

THE
VENERABILE

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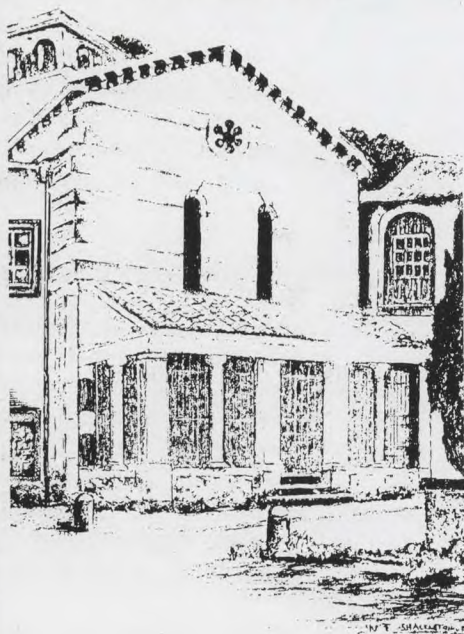
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THE VENERABLE 1995

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| <i>Editorial</i> | Joe Jordan |
| <i>Front Cover</i> | Cherry &c. |
| <i>Business Manager</i> | David Potter |

The Editor welcomes correspondence both on aspects of the College's life and history, and enquiries about subscriptions, change of address and back copies, etc. Please write to:

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Editorial

Welcome to this year's "Venerabile". We have gone to press slightly later this year in order to accommodate the Old Romans' feature in its full glory and add all Old Romans to our circulation! We hope you enjoy this issue, which has taken on a "special" feel with the inclusion of many fine articles celebrating the anniversary of the deaths of Cardinals Allen and Howard. We are especially grateful to Eamon Duffy for the lead article, an important work already footnoted in 'Recusant History' and likely to become the definitive piece on this subject.

As my second year as editor comes to a close, I am delighted to report that the Venerabile's circulation has doubled, its size and depth and range have increased considerably, and the subscribers' responses have been positive and encouraging. I take little credit for this; it is the invaluable contribution of the writers and the vibrant, lively atmosphere in the College that spills over into this publication that have inspired its growth and success.

It has been a hectic and important year for the College, and we are all delighted that next year's intake is likely to be the biggest in recent College history and that we shall be full to the brim! The "Third Spring" is here and we are delighting in its flowering! I am grateful for all contributions as letters or articles. I think this year's issue will prompt much interest and reaction. I look forward to any comments, suggestions and criticisms you may have.

My thanks for this issue extend to David Potter, the current business manager, Paul Duxbury and Steve Billington who have done that thankless task over the last year, Cherry & c. Studio and Snapes of Preston for the production side, but most of all the contributors and you, the readers and subscribers. Best wishes for the coming academic year.

**Joe Jordan,
Editor**

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William Cardinal Allen

1532-1594

In May 1582 the papal Nuncio in Paris wrote to Cardinal Galli, Pope Gregory XIII's Secretary of State, to update him on yet another scheme to reconvert England and Scotland to the Catholic faith. The plan had been concocted by the Spanish Ambassador in London, Don Bernardina Mendoza, in consultation with Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox, the French Duke de Guise, and the Jesuits William Creighton and Robert Parsons. It involved landing an invasion force of 8,000 Spanish and Italian soldiers in Scotland. Expanded to 20,000 by an expected rush of devout local recruits, this army would march south into England, overthrow Elizabeth, liberate Mary Queen of Scots, and set her on the throne. This half-baked scheme, which was welcomed by the Pope as a glorious new crusade, needed a religious figurehead who could command the loyalty of all English Catholics and serve as a rallying-point for both soldiers, gentry and the devout Catholic faithful. Everyone agreed that there was only one possible choice. The President of the English College at Rheims, William Allen, should be appointed to the key post in the north of England, the bishopric of Durham. Allen, the nuncio claimed, was a man

“whose authority and reputation stand so high with the whole nation that his mere presence...will have a greater effect with the English than several thousand soldiers...all the banished gentlemen bear him such reverence that at a word of his they would do anything.”¹

Five years earlier Mary Queen of Scots herself had written to Doctor Allen, expressing her conviction that “the good opinion every one of them hath of yow” was the best hope of bringing “reunion and reconcilment” of the faction-ridden English Catholics, and she expressed her confidence in him by giving him *carte blanche* to use her name in his activities.² In August 1587 Sixtus V recognised Allen's role in the preservation of English Catholicism by appointing him “Cardinal of England”, and he took formal direction of Roman affairs relating to England from then till his death in October 1594.

The man courted and honoured in this way by princes, popes, politicians and plotters, was a schoolmaster and pamphleteer who in another age might well have enjoyed an uneventful career in a minor academic post, or ended his days in a cathedral prebend or a north-country rectory. Instead he found himself manoeuvred by circumstance and his own strong convictions to the centre of the European stage. In the pantheon of English Catholic heroes he features as a saintly and eirenic patriarch, the founder of Douai College, and later, of the Venerable, the originator of the whole notion of the Elizabethan mission, and hence the man who, more than anyone else, was responsible for turning the English Catholic community from ignoble and demoralised external conformity in their parish churches, to principled religious resistance. He wrote some of the best prose of the Elizabethan age, defending the integrity of his persecuted community, and he was one of the moving spirits behind the Rheims-Douay version of the Bible. He was a man of peace, whom Catholics of all parties and persuasions respected and obeyed, and who, so long as he lived, was able to hold together even the rival bodies of Jesuits and secular clergy. Above all, from 1574 Allen sent a stream of young priests from his Colleges to England, in many cases to prison, torture and execution. The Elizabethan regime insisted that these men died for treason: Allen eloquently maintained that they died purely for their religion. Two generations of saints, martyrs and confessors looked to him as their spiritual inspiration, their protector, their father.

This picture of Allen is perfectly accurate as far as it goes, but it leaves a great deal out, for Allen was also a political figure of some ambivalence. From 1572 at the latest he was actively involved in a series of plots for the deposition of Queen Elizabeth and the forcible reconversion of England. In 1581 and in 1584 he published two skilled and moving defences of the non-political nature of the Catholic mission. "No man can charge us," he insisted, "of any attempt against the realm or the prince's person", and he absolutely repudiated any "mislike" of Elizabeth and her ministers "whose persons, wisdoms, moderation and prudence in Government, and manifold graces, we do honour with al our hart in al things: excepting matters incident to Religion".³ But for Allen that phrase "matters incident to Religion" was a very wide rubric, and he was being economical with the truth, to put it mildly, in affirming his loyalty and respect to Elizabeth and her ministers. For, by any standard recognised in Elizabethan England, Allen was a traitor. Even as he wrote his protestations of innocence he was up to his neck in political schemes for the deposition of Elizabeth. Sixtus V created him Cardinal of England, bad-temperedly and with some reluctance, under immense pressure from Philip II of Spain and his ambassador in Rome, Count Olivares, and Allen's appointment was universally and correctly understood as an integral part of the "Enterprise of England", an unmistakable signal of the imminence of the Armada. Inevitably, he was intended to be Cardinal Legate and Archbishop of Canterbury when Spanish forces invaded England and reimposed Catholicism. It was Allen who was chosen to summon Englishmen to rally to the Spanish flag in 1588 in a pamphlet attack on Elizabeth so savage and so scurrilous that generations of Catholic historians preferred to believe that someone else, probably a Jesuit, had written it. For all his transparent private integrity and the undoubted warmth and generosity of his temperament, Allen is a complex figure, whose career illustrates the dilemmas, and the deviousness, forced upon good men in an age of religious violence.



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1. Formation.

Allen was born in 1532 into a gentry family at Rossall in the Fylde of Lancashire, one of the most conservative parts of England. Even at the end of the sixteenth century large tracts of Lancashire would be barely touched by the forces of reformation. Allen never set foot in England after his second departure for the Netherlands in 1565, and Lancashire as he remembered it in the early 1560s became his vision of grass-roots England. This England of the mind was populated by robust northern gentry and farmers who did not believe a word of the new religion whose services they were forced to attend, in contrast to the effete south with its merchants, shopkeepers and courtiers who, he knew, were much infected with heresy.⁴ As late as 1584 he still cherished the illusion that the majority of the population were Catholic at heart, and that Protestantism was sustained only by “the partiality of a few powerable persons”.⁵

Oxford had an even profounder effect on him. His early adult years were spent first as an arts student during the stormy years of the Edwardian reformation, and then as a fellow of Oriel and Principal of St Mary’s Hall,⁶ in the triumphant period of Catholic restoration under Queen Mary. Lancashire and Oxford marked him for life. All his essential convictions were in place by the time he was thirty, and he never abandoned or altered the perspective on English affairs and the nature of the English reformation which he gained from his conservative home background and from the easy and almost total reversal of Protestantism in which he participated in the Marian university.

Allen went up to Oxford in 1547, took his BA in 1550, and was immediately elected fellow of his College, Oriel. To a greater extent even than Cambridge, Oxford had proved highly resistant to Protestantism, and Allen’s student opinions were formed in an intensely and militantly orthodox environment. The Edwardian regime tried to bulldoze the University into the new religion by a combination of sackings and promotions. From 1548 religious controversy in Oxford was fuelled by the presence there of the Italian reformer Peter Martyr as Regius Professor of theology. Allen’s tutor, Dr Morgan Phillips, (nick-named “the sophister” for his debating skills) played a prominent role on the Catholic side in a great set-piece debate against Martyr at the end of May 1549.⁷

Despite Martyr’s efforts and mounting government pressure, however, Oxford remained a largely Catholic University, and the accession of Queen Mary in 1553 triggered a heady period of Catholic restoration, into which Allen was quickly drawn. Two new Catholic colleges, Trinity and St John’s, were founded, the latter with special provision for the teaching of canon law. Catholic scholars ousted under the Edwardian regime were restored, like Richard Smyth, who took up once again the Regius Chair from which he had been ejected in favour of Peter Martyr - Smyth would preach at the burning of Latimer and Ridley in Oxford in 1555. But the Oxford counter-reformation was also fed from Europe: in particular the Queen’s marriage brought to the University a series of distinguished Spanish theologians. Cardinal Pole, as Chancellor of the University, appointed the Dominican Fray Bartolome Caranza, future Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, to conduct a formal visitation on his behalf to purge the University of heresy and disorder. Caranza’s theological pedigree should warn us against easy assumptions that this Spanish influence was in any straightforward sense “reactionary”, for he was an Erasmian, and by the standards of the time a theological liberal. Despite his ultimately exalted office he was spectacularly to fall victim to the Spanish Inquisition in his own country, and spent the last twenty years of his life in jail. A brilliant Valladolid theologian, Juan de Villa Garcia, succeeded Smyth as Regius Professor in 1556, and was instrumental in the re-

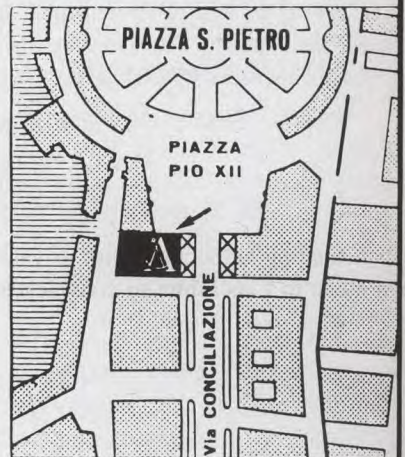
establishment of a Dominican house in Oxford in the following year. Another Dominican, Peter de Soto, reintroduced the formal teaching of scholastic theology: he was credited with restoring Oxford theology single-handedly to its pre-reformation state of shining orthodoxy. Allen would never share the suspicion many even of his Catholic fellow-countrymen felt towards Spain and all things Spanish: he never budged from the perception of the Spaniards as champions of Catholic truth which he formed in these Oxford years.⁸

In 1556 he succeeded his tutor Morgan Phillips as Principal of St Mary's Hall, a post which involved some basic undergraduate teaching for the Arts course but was essentially that of tutor to a couple of dozen unruly undergraduates. There, and as Proctor for two successive years, he was actively involved in the Marian purge of the University, and the religious revival which was to produce a remarkable generation of Catholic students. Among them were Gregory Martin, subsequently Allen's colleague and friend and translator of the Rheims-Douai Bible, and Thomas Stapleton, one of the most voluminous, learned and bitter-tongued of counter-reformation theologians. Seven products of Marian Oxford would go on to become Jesuits, nearly thirty would become seminary priests.⁹

These men of Marian Oxford were a new breed, less tolerant or at any rate less easy-going than their predecessors. Edward's reign had thrown a starker light on the choices between Rome and reformation, and issues which had been fudged or genuinely obscure in Henry's reign were now visible for what they were. Men now understood better the need to take sides, and take sides they did. Thomas Harding, who had himself been an ardent disciple of Peter Martyr and a proselytising Protestant in Edward's reign, had not a good word for his former fellow-Protestants - they were "theeves", "Ministers of Antichrist", "loose Apostates", "apes", driven by profane malice, rancour and spite. Thomas Stapleton

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would one day publish an entire lecture devoted to a discussion of whether heretics were chiefly motivated by wickedness or low cunning.¹⁰ Allen fully shared these attitudes. He was almost certainly a witness of Cranmer's Oxford trial and burning, but if so he felt no pity for the old man's agonised indecision and successive recantations, describing him later as that "notorious perjured and oft relapsed apostate, recanting, swearing, and forswearing at every turn".¹¹ He wholeheartedly endorsed the Marian counter-reformation, including the persecution of Protestants. Why, he asked "should any man complain or think strange for executing the laws which are as ancient, as general and as godly against heretics as they are for the punishment of traitors, murderers, or thieves?" Those who shed their blood for heresy "can be no martyrs but damnable murderers of themselves".¹² For the men of his generation, there could be no halting between opinions. Right was right, wrong was wrong, and the Catholics had a monopoly on right: as Allen memorably put it, "To be shorte, Truth is the Churchis dearlinge, heresy must have her maintenaunce abrode".¹³

Catholicism at Allen's Oxford, then, was upbeat, pugnacious, articulate. It was also highly successful. By the end of Mary's reign not a stone was left on a stone of the Protestant coup which had taken place in Edward's reign. John Jewel told Bullinger that in the University "there are scarcely two individuals who think with us...That despicable friar Soto, and another Spanish monk...have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness".¹⁴ But the extent of that triumph was to become evident only when it had in turn been overthrown. Mary's reign was too short, and the millions of words of controversy in refutation of the new religion and its advocates which gushed from Allen and his colleagues, Harding, Stapleton, Sanders and Smith, in exile in the 1560s were in a sense the late-gathered first-fruits of Marian Oxford and its counter-reformation.

The accession of Queen Elizabeth put an end to Allen's Oxford career. Between 1559 and 1561 all but one of the Catholic heads of Colleges were ejected, and Allen left his post as Principal of St Mary's Hall. He lingered a while in the University, which remained largely Catholic in opinion despite the government purge, but in 1561 he joined the drift of displaced Marian academics to the catholic Low Countries.¹⁵ During the brief Protestantising of Oxford under Edward many Oxford men had gone to the University of Louvain to continue theological work in a Catholic environment, and Louvain once more drew the new wave of Oxford exiles. Like others, Allen seems to have led a hand-to-mouth existence there, continuing the theological studies he had begun at Oxford and supplementing his income with private tutoring. In 1562 a severe bout of illness brought him home to Lancashire to convalesce, and it was here that his view of the Elizabethan reformation took its final form.

It is now generally accepted that the Elizabethan church took more than a decade to make serious inroads on the Catholic convictions and instincts of the population at large. What Professor Collinson has called the "birth-pangs of Protestant England" were protracted and painful, and most of the adult population in 1559 viewed the new religious regime with something very far short of enthusiasm.¹⁶ Yet by and large the parish clergy conformed to the new order, serving Elizabeth as they had once served Mary, and most parishioners, whatever their reservations, followed the clergy's lead and continued to attend services in their parish church. Social conformity, as much as the new twelve-penny fine for absence, brought the people to sit under the new teaching.¹⁷

Allen was horrified to discover these compromises among his Lancashire

neighbours, where he found that not only did the majority of the Catholic laypeople attend Prayer-Book services, many even communicating, but also that many priests "said mass secretly and celebrated the heretical offices and supper in public, thus becoming partakers often on the same day (O horrible impiety) of the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of devils". He launched a vigorous campaign to persuade them to "abstain altogether from the communion, churches, sermons, books and all spiritual communication with heretics". We perhaps catch an echo of the overconfidence of this cocksure young man from Oxford in his later account of how he went from one gentry household to another and "proved by popular but invincible arguments that the truth was to be found nowhere else save with us Catholics".¹⁸

Allen remained in England for three years, though his polemical activities made Lancashire too hot to hold him. He spent some time in the Oxford area, where he was able to note at first hand the persistence of Catholicism within the University, and then in the household of the officially Protestant but fellow-travelling Duke of Norfolk. In 1565, the year in which he was finally deprived of his Oriel fellowship for non-residence, he left England for the last time, settling this time in Malines where he was ordained to the priesthood, and where he found a teaching post in the Benedictine college there.¹⁹

II. Exile.

Throughout these years Allen was also establishing himself as a writer. The polemical programme he developed in Lancashire and afterwards was distilled into a "Scroll of Articles" which he himself never published, but which circulated in manuscript and which was adopted as the basis for controversial treatises by several other writers.²⁰ Shortly after settling in Malines he published a treatise defending Catholic belief in

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Purgatory. This had been largely written three years before as a contribution to the controversy stirred up by John Jewel's *Apology* for the Church of England.²¹ It is a vigorous book, which shows the ferocity of Allen's rejection of Protestantism - "this wasting heresy, ...nothing else but a canker of true devotion, an enemy to spirituall exercise, a security and quiet rest in sinne" a "gathered body of no faithe", taught by "cursed Calvin...that miserable forsaken man".²² It also demonstrates his way with words, and his eye for the telling phrase - as in his summary of the disastrous moral effects of the doctrine of justification by faith: "Feasting hathe wonne the field of fasting: and chambering allmost bannished chastitye", or his contemptuous dismissal of Protestant apologists as obscure denizens of the night - "owle light or moonshyne I trowe, or mirke midnight were more fit for theyre darke workes and doctrine, our way is over much trodden for theves".²³

But the *Defense and Declaration* is far more than a polemical put-down. It contains some of the richest English theological writing of the sixteenth century, and the tendency to disparage Allen as a "mild, scholarly, rather dull man", "in no sense distinguished" compared to the other Louvainists, altogether fails to take account of the quality of his writing.²⁴ He was indeed singled out by C S Lewis as the author of prose on a par with that of Richard Hooker,²⁵ and the *Defense and Declaration* in particular reveals his writing at its most powerful. Consider the theological and rhetorical splendour of this passage on the Church, which reveals, incidentally, something of his own passionate dedication to the vision of a truly Catholic Church:

"This socyety is called in oure crede, *communio sanctorum*, the communion of Sanctes, that is to say a blessed brotherhood under Christe the heade, by love and religion so wroght and wrapped to gether, that what any membre off this fast body hath, the other lacketh it not: what one wanteth, the other supplieth: when one smarteth, all feeleth in a maner the lyke sorowe: when one ioyeth, thother reoiseth wythall. This happy socyety, is not inpared by any distance of place, by diversity off goddes giftes, by inequality off estates, nor by change of lief: so farre as the unity of goddes spirit reacheth, so farr this fellowship extendeth. This city is as large, as the benefite of Christes deathe taketh place. Yea within all the compasse of his kingdom, this fellowship is fownde. The soules and sanctes in heaven, the faithful people in earth, the chosen children that suffer chastisement in Purgatory, are, by the perfect bond of this unity, as one abundeth, redy to serve the other, as one lacketh, to crave of the other...Christe oure heade, in whose bloude this city and socyety standeth, wil have no woorke nor way of salvation, that is not common to the whole body in generall, and perculierly proffitable, to supply the neede of every parte thereof."²⁶

But Allen's mind was already turning to other more practical measures for the defence of Catholicism. The Elizabethan purge of the Universities had created a Catholic diaspora in France and the Low Countries every bit as remarkable as that of the more celebrated Protestant Exiles of Mary's reign. More than a hundred senior members left the University of Oxford for religious reasons in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, at least thirty-three from New College alone. They naturally gravitated to university towns like Louvain and, later, Douai. In 1563 Nicholas Sanders, Thomas Stapleton and John Martial, all former fellows of New College, were sharing digs in Louvain, and two short-lived houses of study were eventually formed there, nicknamed Oxford and Cambridge. John

Fowler, a former New College man, set up a printing house in Louvain which published over thirty devotional and controversial works in English. Douai University, which received its charter in 1559 as the stream of refugees from the Elizabethan Settlement was just beginning, availed itself of the sudden flood of academic talent and became something of an English institution, its first Chancellor being Richard Smyth, and a number of its professors recruited from among the exiles.²⁷

These exiles produced a remarkable body of controversial and devotional literature, but the potential for moral and educational disaster among them was enormous. Many had no visible means of support, many were young and in need of academic guidance and moral discipline. It appears that by the mid 1560s alms from the Catholic gentry and aristocracy in England, as well as subventions from Spain, were already being sent to support these poor scholars, but the whole process was hit and miss, and was causing trouble among the exiles²⁸. It was to meet just such problems that the Halls and Colleges had emerged in the medieval Universities, and Allen felt intensely the lack of any institution offering "regiment, discipline, and education most agreeable to our Countymens natures, and for prevention of al disorders that youth and companies of scholers (namely in banishment) are subject unto".²⁹ Out of this concern Douai College emerged, and in its wake the rest of the English seminaries abroad.

