tell thee now,
Lest that preserve thee; and since my love is spent,
I 'had rather thou shouldst painfully repent,
Than by my threatenings rest still innocent'.

He was concerned to share the object of his love, not just the feeling, with others and thus his poetry had a moral purpose:

It is the sweetest note that man can sing,

When grace in vertues key tunes natures string.

Southwell's poetry had a didactic purpose, a fact which can be seen in the original manuscript ordering of the poems reproduced in this volume. (Miss Brown forcefully argues that the order of the printed editions was changed to evade the Anglican ecclesiastical censor and to meet the market requirements of a largely Protestant reading public.) The poems are a structured work aimed at increasing and strengthening the faith and devotion of the scattered recusant flocks. We see in his poems the believing and proclaiming priest who has become a poet. And when this happens, it 'proclaims that *everything* is redeemed. The primordial words of man, transmuted by the Spirit of God, are allowed to become words of God, because a poet has become a priest' (Rahner).

Southwell was a master of paradox, of stating the unbelievable in the tension between two contraries; and in this he is squarely in the tradition of the Fathers. Leo's '*suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas*' becomes:

Beholde the father, is his daughters sonne:

The bird that built the nest, is hatched therein:

The olde of yeares, an houre hath not out runne:

Eternall life, to live doth now beginne.

The word is dumme: the mirth of heaven doth weepe:

Might feeble is: and force doth faintly creepe.

It is interesting to note here that the ascription of paternity to the Son, a concept perhaps a little strange to those accustomed to think in biblical categories, is a tradition going back through Dante's '*figlia del tuo figlio*' to Chrysostom's 'the Father of all ages, as an infant at the breast, nestles in the virginal arms'. It is a part of that mystical tradition which could call the Spirit the '*Pater Pauperum*' and which could allow Julian of Norwich to call Christ 'mother'.

The lover of things recusant has not too far to seek in Southwell's poetry for echoes of the first days of the missionary priests. There is a martial spirit about *New heaven, new warre*, perhaps equally attributable to the mustering of troops against the Armada as well as to the Jesuit training of the author. The priests have come to continue the work of Christ who came to 'ryfle sathans folde' and their souls too must 'with Christ joyne . . . in fight'. It is a pity that the critical notes do not mention the allusion to St Philip Neri in the line

O blessed babes, first flowers of christian spring
although the '*Salve flores martyrum*' is mentioned.

It is a long time since W. B. Turnbull remarked in his 1856 edition of Southwell's poetical works that he had often felt 'surprise and regret that no modern and complete edition . . . should have been submitted to the public, especially when of late its taste has been directed so much and so favourably, to the writers of the sixteenth century'. Turnbull's edition with its one hundred and four misprints in *Saint Peter's Complaint* alone did little to supply the need and had itself been out of print for many a year. Not that we should blame Turnbull unduly for his lack of critical apparatus; he had only the Wreiton edition of 1634 with its many unauthorised variants and the Heber manuscript on which to base his text. The all-important Stonyhurst manuscript had not as then been recovered after its disappearance from Bury St Edmunds. Those of us fortunate enough to possess a copy of Fr McDonald's bibliography of the martyr (issued to the Roxburgh Club for 1937) had long looked forward to a truly definitive text from his hand; unfortunately he was not to live to see his life's work in print but he found a fortunate finisher of his course in Miss Brown. In her lengthy introduction she gives a very adequate survey of the five manuscripts and two sixteenth-century Commonplace books and the numerous printed editions together with a useful summary of the martyr's life. As tutor and Prefect of Studies at the *Venerabile*, and later as Prefect of the Sodality, Southwell spent much of his life away from England. The length of his sojourn in Italy led him almost to forget English and Miss Brown cites several examples of the way in which he painstakingly attempted to regain his ear for English verse. The combination of innate talent and Italian education gave his poetry an assonance and melodiousness seldom equalled in English. We have long been familiar with the musical qualities of *A childe my Choyce*:

Loves sweetest mark, Lawdes highest theme, mans most desired light
To love him, life: to leave him, death: to live in him, delight.

We have waited a long time for a truly modern edition and this is what Fr McDonald and Miss Brown have given us.

It is in the critical commentary that the weaknesses of this edition appear. After giving us a definitive text and a solid introduction, Miss Brown comes sadly astray in her notes. Though her reflections can be interesting, her learning is occasionally a little heavily worn as when she feels obliged to cite Trent in support of the doctrine of perfect contrition! It seems a general fault of poetry books to tell the reader what he already knows and to omit discussion of the difficulties which puzzle him. While it is always difficult for the theological student to estimate which allusions to Scripture are obvious to the generality and which are obvious only to the reviewer because of his professional knowledge, there does seem to be a certain arbitrariness about the editor's references to Scripture. It does seem odd, for example, that while 1 Kings 19:17-40 is referred to in the third verse of *Christ's bloody sweat* there is no corresponding reference to Isaiah 63:1 ff. in the first verse. There is no explanation for the general reader of the word 'pelican' in the same poem whereas the more obvious reference to Psalm 137 is given for lines 41-2 of *Losse in delaiies*. In the notes to *The Nativitie of Christ* she mentions the reference to Psalm 90:5-6 but not the parallel one to Isaiah 40:6-8.

More seriously, Miss Brown errs when she tries to show that *Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar* is based on the '*Lauda Sion*'. Certainly the likeness of

In paschall feast the end of auncient rite
An entraunce was to never endinge grace,
Tipes to the truth, dymm glymses to the light

to

Vetustatem novitas
Umbra fugat veritas,
Noctem lux eliminat

cannot be denied, but

Christes Final meale

must come from the '*coena novissima*' of '*Sacris Solemniis*' or perhaps from the '*in supremæ nocte coenæ*' of the '*Pange lingua*'—it cannot come from the '*Lauda Sion*'.