III. Douay College and the Seminary Priests.

The story of the founding of the English College at Douay, Allen's greatest achievement, is well-known, but Allen's precise intentions have not I think been perfectly understood.³⁰ By the 1580s Douai was being seen, and saw itself, as the first Tridentine seminary, and as a forcing-ground for missionary storm-troopers in the fight against

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Elizabethan Protestantism. But it is now generally conceded, I think too readily, that in 1568 Allen had no such thoughts in his head. In the Autumn of 1567 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, in company with his former tutor, Morgan Phillips, and a Belgian friend, John Vendeville, Regius Professor of Canon Law at the new University of Douai, and future bishop of Tournay. Vendeville was an intensely pious counter-reformation activist, who wanted papal approval for a missionary enterprise to the Muslim world, but evidently did not have the right Roman connections and was refused an audience with Pius V. On their return journey Allen persuaded him to divert his interest, influence and financial backing to establishing a college for English students of theology in the Low Countries. To begin with the objectives were modest: to provide a single institution in which the scattered scholarly exiles might study “more profitably than apart”, to secure a continuity of clerical and theological training, so that there would be theologically competent Catholic clergy on hand for the good times (“were they neere, were they far of”) when England returned to Catholic communion, and, finally, to provide an orthodox alternative to Oxford and Cambridge, thereby snatching young souls “from the jaws of death”. But Vendeville would hardly have adopted the new College as a substitute project for his Barbary mission, unless he had felt that Douai itself would have some missionary dimension, and in 1568 he told the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands that the students were to be specially trained in religious controversy and, after a two-year preparation, sent back to England to promote the Catholic cause “even at the peril of their lives”.³¹

Much has been made of the apparent difference of vision between Vendeville and Allen, with Allen seen as an unimaginative conservative, intending nothing much more dynamic than St Mary’s Hall or Oriel in exile. He himself later claimed that at this stage, while he thought they should be ready to seize any opportunity to promote the faith in England, nothing much could be done “while the heretics were master there”. John Bossy, in a brilliant discussion of Allen’s intentions, suggested that he was still trapped in the static theological vision of the Marian Church, unable to think of the Church working as anything other than an Establishment backed by the Crown, and so unable to conceive of mission as such, and that he only slowly came round to Vendeville’s more activist conception. Indeed Bossy sees this as a watershed between Marian and Elizabethan Catholicism, with the newer missionary spirit represented by Elizabethans like Gregory Martin and Edmund Campion, men with more in common with their puritan opposite numbers in England than with the older Louvain exiles, and who, almost as much as their Protestant sparring partners, had “no ties with the Marian Establishment, and [who] treated it with some contempt”.³²

This is certainly to drive too sharp a wedge between Marian and Elizabethan Catholicism. The Marian regime at Oxford was, as we have seen, anything but moribund or static. Gregory Martin himself was its product, and nearly forty others would become seminary or Jesuit priests. It is true that Allen’s later description of his thinking about this time plays down his own missionary awareness, and so lends support to a conservative reading of the foundation of Douay, but that description comes in a letter where he is complementing Vendeville by attributing all the foresight to him. We should not in any case lay too much stress on the absence of the vocabulary of mission in Allen’s utterances. As late as June 1575 he described the College as “this college for English theologians, this refuge of exiles, this seat and home of Catholics, this place of true worship for those who have left the Samaria of the Schismatics and who have the faces of those going to Jerusalem”.³³ That last phrase, with its deliberate allusion to Jesus’ journey to Jerusalem

and his passion in Luke's Gospel, hints at confrontation, but the rhetoric as a whole doesn't suggest much missionary awareness, and it comes in a letter in which Allen talks of Douai simply as a place of Catholic education which will save souls who would otherwise have been led astray at Oxford or Cambridge. Yet by the time the letter was written he had already begun to send priests back to England, and, as we shall see, by now was most certainly thinking of the active reconversion of England by every means available, from bibles to bullets.

And in fact from a very early stage Allen and his fellow exiles were aware of a missionary dimension to any such enterprise in theological education, though they had difficulty in formulating it explicitly. In 1568 an anonymous memorandum written in Allen's circle, if not by Allen himself, asked either that the English Hospice in Rome should become a seminary both for established scholars and young hopefuls, who might be theologically trained for the overthrow of heresy, or else that its revenues should be diverted to support the work just being begun at Douai, which would provide "ideally qualified workers" when England should once again "emerge" from heresy. The word "emerges" suggests that the memorialist had no very clear view of how the "emerging" might happen, but theology, controversy and mission – or at any rate the overthrow of heresy – were firmly if vaguely linked by this stage.³⁴ That link rapidly resolved itself into a recognised need for missionaries in England. By 1572 some of the English Louvainists, describing themselves as "the College of Preachers", were asking for papal support for the formal establishment of an English College there, whose primary purpose would be to provide preachers and catechists for the scattered English exile communities in Europe, but which would also undertake to send missionaries to England.³⁵

In these years of confusion and improvisation, then, it looks as if even some of the



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older activists among the exile community were feeling their way towards the conception of the Mission to England: we are not dealing here with a distinctively “Elizabethan” invention into which Marian veterans, even relatively young veterans like Allen, were dragged, blinking and mumbling. And in fact we know that even before his trip to Rome with Vendeville, Allen was well aware of the damaging consequences of any merely passive “waiting game”. In the preface to his treatise on the priesthood, written during Lent 1567, he lamented the “great desolation of christian comfort and all spiritual functions” which the Elizabethan Settlement had brought to the parishes, and the dangers of leaving the people to the ministrations of schismatic and heretical parish clergy. He saw quite clearly that time mattered, and that the acceptance of the ministry of these clergy would ultimately attach the Catholic population to the new Church.

“For how can it be otherwise”, he wrote. “Baptisme is ministered by heretikes, they helpe forth such as passe hence, they keepe visitation of the sicke...and to be short, they minister the mysteries of holy communion: so that, in time, though the libertie of Christes religion be restored againe, the youth shal take such liking in heretikes practices, to whom by love and custom, they are so fast knit, that it will be hard to reduce them home to truth againe”³⁶

Given such a perspective, the emergence of something approaching the Elizabethan mission seems inevitable: it is a short step from this sort of awareness to the frame of mind reflected in the saying recorded by the preacher at his funeral - “it’s no good waiting for better times, you have to make them happen”.³⁷

The College began in a hired house near the Theological Schools in Douai at Michaelmas 1568, and received papal approval the same year. Allen was joined by a handful of former Oxford academics and a couple of Belgian theology students, for Vendeville envisaged a role for the house in training storm-troopers for the northern European counter-reformation in general, though the Belgians soon tired of the austere conditions in the house and took themselves off. Despite contributions from local religious houses, its funding was from the start precarious, though Allen’s appointment to the regius Chair in Theology in 1570 put the house’s finances on a slightly better footing. Nevertheless, the College quickly began to attract other exiles, including celebrities like Thomas Stapleton, who took up residence as “tabler” or paying guest in 1569.³⁸ In 1570 Morgan Philips died and left his entire estate to the College: on the strength of the legacy eight new theology students were taken in, including Gregory Martin and Edmund Campion. The growing numbers and the mixed character of the community called for miracles of tact on Allen’s part: he encountered widespread incomprehension and outright hostility. Some of the former Marian dignitaries among the exiles suspected him of self-aggrandizement, or of designs on the alms and pensions for which they jostled: the grant of the Pope’s pension in 1575 rankled particularly. To counter such suspicions, and to tempt established scholars to join in the project, Allen treated the senior recruits with almost exaggerated deference, and kept the regime of the house flexible. “A little government ther is and order,” he wrote in 1579,

“but no bondage nor straitenes in the world: ther is nether othe, nor statute, nor other bridle nor chasticement but reason and every man’s conscience in honest superiority and subalternation eche one towards other. Confession, communion, exhortation hath kept us this ix yeaere I thanke God in great peace amongst ourselves, in good estimation abrode, with sufficient lyvelihod from God, and in good course of service towards the Church and our contry.”³⁹

Although it has now been demonstrated that the actual numbers of priests sent from

Douai and the later Colleges to England has been overestimated,⁴⁰ the growth of the College between 1570 and 1580 is an astonishing story. Recruitment was very varied. Some were gentlemen's sons, in search of a Catholic education unobtainable in England, and who came often in defiance of conformist families, fearful of government attention. There was a continuing haemorrhage from the English Universities, especially Oxford, which Allen encouraged and exploited, and which brought to Douai not only Martin and Campion, but the proto-martyr of the seminaries, Cuthbert Mayne, a graduate of St John's College and, like a good many of the early recruits, a priest of the new Church. Some of these men were already convinced Catholics, some were seekers "doubtful whether of the two religions were true". Allen claimed that many were schismatics or heretics, disgusted with the collapse of moral and academic standards in reformation Oxbridge, some even mainly in search of educational bursaries, an attraction which became greater after 1575, when the Pope settled a monthly pension of one hundred crowns on the College. He rejoiced in the despoiling of the Protestant Universities and set himself "to draw into this Collège the best wittes out of England", a pardonable boast given the calibre of men like Martin and Campion.⁴¹ He deliberately exploited the evangelistic potential of these young men, setting them to write to friends, family and former teachers and colleagues to urge them to become Catholics, even to "make for once a trial of our mode of life and teaching". The most spectacular example of this technique was the letter Campion wrote from Douai to his friend and patron Bishop Cheney of Gloucester, urging the old man to follow his secret convictions, renounce heresy and "make trial of our banishment".⁴² The College acted as a magnet for other English exiles in the Low Countries, and had a resident local English satellite community which included a number of gentry families. It also had a stream of visitors, ranging from the casually curious about an increasingly notorious institution, to relatives or friends of the students. All were welcomed and pressed to take instruction in the faith: poor visitors were given a month's free board and lodging, a course of religious instruction, and the offer of reconciliation and the sacraments. By May 1576 there were 80 students in the College, by September the same year 120. The growing numbers created constant problems of accommodation and finance, and the foundation of the Venerabile was among other things an attempt simply to deal with the overflow. Nevertheless Allen resisted pressure to set fixed limits on the intake, since so many of those who came were refugees who had no other resource, or waverers who might lapse back into Protestantism if turned away. At the end of the decade he reckoned that there were on average 100 students in the College in any one year, and that they were ordaining 20 men to the priesthood annually. The first four priests left the College for England in 1574, and by 1580 about 100 in all had been sent on the Mission.⁴³

The regime devised by Allen for his men is very striking, and differed in several important ways both from university theology courses and from the normal seminary syllabus of the late 16th century.⁴⁴ Late medieval training manuals for priests emphasised practical skills - seemly performance of the liturgy and sacramentals, basic expertise in hearing confessions, and a grounding in the essential elements of catechesis. To these Allen added an overwhelming emphasis on expertise in the Bible, a good grounding in dogmatic theology through the study of St Thomas, and constant practice in preaching and in disputation. He was intensely aware of the crucial importance of the English Bible to the success of the English reformation, and was determined to eliminate the advantage this gave Protestants. The publication of Gregory Martin's translation of the New Testament in 1582 was part of this project, but even before its appearance Allen saw to it that his men

had the Bible at their finger-tips. Between three and five chapters of the Old or New Testaments were read aloud at each of the two main daily meals, followed while still at table by an exposition of part of what had been read, during which students were expected to have their bibles open before them and pen and ink to hand. In three years the students heard the Old Testament read through in this way twelve times, the New Testament sixteen times. Each was expected to do private preparatory work on the passages read communally, there was a daily lecture on the New Testament, Hebrew and Greek classes, and regular disputations on the points of scripture controverted between Catholics and Protestants. There were two lectures each day on St Thomas, and a weekly disputation on points from the week's lectures. The men also studied Church history, especially English Church history, the canons and decrees of Trent, and the catechisms of Trent and of Peter Canisius, and they received practical instruction in the techniques of catechesis. There was a strong emphasis on the reconciliation of penitents in confession, and so on moral theology and cases of conscience, using the standard textbook of the day by the Navarese theologian Azpilcueta, supplemented by cases of conscience specially devised with the English mission in mind.⁴⁵

To this new style theological training he added a new spirituality, focussed on daily mass and regular weekly communion, twice weekly fasting for the conversion of England, regular meditation on the mysteries of the Rosary. A fundamental element in this new intenser piety was the use of confession as a means of spiritual growth "not in a perfunctory way as we used to do when for custom's sake we confessed once a year". That dismissal of the medieval Sarum past is significant: Allen believed that the reformation was a judgement on the sins and superficiality of the people, and so a deeper, more self-conscious penitence was a necessary condition of the restoration of Catholicism. For this purpose he specially valued the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises "in order to the perfect examination of our consciences", and the choice of "a holier state of life".⁴⁶

In the early days of the seminary Allen's recruits were a miscellaneous lot, from seasoned and sometimes very senior academics to raw lads from country grammar-schools. He was realistic about what could be achieved with much of the material he had to hand: Mercury, he told a critic of the seminary, "cannot be made of every 1099"⁴⁷. He was in the business of producing "plaine poor priests", for whom "zeal for God's house, charity and thirst for souls" were more important than academic achievement. Nevertheless, he knew quite well that his regime was producing a different kind of priest, more professional, better instructed, altogether more formidable "than the common sort of curates had in old tyme". He thought his men compared well with those emerging from any seminary in Europe, and even in some respects with the Jesuits, for whom he had an unqualified reverence and admiration. He believed in the special value of a graduate clergy, and academic distinction was highly prized at Douai: Masters of Arts and Doctors at Douai were appointed humbler students as servitors to wait on them at table, and sat in due order of precedence at high table. As long as funds were available for it, members of the college were encouraged to take theological degrees in the University of Douai, and Cuthbert Mayne kept the exercise for his baccalaureate in theology just days before returning to England and martyrdom in 1575. There is no doubt that this emphasis on theological excellence derived directly from Allen himself, and was part of the legacy of Marian Oxford to the Elizabethan mission. By contrast, graduates going from Douai to Rome noticed and frequently resented the lack of deference the Jesuit regime there paid to scholastic distinction.⁴⁸ Allen regretted the way in which missionary demands and funding

priorities inexorably forced the theological concerns of the College to the margins, and nursed a project for a College where English priests might pursue advanced theological studies.⁴⁹ In all this he also had his eye on Elizabethan Oxford and Cambridge, and the need to excel them, above all in their boasted excellence in scripture. There were more and better theological courses, including training in scripture, he claimed, “in our two colleges, then are in [the Protestants’] two Universities containing neere hand 30 goodly Colleges”.⁵⁰

By the same token he was impatiently dismissive of nostalgic comparisons made by his fellow-Catholics - “that golden world is past, yf ever any such were”.⁵¹

He resented the criticism, made by conservatives like the veteran English Carthusian Maurice Chauncey, of the youth, inexperience and unpriestly deportment of the seminarians going in “disguised gear” of ruffs and feathers on the mission. For above all Allen was intensely aware of the dangers his men incurred. It has been calculated that of the 471 seminary priests known to have been active in England in Elizabeth’s reign, at least 294, (62%), were imprisoned at some time or another. 115 fell into government hands within a year of arrival, 35 actually while still in the ports at which they landed. 116 were executed, 17 died in gaol, 91 were banished, of whom 24 subsequently returned at great risk. Allen worried about the power of life and death he exercised over these men. When in 1585 twenty of them were expelled from England and duly reported to Allen for duty, he did not feel he had the right to send them back on the mission: in his last years in Rome as a cardinal he would contrast the comfort and safety of his own life with the danger and suffering of his priests.⁵² Most men, he told Chauncey,

“mark there [their] misses, and few consider in what feares and daungers they be in and what unspeakable paines they take to serve good menns tornes to there least perill. I could reckon unto youe the miseryes they suffer in night journeyes, in the worst wedder that can be picked; perill of theves, of water, of watches, of false brethrene; there close abode in chambers as in pryson or dongeon without fyre and candell leest they gyve token to the enemy where they bee; there often and sudden raisinge from there bedds att mydnight to avoyde the diligent searches of haeretikes; all which and divers other discontentments, disgraces and reproches they willinglye suffer, which is great penance for there fethers, and all to wyinne the soweles of there dearest countreyemen”.⁵³

Yet these sufferings were fundamental to the spirituality Allen encouraged among the seminarians, and to the message he wished through them to impress upon the Catholics in England. Their sufferings, he told his priests, were stronger intercession for their country “than any prayers lightly in the world” - “Bloude so yielded maketh the forciblest meane to procure mercie that can be”. The likelihood of martyrdom was actually one of the inducements Allen offered to persuade Campion to go to England, and in the wake of his and his companions’ executions Allen told the Rector of the Venerabile that “Ten thousand sermons would not have published our apostolic faith and religion so winningly as the fragrance of these victims, most sweet both to God and men”. He was distributing fragments of Campion’s “holy ribbe” as relics by May 1582.⁵⁴ Some of his most moving writing occurs in the exhortation to constancy in martyrdom with which the Apologie for the two Colleges ends:

Our daies can not be many, because we be men: neither can it be either godly

or worldly wisdom, for a remnant of three or foure yeres, and perchance not so many moneths, to hazard the losse of all eternity. They can not be good in these evil times... And were they never so many or good, to him that refuseth his faith and Maister, they shal never be joyful, but deadly and doleful. Corporally die once we must every on and but once, and thereupon immediatly judgement, where the Confessor shal be acknowledged, and the Denyer denied againe.

No Martyrdom of what length or torment so ever, can be more grevous, then a long sicknes and a languishing death: and he that departeth upon the pillow, hath as little ease as he that dieth upon the gallowes, blocke, or bouchers knife. And our Maisters death, both for paines and ignominie, passed both sortes, and all other kinds either of Martyrs or malefactors. Let no tribulation then, no perill, no prison, no persecution, no life, no death separate us from the charity of God, and the society of our sweete Saviours passions, by and for whose love we shal have the victory in all these conflictes.”⁵⁵

The whole seminary project was in a sense heroic, confrontational, its objective the separation of the Catholic community from an acquiescent conformity which, he understood perfectly well, would ultimately absorb and undo them. And so his men were nursed not only in readiness for martyrdom, but in a robust hatred of Protestantism.

“By frequent familiar conversations we make our students thoroughly acquainted with the chief impieties, blasphemies, absurdities, cheats and trickeries of the English heretics, as well as with their ridiculous writings, sayings and doings. The result is that they not only hold the heretics in perfect detestation, but they also marvel and feel sorrow of heart that there should be any found so wicked, simple and reckless of their salvation as to believe such teachers, or so cowardly and worldly-minded as to go along with such abandoned men in their schism or sect, instead of openly avowing to their face the faith of the catholic church and their own.”⁵⁶

That was the point - to bring the laity to see the necessity of recusancy, of making a clean break with the parish churches, thereby ensuring the survival of an uncompromised Catholicism. Less than ten years after the establishment of Douai Allen could rejoice that “innumerable nowe confesse there faithe and abhorreth all communion and participation with the sectaries in there servyce and sacraments, that before, beinge catholykes in there hart, for worldly feare durst not so doo”.⁵⁷ Insistence on this point was a major theme in the writings of Allen and his circle, and in the casuistic formation of the seminary priests themselves,⁵⁸ but it was uphill work, and ((through))?? his own conviction, Allen understood the pressures Catholics in England were under. His last briefing with each of his priests on their departure for the mission concerned “how and where to condescende without synne to certain feablenesse growne in manns lyfe and manners these ill tymes, not alwayes to be rigorous, never over scrupulous, so that the churche discipline be not evidently infringed, nor no acte of schisme or synne plainly committed”.⁵⁹ This should not be interpreted as willingness to legitimate church-papistry or occasional conformity, but he did his best to meet the realities of the English situation. When the draconian law imposing a £20 fine on recusants for persistent non-attendance was passed in 1581 Allen responded to lay panic by seeking some relaxation of the Vatican line on this matter, lobbying the Nuncio in Paris and consulting the leading Jesuit casuist. He was clearly relieved at the refusal of the authorities to soften their line, however, and told the Jesuit

rector of the Venerable that “no other decision was possible”.⁶⁰ Yet if connivance was forbidden, compassion was not. As persecution mounted in the early 1590s he instructed his priests to hold the line on the sinfulness of outward conformity, yet to deal gently with those who fell into it through fear- “be not hard nor roughe nor rigorous...in receavinge againe and absolving them...which mercie you must use, though they fall more than once, and though perhaps you have some probable feare that they will of like infirmity fall againe ... *tutior est via misericordiae quam justitiae rigoris*”.⁶¹

IV. The Enterprise of England.

And the question of confrontation and constancy in the faith brings us at last to Allen's politics, for all his politics were tuned to the reconversion of England.

The first thing to be said is that Allen believed that he knew how to convert England: between 1553 and 1558 he had seen it done and had taken part in the process. He never doubted that what was needed for the success of this great work of God was, in essence, the repetition of the Marian restoration, and in 1588, when the Armada was about to sail, he sent for the complete Vatican files on the Legatine mission of Cardinal Pole.⁶² His blueprint for the reconversion included the removal of Queen Elizabeth, and the implementation of a sternly Catholic regime . He did not believe in the toleration of error, and he did not believe that Catholics and Protestants could live in peace together. In this last, it has to be said, he had history, observation and cold common sense on his side. North-Western Europe in the 1560s and 1570s and after seemed to be falling apart at the seams for the sake of religion - France was descending into religious civil war, and his arrival in the Low Countries coincided with the outbreak of the Calvinist revolt which would separate the northern provinces from Spanish rule and the Catholic faith. From the moment of his settlement in the Low Countries, Allen's personal well-being, the existence of his College and the future of his projects for the reconversion of England were inextricably involved with the political dominance of Spain . Spain's weakness was his College's peril, as he discovered when in 1578 the English College was forced by the ebb and flow of the Revolt to abandon Douai and take up temporary residence at Rheims.⁶³

In the early 1560s the loyalty of Catholics was hardly an issue: the possibility of the death, the Catholic marriage or the conversion of the Queen had not yet been ruled out, and the main preoccupation of the exiles was the polemical campaign against the new religion, and the simple business of survival. But the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in England in 1568, the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569, and the excommunication of the Queen the following year changed all that. The Elizabethan regime was bound to treat Catholicism as a political threat, and Catholics were bound to take stock of the courses of action open to them. By now it was clear to everyone that the Elizabethan Settlement was not just going to go away. Something would have to be done, and the key to what might be done was the Bull of excommunication.

Regnans in Excelsis solemnly declared the queen an apostate from the Catholic faith, a heretic, and a tyrant, and it absolved English Catholics of their allegiance to her. But it was issued quite irresponsibly, without any serious attempt to secure political help from Spain or anywhere else to enforce it. It therefore made the conditions of English Catholics much worse, exposing them to charges of treason without any compensating hope of liberation. It also created serious problems of conscience for them: it was clear that they need not now obey the Queen, but would they themselves incur excommunication if, out of fear, prudence, or natural loyalty they did obey her? In 1580 a ruling was secured from

Gregory XIII which absolved Catholics from obedience to the Bull until its enforcement became practicable, and in the meantime it was tacitly allowed to drop. There were theologians, in any case, who questioned the extent of the Pope's authority in matters of civil allegiance, and therefore the legitimacy of the Bull.⁶⁴

But Allen was not among them. An ardent papalist, who saw in the Pope the surest defence of the Church and the "rocke of refuge in doubtful daies and doctrines", he was to place the excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth, and the theoretical and practical right of the Pope to perform such an act, at the centre of his political thinking.⁶⁵ In 1572 he was one of the signatories of a petition from a group of exiles at Louvain to Pope Gregory XIII, asking him to take some action to implement the Bull against the "pretended Queen", and to extirpate Protestantism in England, from which the infection of heresy was spreading like cancer to the surrounding nations. In 1584, in a pamphlet defending the loyalty of English Catholics, he would devote three chapters to an extended defence of the deposing power of the Pope.⁶⁶ Yet it was one thing to accept *Regnans in Excelsis* and another thing to act on it, and here the only realistic hope was to involve the King of Spain. Allen was in any case in constant touch with Spain and Spanish officials in northern Europe by virtue of his growing position of leadership among the exiles: the management of pensions, the procurement of ecclesiastical and civil preferment for his growing circle of supplicants and clients, above all the protection of his College, demanded it. But he went beyond this, and throughout the 1570s and early 1580s, Allen was a key figure in a succession of plans for a Spanish invasion of England. Early in 1576 he took part in a consultation in Rome on English affairs: the foundation of the Venerabile was one consequence of this visit.⁶⁷ But that was a by-product of what was in fact a council of war, whose main outcome was a plan for an invasion of England by a papal force led by Don John of Austria, to set Mary on the throne. Allen prepared a lengthy document of advice for this invasion, the first of many, in which, among other things, he suggested that the expenses should be met from the confiscated property of Protestant ecclesiastics.⁶⁸ For any such plan the support of Philip II was essential, but Spanish problems in the Netherlands meant that in the event nothing was done, and Allen was increasingly aware that simple reliance on Spain would be a mistake. However zealous for religion he might be, Philip was a politician first - as Allen's friend Nicholas Sander told him, "wee shall have no stedy comfort but from God, in the Pope not the King of Spain. Therefore I beseech you, take hold of the Pope".⁶⁹

Allen's own involvement in political schemes was not continuous: his part in the invasion plans of 1576 was almost certainly directly provoked by an attempt of Elizabeth's ministers to secure an agreement with Spain for the expulsion of the exiles, in particular the College, from the Low Countries. But the wave of persecution which followed the arrival of Campion and Parsons in 1580 pushed him in this direction again. His letters in the wake of the martyrdom of Campion are a curious mixture of grief, anger and exaltation, but there is no mistaking the growth of his hostility to Elizabeth, "our Herodias", who bathed her hands in the "brightest and best blood" of Catholics.⁷⁰ In 1583 he was actually named as Papal Legate and bishop of Durham in the event of the success of the proposed invasion by the Duc de Guise with which this paper began, but the discovery of the Throckmorton plot prevented its implementation.⁷¹ "If [the enterprise of England] be not carried out this year", he told Cardinal Galli in April 1584, "I give up all hope in man and the rest of my life will be bitter to me".⁷² His political involvements in the fight against international Protestantism deepened, and he was drawn into the

negotiations which led to the formation of the Catholic Holy League in France in 1584 and 1585.⁷³ In these years Allen exerted all his influence to commit the King of Spain and the Pope to the “Enterprise of England”, and his post-bag was stuffed with the explosive matter of high espionage: when he fell seriously ill in the summer of 1585 he panicked and burned everything, including his cipher books.⁷⁴

The election of a new Pope, Sixtus V, in 1585 brought the still convalescent Allen hurrying to Rome, partly to secure continued papal support for the College, but largely for political reasons. If the enterprise of England was to become a reality, the Pope had to be persuaded of its importance. Allen worked hard to scotch rumours of the easing of persecution in England, in case these should cool enthusiasm for the invasion, and in September 1585 he drafted an elaborate memorial for the Pope, describing the religious geography of England, pressing on him the widespread support in the north and west of the country for Catholicism, the unwarlike character of the urban supporters of Protestantism and the “common and promiscuous multitude”, the ease with which an invasion might be carried through.⁷⁵

The Franciscan pope Sixtus V was a volatile and formidable figure who was deeply committed to the recatholicising of Europe, but he distrusted the dominance of Spain, and resented the interference of Philip in ecclesiastical affairs. If he was to be brought to back - and to help finance- the enterprise of England, every ounce of pressure and persuasion would be needed. The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Count Olivares, recognised the role Allen could play in this, and detained him in Rome. There is no doubt that he now became, to all intents and purposes, a Spanish servant, receiving detailed briefings from the cack-handed Olivares on the management of the Pope.⁷⁶ Allen’s own centrality to the enterprise, in any case, was obvious, and became critical after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots: as the unquestioned religious leader of the English Catholics, he was now the only conceivable figure-head for a crusade. But if he was to serve that role he would need to be more than Dr Allen: he had to be made a cardinal. Sixtus V bowed to immense Spanish pressure, orchestrated in part by Robert Parsons, Allen’s closest collaborator, and he created Allen cardinal in August 1587. Elaborate plans for his role in the invasion were drawn up, in part at least based on Pole’s Legatine mission: interestingly, Allen intended to hold the office of Lord Chancellor as well as that of Archbishop of Canterbury.⁷⁷ There is no doubt in all this that the Pope saw Allen as a Spanish stooge, and when in October 1588, at Philip II’s command, he sought permission to go to the Netherlands to be in readiness when the call to England came, Sixtus V threw a series of spectacular tantrums, abusing Allen, according to Olivares, “like a negro”.⁷⁸

It is against these developments that we have to assess Allen’s role not only in politics in general, but in the martyrdom of his priests. In the face of the Elizabethan regime’s insistence that the priests died for treason, Allen eloquently maintained their total innocence. In 1581 and again in 1584 he published pamphlets claiming that none of the priests had any political involvement, and in these works and in his account of the martyrdoms of Campion and his companions he insisted that it was the government, not the Catholics, who were making an issue of the Bull of Excommunication, which Catholics had allowed to fall into a harmless oblivion. He insisted that no discussion of the Bull was allowed at Douai, and this was certainly true.⁷⁹ Yet he himself repeatedly defended the validity of the Bull in the published writings which his priests helped circulate in England, and he actively sought the armed implementation of the Bull and the deposition of Elizabeth in 1572, 1576, 1583, 1586, and 1588. In 1586, moreover, he told

the Pope that the “daily exhortations, teaching, writing and administration of the sacraments...of our priests” had made the Catholics in England “much more ready” for an invasion, and that no good Catholic now “thinks he ought to obey the queen as a matter of conscience, although he may do so through fear, which fear will be removed when they see the force from without”. The priests, he added “will direct the consciences and actions of the Catholics...when the time comes”. This perception of the role of the clergy was generally shared by the Catholic authorities: when the invasion by De Guise was being planned three years earlier, the Nuncio in Paris told the Cardinal Secretary of State that the leading Catholics would be informed “per via de sacerdoti” - through their priests.⁸⁰

Yet Allen was not lying: he rigorously kept from all but a handful of his friends and his pupils any knowledge of his own political activities, and certainly approved of the breve of Gregory XIII formally allowing the Excommunication to be held in abeyance indefinitely, which Campion and Parsons took with them to England in 1580.⁸¹ He himself observed a scrupulous distinction in his writings between the work of priests - which was to preach the Gospel and to endure martyrdom for it when the time came - and the role of princes and fighting-men: “the spiritual [sword] by the hand of the priest, the [material sword by the hand of the soldier]”.⁸²

The “readiness” his priests contributed to, therefore, was indirect, a strengthening of loyalty to the papacy, and a willingness to choose God rather than man when put to the test, as the Henrician and Edwardian Catholics had so signally failed to do. The English reformation was for him a blasphemous and sacrilegious invasion of the spiritual sphere by the secular power. It followed that any recovery of Catholic understanding and commitment, however a-political and spiritual its ministers, methods and aims, must inevitably lead to a confrontation with the Protestant state. The more clearly the people saw in the light of the Gospel, the more resolutely they would reject the claims of the royal supremacy over their consciences. A straight line runs from Allen’s efforts in the early 1560s to persuade his Lancashire neighbours out of their token conformity, to his promotion of the enterprise of England in the 1580s, and the spiritual mission of the seminary priests lies squarely along that line.

But in any case the whole notion that a Catholic might be rebellious seemed to him a nonsense. It was the Protestants who were rebels, “opinionative and restless brains to raise rebellion at their pleasure under pretense of religion”, following “their own deceitful wils and uncertaine opinions, without rule or reason”, stirring up civil war in France, rebellion against the lawful sovereign in the Netherlands and in Scotland, fastening on the weakness of the body politic - “they make their market most”, he claimed, “in the minority of princes or of their infirmity”. Catholics, by contrast, as men of “order and obedience”, took no such liberties, but “commit the direction of matters so important to the Church and to the chief governors of their souls”. The deposing power was a God-appointed safeguard, stretching back to Old Testament priests and prophets like Samuel, and entrusted to the Pope for the preservation of the prince and people in due obedience to the law of Christ. Catholics therefore proceed by reason and conscience, Protestants by “fury and frenzy”.⁸³ It was the Elizabethan government, then, with its murder of priests and war against Catholic truth which sinned, in forcing Catholic men and women to choose between civil and religious obedience, between God and the prince.

These views were never concealed by Allen - he proclaimed them in the works he published in the early 1580s: but their consequences were finally spelled out in the two open calls to resistance which he produced in 1587 and 1588. In 1587 an English

commander with the Earl of Leicester's expedition to help the rebels in Holland, Sir William Stanley, surrendered the town of Deventer to the Spanish forces. Allen published a defence of his action, claiming that the English involvement in a war against Philip was sinful and unjust, Stanley's action that of an informed conscience, and that any Catholic should do the same. He further declared that "al actes of iustice within the realme, done by the Quenes authoritie, ever since she was, by publike sentence of the Church, and Sea Apostoloke, declared an Haeretike...and deposed from al regal dignitie..al is voide, by the lawe of God and man.." He called for the formation of companies of English soldiers on the continent to be trained "in Catholike and old godly militare discipline", just as the seminaries were training priests, to undo the evil of the reformation: "it is as lawful, godly and glorious for you to fight, as for us Priestes to suffer, and to die". To labour in either of these ways for the defence of the faith "is alwaies in the sight of God, a most precious death, and martyrdom".⁸⁴ In the following year finally Allen burned his boats with his *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*, calling on them to join the Spaniards and overthrow Elizabeth, whom he denounced as a sacrilegious heretic, an incestuously begotten bastard, guilty not only of oppressing the people but of ruining the commonwealth by a whole range of ills, from the promotion of base-born upstarts to the enjoyment of nameless acts of sexual debauchery with her young courtiers.⁸⁵

There is no doubt that his political involvements contributed to the sufferings of his priests, for the Elizabethan government knew much about his activities, and guessed a good deal more. Yet his priests shared with Allen a sense of the spiritual issues at stake, and the dilemmas on which they were impaled were not of his nor their making. For him and for them there could be no peace with a state which claimed an absolute authority over their consciences: his perception of that claim, and his solution to the dilemma it posed, was not so very different from that of Bonhoeffer in our own times.

Yet if in the conditions of his own time he can hardly be blamed for seeking to overthrow Elizabeth, so that the Gospel might be free, Allen cannot entirely be absolved of responsibility for the disasters of Catholicism in the 1580s and 1590s. He can be blamed, I think, for his lack of realism about the likelihood of the success of any such attempts. We are less prone now to dismiss the optimism of Elizabethan Catholics about the persistence of widespread sympathy for the old religion among the people at large: there was nothing inevitable or easy about the triumph of the reformation. But, perhaps in part at least to counter a growing scepticism at the Spanish court about support for the enterprise, Allen persisted in the conviction that even into the mid 1580s two-thirds of the people were Catholics in their hearts and so discontented with Elizabeth's rule,⁸⁶ the "pure zelous heretikes" "very few" and "effeminate, delicate and least expert in the wars". He persuaded himself that the indifferent remainder "will never adore the sun setting, nor follow the declining fortune of so filthie, wicked and illiberal a Creature" as Elizabeth.⁸⁷ Dazzled by the extraordinary impact of his priests, he never grasped, or allowed himself to acknowledge, the extent of anti-Spanish feeling in England, or the unlikelihood of the population of late Elizabethan England flocking to the Pope's banner. And he consistently underestimated his enemy, declaring in 1581 that no intelligent person could be a Protestant: even the promoters of reformation were certainly mere politiques "who, because they be wise, can not be Protestants 23 yeres, that is to say, any long time together".⁸⁸ It is easy with hindsight to be superior about this.

Successive Popes and the most experienced king in Christendom took the same optimistic view as Allen of the prospects of success, and Philip committed the seaborne might of the world's greatest power to it. And Allen was driven by longing for restoration and return, the restoration of the true faith and the lost greatness of a Catholic England, above all, the longing of one who had eaten the bitter bread of exile for almost half his life. In 1581 he had publicly lamented that he and his like "for our sinnes...be constrained to spend either al or most of our serviceable yeres out of our natural cuntry", and longing for his "lost fatherland" tolls persistently through his writing. In 1580, as Campion set out for England, he told him that he and his like "will procure for me and mine the power of returning".⁸⁹

An autumnal air hangs over Allen's last years as a cardinal. He had an immensely high understanding of his office, as an instrument of the papacy he so much revered: though he was the poorest of the cardinals, he was an active and effective member of the curia, involved in the affairs of Germany, the revision of the Vulgate, the Congregation of the Index.⁹⁰ He enjoyed the friendship of, and was treated as an equal by, the greatest men of his age - Borromeo, Bellarmine. He was a man of affairs, keeping open house to English visitors, Catholic or Protestant, in his modest lodgings beside the College, the hub of a network of information, clientage and organisation. More than ever he was the central figure in the concerns of the English Catholics, and his eirenic nature and passionate concern for unity were exerted to the full in holding together a community increasingly riven by the bitterness of defeat, in particular the ominous gap opening between the secular clergy and his revered Jesuits.⁹¹ Half-hearted attempts were made by the King of Spain to appoint him Archbishop of Malines, so as to be nearer England, but nothing came of it. And he himself was a disappointed man, aware that there was little chance now of a dramatic restoration of Catholicism, forced to consider seriously the notion, which he had half-heartedly canvassed in the early 1580s, of securing some minimal toleration for Catholics in a Protestant England. In a world in which nobody believed in toleration, it was a project as hopeless as invasion, but we catch a remarkable glimpse of his changed perceptions in the spring and autumn of 1593, through the eyes of an English government go-between, John Arden. Arden, the brother of Allen's Jesuit confessor and closest English friend in Rome, was encouraged by the cardinal to a protracted negotiation for the granting of freedom of conscience to Catholics and a marriage of "one of Elizabeth's blood" to a Spaniard, to secure the succession. In return, Allen would call off the Pope, the King of Spain and the Catholic League, and all the Catholics would "do that duty that is due to the Queen, religion excepted, and would take arms in defence of her person and realm against the King of Spain or whosoever". A striking feature of the whole negotiation was Allen's willingness to shrug off his Spanish involvements. When Arden asked him why he was so keen to unite an English heir with a Spaniard Allen replied that "he would never wish it if they might have liberty of conscience", and he excused his and other exiles' writings against Elizabeth with "alas, it was to get favour of the King of Spain who maintained them". A key to his deepest feelings appeared from an impassioned outburst, when he snatched up a bible and swore "as I am a priest" that to secure the free practice of Catholicism he would rather "leave here and all..and be content to live in prison all the days of my life" in England.⁹²

But it would be quite wrong to end on that sombre note. By the time of Allen's death on 16th October 1594 the first heroic phase of the mission was drawing to its close. English Colleges on the continent were multiplying, and the succession of martyrs would

continue - Robert Southwell would go to Tyburn within six months of Allen's death. But the creative verve and the excitement and imaginative power of the mission in the 1580s would never quite be equalled, just as the opportunities which had faced it then were slipping away with the years. The first seminary priests and their Jesuit colleagues, themselves sent to England at Allen's urging, represented one of the most original and most effective experiments of an exceptionally creative and turbulent period of Christian history, and it was Allen's vision they incarnated. No English Protestant attempt to rethink ministry, or to equip men for ministry, was half so radical, or a quarter so professional. No-one else in that age conceived so exalted nor so demanding a role for the secular priesthood, and no-one else apart from the great religious founders produced a body of men who rose to that ideal so eagerly, and at such cost. The times had demanded invention, decisive action, and he had risen to the challenge. "The quarrell is God's, he had told one of his critics, and but for Hys holy glory and honor i myght sleepe att ease, and let the worlde wagge and other men worke."⁹³ Allen's creation of storm-troopers for counter-reformation and the energy, humanity and management of men by which he preserved them, showed pastoral resource and vision on a par with that of Cardinal Borromeo in his own generation, or Vincent de Paul in the next. He understood perfectly well what he had achieved, and six months before his death wrote of "the semynarie of Doway, which is as deere to me as my owne life, and which hath next to God beene the beginning and ground of all the good and salvation which is wrought in England".⁹⁴ Because of him, English Catholicism was given a life-line to the larger world of Christendom, and a surer, clearer sense of its own identity: because of him, it survived. Elizabethan England produced some really great men, fewer really good ones, and almost none who could be called Europeans. William Allen was all three.