Though sences faile, yet faith is not deceiv'd
is an obvious allusion to

Et si sensus deficit,
Ad firmandum cor sincerum
Sola fides sufficit.

And again,

... if the wonder of the worke be newe,
Beleive the worke because his worde is trewe

can be nothing other than

Credo quidquid dixit Dei Filius,
Nil hoc verbo Veritatis verius.

Furthermore,

He in his handes him self did trewelye lifte
is surely a reference to

Se dat suis manibus.

It becomes obvious that this poem is not a translation of the '*Lauda Sion*', as Miss Brown tries to maintain, but a pastiche of texts taken from the various hymns of St Thomas or, perhaps better, given the presence of material proper to Southwell, a hymn in the general style of Aquinas.

On the other hand, Miss Brown overlooks the obvious reference to the '*Ave Maris Stella*' in

Spell *Eva* backe and *Ave* shall you finde.

The editor's scholarship at times reminded me of another author who recently tried to find the origin of Jägerstatter's use of the phrase '*Nos cum prole pia*' in German popular works of devotion when the consultation of a breviary would have saved him time and trouble! In the notes to *Saint Peter's Complaint* one can only say that her scholarship becomes almost perverse. Commenting on 'The scorne of time, the infamy of fame' she informs us that *infamia* in ecclesiastical law means heresy, entirely overlooking the fact that it could just as well be *ob pravos mores*. Miss Brown further strains the text in pursuit of her *a priori* thesis that this poem is a comment on the state of the recusants in England. Thus where St Peter says:

Ah wretch how oft have I sweet lessons read,
In those deare eies the registers of truth?
How oft have I my hungrie wishes fed,
And in their happy joyes redress'd my ruth?
Ah that they now are Heralds of disdaine:
That erst were ever pittyers of my paine.

he is, according to Miss Brown, speaking 'of the ministry of Christ as it devolved upon himself and the other disciples, from them descending to the priests on the English Mission in the work of teaching, in the administration of the sacraments, and in judgment in the tribunal of penance' (p. 162). A simpler, and *teste* Occam necessary, interpretation is that Peter is reflecting ruefully on the glance Christ gave him after the triple denial, an exegesis which gives fuller consideration to the whole context. To follow the editor's interpretation means that after relatively easily swallowing the gnat of preaching in eyes rather than reading in them like a book (a common enough conceit), we must take 'wishes' in the strained sense of meaning the faithful who are wishing to be fed, and end up by gulping down the camel of making the 'Herald' into a judge and in some unexplained fashion talk of seminary priests first of all pitying the sinner and then condemning him! Miss Brown's whole interpretation rests on the nautical images in the poem's opening stanzas (natural enough in a poem about a fisherman). Because Trent called penance '*secundum post naufragium tabulam*' (DS 1702) Miss Brown concludes that the poem is an extended allegory on the sacrament of penance. A thesis very difficult to prove, and certainly not demonstrated here. It is

a pity that she overlooks the reference to 2 Cor. 7:3 in line 505 of the poem.

Nevertheless, Miss Brown has given us cause for gratitude in her establishing of a critical text and whatever the vagaries of her commentary, this volume will remain the standard edition of Southwell for many years to come.

THOMAS COOPER

Trimming the Ark. Christopher Derrick. Hutchinson; pp. vi+153; price 21s.

Another book about the Church and change? Yes, but a strikingly original one. For Mr Derrick examines, not the need for change or the dangers inherent in it, but the assumptions that underlie the current enthusiasm for change, an enthusiasm so powerful that he can call it a cult.

He analyses the cult into three phases. He shows that the first phase, a general optimism about the future, is based on a narrow selection of evidence drawn from recent technical and scientific progress, and from limited and local improvements in behaviour and education. In the second phase belief in progress is so strong that 'good' means 'whatever will inevitably happen in the future', or at least, 'whatever is happening now that helps the obvious trend'. The final phase, Obsessive Contemporaneity, is the dominant desire to be fashionable—fashionable being what influential opinion thinks to be typical of the present, not simply what is *de facto* happening now.

Not surprisingly, the outlook of Catholics has been coloured by these assumptions, and *aggiornamento*, 'renewal' and associated concepts have found a warm welcome. But the influence of the cult of change has been even deeper. Those elements in Christianity which bear closest resemblance to fashionable preoccupations in the secular world have been stressed, those which militate against them have been played down, and sometimes even rejected: and all this on the plausible grounds that we must make the faith relevant to modern man.

At this point Mr Derrick subjects the current euphoria to some severe criticism. Using the scriptural image for the Church, the Ark of Salvation, he insists that we must preserve a sense of balance and trim the Ark. Catholicism must be accepted in its wholeness, and undue stress on particular elements will mean distortion. Hence the thing that needs saying at any period is the unfashionable thing.

It might be assumed that Mr Derrick is a plain reactionary, a *laudator temporis acti*, but this would be most unjust. He accepts many criticisms of the Church of the past but points out that just as our ancestors in the faith were limited by the outlook of their times, we should be self-critical of our own limitations—again, the need for saying the unfashionable thing is clear.

He is healthily sceptical of some of the attempts to preach the gospel in the language of secularised men. He asks, and surely pertinently, whether the conceptual framework of our times, positivistic as it is, can provide a medium in which an irreducibly supernatural religion may be preached. Yet he does not despair. Every man has his Achilles' heel in the face of death,

and it is this that provides the Christian with his starting point. The preaching of the resurrection has no relevance until a man has felt the force of Eliot's words:

Life you may evade, but Death you shall not.

You shall not deny the stranger.

Although the primary purpose of this book is critical, the author has some positive suggestions to make about the Church in the modern world. He stresses the truths at the heart of our religion: prayer, penance, the cross and solitude. As models for our times he proposes the desert fathers. Theirs should become our way to Christ.

'We are more likely to meet that sweet and changeless figure if we pursue him through prayer and fasting, solitude and silence.'