Dr. Eamon Duffy

1. T F Knox (editor) *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*, London 1882 [hereafter = *Memorials*] pp xli, 407; T F Knox (editor) *The First and Second Diaries of the English College. Douay*, London 1878, [hereafter = *D.D.*], pp337-8; L F Von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, St Louis, 1930, [hereafter = *Pastor*] vol xix, pp 429-433.
2. *Memorials* pp 29-30.
3. *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defense of English Catholics*. 1584, edited by Robert M Kingdon, Cornell University Press 1965, p 127 [hereafter = *Modest Defense*]: *An Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution and endeavours of the two English Colleges...* Henault (Rheims) 1581, p 12 verso. [hereafter = *Apologie and Declaration*]
4. *Memorials*, pp 5, 181, 213: on Tudor Lancashire and its religious conservatism, Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, Cambridge 1975: for Allen's view of the state of England in the mid 1580s, see Garrett Mattingley, "William Allen and Catholic Propaganda in England", *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol 28 , 1957, pp 325-39.
5. *Memorials* p213, *Modest Defense* p56.
6. For the role of the Halls in Tudor Oxford, James McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford vol III*, Oxford 1986, pp 51-5; Alan B Coban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c 1500*, Scolar Press 1988, pp 145-60. They were in effect Colleges within the Colleges, many of them having been annexed to larger institutions, as St Mary's had been acquired by Oriel, though they continued to offer teaching both for the basic Arts course and for further studies in theology and laws.
7. On the course of the reformation at Oxford, and Martyr's part in it, Jennifer Loach "Reformation Controversies" in McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford vol III*, pp 363-74; an unsuccessful attempt was made in 1550 to impose a Protestant head on Allen's own college, Oriel.
8. There is no adequate treatment in English of the Spanish contribution to the Marian restoration: see J. Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras, *Fray Bartolome Carranza v el Cardinal Pole*, Pamplona 1977, and the same author's *Inglaterra. Flandres y Espana 1557-1559*, Vitoria 1975. As professor of theology at Dillengen till 1553 De Soto had been a key figure in the German counter-reformation: Garcia had been instrumental in securing several of Cranmer's recantations.
9. Loach, op cit p 378.
10. John E. Booty, *John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England*, London 1963, p 63; Michael Richards, "Thomas Stapleton", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol XVIII (1967) pp 1 87-99.
11. *Modest Defense*, p 104.
12. *Modest Defense*, pp 95, 115.
13. *A Defence and Declaration of the Catholike Churchies Doctrine Touching Purgatory*, Antwerp 1565, [hereafter = *Purgatory*] p 286.

14. H N Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, London 1907, p 257.
15. *D.D.* pp xxii-xxiii: on the Elizabethan Settlement and its enforcement in Oxford, Penry Williams, "Elizabethan Oxford: State, Church and University", in MacConica, *op cit* pp 397-440.
16. Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, London 1988, especially p ix: the case is set out in my *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, London and New Haven 1992, pp 565-93, and Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations*. Oxford 1993, pp 235-50.
17. A sub-committee at the Council of Trent in 1562 considered, and refused, a request that English Catholics should be permitted to attend Book of Common Prayer services, in order to avoid persecution. The ruling, however, was not promulgated formally, and Allen seems not to have known of it: Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*, Royal Historical Society Monograph 1993, pp 22-3.
18. *D.D.* pp xxiii-xxiv: *Memorials* pp 56-7.
19. *D.D.* pp xxv-xxvi: Martin Haile, *An Elizabethan Cardinal: William Allen*, London 1914, pp 57, 67.
20. A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582*, London 1950, pp 517-23: one such publication was *A Notable Discourse plainely and truly discussing, who are the right Ministers of the Catholike Church*, Douai 1575.
21. For the Jewel controversy, Southern, *Recusant Prose*, pp 59-118 (Allen's contributions discussed in detail pp 103-9): Booty, *Jewel*. pp 58-82; Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, London 1978, pp 1-16.
22. *Purgatory* pp 37 verso, 282-3.
23. *Purgatory*, p 12 verso: Southern, *Recusant Prose*, p 109.
24. John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*, London 1975, p 13, quoting A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*, London 1951, p 461. For a critique of this general view, and an assertion of Allen's "keen intelligence", see Mattingly, "William Allen and Catholic Propaganda" pp 335-6.
25. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*, Oxford 1954, pp 438- 441.
26. *Purgatory*, pp 132-3.
27. Loach, in MacConica, *op cit* p 386; Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558-1795*, London 1914, pp 1-27, 63-65; Southern, *Recusant Prose*, pp 14-30; John Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, pp 12-14.
28. J. H. Pollen, ed., *Memoirs of Robert Parsons, S.J.*, Catholic Record Society, vol ii, Miscellanea, 1906, p 62.
29. *Apologie and Declaration*, p19.
30. By far the most stimulating and valuable modern account is that in Bossy, *op cit* pp 14-18 to which I am greatly indebted though, as will be seen, I dissent from some of his central contentions. A cruder and somewhat facile statement of a similar view to Bossy's will be found in J C H Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe*, London 1976, pp 53-6
31. *D.D.* p xxviii: *Memorials* p22.
32. Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p15.
33. P. Renold, ed., *Letters of William Allen and Richard Barret 1572-1598*, Catholic Record Society 1967, pp 4-5. [hereafter = *Letters*] The allusion is to St Luke ch 9 verses 52-3, Vulgate version.
34. P. Ryan (ed) "Correspondence of Cardinal Allen" in Catholic Record Society *Miscellanea VII*, 1911, pp 47-63, quotation p 63 [hereafter = "Correspondence"].
35. J H Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London 1920, p247.
36. *A Treatise Made in Defence of the lauful power and authoritie of Priesthood to remitte sinnes*, Louvain 1567, preface (unpaginated) He is actually quoting from St Basil, but makes the application to England and "our new ministers" explicit.
37. *Memorials* p 367.
38. He and Allen took their doctorates in Divinity together in 1571.
39. *D.D.* pp xxvii-xxxi: *Letters*, pp 8-11.
40. Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, "Anstruther Analysed: the Elizabethan Seminary Priests" , *Recusant History*, vol 18, 1986 pp 1-13.
41. *Apologie*, p 22 verso; "Correspondence" pp 66-67.
42. Printed in Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion*, London 1896, pp 509-13.
43. *D.D.* p xxxviii: *Memorials* pp 61-2.
44. For a good account of which see T. Deutscher, "Seminaries and the Education of Novarese Parish Priests, 1593-1627", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. vol 32, pp 303-319.
45. Allen's own account of the syllabus is in *Memorials* pp 62-7, translated *D.D.* pp xxxviii-xliii: it is helpfully expanded by Gregory Martin in *Roma Sancta* (ed GB Parks, ed.) Roma 1969, pp11 4-9: the cases of conscience devised for the College are edited by P J Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, Catholic Record Society 1981.
46. *D.D.* pp xxxix.
47. *Memorials* pp 32-3.
48. *D.D.* p xxxi-xxxii: Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests* vol I, Ware and Durham, 1968, p 224.
49. *Memorials* p 17.
50. *Apologie* pp 67-8.
51. *Memorials* p 33.
52. *Letters*, pp 131-4; *Memorials* p344.

53. *Memorials* p 36.
54. *Apologie* pp 109 verso-110: for Allen's own account of his advice on martyrdom to Campion, *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of XII Reverend Priests*, 1582, sig d iii verso: for the comment to Fr Aggazari, see the preface to J H Pollen's edition of the *Briefe Historie*, p ix: *Memorials* p 135
55. *Apologie* pp 117 verso-118.
56. *D.D.* p xlvi: *Memorials* p 67.
57. *Memorials* p 35.
58. Walsham, *Church Papists* pp 22-49.
59. *Memorials* p 34: see Walsham, *Church Papists* pp 62-3, though I think that Ms Walsham interprets Allen's text more permissively than he intended.
60. *Letters* pp 30-33
61. *Memorials* p 354
62. *Letters* pp 194-5
63. *D.D.* pp li-lvi.
64. On the Bull in general, and Catholic opinion about it, A O Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*. London 1916, pp 37 ff., 52-55, 76-90, 138-41; T H Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers*, Chicago 1964, pp 46-49
65. *Apologie* p 17.
66. *Letters*, pp 276-284: *Modest Defense*, pp 146-214.
67. Anthony Kenny, "From Hospice to College 1559-1579", *The Venerable* vol 21, 1962 (Sixcentenary Issue), pp 228-9.
68. *Letters*, 284-92: Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London 1920, pp 197-200.
69. *Memorials* p 38.
70. *Memorials* p 131; *Letters* p75.
71. *Memorials* pp 217-8; Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* vol III, London 1954, pp 297-300.
72. *Memorials* p 233; Mattingley, "William Allen" p 333.
73. Mattingley, "William Allen" p 332.
74. The most extended treatment of Allen's political involvement at this time is Knox's introduction to *Memorials*, pp li-lxxi.
75. *Letters* pp 156-66: the memorial for the Pope was identified and edited by Garret Mattingley, *loc cit*. The reference to the "promiscuous multitude" comes from *Memorials* p lxxvii.
76. For one of which see *Memorials*, c-ci.
77. *Memorials* pp cvi-cviii.
78. *Memorials* p cxi
79. See especially *Modest Defense* pp 124-6: *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of XII Reverend Priests*, Preface to the Reader sig c ii.
80. The evidence is assembled by Mattingley, *loc cit*, pp 336-7.
81. See, for example, "Correspondence" p 45, recommending Thomas Stapleton as a potentially valuable member of the invasion fleet of 1576 "but he knows nothing at all about the enterprise".
82. *Modest Defense* p 196.
83. *Modest Defense* p 141: T H Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers*, Chicago 1964, p 51.
84. *The Copie of a Letter Written by M. Doctor Allen: concerning the yeelding up of the Citie of Daventrie, unto his Catholike Maestie*, by Sir William Stanley, Antwerp 1587, pp 17, 29.
85. *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England...made for the execution of his Holines Sentence, by the highe and mightie Kinge Catholike of Spain. By the Cardinal of Englande, 1588.*
86. *Modest Defense* p 224.
87. *Admonition to the Nobilitie* sig D5.
88. *Apologie* p 4 verso.
89. *Apologie* p 7: Simpson, *Campion*. p 134.
90. Pastor vol 21 p 250, vol 22 p 391, vol 23 p 311.
91. See, for example, his letter to John Mush in March 1594, *Memorials* pp 357-8.
92. R B Wernham, editor, *Lists and Analyses of State Papers Foreign Series Elizabeth I*. London HMSO vol 1 1964, no. 627, vol iv , 1984, nos 638-43, vol v , 1989, no 627: and see the remarkable letter to Richard Hopkins, August 14 1593, *Memorials* pp 348-51, about just such a "reasonable toleration" - "I thank God I am not estranged from the place of my birth most sweet, nor so affected to foreigners that I prefer not the weal of that people above all mortal things".
93. *Memorials* p 37.
94. *Memorials* p 358.

Venerable English College Rome

Homily given by Cardinal Hume

Sunday 16 October, 1994

Many of us here today are pilgrims. In a sense every visit to Rome is a pilgrimage. And being a guest in this house is entirely appropriate in that this was its original purpose from 1362. It was a place for pilgrims — until Cardinal Allen turned it into a seminary.

Let me speak about my journey here this time, happily not by air, but by car. So a visit to Lisieux was possible, with the consequent realisation just how vital, and central, is a life of prayer. There seemed to be no other presence in Theresa's cell save that of God Himself. Then to Assisi, and a prayer before that Crucifix where Francis learned that he was to build up the Church — his apostolate to preach Christ, and him crucified. Then to Rome.

How Allen travelled from the Low Countries I do not know. He first did so in 1567, with a canon lawyer and another companion. The former wanted to see Pius V about a project he had to convert the infidel. He never saw the Pope. It was Allen's second journey which was important. That was in December 1575. I think the Pope himself, Gregory XIII, had the idea first of founding a seminary here. Allen was to do it. And no doubt he had the same motive as that which prompted the foundation at Douay, namely "to establish a college in which our countrymen, who were scattered about in different places might live and study together more profitably than apart ...", and furthermore, "we feared that if the schism should last much longer ... no seed would be left hereafter for the restoration of religion ...". That was surely a noble aim: to prepare young men for the universities and academic excellence, and this for the work of the Gospel. After all Allen was no mean scholar himself. He knew the importance of the academic and especially, of course, of a sane and orthodox theology.

But it was not scholars that he was to send back to England, and, let me add, Wales. No, not scholars, but martyrs. Come out of the refectory and their names are on the wall opposite; go up the stairs and they confront you once more. What a tradition! What examples of true devotion, strength of faith, steadfast courage! "You had one idea, William Allen, but God had another. You thought of future scholars for a Catholic England, God wanted martyrs for a struggling community! Thank you, Your Eminence — though that title came later and for reasons more political than otherwise. Thank you for our seminaries."

Allen had to come back in 1579 to sort out some rows; the Welsh and English did not see eye to eye. Our seminaries are peopled by human beings, doubtless with faults, with differences of opinion, none perfect. But where the eye's focus is on God problems do not divide, true community is formed. I know it to be thus here.

So my pilgrimage must go on for another two weeks or so. But the memories of the journey here linger on, not entirely, I must admit, without a sense of being reproached by Theresa, by Francis and, indeed, by Allen too. What about my prayer life? Do I preach Christ, crucified and risen, with passion for that central truth in order to build up the Church? What about that love of theology which should be part of my priestly life? What about my willingness to die for my faith? That is all for my examination of conscience.

What about you, today's seminarians, tomorrow's priests? St Mark records stern words of the Lord. Take them to heart. You are not here to seek yourselves and personal

advancement. Like the Master who called you, you are not to be served but to serve others. That costs. It involves learning to pray; it means exploring the truth of Christ's death and resurrection upon which his Church is built; it is to be equipped intellectually to speak with conviction about God, about the Gospel; it means, above all, to have the heart of a martyr, strong, resolute, courageous. We need such priests today.

This is a good place. It has had many benefactors over the years, and today, surely, we remember with gratitude Philip Cardinal Howard, who shares this special year with William Allen. He died a century later.

Allen died on this very day, four hundred years ago, his pilgrimage through life completed. He rests here, precisely where we do not seem to know. No matter. He has an important place in the story of English Catholicism, and thus has to be remembered by us. Whatever his faults, Allen stands now, surely, "before the throne of grace" (Heb. 4.16) in the very presence of him who himself had been through every trial (ibid 15), Christ our example, our inspiration.

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Figures

No, you will not die! ... your eyes will be opened and you will be like gods
(Gen 3: 4-5)

you will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending
upon the Son of Man (Jn 1:51)

The jester has stolen the king's thorny crown;
His sweet usurpation's an apple too sour;
The cool of the evening is cold to the loin ...
He's hiding himself by the fig's leafy bough.

So still there he's slumped in his sadness's shade
And even incapable now of deceit.

Who walks in the heat of the day to him said
"From under the fig tree your calling's to meet
And come follow me, and relinquish my crown
For me on the tree and on high for another:
It hurts, as you know, and you look such a clown;
Restored I'll be crowning your queen and my mother."

Stop joking with Him who has known you for aye,
And singing that 'this is the day that I'll die.'

Philip Miller

St Bartholemew's Day, 1994

The Oratory School

(based on some ideas of Fr Luiz Ruscillo)

Cardinal Philip Howard OP, Rome and English Recusancy

Philip Howard remains an enigmatic character - clearly influential in Church and State in his time - but a shadowy figure in the history of English Recusancy. Yet his career opens a window on all the major problems which dogged the English Catholics in the 17th century - episcopal government, relations between religious and secular clergy, loyalty to the Stuarts, the ramifications of the Oates plot and, of course, finance. He played a crucial role in the most turbulent period of Recusancy between the Restoration and the Revolution Settlement, yet because he spent the last six months of his life destroying papers his influence is not easy to assess. Howard was the subject of a lengthy unpublished biography by his later confrere Father Godfrey Anstruther OP. This was a project which began in 1955 when Anstruther was living at Santa Sabina in Rome and was Spiritual Director at the Venerable English College. He wrote to a friend, "... I have been rereading Palmer's Life of Howard¹ and I never realised before how uninspired it is. It has all the matter but no literary merit and, alas, no references. Shall we do a new one?"² His new one occupied much of the rest of his life, and it was a source of frustration that he was never able to get it published. This paper draws heavily upon it, and I am grateful for the late Father Anstruther's exhaustive research and to Father Bede Bailey OP for access to his files at the Dominican Archives in Edinburgh.

Philip Howard's early biography is easily told. He was the great grandson and namesake of St Philip Howard who died in the Tower in 1589, and grandson of the art collector Earl Thomas Howard who trawled Italy with Inigo Jones in the early 17th century. Philip was brought up in the Church of England, but did his Grand Tour in the company of his grandfather and encountered his Catholic grandmother in Antwerp. Her influence and that of a Dominican, Father John Baptist Hackett, introduced the young Howard to the practice of Catholicism. Despite fierce opposition from the rest of his family, not only was Philip Howard received into the Church, but he was also clothed as a Dominican friar. The earl did all in his power to prevent this, including making accusations of undue influence and gaining the notice of Barberini the Cardinal Protector of England, and the Pope himself. Despite the ferocious and constant efforts of his family, Howard was professed as a Dominican in S. Clemente in Rome in October 1646 and ordained priest at Rennes in 1652. The first part of his adult life was devoted to the Order to which he was committed and to the revival of its English Province. His greatest achievement in this respect was the founding of a house at Bornhem in Flanders for English Friars and a convent for the Second Order nuns eventually settled in Brussels. Much of his time was spent crisscrossing the channel raising funds and encouraging the new foundation of which he was made Prior. In 1660 he was made Vicar General of the English Province of the Order.

Soon after the Restoration and the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, Philip Howard began the public career in England which was to draw away much of his time and attention from the Order. His uncle Lord Aubigny was responsible for the Catholic ceremonial of the Royal marriage and Howard was the only English witness at the private ceremony. As a result he was appointed as the Queen's chaplain and took up a career at Court from 1662. This did not prevent his continued interest in his Order and as early as 1663 he was investigating the formation of another friary in France. He continued to function as Prior of Bornhem.

Obviously, Philip Howard became known at Court as something of a public figure, especially after succeeding his uncle as Grand Almoner to the Queen in 1665. This post gave him charge over her oratory at Whitehall and a state salary. Pepys, on a visit to Court in 1666, described him as a “good natured gentleman” with whom he “talked merrily of the differences of our religion”.

The Restoration raised again possibilities for the English Catholics of an environment in which ecclesiastical administration might be regularised. The first half of the 17th century had seen the Recusant communities riven by rivalries and disputes over who should exercise oversight after the loss of the hierarchy. In the 1620s William Bishop and Richard Smith had been appointed as Vicars Apostolic and England was placed under the care of the newly formulated Congregation of Propaganda Fide. The Vicariate effectively lasted only until Smith went into exile in 1631, after which there was no bishop in England. The eponymous Bishop William Bishop lived only nine months after his arrival in England in July 1623, but his only significant governmental act was to have ramifications long after. He instituted a Chapter of twenty canons to advise him and preserve jurisdiction in case of his death. The Chapter was *de facto* recognised by Propaganda, but the formal Bull of erection of the Chapter was never given. Richard Smith not only continued it, but gave it the right to elect its own canons and dean if the Vicariate was vacant. Smith tried to exercise jurisdiction from France, but the unconfirmed Chapter took on greater significance and after his death in 1655 it assumed jurisdiction over the Church in England. At no point did Rome ever grant it formal status and jurisdiction, which created ticklish problems over clerical appointments and faculties.

The Chapter pressed, not only for its own formal recognition, but for the appointment of a Bishop in Ordinary, not a Vicar Apostolic, to succeed Smith. A Bishop would be expected to work closely with a Chapter; a Vicar Apostolic could in theory override what was essentially an uncanonical body.