WILLIAM FEARNLEY

The Battle for Rome. W. G. F. Jackson. Batsford; pp. vii+211, 34 plates; price 45s.

The distance from Cassino to Rome is just over seventy miles and along the modern *Autostrada del Sole* it can be covered comfortably in less than two hours. This is in 1969: twenty-five years ago the distance was exactly the same but it took the Allied Armies the best part of six months to cover it. A determined German defence exacted heavy casualties from the attackers and the natural obstacles constituted by the terrain, which must be seen to be believed, in this battle for Rome appeared to restrict strategy in such a way that an attack could only be made along Routes 6 or 7. Major-General Jackson's book *The Battle for Rome* sets out clearly and in a scholarly manner the history and the intricacies of what eventually became the battle leading to the liberation of Rome, and gives full credit to French General Juin for his tactical success in exploiting what the German Staff had not visualised—a surprise attack over the mountains between the American 5th Army and the British 8th. The author cannot conceal what was felt by many who served in Italy at the time: the fact that General Mark Clark, commanding the 5th (American) Army failed to achieve the real aim of the battle for Rome, the annihilation of the German 10th and 14th Armies. Instead of allowing U.S. General Truscott to cut off the retreating Germans when circumstances were favourable in May 1944, Clark sped his troops into Rome. The Germans pulled back and lived to fight another day which in this case became a year, until the end of the war in Italy on the 1st May 1945. Whether General Clark deliberately disobeyed orders from General Alexander historians will agree to differ. The fact remains, however, that the trap failed to cut the German escape routes and unfortunately it was the 8th (British) Army which immediately bore the brunt of further fighting north of Rome up to the Gothic line, whilst the 5th (American) Army continued to liberate Rome and proceed at a leisurely pace along the Aurelia as far as Pisa without much opposition.

The battle for Rome was lost before it began. When the Italian Armistice had been negotiated and agreed between Badoglio and the Allied Governments, but not yet announced, U.S. General Maxwell Taylor was landed secretly by submarine at Gaeta and brought in an ambulance to Rome, a Rome rid of Mussolini since the 25th July 1943, but prior to the announcing of the Italian Armistice on 8th September. He had talks with the then Italian Army Chief of Staff, General Carboni, about the feasibility and possibility of dropping an American Airborne Division on Rome to secure the capital before the Germans moved in. The Italian General Staff were unable to guarantee that the airfields round Rome (Ciampino, Centocelle and Urbe) would be held against German attack to provide safe dropping zones for the airborne troops and the plan of necessity had to be abandoned. As a result the Allied Armies were forced to fight every inch of the way from Salerno in the West and Taranto in the East, after the landings of September 1943.

In order to prepare for the final offensive at Cassino in May 1944 and the pursuit along the Liri valley, the Allied Armies facing the Germans had to be re-grouped. The Americans were placed along the West flank, with the Free French Corps of General Juin separating them from the British 8th Army. The Polish Corps of General Anders, formed from Poles who had come from Russia or who had escaped to Britain in 1940, were given the vital task of reducing the German garrison in Cassino monastery. The roads from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian Sea were literally blocked with columns of men, guns, tanks, vehicles and mules for days on end: one did not ask 'How far is it to ...' but 'How long does it take to get to ...' Bridges were inadequate and although every Bailey bridge in Southern Italy had been brought forward, there were still not sufficient to go round. The reviewer well remembers a delay of six hours before being allowed over one bridge and the Military Police were insensible to pleas, threats or bribes. The preparation for the battle included the dumping forward of ammunition and stores, the setting up of casualty clearing stations and the like and it was not uncommon to wake up in the morning to find that one's bivouac area, clear the night before, had become an ammunition dump, a tank recovery base or worst still, a formation headquarters. Fortunately the Royal Air Force had achieved air supremacy and the Luftwaffe was hardly to be seen. Otherwise movements by day of thousands of men and vehicles would have been quite impossible. Bottlenecks, some caused by bad staff work, others by natural hazards or accidents such as when an American 'Long Tom' gun (132 mm) slewed across an important route and refused to be extricated for several hours, were the order of the day. That all these formations were moved and were in position for the final offensive is a tribute, in fact, to the staff side of the battle.

On the debit side, however, one cannot fail to note how some simple factors were overlooked, with consequences which, although not disastrous, certainly would have been best avoided. In the crossing of the Rapido River, a most important element in an attempt to establish a bridgehead and thence

a breakout, the speed of the current was not correctly assessed. As its name implies, the Rapido has a very strong current; it is not wide and was within the compass of ordinary bridging material at that time available. Yet for a heavily laden infantryman, in a fragile assault boat, at night, it proved a death trap and many were drowned when the boats turned over or were swept downstream. Another unforeseen element was the use by the Germans of a Panther turret dug into ground level in an anti-tank role. Although these turrets had been picked up by air photographic interpreters, they had not been identified. Yet Italian civilians who had been forced to help in their construction had crossed the lines into Allied held territory but presumably their interrogation reports had not been taken seriously or had not reached the appropriate authorities. German prisoners had been captured and deserters had come across but this vital identification had not been made. The Canadians had no answer to this weapon when it knocked out so many of their tanks.

In considering the battle for Rome, one is tempted to ask whether in the first place it was unavoidable. The landing at Anzio, January 1944, had taken the Germans by surprise and Allied troops could easily have been in Rome by nightfall of the same day had the American Commander not given orders to the contrary. One enterprising Italian civilian in Rome, immediately on hearing the news of the Allied landing, leapt on his bicycle and pedalling furiously reached the beaches before the British troops had had their mid-morning cup of tea! Admittedly the Germans were then forced to bring troops from France, which presumably weakened their forces when the invasion of Normandy took place in June, yet it would have taken little more to make a landing well North of Rome, e.g. Fregene where the beach conditions were even better and not overlooked by the Alban hills as at Anzio. It is easy now to say what should have taken place, but the choice of Anzio in 1944 hardly seemed a happy one. The German armies at Cassino did not pull back to meet this threat as was hoped and even expected and the final battle for Rome became inevitable four months later.