Howard became drawn into this delicate problem when in 1668 John Leyburn, the new secretary to the Chapter, suggested to his fellow canons that Howard be their nomination as Bishop. The London members who knew him were enthusiastic but others were less so, for the reason that they were lukewarm about a religious in control of secular clergy. Thus Howard was dragged into the perennial bitter secular *v* regular wrangle, although he had the virtue in some eyes of at least not being a Jesuit. However, the Internuncio of Brussels, on whom Rome largely depended for reliable information on England, knew Howard well through his Dominican foundations and commended him to the Pope for the appointment. The matter was virtually settled by mid 1670, and it was confirmed by a ‘particular congregation’ in September of that year that Howard would be appointed Vicar Apostolic for England and Scotland. According to Anstruther there was “no serious doubt outside the Chapter that he was to be a Vicar Apostolic and not a Bishop”.³ Bossy shared this view that no one seriously thought that they would get ordinaries.⁴

In April 1672 Howard was secretly appointed titular Bishop of Helenopolis, with a view to taking up the post as Vicar Apostolic, though it does not appear that he was ever officially informed of his appointment as Vicar Apostolic. Certainly the Chapter, who feared the nomination of someone who would prejudice or even destroy their style of government, were convinced that Howard was on their side in wanting the appointment of a canonical Bishop in Ordinary. They were immovable in their demands. Apart from the question of confirming the Chapter’s existence, the arguments were overwhelmingly in

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favour of a Vicar Apostolic with limited powers which could be gradually augmented until the English Church was ready for a formal hierarchy. In the event, because of the obstructiveness of the Chapter, but mainly because Charles II was forced to withdraw his support, the appointment of Howard foundered.

The Chapter probably never knew that he had been appointed on the strict basis that he did not in word or deed recognise the authority of the Chapter. In 1675 Howard left England on a routine visit to Bornhem. He was never to return. The Dominican friar, John Baptist Hackett, who had been such an influence on his early years, was now the Pope's confessor and had used his position to advance his protégé. On Trinity Sunday 1675 a visitor arrived at Bornhem to announce to the astonished Howard and his tiny community that the Pope wished to confer on him the dignity of Cardinal. Among those who accompanied him from Bornhem to Rome were John Leyburn, the Secretary of the Chapter, who had advocated Howard as Bishop and was to become his secretary and eventually the next Vicar Apostolic himself, and Howard's uncle William Stafford, executed in 1680 as a result of the Oates plot. On his arrival in Rome and elevation to the College of Cardinals, Howard was given the title of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, but in 1679, when it became vacant, he was transferred to the great Dominican church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. He was placed on the staff of a number of Congregations, including those of Bishops and Regulars, the Council of Trent, Propaganda Fide, Sacred Rites and Relics.

As early as February 1676 the English Chapter were writing to Howard to remind him of the need for a Bishop, convinced that they now had a friend in high places. "...As for the other principle of a Bishop, when your Eminence sees it as seasonable to be moved for, our brethren humbly desire that no less authority be accepted than the Bishop of Chalcedon [Richard Smith] had, but if possible that it may be so absolutely ordinary that it may edify, not prejudice our body and so worded that bad friends may not trample upon it as they did upon his. This is all we conceive necessary to hint at present."⁵

This was to be only the beginning of a long and tiresome correspondence between Howard and the Chapter over the question of a Vicar Apostolic or a Bishop. For the time being in England the whole matter had been dropped. The furore over the Declaration of Indulgence and the Oates Plot were making any changes in English Catholic circumstances unlikely. Howard himself was denounced by the plotters, allegedly being nominated as the new Archbishop of Canterbury in the event of a successful Catholic coup. Instead of which unlikely development, he found himself in March 1680 appointed Cardinal Protector of England and Scotland in succession to Cardinal Barberini who had died the previous year. Thus he was uniquely placed to influence affairs in England, but also to explain situations of great fragility to the Papacy and (it was hoped) moderate and guide the policies of Charles II and his headstrong brother. He was well aware of the problems and the disunity among Catholics in England, as he wrote in response to one letter of congratulation on his new post: "If we were all united in hearts and minds as we are involved in the same persecution, what we suffer from the malice of our adversaries would be recompensed by the comfort received from one another, but the scandals arising from disagreements among ourselves...do unfortunately deprive us of this advantage".⁶

As Anstruther ruefully commented, "The office of Cardinal Protector of England in those troublous times was no sinecure...". He went on to describe the responsibilities involved. "The Protector had very wide powers and control over all the English colleges on the Continent and was consulted at every turn by the various congregations on points

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touching the realms under his protection. Now that the Protector was himself an Englishman and a member of Propaganda his influence was unusually strong. All the powers he had clamoured for while in England had now fallen into his lap, and with them a new caution and perhaps a sense of hopelessness that rendered them virtually ineffective.”⁷

The office of Cardinal Protector gave Howard authority over the English College in Rome, and no student could be admitted without his approval. How far he delegated that power to the Rector is unclear, but his name is always mentioned as the authority for each student’s admission, and later letters from the exiled Queen in the 1690s were sent directly to Howard on behalf of young men whom she commends to him as possible seminarians. One decree made by him in relation to the English College survives. Anstruther suggests that perhaps this was the only one necessary and the college was in good order. Another, less sanguine view, is that it was typical of others and is the only one to have survived in textual form. Either way, it suggests a close interest in day to day affairs. The decree of 13 December 1680 insists that morning meditation be made in common and that one of the priests be present to ensure that this is carried out. This insistence on common prayer (particularly if it was accompanied by other reforms) could well reflect Howard’s enthusiasm for a particular style of clerical life.

Howard came into contact, possibly through the Royal family, with Bartholomew Holzhauser, a Bavarian secular priest and mystic who met Charles II during the King’s exile. He was prevented only with difficulty from embarking on the English mission himself despite total ignorance of the country and its language.⁸ Holzhauser evolved a plan to foster a pattern of life for secular clergy by the formation of an “Institute of Clerics Living in Common”. He was told by Rome that his ideal was so obvious as to need no official sanction, but under Innocent XI the Institute was canonically established by two Papal bulls of June 1680 and August 1684 - the first only weeks after Howard’s arrival in Rome. Howard saw the Institute as an admirable tool for restoring morale and unity among the English clergy. Its primary object was to have two or more priests living in common in the same house, without female attendance and in subjection (without the usual exemption for Regulars) to the Ordinary of the Diocese. In the Constitution of the Institute oddly no mention is made of the Divine Office as the form of common prayer, but emphasis is placed on the rosary, litanies, popular prayers and at least an hour of communal meditation (as insisted on by Howard at the English College). Anstruther, without indicating what the evidence was, mentions that, “there is evidence that he contemplated imposing it on the English College in Rome, but nothing came of it.”⁹ It seems that he introduced elements of it and certainly did his best to advocate it among the clergy already on the mission.

In 1684 Howard issued his only pastoral letter as Cardinal Protector to the English clergy, and it is devoted wholly to the Institute. He expresses concern about the way of life of the English clergy, who were subject to three principle dangers: first that of idleness, second that of familiar everyday contact with women, third the uncontrolled administration of property, especially ecclesiastical property. He therefore commends the Institute to the secular clergy as the best solution.¹⁰ It was not an overwhelming success, although it must be said that the ideal of a common life continued to re-emerge among the secular clergy and the Institute was used as a model by William Bernard Ullathorne in founding his diocesan seminary in the 1860s.

For Howard the lack of support for his introduction of the Institute was only part of the larger dispute over the organisation and government of the English clergy. His advocacy of the Institute was a further irritant in the already tetchy relations with the Chapter of the English secular clergy. Howard's support and the opposition of the Chapter to a plan based on the assumed existence of a Bishop in Ordinary are telling. The Protector hoped to move towards Bishops in Ordinary in good time, but a Bishop linked to the Institute was not in the Chapter's interests.

It was assumed by the Chapter that the Cardinal Protector was wholeheartedly in support of their aims, and they were dismayed to find otherwise and that perhaps living in Rome had given him a different perspective. The question of episcopal appointment does not reappear in correspondence until 1684, when it reveals a renewed lack of sympathy between Howard and the Chapter. In the summer of 1684 he issued his pastoral on the Institute and sent Thomas Codrington (his chaplain and secretary) and John Morgan to England to act as its advocates. They were both members of the Institute and had been appointed by the President of it to be procurators for the Institute in England. The Chapter were not impressed; a memorandum exists describing the Institute as "at present an impossibility and at best a future contingency whose very possibility is highly unlikely".¹¹ It goes on to anticipate that the Institute would contribute to "breaking the common bond of unity in the clergy by creating a separate body", and that it would be "inconsistent with the common interest of the Chapter". The general tone of the memorandum is that the Institute would create disunity, undermine the Chapter and add to disharmony rather than alleviate it. What underlay these comments was the belief that it would be a rival body which would reduce the influence of the Chapter.



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In November of the same year, as if to reinforce the Chapter's self-conscious defence of its rights, formal letters were sent to Howard on the issue of episcopal government. Acting, as they believed, canonically in *sede vacante*, they addressed Howard, expecting his agreement, on the need for a Bishop in Ordinary. After listing their nominees, the Chapter requested that "nothing be done inconsistent with the *esse* and *bene esse* of our Chapter". Howard's reply discomfited the Chapter, as he bluntly regarded their insistence on a Bishop in Ordinary as having, "more of nicety than substance in it". In effect he argued the Roman view that, while the jurisdiction of a Vicar Apostolic would be ordinary in effect, it was not yet appropriate, "without incurring greater inconveniences and dangers", to appoint a Bishop in Ordinary. The Chapter should be content with the authority vested in a Vicar Apostolic. However, the real blow came when he addressed their comments on the standing of the Chapter and spelt out the reality that it continued to have no formal canonical standing. "I have had, concerning this particular, several discourses with persons whose influence is strong upon deliberations of this kind and from them I find reason to conclude that your Chapter, upon the grounds it hath hitherto stood and doth at present stand, will not be allowed. It is here looked upon as illegal in its erection for want of authority in the erector and no less illegal in its continuation. Of this substantial defect they remain so persuaded that nothing alleageable in your behalf can be capable to remove the persuasion. It is not a Chapter they except against, but a Chapter standing upon such grounds as yours doth stand."¹²

The Chapter, not surprisingly, were furious, not only at the dismissal of the issue of ordinary jurisdiction as a nicety, but even more at Howard's candid statement of the position of the Chapter in the official view of Rome. They hoped lamely that his personal view might be different and launched a fruitless history and defence of the Chapter.¹³ James II shared the Chapter's distaste for the choice of a Vicar Apostolic, and when John Leyburn was appointed in September 1685 he was displeased (despite the fact that both the King and Chapter favoured Leyburn personally). Leyburn had been secretary of the Chapter, yet now had to swear an oath not to recognise it. He and the three additional Vicars Apostolic gradually superseded the administrative role of the Chapter, which became little more than a gentlemanly clerical club.

Howard had played a major part in breaking the power of the Chapter. He was the prime mover in securing a rapid appointment as Vicar Apostolic when the opportunity presented itself. His secretary Leyburn, whose selection he doubtless guided, had wrested power in the Chapter from John Sergeant. He was the leader of the "long, skilful but increasingly desperate rear guard action against the inevitable: a defence of the vanishing secular clergy vision and of the historic and constitutional claims of the Chapter".¹⁴ It is no coincidence that Sergeant was the leading opponent of the Secular Clergy Institute, since, as Bossy says, "Under his leadership the Chapter became a machine less for demanding ordinaries from Rome...than for obstructing any efforts to introduce a different kind of regime".¹⁵ Howard's rise to power spelt the end for the Chapter and Sergeant's vision of English clerical organisation, rendering his opponent in Bossy's view "an anachronism". Despite this, Sergeant continued to oppose all diminution of the Chapter's role. As late as 1697, after Howard's death, Sergeant wrote a passionate tract against the publication of the Constitutions of the Secular Clergy Institute, based on the memorandum drafted in 1684. At the heart of it was the now familiar argument that the Institute would undermine the Chapter and had "sowed the seeds of perpetual dissension between the separating party and the standing body".¹⁶ Howard's advocacy of the Institute may have

reached even beyond the grave. Perhaps out of piety for the memory of Howard, who had sheltered his sons in Rome and seen one professed as a Dominican, the aged poet John Dryden wrote to the Secretary of State in 1797 in defence of the publisher of the Constitutions. As a result no action was taken against the publisher, who was also Sergeant's publisher and may even have been informed on by him.

Dryden's sons were not the only refugees in Rome to be grateful to Howard. As Cardinal Protector of the College of Convertiti (founded in 1540 for the instruction of convert Jews and Muslims) he opened its doors to converts from Protestantism. Pilgrims who had overstayed their welcome at the English College were often housed there. Others who received kindness were Lady Theophila Lucy, whom he received into the Church in 1681, Charles Wigmore and William Rixon (both Worcestershire gentlemen who fled for their lives in 1679 under the shadow of the Oates plot), and Gilbert Burnet, later Bishop of Salisbury. He recorded, "...as he sheweth all the generous care and concern for his countrymen that they can expect from him, in so many obliging marks of his goodness for myself, as went far beyond a common civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it."¹⁷ Anstruther remarked, with a sardonic edge, "If the office of Cardinal Protector had involved no more than the relief of needy English Catholic exiles, then Howard was fully adequate for the task".¹⁸ There were others who thought him more useful.

The accession of the Catholic King James II was to alter greatly Howard's role in Rome. After the three days of feasting and celebrations hosted by Howard to mark the accession in March 1685, he moved his official residence into the new palace adjoining the English College. Here he furnished the state rooms, which he had designed and had built, with rich hangings given to him by Cardinals Altieri and Barberini. "In May a crowd of students, doubtless of the English College, with drums and tambourines and other musical instruments and supported by a number of prelates, affixed the arms of England over the main door of Howard's new home."¹⁹ As the arms still quartered those of France it caused a minor diplomatic incident! There was to have been a solemn High Mass and Te Deum in the English College chapel on 27 May, with Madama Martinozzi, the Queen's aged grandmother, as principal guest. Anstruther records inimitably what happened next. "Alas, a few days before, she went to visit Howard's Flemish Ursulines and, convent floors being what they are, she fell from the top of the stairs to the bottom and was in no mood for a Te Deum. The celebration was postponed till the following Sunday and was attended by Howard and some thirty other prelates; the old lady rallied sufficiently to grace the occasion and then took to her bed and died."²⁰

As already noted, the new King pressed quickly for the appointment of Bishops and was annoyed to get only one and a Vicar Apostolic at that. It was rumoured that Howard was to go with Leyburn as extraordinary Papal Nuncio, but in the end Archbishop Fernando d'Adda was sent. It was not long before Howard began to fear for the future of Catholic England under the reckless James and his advisers. His advice was for "slow, calm and moderate courses", but "he saw that violent courses were more acceptable and would probably be followed".²¹ Despite his long standing service to the Stuarts, which continued until his death, Howard now entered a phase of misunderstanding and rough treatment by his royal patrons. It was not long before James II placed Howard in a delicate position by insisting on the appointment of a royal ambassador to Rome. His choice, according to Anstruther, was "not felicitous". Lord Castlemaine was chiefly known for being the husband of Charles II's favourite mistress and was described by the French Ambassador in London as "rather ridiculous".²² D'Adda was received, at the King's

insistence, as an official Papal Nuncio although he had not been sent as such. He therefore expected the same dignity to be granted to Castlemaine, which caused considerable embarrassment to the Papal court and to Howard. Castlemaine's status was still not settled when he arrived at the gates of Rome, and Howard was obliged to meet him and offer him hospitality at the English College. The situation and the individual clearly irritated the mild-mannered Howard, who tired of the college rector whispering with the ambassador in late-night clandestine meetings and threatened to break his neck over the college staircase. Within four days the ambassador was installed in a palazzo of the Doria-Pamphili in the Piazza Navona, and the rector was on his way home to England.

The main purpose of Castlemaine's embassy was not matters of Church and State, but the personal wishes of James and Mary of Modena, which was to embarrass the Cardinal Protector further and severely to strain his loyalty. Mary was anxious to see her uncle Rinaldo D'Este made a Cardinal, and all the time she was Duchess of York Howard had pressed D'Este's cause whenever possible. The pressure, including direct letters from London to the Pope, increased after the accession. No reply or explanation was ever forthcoming, out of delicacy. The fact was that the Prince Rinaldo was the heir presumptive of the childless Duke of Modena. Thus it would be unbecoming if the Duke died childless, for the Cardinal to resign in order to marry and perpetuate the line. Castlemaine raised the matter at only his second papal audience on 3 May and conveyed the delicate papal feelings to James. A report of 25 May, which Anstruther quotes without source, says, "The English Ambassador, too impatient to await the return of his secretary with the reply from London from his King, and finding himself short of money, has decided to leave at once. To colour his departure with a more decorous pretext, he tells everybody that he has taken this resolution because he cannot stay here without loss of face as long as the Pontiff refuses the graces he asks for, and in particular the cardinalate for Prince Rinaldo".²³ There was more to it than that. Finding that diplomacy had failed, he resorted to bullying and hectoring the Pope and threatened to leave Rome if his requests were not granted. The Pope responded by courteously reminding him that May was a cooler month for travel than June!

Eventually, in August, Howard persuaded the Pope to give way on D'Este. Despite his consistent loyalty to the Stuarts, Howard's policy of "slow, calm and moderate courses" did not accord with that of the King. Where Howard was content to see Vicars Apostolic appointed until the time was right for Bishops in Ordinary, James wanted Bishops at once and more than one. Where Howard counselled the private and discreet exchange of royal and papal representation, James wanted the full panoply of ambassadorial pomp and ceremony. By the end of 1687 the King had lost confidence in Howard and had largely entrusted his affairs to D'Este - a cruel irony. James pressed the Pope to make D'Este 'coprotector' and used him in all important matters. Howard continued to be useful in small exchanges but he was no longer the trusted intermediary. However, as his appointment was a papal one, he remained Cardinal Protector till his death. He also retained his devotion to the King and Queen, after as well as before 1688. Gradually, trustful relations were re-established between the Cardinal and the exiled Court when Howard's influence was needed. The new Pope elected in October 1689 (Alexander VIII) refused to deal with D'Este, and over the winter of 1690-91 relations between the Stuarts and Howard returned to something like the old days of trust and confidence. Nevertheless, even in his letter of condolence to the Pope on Howard's death, James could not resist pressing for D'Este as his successor. Howard's loyalty had never wavered. D'Este did precisely what was feared, succeeded as Duke of Modena and resigned his red hat in order to marry.

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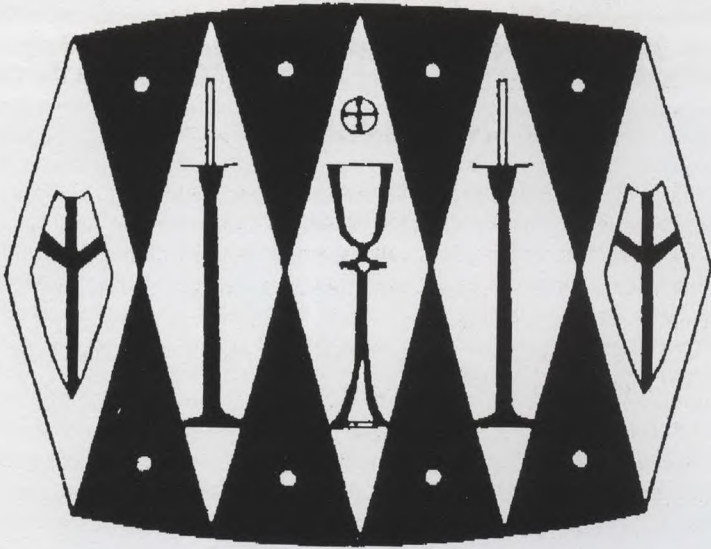
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Howard died in his palace adjoining the English College in the early hours of 17 June 1694. Following the lying in state he was buried in his titular church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva.²⁴ The bulk of Howard's estate went to the Dominican Order and the will resulted in an acrimonious law suit between the English College and the Order. It was claimed that the 10,000 scudi spent by Howard on the English College site was a loan not a gift. The counter-claim made by the college was for the loss of income incurred from the demolition of shops to make way for the new buildings. No clear outcome to the case has ever come to light. However, it was acknowledged on both sides that Howard intended the new buildings to be incorporated into the college on his death. He built, as he planned, with an eye to a better future. His palace was scarcely built for personal ostentation, as he spent most of his time living as a friar at Santa Sabina. The palace was to give standing to the English College and to keep in the mind of Rome that the English Church was not merely a hole-in-the-corner remnant. As he spent the last months of his life destroying most of his papers, it is impossible to know what Howard's hopes were for the Stuarts and for a full restoration of Catholicism in England. His secretary Philip Ellis OSB, as loyal himself to the Stuarts, in writing to inform James of Cardinal Howard's death was in no doubt that he had died of a broken heart and that the Stuarts bore some of the blame. "I do not question but he will be more assisting to your Majesty where he is, and that his prayers will put an end to these sufferings of his King and country which his heart could no longer bear, but broke, to make way for the soul to take its flight towards heaven and be your agent there. It is certain grief was the principal cause of his death and he had no other cause for it besides that which relates to your Majesty."²⁵

Judith F. Champ

1. C. R. Palmer OP, *Life of Philip Thomas Howard OP*, (1867)
2. Archives of the English Province of the Order of Preachers (Arch. OP), Anstruther Papers. Anstruther-Bullough, 1 April 1955
3. Anstruther MS Life of Philip Howard (Arch.OP) Chapter 5,110-11 [Chapter references are given as the pagination of the MS is unclear] Hereafter Anstruther MS.
4. J Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (1975), 67.
5. Westminster Archdiocesan Archives (WAA) Volume 39 No 103 Chapter-Howard 25 February 1676
6. Anstruther MS Chapter 7,4.
7. Anstruther MS Chapter 7,13. The tone of Anstruther's assessment of Howard is generally lukewarm bearing the implication that he was not really up to the job.
8. T. Birrell, *Holzhauser and England: Three Episodes, Grenzwege Literatur und Kultur im Kontext*, (Amsterdam 1990), 453-63.
9. Anstruther MS Chapter 7, 22.
10. WAA Volume 39 No 215, Howard to the Clergy of England and Scotland (printed).
11. WAA Volume 39 No 225, Observations by the Chapter on the Rule of the Institute (1684).
12. WAA Volume 39 No 231, Howard-Perrot 19 January 1685.
13. WAA Volume 39 No 255, Draft letter Chapter-Howard.
14. Bossy, op. cit., 67.
15. Ibid, 678.
16. J. Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics* (1909), 50-51.
17. G. Burnet, *Some Letters Containing an account of what seemed most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy etc* (Amsterdam 1686), Letter 4, 231.
18. Anstruther MS Chapter 7, 50.
19. Anstruther MS Chapter 8, 3.
20. Anstruther MS Chapter 8, 4.
21. G. Burnet quoted in Anstruther MS Chapter 8,17.
22. Anstruther MS Chapter 8,13.
23. Anstruther MS Chapter 8, 33-4.
24. The tomb is not easily visible, being one of a group of stones set in the door behind the high altar.
25. Anstruther MS Chapter 8, 67-8.