Now in this part of Italy which witnessed some of the fiercest fighting of the whole Italian campaign, all is peace. The countryside has recovered from the destruction of war, industries have sprung up, the towns and villages have been rebuilt and the scars of war have healed. The monastery at Cassino has arisen again from the ruins and the thousands of Poles who fell far from their homeland in the battle for its capture rest in peace in the shadow of its walls. The Allied nature of the battle is best witnessed by the Allied Military Cemetery at Cassino where Canadians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Gurkhas, Indians and British are buried. It was not given to them to see in this life the Rome they had heard of and towards which they were fighting. To them we owe a debt of gratitude.

T. H. MORRIS

COLLEGE JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 1968-MARCH 1969

Last October we were still at the villa—all of us, where we had just finished the retreat. Fresh theologians back from England showed evidence of a happy summer in both conversation and physique, while second year philosophy were determined to convince us that they had enjoyed the villa. The new men looked a little lost on the side of an Alban hill, and the Spiritual Director was only half visible behind wads of cotton wool.

Meanwhile the college in Rome was being gutted again, and our return to Rome was delayed.

Via di Monserrato 45 was dusty and different. The Monserra corridor was only half its former length ending in concrete and taps. Beyond this a great deal of noise and visions of an exotic roof garden. The noise we still have; the roof garden . . .

Adrian Toffolo returned after being ordained at home. Michael Farrington was ordained by Cardinal Heard in October. *Ad multos annos!* A librarian(ne) was expected and so was a first library. Miss Jones arrived, the back stairs went, and books stood to attention. Borrowing from the library is now restricted and all prospective worms have to enter from the Cardinals' Corridor. Efficiency reigns where formerly there was dust.

Many a Thespian returned from England expecting to find a little Aldwych installed in the Common Room. Such was not the case. In fact the room looked a little lost without that Gaumont look. The potential was there in the form of a little man with a grin on his face and crowned with *Paese Sera*. You could read *subito* from ear to ear. By November his expression had changed to *pronto*. We had grown accustomed to seeing the bits and pieces of our old Wooden O carried upstairs, and were a little surprised to hear that it was stronger than the proposed new fixture. Stage rejuvenation was completed and a lighting complex installed. The permanence of the stage is a relief for bodgers and electricians. New furniture and a change of colour improved the rest of the room, though the general shape remains the same and one can still be forgiven for thinking of British Rail!

The delay in the completion of the Common Room was unfortunate in

that no real substitute was found. A new community room—the 'blue room'—appeared at the end of the '44' but was seldom used, apart from pop gatherings and philosophical 'think-ins'. It boasts a record-player, an unequalled view of the Cortile from behind scaffolding and a selection of Giles' water colours—Giles the Rector that is! These days after-supper-community-life is measured out in coffee spoons in private rooms, where formerly 'circles' were the order of the day. The community seldom meets except for Mass, and the Common Room is merely a place in which to read the papers.

Facts are more reliable than impressions, but impressions are more interesting. An impression one receives of the pre-Christmas months is that matters of taste and opinion received scant attention. '*De gustibus non est disputandum*' did not seem to apply. We prided ourselves last year on being rather progressive as a student body; progressive at least in comparison to past generations. The new term found us a little at odds with each other; more so than usual. One could detect a definite 'left' and a 'new right' into which people were unconsciously categorised. Inevitable perhaps, though slightly spoiling the atmosphere. Small matters like the introduction of a rising bell caused great friction. Should we have the Salve on the stairs? How could anyone *want* to sing Compline in Latin? And the most extraordinary interpretations were given to the setting up of a society interested in church music.

This year we welcomed Isaiah Aleme from Ethiopia, who is here to learn about 'the Pope of Rome and the Roman Catholic Church'. Isaiah is a Monophysite, and now quite used to being called a heretic, to which he replies that heretic or no heretic at least he can get married . . .

November saw the departure of Fr Curtis Hayward on a Mediterranean cruise and the arrival of Fr Cookson from Ushaw to confound the Greg with his Ecclesiology. Fr Barnabas Ahearne gave us a day of recollection and made a markedly personal contribution that elated some and puzzled others. The pantomime had its birth pangs and *Hadrian VII* and *The Cocktail Party* were proposed for Christmas entertainment.

There was talk of a philosophers' concert . . . With only two years of philosophy there was a shortage of numbers—some thought ideas—but after a short postponement the house was presented with a mixed-bag of phikosophical humour and seriousness. The press were kind but not uncritical. *Basta!*

Another social event was the renamed Auction for Indigenous Clergy (so named to further Monophysite-Roman relations). Mr Healy wielded the hammer with his customary panache and in the space of two hours we realised an unprecedented 200,000 lire.

On a more serious note, there was a day devoted to the war in Biafra. The liturgy was orientated towards the problems of the Biafrans, and we held a family fast-day with an afternoon vigil in the Martyrs' Chapel. In the evening there was a film of the war and a talk by representatives of Caritas International.

December was the month of entertainment and the inevitable summonses to rehearsals appeared at lunch and supper. Cryptic notes suggested that P.B.

was going strong with C.P. in the N.R. and His Holiness was having trouble with his cassock, not to mention his lines. All were very serious, and apart from the pantomime our sense of humour seemed to have disappeared. Many thought it a little ambitious to attempt T. S. Eliot. It was certainly demanding but the producer displayed an aptitude for his task and the performance was well received.

THE COCKTAIL PARTY

cast

<i>Edward Chamberlayne</i>	Thomas Finnigan
<i>Julia Shuttlethwaite</i>	Peter Carr
<i>Celia Copplesstone</i>	Paul Furlong
<i>Alexander McColgie Gibbs</i>	Peter Humfrey
<i>Peter Quilpe</i>	Francis Murray
<i>An Unidentified Guest (later identified as Sir Henry Harcourt-Reilly)</i>	Roderick Strange
<i>Lavinia Chamberlayne</i>	Michael Morton
<i>Nurse-Secretary</i>	John Hadley
<i>Caterer's Man</i>	Barry Rawlinson

Lighting	Martin Devoy
Scenery	Timothy Williamson, David Cawkwell, John Murphy
Costumes	John Metcalfe
Continuity	John Hadley
Stage Management	Barry Rawlinson

Produced by Peter Burke

On Christmas Day we travelled to Lilliput and Brobdignag with the cast of the pantomime. Our experience was akin to Gulliver's; there were small moments and big moments. Unity and continuity were lacking, so one was surprised to find Gullible still travelling in the last scene. Co-ordinating college wit is a thankless task; polishing it almost impossible. The leading man gave the performance some life, but general liveliness was sporadic.

GULLIBLE'S TRAVELS

cast

<i>Gullible</i>	M. Taylor
<i>King of the Lillipudlians</i>	T. Rodgers
<i>Queen of ditto</i>	W. Mellor
<i>Daughter of dittos, Pat</i>	P. Morgan
<i>Brother of above, Grunge</i>	G. Murray
<i>King's right-hand man, Pock</i>	R. Reardon
<i>King's left-hand man, Captain Crappen</i>	R. Lohan

<i>Bo'sun Buckles</i>	J. Marsland
<i>Basher</i>	A. Sanderson
<i>Tom</i>	A. Convery
<i>Dick</i>	K. McDonald
<i>Harry</i>	P. Carroll
<i>Agere</i>	P. Conlon
<i>Esse</i>	A. Griffiths
<i>Rose</i>	C. Larkman
<i>Crantz</i>	P. O'Dowd
<i>Cyclops</i>	W. Kilgallon
<i>Zeno</i>	M. Healy

Produced by Peter Kitchen

Of the two plays *Hadrian VII* was more of a spectacle. Ecclesiastical plays seem to be well received by clerical audiences, and this proved no exception. Faults in the play's construction were not altogether concealed; the actors did their best amid purple and gold, but perhaps the bodgers fell a little short of that Sistine Chapel effect ...

HADRIAN VII

cast

<i>Fr William Rolfe</i>	David Forrester
<i>Mrs Crowe</i>	Michael Griffin
<i>First Bailiff</i>	Timothy Williamson
<i>Second Bailiff</i>	David Cawkwell
<i>Agnes</i>	Seamus McGeoghan
<i>Dr Talacryn</i>	Timothy Williamson
<i>Dr Courtleigh</i>	David Cawkwell
<i>Jeremiah Sant</i>	John Koenig
<i>Cardinal Archdeacon</i>	Thomas Atthill
<i>Fr St Albans</i>	James Overton
<i>Cardinal Berstein</i>	Christopher McCurry
<i>Cardinal Ragna</i>	Michael Farrington
<i>Rector of St Andrew's College</i>	Michael Smith
<i>George Arthur Rose</i>	David Payne
<i>Cardinals</i>	M. Taylor, M. Smith, P. Carroll, R. Reardon, A. Sanderson
<i>Acolyte</i>	William Mellor
<i>Swiss Guards</i>	Antony Sanderson, Francis Cumberland

Costumes	John Metcalfe
Stage Presentation	David Cawkwell
Lighting	Joseph Moore, Simon Payne
Scenery	Thomas Finnigan, Antony Sanderson
Make-up	Charles Pilkington

Stage Management	Philip Carroll
Music	Christopher McCurry
Prompter	Francis Cumberland
Produced by Philip Holroyd	

After Christmas gitas the Greg and the cold weather failed to whet the appetite. This year there was the added gloom of illness. Hepatitis struck two of the bretheren. Fumigators appeared, rooms were closed up; plague seemed imminent. The Vice-Rector returned from England and emergency measures were announced. Thankfully there were no further victims and college life continued.

The Greg re-opened, and a week later Fr Brian Chestle arrived to work in the Vatican and teach second year Greek. Mysterious figures in black cloaks and beards espied near the *lungotevere* were identified as 'The Process' — type of Scientologist if rumour is to be believed. So far there have been no defections. Fr Jim Brand, though not a member of 'The Process', charmed us with a conference during his stay in Rome. Dropping into the Greg, he luxuriated in the thought of appetitifs in the bar before lectures.

Life between Christmas and Easter tends to be tedious. The time seems to be without vitality or interest. Examinations dampen the spirit, people become tired and irritable, and one drags oneself towards the Easter break. President Nixon came to Rome, BEA beat us at rugby, and it was Lent. The Rector issued a questionnaire on the college timetable, the March public meeting lasted a record twenty minutes, and the deacons went on retreat. Gradually one, two, three people departed for Fiesole. For many life was dull.

Such dullness goes with the time of year, but the months immediately after Christmas were not completely devoid of activity or interest. The footballers beat the Scots amid great rejoicing and we celebrated with extra wine. Rugby still continues with a fair amount of success although there have been fewer games this season than usual.

The 'dive', our makeshift gymnasium underneath the garages, which was equipped with a large wrestling mat last year, is now seldom used. Those who wish to take energetic exercise without recourse to the soccer or rugby field can be seen cantering round the grounds of the Villa Pamphilij.

For just over a year Thursdays have been completely free. This one day's freedom has gone to the college stomach rather than to the college head, and *haute cuisine* has become a favourite pastime, with supper on Thursday as the social event of the week. A little hard on the pocket you might think, but the weekly exodus shows no sign of flagging. The interest in food (no novelty) takes an active as well as a passive form, and excursions to the villa with lunch included have become very popular. Palazzola has been the scene of many a home-cooked orgy; one aspect of the place meeting with full student approval.