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Mgr Adrian Toffolo's Speech at the lunch to commemorate the 400th Anniversary of the death of Cardinal William Allen

It is my duty, a pleasant one, to welcome all our guests on this special celebration. It is 400 years today since the death of our founder Cardinal William Allen; and coupled with the 3rd centenary this year of the death of a one-time Cardinal protector and builder of the principal parts of the actual College building, Cardinal Philip Howard, we felt we had great reason to celebrate. For in recalling these two men, we are celebrating in these days the College to which they both made significant contributions. And this College has a long and proud tradition, and it is right that we should recall it and celebrate it.

I would like to welcome by name some of our guests - and may I begin by saying how pleased we are that we have with us Fra Andrew Bertie, Grand Master of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. For about four years the Maltese Cross hung over our front door during the 2nd World War, and the Knights of Malta ran a military hospital, thus preserving in perfect condition the College awaiting the end of the war and our return to Rome. So it is fitting that Fra Andrew is with us today on this special occasion.

We welcome especially the *Duke and Duchess of Norfolk* and members of the Fitzalan Howard family.

For us in the College, the connection is a daily one - the principal parts of the College form part of the rebuilding undertaken by Cardinal Philip Howard (great grandson of St Philip Howard, first Earl of Arundel) in the 1580's. The College founded by Allen was situated mainly between the Church and the Casa S. Brigida; Cardinal Howard, having secured the Corte Savella, built himself a town house (Santa Sabina being a bit off the beaten track) - and some of its magnificent decorations remain - if Sister Amadeus can't sleep she can at least look up at the Howard ceiling! Cardinal Howard then rebuilt everything between, and employed Andrea Pozzo to decorate, for example the Marian Sodality chapel. The 1685 Status of the College:

"The Most Eminent Cardinal of Norfolk, Protector of the said College, knowing the imperfections and lack of comfort of the said College, has obtained licence to sell certain places in the hills to make a new College; and now it is almost finished, and indeed magnificent; and the students and some superiors of the College have already gone to live in it." It is a great pleasure that we have with us today *Fr Timothy Radcliffe, Master General of the Dominican Order* who like Cardinal Howard resides in the tranquillity of Santa Sabina. We are delighted that Fr Timothy has agreed to preside at our Mass on Wednesday at S.Maria sopra Minerva where we will remember Cardinal Howard at the place where he is buried.

There is something else that students and staff alike can daily thank Cardinal Howard for; Fr Michael Williams writes: "Howard had always been concerned about the poor quality of the English spoken by priests who had studied abroad. He therefore abolished the custom in the College of speaking Latin 'because these youths were beginning to forget their mother tongue' ". One suspects Howard may still have something to say about the quality of English: O tempora, o mores!

The College's connection with the Howard family does not end 300 years ago; in the 1870s, after the fall of the Papal States, new laws threatened the whole property owned by the College. Despite the efforts of many people including Henry Fitzalan Howard, 15th Duke of Norfolk, the British Government felt it could not intervene on the College's behalf: and so in 1873 and 1876, by order of the Committee for the Liquidation of the Ecclesiastical State of Rome, much of the College property was put up for sale, and the Duke of Norfolk stepped in and bought it. In his will, the Duke points out that all these purchases were for the College, and that as soon as Public Law in Rome would allow, any rights of ownership vested in himself or his heirs should cease absolutely.

In all this, the Duke was no doubt encouraged and supported by another member of the family, Cardinal Edward Howard, who in 1878 became Protector of the College; in his sermon on taking office, we are told he not only mentioned his relation Philip Howard, but was at pains to dwell on both the loyalty to the Holy See and the Englishness of the College. We are pleased today to welcome to the College *Her Majesty's Ambassador to Italy, Sir Francis and Lady Fairweather*. Your presence is a sign of that continuing Englishness, and I would add Welshness and indeed Cornishness, of this College, and our enduring desire - thankfully in a changed political situation - to prepare ourselves to return home and play a part in the spiritual well-being of our nation. It is thanks to those changed circumstances that a Catholic may now be HM's Minister to the Holy See, and as ever it is a delight to welcome *Frank and Noreen Doherty*.

In 1870 it was the Duke of Norfolk who had to step in to save the College: in this century that unenviable task has fallen more than once to the Hierarchy of England and Wales, and so it is a great pleasure that thanks to the Synod of Bishops this celebration is graced by the presence of *Cardinal Hume*, to whom we are indebted for much continuing support as well as today's liturgical celebration, by *Archbishop Ward*, who is a visible reminder that this is indeed the Welsh and English College, and that religious have played a significant part in our history, and by *Bishop Nichols* who shares in today's celebration as an old boy of the College, and is about to celebrate his Silver Jubilee of Priesthood.

And whilst welcoming members of our own Hierarchy, I would extend a warm welcome to two other English bishops whose ministry has taken them from home: *Bishop Michael Fitzgerald* who is well known to us here in Rome, and *Bishop William Kenny*, auxiliary in Stockholm who is getting well known to us if only for the length and frequency of the faxes that keep arriving for him. There may be only a small number of Catholics in Sweden but they seem very literate, if not verbose!

Among our other guests today are many long-standing friends of the College, and some new ones: now we have broken new ground by the appointment of Sister Amadeus - a sister of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a Mary Ward sister whose foundress lived near the College and was well known here, and four of whose early sisters are buried in the College chapel along with Cardinal Allen. We are pleased to have with us *Sr Bernadette Ganne* who is representing Mother General who is away from Rome. We welcome too *Dr Eamon Duffy* and look forward with great interest to his lecture tomorrow evening. To all our guests: a very warm welcome.

The 400th anniversary of the death of our founder prompted me to read the bull of foundation issued in 1579 by Pope Gregory XIII. One paragraph interested me: "Moreover we do exempt and fully release for ever the entire property and possessions of the College from payment or exaction of any sort of dues, tolls, direct taxation or stamp duty, even for

wine as well as grain, oil, cloth, and any other sort of goods, and also tithes and any sort of tax, both ordinary and extraordinary, imposed or to be imposed for any reason whatsoever". To which one might longingly say: magari! Papal power is obviously not what it once thought it was!

But the spirit of this College is summed up in our motto "Ignem veni mittere in terram", in the missionary oath taken by the first students and St Ralph Sherwin's famous reply: "I'm ready to go today rather than tomorrow". In reply to Cardinal Hume's challenge of today's homily, I want to say that we in the College today are proud of our history, but we do not simply look backwards. We celebrate the past in these few days, but we are conscious that we are here too for a mission: to prepare ourselves to serve the Catholic community in England and Wales, and the wider community too: to search for ways of evangelisation, to learn how to co-operate humbly and wisely with all those God has called to share in that task. My prayer is that these few days of celebration will increase our desire to do that, and that we will be open to the power of the Holy Spirit who alone can achieve it.

Last but by no means least there are two guests I want to mention in order to thank most sincerely: our good friends from the Beda College, *Mgr Brian Dazeley and Fr Anthony Hodgetts*. The vestment worn today is a present commissioned for this occasion by Mgr Dazeley, and underlines the closeness and warmth of the relationship between our two Colleges. To all at the Beda, and to those who designed the vestment, a sincere thanks.

This week we celebrate our College: today's toast, surely, must be to the College itself, and who better to propose it than an ex-student who has retained a great love for the College, and so I call on Mgr Dazeley to propose the well-being of The Venerable.

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“... So Many Wonders”¹ Cardinals’ Palaces in Rome in the Early Renaissance

During Christmastide 1502, at the celebration of the feast of the College’s patron, St Thomas Becket, the elderly cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini presided over the Mass at the English Hospice. The ambassador for England in Rome, Bishop Silvestro Gigli of Worcester, celebrated the sacrament with Cardinal Piccolomini seated just to the right of the high altar on a simple bench and still bearing deacon’s orders.² Only nine months later the cardinal had become Pope Pius III. With just over ten years as Cardinal Protector of England behind him, his presence in the College represented not only his interest in his charge, which more often than not was initiated by the English King,³ but also his participation in the day to day life of Rome itself. By the sixteenth century, the English Hospice was one of the major institutions in the centre of Rome which drew the English community together, just as the presence of similar institutions in Rome united the other national communities present in the city. As Cardinal Protector of England it was probably assumed that Francesco Piccolomini would identify himself with the life of the Hospice, though he was not always an emissary or spokesman for it: in 1497 King Henry VII had written a stern letter to the English Hospice stating that he had been informed by both the Cardinal of Siena, Protector of England, and by Giovanni Gigli, his ambassador in Rome, that the Hospice was richly endowed, owning many properties in the city, and could therefore support, under proper supervision, a number of students in addition to the members then resident.⁴

Records in the College Archive indicate that several of these properties were situated behind Cardinal Piccolomini’s Palace on the Piazza di Siena.⁵ Francesco Piccolomini had long enjoyed the security of his position as the nephew of a pope and his uncle, Pope Pius II, was indeed renowned for favouring those close to him, with the particular aim of re-establishing his impoverished Sienese family. But the Palazzo Piccolomini was a quite separate building from the relatively humble lodgings near the palace at Sant’Apollinaire of the powerful French cardinal, Guillaume D’Estouteville, which Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini had taken in the rione Sant’Eustachio before he became Pius II. The humanist cardinal preferred to spend his more modest income on the acquisition of Greek and Latin manuscripts to furnish a small but valuable library, unfortunately lost to the Roman mob when he became Pius II: “The infamous rabble not only pillaged his house in the city but actually demolished it, taking away even the blocks of marble. Other cardinals too, suffered losses, for while the people were waiting in suspense, various rumours got about and as now this cardinal, now that was reported elected, the crowd would rush to their houses and plunder them”.⁶ There were several good reasons - more than mere symbolic fancies - for the cardinals to build themselves fairly secure accommodation.

The Palazzo Piccolomini was probably built around 1461 by the young Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini after he had acquired the house of Giovanni Castiglione on the site after the Cardinal’s death in 1460,⁷ in the secure knowledge of the patronage of his papal uncle. Close to Cardinal Piccolomini’s titular church of Sant’Eustachio and the traditionally Sienese area of the city, the palace seems to have dominated the surrounding area in the same way that the Cancelleria does its locality today, with an austere façade and inner courtyard. In 1582, however, Donna Costanza Piccolomini of Aragon, Duchess of Amalfi, left the family palace in Rome to the Order of the Theatines.⁸ A church dedicated

to St Andrew was quickly erected in what must have been a sizeable courtyard, with the palace around it serving as the monastery. Its prestigious position in the very centre of the city, between the Gesù and the Cancelleria, and the popularity of the order attracted too many of the faithful for the little church to hold, and by 1588 a larger church - the present Sant'Andrea della Valle - was planned. The new church covered almost the whole of the Piazza di Siena, which stood in front of the Palazzo Piccolomini, and enough of the palace to make its demolition inevitable.

But the position of Cardinal Piccolomini's palace had more to do with the revival of Rome and its symbolic position as the centre of Christendom than with the establishment of national enclaves. The palaces of the cardinals were built "...to create dignified surroundings for the dignified actions of dignified people",⁹ but also to punctuate the centre of a rather decrepit Rome as a city fit for the papacy and the papal court. After the exile to Avignon in the fourteenth century, the Eternal City had begun to show signs that it was anything but eternal. By the time of Pope Nicholas V a concerted attempt to revive the city was underway with the Pope as its instigator. Less than a decade later, in 1458, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was elected Pope under the name Pius II and began to establish a very different papacy. Constraints on the already impoverished papal purse from the necessity of a crusade against the Turk, who had invaded Constantinople in 1452, meant that every part of the Roman Curia had to play its part. The cardinals in particular were in an ideal position, many of them being from wealthy families, to revive the urban centre to a more suitable state: Pius II had thought it judicious to raise to the cardinalate a new kind of noble cleric and renaissance prince with their instituted wealth and important diplomatic connections. Indeed, patterns can be established, dominating the situation of the position of other cardinals' palaces in Rome.

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Rome was recognised as a many-centred city in the middle of the fifteenth century, with the popes based at the Vatican and the civic centre at the Campidoglio on the Capitoline Hill. But it also existed as a ceremonial unity - an urban stage for festive, ceremonial, and liturgical processions. The procession which brought the relic of the head of St Andrew into Rome involved the decoration of many of the cardinals' houses and palaces along the route between the Porta del Popolo and St Peter's. The cardinals' palaces pressed in on and defined the main ceremonial routes of the city, just as the Ancients had imagined the order of the high heavens:

"There is a high way, easily seen when the sky is clear. 'Tis caled the Milky Way, famed for its shining whiteness. By this way the gods fare to the halls and royal dwelling of the mighty Thunderer. On either side the palaces of the gods of higher rank are thronged with guests through folding doors flung wide. The lesser gods dwell apart from these. Fronting on this way, the illustrious and strong heavenly gods have placed their homes. This is the place which, if I may make bold to say it, I would not fear to call the Palatia of high Heaven."¹⁰

Indeed, Francesco Piccolomini was not the only important cardinal to be well accommodated in the main part of Rome enclosed by the Tiber bend, conveniently close to, but separate from, the Vatican Palace. In recent years excavation underneath the Cancelleria, now home of the three Tribunals of the Vatican, including the Sacra Rota, has raised considerable interest. There, Ludovico Trevisan, Cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso, had his palace next to his titular church in an arrangement not unlike the present Cancelleria with palace and church close together, if not incorporated as they are now. When Cardinal Riario had the new palace built, probably starting in 1486, the ancient basilica dating back to the fourth century was demolished but only after a new church had been built next to it. The palace was then erected on the site of the old church so that, in effect, the church and palace swapped places, thus ensuring continuity of worship at San Lorenzo in Damaso. The old church was almost certainly wider and went beyond the wall of the present church and, indeed, much of it remains beneath the present courtyard. The old palace did not extend beyond the present line of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, probably being much narrower than the present edifice.¹¹ Not only did Cardinal Trevisan restore the original palace but also the Campo de Fiori nearby. By paving the ancient market place, the cardinal improved the surroundings of his palace, thus adding to its prestige, but also provided a more elegant route for the papal processions from the Vatican to the Lateran.

In 1462, the celebrations surrounding the reception of the relic of St Andrew's head into Rome were marked by an important procession from the Milvian Bridge, through the Porta del Popolo to the old basilica of St Peter, with the cardinals' palaces marked out as the main aesthetic and decorative features. The relic itself was subsequently given pride of place in the new basilica built the next century, commemorated by the colossal statue of St Andrew on one of the four massive piers under Michelangelo's dome. The relic has since been returned, however, to the Peloponnese from whence it came under dubious circumstances in the fifteenth century. Pius II was attracted to the relic for its symbolic connections with the East and its potential as a sign of consolidation and future unity of the two halves of Christendom. This, and its exile from its original home in the Peloponnese due to the threat of the Turkish invaders, ensured that the Pope was keen to give it asylum "beside the bones of its brother, St Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and in the Apostolic See, the citadel of the Faith"¹².

It must have been a splendid sight to see the ambassadors, nobles, priests and cardinals of Rome process through the streets, so that "30,000 lighted candles could be counted as they crossed Hadrian's bridge two by two, and there were so many priests carrying sacred relics that the head of the procession reached St Peter's before the Pope started". The cardinals themselves, unless they were too ill to manage, walked the course in uncharacteristic humility: "It was a fine and impressive site to see those aged men walking through the slippery mud with palms in their hands and mitres on their white hair, robed in priestly vestments", and for some it was no easy task. "Guillaume, Bishop of Ostia, a noble of royal blood, had hard work to support the burden of his flesh, for he was fat and old. Alain, Cardinal of Santa Prassede, a tall man with a huge paunch, also had difficulty in propelling his great bulk."¹³

"The route followed the Tiber till they reached the closely built districts on the right. Then the procession turned left and through narrow streets between high buildings came to the Pantheon, which the heathen consecrated to all the gods, that is demons, and our ancestors to the glorious Virgin, Mother of our Lord, and to all the saints. There after crossing the great square before the church it turned to the right till it passed the chapel of San Eustachio, where it turned left again till it reached the house of Berardo, Cardinal of Santa Sabina, a most virtuous man and an authority on law. Here, bearing a third time to the right, it followed the street called the Pope's to the newly erected church of Maximo, where it again turned left to the Campo de' Fiori. Crossing this on the right it reached the square of San Lorenzo in Damaso, where it took a street to the left which brought it to the Tiber bank, and finally a road to the right which brought it to Hadrian's tomb. Here it crossed the bridge and proceeded to St Peter's by the Via Sacra, which was everywhere strewn with flowers and fragrant herbs. "

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While many wealthy individuals had decorated their houses to honour the route of the relic of St Andrew's head, the cardinals played the main part:

"All the cardinals who lived along the route had decorated their houses magnificently. (There was one exception whom I forbear to mention out of respect, for fear he might be thought irreligious.) The Cardinal of Spoleto [Berardo Eruli], though not present himself (for he had gone to his own church to minister to his people and his sheep during Holy Week), had left stewards at his house who had covered the adjacent square with carpets and decorated the house walls most beautifully. He was outdone however by Alain, Cardinal of Santa Prassede, generally called Cardinal of Avignon. He lived in the Campo dei Fiori where they say the genius of Pompey the Great once stood on the site of the present palace of the Orsini...Alain had built in the square an altar covered with a canopy of cloth of gold with many perfumes burning on it; the lofty walls of the palace he adorned with precious tapestries which he had brought to Italy from the French city of Arras. But all were far outstripped in expense and effort and ingenuity by Rodrigo, the vice-chancellor. His huge towering house which he built on the site of the ancient mint was covered with rich and wonderful tapestries, and besides this he had raised a lofty canopy from which were suspended many and various marvels. He had decorated not only his own house but those nearby, so that the square all about them seemed a kind of park full of sweet songs and sounds, or a great palace gleaming with gold such as they say Nero's palace was. Furthermore on the walls were hung many poems recently composed by great geniuses which set forth in large letters praises of the Divine Apostle and eulogies of Pope Pius."¹⁴

But the procession at the centre of the reception of the relic of St Andrew's head into Rome was no isolated incident of public ceremonial during the papacy of a Pope renowned for his love of ritual. Every cardinal, however, was expected to play his part in providing both a city worthy to be called the Papal City and a suitable backdrop for such stately ritual which displayed the Church's new confidence and magnificence. Later the same year, Cardinal Jouffroy's contribution to the celebrations for the Feast of Corpus Christi at Viterbo were found to be less than generous in comparison to the other cardinals' lavish decorations and Pius II records the failure of his contribution with apparent delight:

"Next the Cardinal of Arras canopied the road from the stone bridge that connects the two parts of the city as far as the cathedral square with stuff that he had recently had sent from Florence to make new dresses for his household. It was of English wool of a colour between red and russet. The sides of the street he had reinforced at the expense of his city [Arras]. Because the surrounding houses seemed to him too humble he had erected at intervals high posts connected with ropes from which he had hung tapestries. The night before the feast there had been a great gale which beat and buffeted the ropes back and forth and tore a good part of the fabric, thus depriving his servants of some of their expected dresses."¹⁵

This was a far cry from the magnificence of Rodrigo Borgia in his contribution to the Viterbo festivities, whose display extended some seventy nine feet down the street and included boys dressed as angels, and a fountain of wine.