Freedom is a favourite word if not a clear concept. It entails many negatives and few positives. The negatives have seen the falling away of Compline

and the emergence of open-ended-evenings; a name which causes the Rector some distress. As mentioned before teacups abound after supper and so far there is little public evidence of a creative community. The Literary Society still functions, and the Wiseman shows signs of revival, but otherwise the weekly poetry group is the only recent innovation. This group reached the height of its popularity, as was the case last year, with a session of 'home-grown' poetry, selections from which appear elsewhere in this magazine. By far the most popular after supper activity is conversation; but then it always was. Only nowadays you can have tea with your talk. Tea groups tend to be open affairs—a hard core of permanent members with a changing clientèle. Conversation can be taken very seriously, and often conducted with great earnestness. The subject? Ourselves: what else? There is nothing new in that, unless one notices the sense of urgency. Perhaps here lies the novelty. Formerly it was said of the villa that it provided an opportunity of getting to know one another more thoroughly, but now this seems to be an all year round preoccupation. With all the conversation one wonders what there will be left to talk about in the summer . . .

A proposal to stage *Trial by Jury* brought to the fore an old *bête-noire*. Gilbert and Sullivan have been looked on with suspicion for some years now, so there was little enthusiasm for the project, and its success was doubtful. Yet, in spite of small numbers, Gilbert and partner were heard once more in the Common Room and were received quite favourably.

March commenced with daffodils and St David. We celebrated the feast with a Latin Mass and aperitifs provided by the Welsh, and on the twelfth we remembered St Gregory, but forgot the tank. The same day the nuns provided us with apple pie and custard, and Messrs Atthill, Payne, Larkman and Battle left us for their diaconate retreat. They came back to find some of the students a little bleary-eyed as the result of their exertions in a night-long vigil, in the style of the early Church, held before the ordinations. With the ordination of the deacons, acolytes and exorcists, and the conferring of tonsure by Bishop Worlock our reminiscences come to an end.

THOMAS FINNIGAN

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

We are pleased to be able to offer our congratulations to Bishop Ellis on the silver jubilee of his episcopal ordination.

On 13th May Mgr Alan Clark was ordained Bishop of Elmham. We offer him our congratulations and prayers.

Congratulations also to the following who are celebrating their twenty-fifth year of priesthood: Revv. B. Chapman, R. Fallon, J. Frazer, E. Holloway, I. Jones, E. McCann, M. O'Leary, B. Wyche.

Congratulations to Fr P. Cookson on obtaining his Doctorate in Theology last December.

In January we were pleased to welcome Fr B. Chestle who is residing in the college while working for the Secretariate of State.

Mr William Rooke and Mr Peter Morgan have been appointed senior student and deputy for the coming year.

The following were among those who have visited or stayed at the college since last October: Revv. Bishops: Holland of Salford; Langton-Fox, Auxiliary in Menevia; Moverley, Auxiliary in Leeds; Warlock of Portsmouth; Wheeler of Leeds; Clark, Auxiliary in Northampton (1938-45); Revv. Mgrs: Fahy, Loftus, McCreavy, Rees, Shaw; Rev. Canon Thompson (1926-29); Revv. V. Beddoes, C. Barker (1959-61), J. Brand (1958-65), M. Cooley (1955-62), P. Cookson (1960-66), B. Davis (1951-58), C. Hollis (1959-66), S. Lavery, D. O'Ryan, F. Pullen (1964-68).

OBITUARY

MGR THOMAS DUGGAN

Monsignor Thomas Duggan was born at Accrington in 1905. A pupil of St Bede's College, Manchester, from 1917 to 1923, he retained vivid memories of those years, particularly of the Rector, Mgr Francis Gonne, a personality whom he could mimic very well, and Bishop Casartelli, the linguist and oriental scholar, who resided in the college at that time. Having read successfully for the Classical Tripos at Christ's College, Cambridge, he came to the English College in 1926. He took his Ph.D. in 1929 and was ordained priest in July 1933.

He always retained a great affection for Rome and the college and once said of a visit he paid in 1938: 'I stayed too long; the pain of leaving was too great'.

After ordination he was appointed to teach English, Latin and Greek at St Bede's. Apart from an interval of four years from 1936-40 when he was Bishop's Secretary, he remained at the college till his retirement in 1966. His calm self-confidence and insight into the inscrutable minds of boys led to his appointment as confessor and spiritual director. An accomplished preacher he was much sought after for charity sermons, appeals and mayoral inaugurations. He had an enviable facility and humour as an after-dinner speaker.

Appointed Rector of St Bede's in 1950, he was an indefatigable administrator. Every corner of the college bears witness to his diligent planning and attention to detail. Gifted with a remarkable memory, he knew a good deal more than the name of every one of the 650 boys in the school, and could nearly always recognise and greet old boys who returned after many years absence. He was exemplary in fidelity to what he reckoned his duty: he rarely failed to attend the boarders' night prayers and addressed them for a few minutes with a *sermonicino* as Don Bosco used to do. In his instructions to the boys he put before them practical and simple spiritual guidance with an insistence in season and out on the essentials of sacramental life. In their dealings with him they received sympathy, encouragement and unobtrusive

charity in their difficulties; they could expect vigorous dissuasion from their eccentricities.

His own spirituality bore the strong imprint of his formation in Rome: a deep love of the Mass and the Roman liturgy. As Bishop's Secretary, pontifical ceremonies were meat and drink to him. His bland dignity brought order to the most temperamental of *assistenza*. Few Lord Mayors can have derived such undisguised pleasure from the wearing of their chains of office as he did from his prelatial robes.

During his fifteen years Rectorship of St Bede's it was a great pleasure to him to be host on numerous occasions to the Roman Associatio's examiners and examinees. He was delighted when in 1963 he was elected President of the Association.

The additional burden caused by the threats of reorganisation contributed to the severe illness which struck him down in 1965. His calmness and preparedness for death were a source of admiration to all who saw him. Skilled surgery brought him a further three years of life, but not a life of easy retirement. As parish priest of 800 souls at St Mary's, Billington, near his native Accrington, he said three Masses every Sunday. After his Christmas Masses he visited his brother Francis, parish priest at nearby Chipping. On returning to his presbytery he had a heart attack and died in hospital on 27th December 1968. May he rest in peace.

REV. JOHN GROARKE

FR MATTHEW GRACE

'Have pity on me, O you my friends, for the hand of God has touched me.'

These words aptly sum up the last months of Matthew Grace's life. Summoned into hospital last May, he had to forego the early summer holiday he had planned and underwent a severe operation. The hand of God had touched him; and held him for the next seven months. During this period of inevitable decline he managed to find strength to visit here and there (once to another sick priest in another hospital). Like Job he accepted his suffering in cheerful resignation. By the end of autumn his bed at Ince Blundell took him prisoner, and there, in increasing suffering, he died on Christmas morning.

Born in County Meath in July 1904 he came to Liverpool at eight years of age to the parish of St Francis de Sales and he and I entered Form 3b in the old Catholic Institute in September 1917. A year later he entered the seminary, where I joined his class in 1922. He remained at St Joseph's until 1930, completing his course in philosophy and a three-year period as a minor professor, before we both entered the English College together for theology. After gaining his licence, he was ordained by Cardinal Marchetti Selvaggianni on the feast of All Saints 1933.

His return to the diocese saw his appointment to the professorial staff of Upholland until he joined the R.A.F. in June 1943. He served as chaplain at various stations up and down England and Wales, and after his release in

April 1947 he served in a succession of curacies until his appointment as parish priest of Pulrose in the Isle of Man. Six years later he was appointed to the Church of the Sacred Heart at Hindsford, where he remained until his death.

Fr Grace's life was not one of great accomplishments—he worked steadily, a devoted priest, for the care of souls—but even this with a marked reserve of manner. Inefficiency and disorder did irritate him, and sometimes occasioned a caustic comment; but those who knew him loved him and retained their affection for him.

During these last months he showed an unsuspected tolerance both of his own sufferings and of all the unhappy attentions that became necessary in his increasing weakness. It was never easy for him to praise, but he had nothing but appreciation for his doctors and for the nursing staff at Ince Blundell. It was consoling to hear his gratitude for the visits of the clergy and of the lay people who came to comfort him. Finally, on Christmas morning, his master took him to his reward and spared him further suffering. Let us not forget him in our Masses and prayers. May he rest in peace.

REV. ROBERT FLYNN

MGR WILLIAM CLAPPERTON

After a short illness, Mgr William Clapperton died peacefully in Rome on the 19th February. He was Rector of the Scots College from 1922 until 1960, when he retired, upon being appointed a canon of St John Lateran's. From the time of Mgr Hinsley onwards, Mgr Clapperton was a close friend of the Rectors of the English College, and well known to generations of the students. Cardinal Heard, the Rector and the Vice-Rector visited him shortly before his death, and they represented the college at the solemn Requiem Mass at the Lateran for this great friend and outstanding servant of the Church in Scotland. May he rest in peace.

CATALOGUE OF THE ARCHIVES—5

In Volume XXIV of THE VENERABILE (pp. 216-221) we continued publication of the Archives Catalogues, finishing at no. 326. The next section comprises the 'Libri degli Obblighi delle Messe' 1696-1787. When the Archives were catalogued at the start of the Italian secular regime, the books then completed ended at no. 396 (1773), and space was left for future volumes before the beginning of the next section at no. 411. This space had been filled by 1787, and the enumeration for the next decade before the dissolution duplicated nos. 411-420. The nineteenth century volumes were later added to these in a new section beginning at no. 651. These Mass obligation books contain a list of the Masses for benefactors which were to be said annually, and the signatures of the priests by whom they were celebrated.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Period and Contents</i>
327	40 x 15		1696-1704
328	34 x 12		1705
329	34 x 12		1706
330	35 x 12		1707
331	45 x 17		1708
332	45 x 17		1709
333	45 x 17		1710
334	45 x 17		1711 (also contains an additional unsigned duplicate list of Masses to be celebrated).

335-376 inclusive contain an annual volume for the years 1712-1753.

377-383 are blank.

384-410 inclusive contain an annual volume for the years 1761-1787.

Libri 411-439; Libri di Monte Porzio. the account books concerned with the administration of the college villa and its surrounding property.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Period and Contents</i>
411	missing		
412	22 x 17	<i>Obscured.</i>	College debtors 1611-1685, reverse also contains general accounts for 1623 and 1684-1685.
413	28 x 20	Memorandum of old accounts from 1625-1635.	1611-1690

(The contents of this and the following volumes contain lists of accounts in Italian, unless otherwise stated.)

414	28 x 20	(Volume recently rebound).	1621-24
415	28 x 20	Memorandums of old accounts of <i>Creditori</i> and <i>Debitori</i> from 1630-1645.	1632-45
416	31 x 21	<i>Libro dei Censuali.</i>	From 1637. Reverse contains accounts 1611-15, and title 'Memorandum of old accounts'.
417	26 x 20	<i>Libretto di Entrata e Uscita.</i>	1647-76
418	45 x 17		1649-60
419	24 x 17	<i>Excerpta ex libris Patris Tunstalli.</i>	1615-1617, 1650-1668
420	34 x 21	<i>Giornale.</i>	1671-80
421	27 x 21	<i>Entrate a Monte Porzio</i>	1675-78
422	27 x 22	<i>ditto</i>	1679-92
423	27 x 21		1681-93
424	34 x 21	<i>Giornale</i>	1635-1721, and in reverse 1691-1720
425	33 x 22		1693-1721
426	29 x 21		1706-38
427	28 x 24	<i>Uscita di Casa</i>	1706-31
428	36 x 25	<i>Entrata e Uscita</i>	1739-47
429	29 x 21	<i>Collegio di Liege</i>	1708-51: accounts concerning holdings at Monte Porzio for benefit of English College, Liege.
430	missing		
431	28 x 21	<i>Capitali di Monte Portio (sic)</i>	1682-96
432	21 x 15		1708-74: many pages cancelled
433	35 x 23	<i>Libro di Diversi Debitori</i>	from 1721