In Rome the Borgia palace also stood close to the English College but in the opposite direction from the Palazzo Piccolomini and today it exists as the Palazzo Sforza Cesarini in the Piazza of the same name. Originally built as the Cancelleria Vecchia by the then vice-chancellor of the Curia, the infamous Rodrigo Borgia - (cardinal and future Pope

Alexander VI), - the palace was of the utmost luxury. Although its fine renaissance courtyard remains, entered through a door in the south west corner of the Piazza Sforza Cesarini, its former outward appearance has been reduced in its original impact. With so few unchanged examples of the cardinals' palaces remaining from the mid fifteenth century, it is difficult to imagine the effect that these palaces had on their medieval surroundings. Not only was the Borgia palace on the main processional route, but it was also placed conveniently close to a public house on the corner of the Campo dei Fiori linked to it by the Via dei Cappelari. Still bearing the Borgia arms of the Spanish bull, it was there that Rodrigo Borgia established his mistress, Vannozza Catanei, mother of Lucrezia Borgia.

Many of the new palaces of the cardinals of the middle of the fifteenth century in the centre of Rome quickly became renowned for their opulence: Ludovico Trevisan's palace at San Lorenzo in Damaso was described in 1462 as like paradise; the palace of Alain Coetivy, the French Cardinal of Santa Prassede, housed on the Campo dei Fiori, as most beautiful and even shining like a mirror; the Cardinal vice-chancellor, Rodrigo Borgia, had a palace then not yet finished but the part so far completed was as beautiful as it was possible to be.¹⁶ Most remarkable though, was the number of the palaces which stood on the main processional routes of the city or as near as possible. The procession of St Andrew's head would also have passed the homes of several other members of the College at the time of Pius II: Cardinal Bessarion had established his home at Ss. XII Apostoli; the Cardinal of Bologna, Filippo Calandrini, the Palazzo Fiano at S. Lorenzo in Lucina;¹⁷ the Palazzo Capranica near to the Pantheon, built by the Cardinals Domenico and Angelo Capranica as the first theological college in Rome. While many of these were not new buildings, the cardinals adapted and embellished them to their own requirements.

The Greek cardinal, Bessarion, was more interested in establishing his home and the large library that went with it near to his titular church of Santi XII Apostoli. On the death of Domenico Capranica in 1458 he had become the Protector of the Franciscan order, claiming the monastery at Santi Apostoli for the Franciscan Conventuals. Situated on the right hand side of the basilica and monastery, he enlarged the original domestic quarters to take his library and built a house praised for both its dignity and its simplicity.¹⁸ The house still exists but has since been incorporated into the Palazzo Colonna, which balances the church's fine façade.

In Rome in the middle of the fifteenth century, a new stage was being set for the theatre of the High Renaissance and the crisis of the Reformation. The cardinals themselves were becoming increasingly important players both in the formation of a new urban landscape and in the administration and evolution of the Church. The prince cardinals of the sixteenth century are clearly recognisable from these beginnings.

Carol M. Richardson

1. Pius II, *Secret Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, F.A. Gragg (trans), London, 1988, Book VIII, p.246.
2. J Burchard, *Diarium sive rerum urbanarum commentarii*, 1483-1506, L. Thuasne (ed.), Paris 1883-5, III, 228-9.
3. W.E. Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protectors of England*, Cambridge University, 1974, pp.26-7.
4. * Archive of the Venerable English College, Liber 17, f.20r; A. Cardinal Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome*, London, 1920, pp.47-8.
5. Archive of the VEC, e.g. Liber 18, f.93v: "Laurentius belim tenet unam domum ad anuum confirm sine pensionem in teatro pompeii retro palatium Reverendissimo Signore Cardinalio Senensis pro duobus ducati in anno soluendis simil die prim Augusta - duc. II".
6. Pius II, Book I, p.83.

7. R. Ciptelli, "Le Costruzioni dei Piccolomini in un Manoscritto Inedito", *Regnum Dei* (Collectanea Theatina), 1984, p.230
8. H. Hibbard, "The Early History of Sant'Andrea della Valle", *The Art Bulletin*, XLIII (1961), p.290.
9. R. Krautheimer, "Vitruvius and Alberti", *Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art*, Princeton, 1963, vol. II, pp.42-52.
10. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, (Loeb), Book I. lines 168-176: "Est via sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno;/ lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso./ hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis./ regalemque domum; dextra laevaue deorum nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis./ plebs habitat diversa locis; hac parte potentes/ caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates;/ hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,/ haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli".
11. I am grateful to Professor Frommel at the Herziana for this information.
12. Pius II, Book VIII, p.234.
13. *Ibid.*, p.243.
14. *Ibid.*, pp.245-6.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
16. D.S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), Doc.3: "Illustrissima madona mia el non se poria dir tanto che non sia ancora più fato conto ch'el Patriarca porta la corona de ogni cosa. La casa sua par proprio el paradiso. Monsignor d'Avegnone ha uno pallazo bellissimo, hornato quanto dir se possa, polito como uno specchio. El Vicecanelero ha uno pallazo el qual non he ancora compito, ma quella parte ch'e livra he bellissima quanto dir se possa; de continuo glie fa lavorare". Guido dei Nedi to Barbara of Brandenburg; Rome, 29 March, 1462
17. See above, n. 10: "El Gardenale de Bologna ha ancora luy un bellissimo palazzo".
18. Platina, "In laudem ... Bessatione", Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, CXVI, 161.

**Sermon preached by Most Rev. Derek Worlock,
Archbishop of Liverpool,
at Martyrs' Day Mass, Venerable English College,
Rome, 1st December, 1994**

For reasons which must be obvious, I cannot these days study at close-hand the honours list of martyrdom on the staircase, beneath the Ralph Sherwin window. So yesterday I had to ask Mgr John Furnival to check for me how many of those named there had been executed in the years between 1588 and 1590. You can check for yourselves. It's half a dozen: and that is only a proportion of those young men, and some older ones, put to death in the hue and cry following the Spanish Armada.

How do you think Cardinal William Allen, in eminent virtual exile here in Rome, felt about that? It is a fair question to ask on the feast of the College Martyrs in the year marking the 4th centenary of William Allen's death.

In Allen Hall, now in Chelsea, formerly at Old Hall in Hertfordshire, where I received most of my priestly training, we used to have lectures on Church History twice a week, over a period of four years, from a disputatious Irish priest, who in our first year posed the question as to what would have happened had the Armada landed. He was still seeking the answer four years later, at the end of the course, which as a History of the Church could scarcely be described as comprehensive, or even comprehensible.

There seems little doubt that Allen had been made a cardinal in time for the Armada, as a sort of direct red line from the Pope of the day to Philip of Spain. This probably contributed to the subsequent hue and cry, causing more than a small blip in the line and

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number of the College Martyrs. Did Allen anticipate such a danger? If so, did it deter him? Or them for that matter? There was no sense of treachery amongst them. Even though some undoubtedly believed that heresy and persecution would be short-lived in England, we may be reasonably sure that they knew what they were doing. Reclaiming their land to the ancient faith, they would have said. At what cost? One cannot escape the conclusion that they knew, in some measure at least, the fate which awaited them after capture - capture which itself was unlikely to be long delayed after their return.

Now give another thought to all those gory and ghastly frescoes up in the gallery here. Not a lot of glamour about them. How glad I was to see the steps taken recently to produce that collection of colour photographs of the frescoes, so that nothing should be lost in the passage of time. Oh, those young men and the older ones must have known, all right; and this underlines their astonishing courage and the grace which must have inspired and sustained it.

But what about William Allen? Bringing his experience from Douai to Rome, to help them not just to appreciate but to face up to the personal challenge of "hating one's life in this world to keep it for eternal life" (as we have just heard in the Gospel)? To realise that you may well be the wheat-grain falling on the ground - from the hurdle or the scaffold - dying to yield a rich harvest? That's quite a test.

It was of course St Paul who wrote that it is not easy for any man to die - we would find another inclusive construction for that terminology today - and neither is it. There was not much sweet anaesthesia about it when they laid hands on young Ralph Sherwin, who cried out "O God, it hurts". It could not have been otherwise - as Jesus knew in Gethsemane. What led Him and our martyrs on? "I would rather let this chalice pass from me, but, Father, as thou wilt, not as I will." For all the struggle and agonising, there must have been a total surrender to the divine will to achieve the victory of our martyrs, whom we celebrate today.

Most of you must have been at home in England and Wales, when Roy Castle died late in August. His lung cancer condition was diagnosed at much the same time as my own, only he belonged to the high proportion of victims where it is proved to be inoperable. So he underwent radiotherapy and chemotherapy, and received much publicity because it was thought falsely that he had been cured. At the end of last year it became known that the cancer had returned, as it does. On New Year's night I happened to be in Birmingham and went with a family to the theatre to see that delightful musical, "Pickwick". At the end of the performance the cast led the audience in singing Auld Lang Syne, and Roy tried to put his arms round Harry Secombe as they danced about the stage, with all the audience on its feet, cheering them on. Eventually Roy, who had lost his hair through chemotherapy, took off his wig and waved it at the audience before disappearing out of the back-drop behind him.

I was very moved by all this and wrote to him the next day to tell him how his courage had been a source of help to me, and how I realised he must be feeling very flat in reaction the next morning. He wrote a delightful reply and some days later came to Liverpool to launch his appeal for lung cancer research. In the months which followed he somehow toured the country calling attention to the need for this problem to be tackled. It was only last Easter that he was baptised, yet he had developed an incredible faith. I learned that his favourite prayer was that of the Lord in Gethsemane: "I would rather not have it this way, but, Father, if that's how You want it, it's okay with me".

As he approached the end, he and his wife wrote to me to say that the weaker he became, somehow his confidence in his heavenly destination grew stronger. They were praying that I would be given strength to continue in my work and finished with words I shall never forget: "With our love in His service, Roy and Fiona".

Roy would not have expected to be mentioned in the sermon on Martyrs' Day in Rome. I do so because of the sense of mission which seemed to consume him in dying so publicly that others might be warned of the dangers besetting him and them - and because of the deep faith which gripped him. In England today such an example shone out like a bright light, a lantern of joyful hope. He knew the odds were stacked against him, but he used to say that if you saw even the smallest light at the end of the tunnel, "go for it". Today we have asked how much the martyrs knew before they returned to their home-land. What was the light which led them on? What was the light at the end of a bit more than the Channel Tunnel?

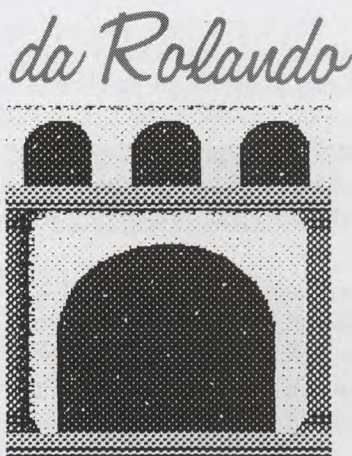
Perhaps that was the greatest of William Allen's achievements. He gave the martyr-students here - what Roy Castle had at the end of his life - a sense of mission. It was not strictly a Tridentine seminary which Allen established here in Rome. But the students were being trained to inspire and to serve the people at home, in the English and Welsh mission. They were to be priests for the people, not like so many before them: second-class servants of the landed gentry, chaplains to the squirearchy and academic and religious institutions.

The mission oath meant more than just going back to the homeland. It meant to be fired with the Gospel, outburning that "dungeon, fire and sword" which we sing about today.

So what are the prospects? How goes it at home? Thank God, unecumenical rivalry would seem to be a thing of the past. Sectarianism has largely given way to secularism.

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You should not be altogether surprised if your choice of life, His choice of you for priesthood, does not arouse much admiration or acclaim from your peers.

Just lately it has been sharper than that. Amidst today's obscenities and 'sleaze' - the in-word - all the things that we truly stand for can be for others a harrowing of conscience and a stirring of contentious righteousness. Our celibacy has become a challenge to the customary cohabitations, and the multi-marriages of the multi-media, all around us. Just now we have "abuse" of various kinds wrapped around our priestly necks; occasional personal failures, deeply regrettable and damaging as they are, are made by the tabloids into national scandals - in Canada and the States, in Ireland now too, and in our own dear country, for the faith of which our devoted martyrs shed their blood.

That is today's scaffold for us, that is the surrounding mire, which as it threatens to engulf us, like a mighty mud-slide, leads us to cry out with Sherwin: "Not this way, Lord, it hurts". Please don't disregard these words as the bleatings of a tired old man, perhaps a little world-weary and looking back to other times which were not half so great as is alleged, nor half so great as you enjoy today.

There is light at the end of today's tunnel. You are yourselves a pledge that the light will not be extinguished by the crocodile tears of our cynical anti-clerical critics. The harvest is white to see right now, if we are not dazzled by the bright lights around us. The Catechism has been added to the Council to give us the Master-plan. Incredibly the hard straight-up answers of Pope John Paul have placed his book in the current list of best-sellers in our own country. For all the daily tabloids' sleaze, there is an underlying demand for truth, a search and a yearning: and we must be there to meet it. You must be there to meet it in matters that are real, in ways that can be understood, and underwritten by priestly example.

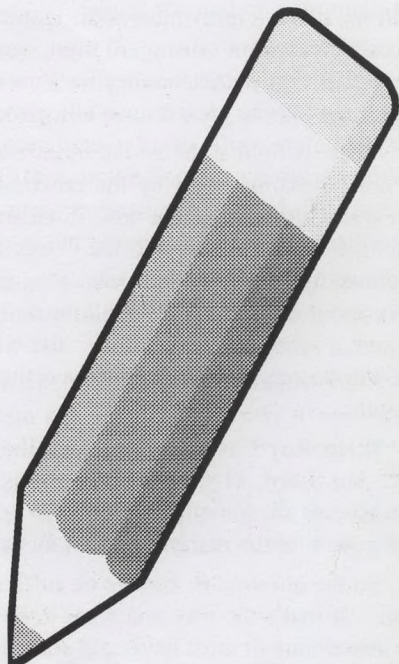
It led Roy Castle on, to say at the end of his life, "the question is not 'Why me, Lord?' but 'Lord, why not me' ". All this makes demands when the going is tough, when the prospects are sometimes rough. To us in our own way, the call is still 'to mission', as Allen gave it to the martyrs - and it means our joyful total surrender to the Father's will.

So the question is, can we be sufficiently big today to use Roy Castle's Gethsemane prayer? 'If that's the way you want it, Father, it's okay with me.' The College Martyrs in their abandonment must have said something like that. Can we respond with that realistic and lovely phrase 'With our love in His service'?

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The Holy Trinity of the Scots A mystery or a case of mistaken identity?

One of the better and most frequently consulted Italian touring guides gives the following rather intriguing description of the church of St Thomas of Canterbury of the Venerable English College: "... the English College, founded by Gregory XIII, with the church of St Thomas of Canterbury (originally the Trinity of the Scots)".¹ The church is also described so in more recent scholarly works.² Perhaps the most prominent of these is Krautheimer's who identifies Sta Trinità Scottorum with the church of the English College and describing it as "SS Trinità *Scottorum* (now St Thomas of Canterbury in the Venerable English College)", dates its foundation to ca. 1150.³ "It is an appellation which is also found in C. Huelsen's magisterial work on the churches of Rome where it is entitled S. Trinitatis Scotorum that is of the English."⁴ Prior to Huelsen's work the appellation Scozzesi or Scottorum is found in M. Armellini's *Le chiese di Roma: dalle loro origini sino al XIX secolo*.⁵ Several other authors who antedate Armellini also give the same appellation to the church of the Venerable English College; two notable authors are A. Nibby *Roma: nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, and N. Roisecco, *Roma antica, e moderna*. Roisecco describes the College in the following terms: "... the English College, with its Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, originally called the Trinity of the Scots, which was included among the ancient abbeys of Rome ...".⁶ Nibby, who after describing the location of the church and the College, follows Roisecco but translates Scotorum with the Italian Scozzesi: "Here existed in previous times the church called, the Holy Trinity of the Scots, which was numbered among the ancient abbeys of Rome...".⁷ Thus we are faced with the possibility that prior to the establishment of the hospice there existed on the same site an abbey or church known as the Holy Trinity of the Scots.

The problem is alluded to by Bernard Linares, in his lucid description of the origins of the English Hospice, where he describes the complicated tangle of legend and history surrounding its foundation. He quotes Moroni's uniquely confusing description of both church and hospice: "The English College stands on the exact spot where was formerly the Church of St Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. To speak first of the church: this was dedicated to to the Most Holy Trinity of the Scots, and according to Vasi (*Itinerario di Roma* vol. 2, p. 500), it was built by Offa, King of England in the year 630 ... under Adrian I, and in 793, a second Offa, King of the Mercians, arrived in Rome. He increased the school and the hospice of the English pilgrims which had already been founded by Ine, King of the East Saxons, in 725, in the days of Gregory II. Consequently we must rather ascribe to Offa the erection of the ancient Church of the Most Holy Trinity, commonly called according to Panvinio, of the Scots ... Padre Casimiro da Roma (*Memorie, etc. della Chiesa di Aracoeli*) thinks that it took the designation from a noble Roman family of that name. Certain it is that it was one of the twenty privileged abbeys of Rome whose abbots assisted the Sovereign Pontiff in solemn ceremonies. Panciroli (*Tesori Nascosti* p794) asserts the existence of a tradition that St Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, lived here when he came to Rome to defend himself against the King of England, Henry II, who oppressed the Church in its liberties. And on this account, after his return to England and his suffering martyrdom, the church was dedicated to him, and according to Vasi, quoted above, there was joined to it a hospice for pilgrims by one John Shepherd, as Piazza describes ..." (Moroni, *Collegio Inglese*, in *Dizionario ecclesiastico*, vol. XIV).⁸ However, Linares' solution of the identity of Sta Trinità Scotorum does not do full justice to the facts.

He is right in rejecting Moroni's description of the origins of the Hospice, but his explanation of the origin of the confusion concerning the appellation *Scotorum* is based on an error. He explains the origin of the mistaken identity in the following terms: "There are definite reasons for rejecting this. The church which is today *Sta Trinità dei Pellegrini* was situated in the same district as the Hospice, the *Rione Arenula*. It was at that time dedicated to *St Benedict* and it took the name of "*Scotorum*" after the Roman family of the *Scoti*. It later passed to the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity and hence the confusion with the English Hospice of the Holy Trinity".⁹ The Confraternity alluded to here is the one founded by *S. Filippo Neri* in 1579, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The church was given to the Confraternity in 1588 by *Pius VI*. The dedication of the church of *St Benedict Scotorum* subsequently changed to that of the Holy Trinity, *Sta Trinità*, as a consequence of its association with the confraternity. However, the church was never referred to as *Sta Trinità Scotorum*. The appellation "*Scotorum*" was applied only to the church when it was dedicated to *St Benedict* as is clarified by *M. Armellini*: "Due to its being near the houses of the Roman baronial family of the *Scotti* it was also called *St Benedict of the Scotti*".¹⁰ (The *Scotti* family probably had a house immediately behind the church in a street called the *Via dei Pettinari*.) *Armellini* also notes in passing that there was an ancient Benedictine abbey attached to the church.¹¹

The *Rione* in which the Venerable English College is situated is known as *Rione della Regola*, and its area corresponds to the *Regione IX Augustea* of classical Rome. In the middle ages the *Rione* was known as *Arenula* and *Regola*, the two names being interchangeable. The title *Regola* and its confines were finally fixed by *Benedict XIV* in 1774. Within the *Rione* stands the church of *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini*, which was originally dedicated to *St Benedict*. The dedication of *Sta Trinità dei Pellegrini* postdates the founding of the Hospice by nearly two centuries. The scope of this brief study is to show that the root of the confusion is older than the founding of the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity.