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Period and Contents</i>
434	28 x 22	Memorandums for posterity of what here in Rome may concern our Coledge in Liege.	1694-1759: reverse contains other accounts 1752-81
435	35 x 25	Entrata e Uscita	1748-69
436	24 x 18	<i>obscured</i>	1752-82
437	41 x 28	Debitori diversi	1782-92
438	36 x 24	Entrata ed Uscita	1793-97
439	36 x 24	ditto	ditto

Libri 440-444: 'Libri Instrumentorum Missionis': these volumes contain notes and commentaries in Latin, concerning the responsibilities of the college authorities for the financial aspects of the mission, and records of business transactions (no accounts). Nos. 445-6 were left blank in the 1774 *inventario* for additions to this series, but one of these was later filled by a volume from the previous section, and the other by an account book of the mission.

440	34 x 25	A	1611-73
441	30 x 21	B	1609-21, 1661
442	35 x 24	D (<i>sic</i>)	1614, 1634, 1674-1708
443	35 x 24	C (<i>sic</i>)	1617-22, 1662-1716
444	34 x 25	Missione	1719-46
445	36 x 25	Spese ed Entrate del Mentano di Monte Porzio	1776-98
446	28 x 21	Padre prouinciale et altri	1744-73: account book of expenses for the mission.

Libri 447-485: 'Libri della Missione', dealing with the accounts of the mission funds, particularly property at Monte Porzio and Magliana, administered by the college authorities.

447	20 x 14	Saldo de Conti della Veneble (<i>sic</i>) Missione Inglese di Roma	1772-92
448	13 x 10	Missione Inglese 1773	1773-78: account at Monte di Pietà
449	20 x 14	Rincontro de Depositi al Monte	1773-83: ditto but more complete
450	33 x 23	L. Mastro	1622-24
451	ditto	A	1625-26
452	ditto	B	1627-29
453	ditto	C	1630-32
454	ditto	D	1633-36
455	ditto	E	1637-39

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Period and Contents</i>
456	ditto	F	1640-42
457	ditto	G	1643-45
458	ditto	H	1646-49
459	ditto	I	1648-49
460	44 x 29	K	1649-52
461	29 x 22	Entrata e Uscita	1773-84
462	29 x 23	ditto	1774-75: only three pages used
463	20 x 14	Depositi al Sagro Monte della Pietà, etc.	1783-93: as no. 448
464	37 x 26	Entrata ed Uscita <i>etc</i> in potere del Rdo Sre D. Marco Magnani Vice Prefetto	1784-87: few pages used
465	34 x 23	M	1668-74
466	34 x 23		1668-93
467	34 x 23		1694-1706
468	36 x 24	Missione Ingelse	1707-21
469	36 x 24	ditto	1722-38
470	37 x 25	ditto	1739-50
471	36 x 24	ditto	1751-78
472	27 x 19	Uscita	1649-67
473	46 x 33	Libro Mastro A	1744-61
474	46 x 32	Libro Mastro B	1761-82
475	44 x 29	Debitori diversi Dell' Entrata di Monte Porzio	1744-81
476	36 x 24	Entrata ed Uscita	1778-83
477	36 x 24	as 464, <i>but</i> nelle mani di Marcantonio Bargigli Esattore	1783-93
478	29 x 21	Libro Mastro di L. di Monti	1609-13: as 449
479	27 x 22	Capitali di Roma e della Magliana	c. 1662: notes on yields of farm at Magliana and other properties for the benefit of the mission. (Reverse contains accounts of 1625-26.)
480	28 x 21	Magliana	1617-22. Reverse 1616-22
481	29 x 21	Uscita del 1623	1623-28
482	29 x 22	Uscita della Magliana	1702-24
483	36 x 24	ditto	1725-48
484	35 x 23	Giornale della Magliana	1749-72
485	35 x 25	ditto	1773-77

Libri 486-512: The various account books dealing with the college possessions in the Duchy of Piacenza, granted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1581-82 (cf. Liber 242, p. 80). These properties, comprising the Abbey of San Savino, the Priory of Santa Vittoria, and their dependencies, were confiscated when the Jesuits were suppressed in Piacenza, later recovered by Cardinal Corsini, and finally lost after the French invasion of Italy.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Period</i>
486	30 x 20		1464 seq
487	31 x 21		1517 seq
488	31 x 21		1551 seq
489	31 x 21		1567 seq
490	37 x 24		1570-94
491	31 x 22		1574 seq
492	35 x 24		1581 seq
493	30 x 21		1583-90
494	31 x 22		1591 seq
495	36 x 24		1596 seq
496	32 x 21		1602-12
497	32 x 21		1612-18
498	39 x 25		1618-33
499	41 x 28		1653 seq
500	32 x 23		1677-93
501	36 x 25		1618-39
502	34 x 24		1693-1703
503	43 x 29		1693-1751
504	44 x 30		1694-1769
505	36 x 24		1701-19
506	36 x 24		1701-48
507	35 x 24		1720-63
508	37 x 25		1746-52
509	37 x 24		1748-67
510	36 x 24		1764-67
511	31 x 22		1768 <i>Inventario</i>
512	50 x 39		1781-89

Errata in the last section of this Catalogue, in THE VENERABILE, XXIV, no. 3.

- no. 187 for 1649-Aug 1642 read 1649-Aug 1652
- no. 194 should read 194-5
- no. 198 for 25 x 23 read 35 x 23
- no. 214 for 27 x 24 read 37 x 24
- no. 260 for 25 x 26 read 35 x 26
- no. 282 for 1630-56 read 1580-1656
- no. 302 for 1639 read 1693
- no. 314 for 1648-65 read 1648-55