The identification of the College church with one of the principal abbeys of Rome is due to the misapplication of the title *Sta Trinità Scotorum* to the hospice church. *Pancirolli*¹² is probably the first to give this additional information. It appears that he identified the abbey of *SS Trinitatis Scotorum* with the Hospice church of the Holy Trinity and *St Thomas of Canterbury*. The abbey, which no longer exists, is listed in several of the lists of Roman churches made during the middle ages. Its existence is also testified by a more weighty legal document. It is listed in a Bull issued by *Boniface VIII* on 17th June 1299, which confirmed the rights and privileges granted to the abbey of *S. Gregorio* by *Innocent IV* on 26th June 1249.¹³ The Bull confirms a donation made by *Innocent IV* to the monastery of *St Gregory* on 17th June 1299.¹⁴

Innocent IV's Bull survives in the version given in *Mittarelli's Annales Camalduenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti*. The Bull conceded to the Abbey of *S. Gregorio Magno* several churches among which was listed *Sta Trinità Scotorum* "Locum ipsu, in quo prefatum monasterium situm est, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sancte Marie in *Petratia*, sancti *Jacobi* in *Orrea*, sancte *Trinitatis de Scotis*, et sancte Marie de *Metriis* ecclesias cum omnibus pertinentiis earumdem ...".¹⁵

The rather extreme position taken by *Spezzi*¹⁶ who in a rather curious article denies the existence of any church, monastery or abbey bearing the epithet *Scotorum*, is untenable, given the documentary evidence cited. It appears that he did not consult any of these sources and thus came to his rather emphatic denial of its existence.

Prior to discussing the catalogues of Roman churches and S. Trinitatis Scottorum it would be of some assistance if we gave a brief resume of the documentary history of the church or chapel of the hospice.

The hospice itself was founded when the University of Poor Englishmen bought a house from John Shepherd on the Via Arenula (the latterday Via di Monserrato), with the intention of providing a hospice for English pilgrims. The deed of foundation gives precise details about the location of the house "the house which stands opposite to the Church of Saints' Mary and Catherine, within these limits: on one side lives one called Matthiotius Velli; on the other is a house which belonged to the Lateran Church; on the other side behind lives Cola de Theballeiscis; in front of the public road".¹⁷ The house was sold to "the Community and Guild of the English of the City". The details of the location of this first purchase which was to become the hospice, make it quite clear that there was no church on the site, and furthermore that the property had no links with the English or England. Shepherd had bought the house from one Antonio Smerucii, formerly of Camerino,¹⁸ and Smerucii in his turn had taken possession of the house as part of the dowry of his wife, the daughter of one Pietro Tannuti.¹⁹ Further corroborative evidence showing that no church existed on this site prior to the subsequent church built by the hospice is furnished by the fact that a church is not mentioned as existing in this place in the following catalogues of Roman churches: that of Cencius Camerarius (c.1192) and the *Catalogus Tavirnenis* (c.1344/1347).

The name of the Blessed Trinity is not given to the English hospice until 1371,²⁰ and that of St Thomas not until 1373.²¹ On both these occasions the dedication refers to the hospice. The dedication of the hospice to the Trinity is explicit "societas confraternitas Anglicorum urbis hospitalis sancte Trinitatis",²² while the dedication to St Thomas is more oblique and refers to the making of a gift "out of reverence for Almighty God and the glorious ever-virgin Mary, the Holy Trinity and blessed Thomas of Canterbury, martyr, and for the remission of their sins".²³ Thus the evolution of the actual dedication of the hospice to the Holy Trinity and St Thomas of Canterbury is gradual and comes after the foundation of the hospice. In this process there is no evidence for the prior existence of a church nor for the dedication to the Trinity being applied to a church (except in a very oblique manner in 1371). The first clear indication of a church dedicated to the Trinity occurs in 1464, thus it is difficult to attribute the dedication to the Holy Trinity to the church prior to then.

There is some evidence for the establishment of a hospice chapel after its foundation, in 1363. This evidence can be found in a folio among Cardinal Morone's papers in the Vatican Archives headed *De hospitalis Anglicorum origine et incrementis*: "In the year 1363 was erected a chapel with several altars".²⁴ Bernard of Rhodes, the Vicar of Pope Urban V, granted permission for Masses and other divine offices to be celebrated in it by its own priests chosen according to the statues of the hospice. This reference is problematical because it occurs in a document dated sometime between 19th Jan. 1556 and 4th Feb. 1577 and is based on two documents, now lost, *Liber Actorum* and *Liber Statutorum*. "In 1377 Pope Gregory XI confirmed the rights of the Hospice and granted to any chaplain whatsoever the power of administering the sacraments to the brothers and sisters, to the sick and pilgrims."²⁵

The first documented mention of a chapel occurs in a deed dated 11th January 1376²⁶ when Gilbert Newman gave two houses to the English Guild; the donation was effected and the deed drawn up "*in capella hospitalis*". We may assume that the extensive rebuilding of the hospice which occurred in 1450 included that of a new church.²⁷

The hospice church is mentioned in Eugenius IV's Bull of 23rd March 1446²⁸ and in *Pianti di Roma del Bufalini*, 1551: "S. Thomas degli Inglesi a Monserrato",²⁹ and the *Catalogo delle Chiese di Roma sotto il pontificato di S. Pio V (1556-1572)*, "S. Thomaso - Hospedale delli Inglesi".³⁰ Thus the first unambiguous reference to a church at the hospice is that of Eugenius IV's Bull of 1464.

Thus, having established that prior to the founding of the Pilgrims' Hospice no church existed on the spot, we may turn our attention to the church or abbey S. Trinità Scottorum. As we have already noted, it is listed in some of the various catalogues of Roman churches. For example a church listed as "S. Trinitatis in clivo scaurii" is mentioned in a list drawn up by Signorili, secretary of the Senate of Rome during the pontificate of Martin V (1417-31).³¹ What appears to be the same church is mentioned in the *Catalogus Tavirnenis* (c.1344/1347): "*Ecclesia sancte Trinitatis non habet servitorem*".³² While the earliest reference to the church occurs in the list of Cencio Camerario (1192) *S. Trinitatis Scotorum II sol.*³³ The church in question occurs in a sequence of churches which are listed in similar order in all three catalogues. These titles or churches seem to belong to the same area in the City, that being the area around S. Gregorio Magno, SS. John and Paul and S. Maria Nova. What then do we know about SS Trinitatis Scottorum? It is mentioned consistently in the catalogues of churches dating between the 12th and 13th centuries. These catalogues, which all date to the twelfth century, are Iohannes Diaconus' *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*³⁴; Petrus Mallius' *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*;³⁵ Benedictus Canonicus' *Mirabilia urbis Romae*;³⁶ and Cencius Camerarius' *Liber Censuum*.³⁷

A. Wilmart came to the conclusion that the Holy Trinity of the Scots was an Irish monastery dating to the late 11th c. or early 12th c. The conclusion is based on an analysis of a document in the Vatican Archives, *Lat. 378*. The document, according to Wilmart's assessment of the palaeographical evidence, dates to the 11th C. and is in an Irish hand. The document gives the name of the abbot of the monastery of Sta Trinità di Scoti who bears an Irish name, Columbanus. Wilmart also points out that much of the blame for the confusion surrounding the identity of the Holy Trinity of the Scots lies with Armellini, who, taking the evidence of the catalogues identified it with the hospice church of the Holy Trinity and St Thomas. Armellini in all probability was following an already established tradition in doing so. There are several literary sources which antedate Armellini who make this error. The earliest is Pancirolli, who, speaking of the English College and its church, states that "Onofrio calls the Most Holy Trinity of the Scots": "e l'Onufrio la dimanda santissimo Trintà di Scozzesi".³⁸

The exact location of the monastery in the Clivus Scauri was in all probability in the area between the churches of S. Gregorio and SS Giovanni e Paolo, since it is listed between these two churches in the catalogues. As with many "lost" buildings in Rome little or nothing remains of Sta Trinità Scottorum to indicate its exact location.

Wyn Thomas

1. "... il Collegio Inglese, fondato da Gregorio XIII, con la chiesa di S. Tommaso di Canterbury (già Trinità degli Scozzesi)", *Roma: e dintorni: guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*. 7th ed. Milan, 1977, 232.
2. C. CRISTALLINI-M. NOCCIOLI, *I "Libri delle Case" di Roma: il Castato del Collegio Inglese*, Rome 1987, 7; R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Rome: profile of a City, 312-1308*, Princeton, 1980; F. LOMBARDI, *Roma: chiese, conventi, chiostri: un progetto per un inventario c.313-1925*, Rome, 1993 and G. SPAGNESI et al., *La pianta di Roma al tempo di Sisto V 1585-1590*. Rome, 1991.
3. R. KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 247.
4. "S. Trinitatis Scotorum ovvero Anglicorum", HUELSEN, *Le Chiese di Roma nel medio evo*, Florence, 1927, 493, §12.

5. First edition, Rome, 1887, p.645. Second edition 1891, p.413, and which has been republished in 1982, p.413.
6. "...Collegio Inglese, colla sua Chiesa di S. Tommaso di Carnterbori, già detta *Trinitatis Scotorum*, veniva compresa nelle antiche Badie di Roma ...", N. ROISECCO, *Roma antica, e moderna: o sia nuova descrizione*. vol. 1, Rome, 1765, p.638-639, (the 3rd ed. of a work originally published in 1745 and subsequently in 1750). He inaccurately states that the College was rebuilt in 1575 by "il Cardinal di Norfolk ...". (But rather interestingly adds that " Nella Sala di esso vedonsi molti ritratti di alcuni martirizati nelle persecuzioni di Enrico VIII ... La Chiesa è tutta dipinta a fresco da Niccolo Pomerancio, che vi espressi molti SS. Martiri fatti morire nella persecuzione d'Inghilterra; ed il Quadro dell'Altar Maggiore è pittura di Durante Alberti".)
7. "Qui esisteva in altri tempi la chiesina detta, *la Santissima Trinità degli Scozzesi*, la quale veniva compresa nel numero delle antiche abbadi di Roma ...", A. NIBBY, *Roma: nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII: parte prima moderna*. Roma, 1839, p.738.
8. B. LINARES, *The origin and foundation of the English Hospice*, The Venerabile (Sixcentenary Issue) XXI (1962), 25.
9. *Ibid.*
10. "Dalle vicine case degli *Scotti* baroni romani fu appellata anche *S. Benedetto degli Scotti* ovvero *Scottorum*", M. ARMELLINI, *Le Chiese di Roma*, Roma, 1887, 153.
11. "Presso la chiesa v'era qui un' antica abbazia di benedettini," *op. cit.* p.153.
12. "e l'Onufrio la dimanda santissimo Trinità di Scozzesi", PANCIROLLI, *O, Tesori nascosti nell'alma città di Roma*, Rome, 1600, 794-795.
13. Boniface VIII's Bull reads: "Abbate eiusque fratribus postulantibus monasterium s. Gregorii in Clivo Scauri de Urbe ord. s. Ben. tuendum suscepit omnesque eius possessiones ac bona, quorum plurima nominatim recenset, iura ac privilegia confirmat. VI Kal. Iul. indict. VII. incarn. dom. a^o 1249. pont. a^o 6^o," A. POTTHAST, *Regesta Pontificorum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum CXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1874-1875, 1124.
14. "Abbati et conventus monasterii s. Gregorio in Clivo Scauri de Urbe ord. s. Ben. privilegium ab Innocentio IV. 1249. Iun. 26 eis datum, cuius fila serica pro parte corrosa, innovat XV Kal. Iul. a^o 5^o," *op. cit.*, n.1987.
15. Johanne-Benedict MITARELLI et Anselmo COSTADINI, *Annales Camalduenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, vol. 5, Venice, 1760, p 342
16. P. SPEZZI, *Per la toponomastica di alcune chiese di Roma: SS. Trinitas Scotorum e S. Trinitas Scottorum*, L'Urbe III (1938), 4647.
17. V.E.C. *Memb.* 36. The translation is taken from B. Linares *op. cit.*, 29.
18. V.E.C. *Memb.* 34.
19. V.E.C. *Memb.* 32.
20. V.E.C. *Memb.* 60.
21. V.E.C. *Memb.* 67.
22. V.E.C. *Memb.* 60.
23. V.E.C. *Memb.* 67.
24. Vat. Lat. 12158, ff. 206 r-v, cited in J. ALLEN, *Englishmen in Rome and the Hospice*, 1362-1474, 'Venerabile' XXI (1962), 50.
25. *Ibid.*
26. V.E.C. *Memb.* 86.
27. Although Eugenius IV's Bull does give room to think that the church may have been rebuilt at an earlier date, and that such rebuilding included a cemetery.
28. V.E.C. *Memb.* 200, a translation is given in 'The Venerabile' XIX (1960), 494-5.
29. Listed in Armellini *op. cit.*, 70.
30. Armellini *op. cit.*, 79. However, there is no reference to the church in the *Liber Anniversorum* (1461), Flavio Biondo, *Roma Instaurata*, Verona (1481-2), or in *De Urbe Roma*, Rome (1523).
31. Huelsen, *op. cit.*, 44; Armellini, *op. cit.*, 63.
32. Armellini, *op. cit.*, 55.
33. Armellini, *op. cit.*, 42
34. *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae* 15, ed. VZ III 362.
35. Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae* 60, ed. VZ III 439.
36. Benedictus Canonicus *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 8, ed. VZ III 424.
37. Cencius Camerarius, *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre-Duchesne (Paris 1910,1952) I 301, 309.
38. "e l'Onufrio la dimanda santissimo Trinità di Scozzesi", O. Pancirol, *i Tesori nascoste nell'alma città di Roma*, Rome, 1600, 794-795. He also recites the story of St Thomas of Canterbury's residence at the hospice when he came to defend the rights of the English Church, and that this was the reason why the church has a double dedication.

Melt Love

Let Rome in Tiber melt

Shakespeare, *Anthony and Cleopatra*

When Rome falls - the World

Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*

Under the weight of the centuries' sins
Rome never quite in the Tiber mud sinks.
Buoyed by His Holiness' prayer, mercy wins:
Saved is the city of whom the Lord thinks.
"Always I'll find one good person at least;
Ever there'll women and men be to me
Timelessly lifting their hearts, when has ceased
Endless debating." I'm crossing to see
Rome's melting moments – her levels of loving –
No-one completely undone to the death.
Age unto age in His Real city: Living!

Philip Miller

23rd November 1994

(As from somewhere between the
VEC and the Janiculum Hill)

Peter Pan College Pantomime 1994

directed by Joe Jordan and John Paul Leonard



The Rector with added shaving cream performs a war dance.



The Cast and Directors.



Sweets and songs for the audience.



Johnny being very good – Tinkerbell (C. Higgins) is woken by the Indians' raucous rock 'n' roll.



M. Butlin O.S.B. gets "Aunt Sallied".

Leavers' Notes

Father Bruce Burbridge

Arriving at the VEC in September 1988, Bruce was no stranger to the life abroad, having left his native Canada for studies at the University of Cambridge followed by a stint as organ scholar at Westminster Cathedral. His great musical talent, which in more recent years has extended to the guitar and drum kit, was quickly utilised in the life of the College, bringing serenity and grandeur to the liturgy, culture to DBL concerts and joviality to pantomimes. The intervals between formal musical positions were filled by delegate jobs, a year at the Greg. and another at the Questura, culminating in election as senior student, a role marked by competency, generosity and sensitivity.

A true polyglot, Bruce's command of both modern and ancient languages made him a source of assistance for translators, whether students or prelates, and only recently was he caught saying vespers in Polish. However, he never achieved fluency in Chinese, despite a skilled portrayal of Widow Twanky's washerwoman companion in the production of Aladdin.

As a priest for his last year in the house, Bruce's example of prayerful service is something that will not go unmissed. A true gentle-man, he returns to his diocese with a licence in philosophy, but in fact will bring to it much more than this. East Anglia's gain is the VEC's loss, but this is how it should be and our heartfelt prayers go with Bruce as he takes up parish ministry.

Manny Gribben

(To the tune of "Oh Danny Boy")

Oh Manny Boy!

The hills and lakes are calling

you back home - to where you want to be.

Your licence done and all those sermons finished

oh will you take a letter home for me?

(Chorus)

But come ye back when summer's in the clock tower

and see your mates who miss you plain to see

bring us your self - forget the duty free

Oh Manny Boy

Oh Manny Boy!

Anselmo's monks are calling

You to Rome - to finish that extra year!

Your licence gone we thought you'd stay and cheer us

But - oh no! Your back at home we see.

(Chorus)

But tell you this, the Rector's very happy

now you have gone - for now we'll do some work

for 'twas you - who kept us out at Anna's

Oh Manny Boy,

Oh Manny Boy!

The time, the time is passing
give us a call, a note – a fax will do!
For 'tis your round - you think we're only joking
come back to Rome - and we'll buy you a few.

Mark Harold

There are few doubts why Harry found himself in Rome: he and Andy Doc were lured here by the promises of the late (and much loved) Dave Smith, who assured them that Palazzola boasted the finest cricket pitch in Rome. I well remember seeing their faces after inspecting the 22 yards of uneven concrete on the Sforza - the full magnitude of the trick was just sinking in.

Despite this shaky start Harry went on to become a leading devotee of life in Rome, particularly the villa. He soon learned Italian when it dawned on him that this was a most necessary tool for listening to football commentaries. His extreme geniality and easy-going conviviality quickly made themselves felt, as much among our Italian friends, as among ourselves. Eventually Harry went on to become DSS, performing the onerous tasks of that post with all the deft confidence he so often exhibited at the crease.

Harry was an absolute maniac for all things sporting. Under his captaincy the Northern cricket team continued its unbroken series of victories into a fourth decade, though I am sorry to say that Harry was anything but magnanimous in victory. Two years ago his head collided with the ball, splitting his lip clean in two from the nostril downwards, but such was his crazed determination to achieve yet another easy victory over the South that, after a quick trip to hospital, he was soon back on the pitch to revel in our discomfiture.

Harry's knowledge of football was encyclopaedic. If ever you wanted essential information on the game - "Who played Left-Half for Wigan in 1954?" - Harry had the facts instantly. This expertise led to him being in charge of the college fantasy-football league, an office which he seems to have discharged with a certain amount of dishonesty as his team kept on winning (he was thereafter known as 'Sir Harry Fairsystem').

Harry's performance in the seminar room displayed the same sureness of touch as on the cricket pitch. When presenting a paper, a few hastily jotted thoughts on the back of a postcard were sufficient to enable him to expound at length on any given subject (and sound convincing!). In the great British tradition, Harry always dismissed with humorous disdain all forms of professional seriousness, and set strict limits on time spent on academic preparation: two hours for an exam; two weeks for a tesina (mind you, how long does one need to say all there is to say on 'The Role of the Laity in the Church'?).

The few things Harry disliked, he disliked intensely. Outstanding, perhaps, was his dislike of getting up in the mornings. Such was his attendance at morning prayer that he occupied a place on a timeshare basis with Paul Fox. Apparently the staff have a fantasy league game of their own in which their team scores whenever a 'player' turns up in the morning - sadly, Harry proved to be a terrible liability for Johnny Marsland's boys.

Though he was a man of great contrariness when encountering the opinions of others, few men could be as likable or amiable - a fine man to have as a companion and friend. He was never a chap you could rely upon to turn up at the pub on time, but you could trust your life in his hands. It is very sad that we have lost him.



Mark Harold leaves others standing in the facial hair department.

AN ORNITHOLOGIST WRITES...

The Harold is a creature which, as David Attenborough might say, “has evolved highly specialised characteristics well adapted to its unique lifestyle and environment”. The Harold’s ability to spend tremendously long periods in the horizontal position is one of the wonders of Nature comparable to the Condor’s mastery of the Cordilleras, or the Lion’s proud command of the Serengeti. In order to make this possible, the Harold has developed a type of ‘frontal hump’ in which it is capable of storing vast amounts of sustaining liquid.

In appearance the Harold has a coarse black plumage except for its luxurious, bushy, brown crop which bristles when it wishes to display contentment or anger (bonfires are a particular dislike of this strange creature).

The Harold is, however, much less at home in the vertical position, as is clearly evident from its occasional forays during the daylight hours, moving reluctantly and lugubriously between its feeding-grounds. An exception to this, however, is the football-field where the Harold overcomes its natural lack of agility by having developed a curious circular flapping movement. During periods of extreme exertion it gurgles mournfully: in this connection the Harold plays an important ecological role in soil-enrichment akin to that of the Guatemalan guillemot.

The Harold is not a particularly territorial creature, though in carelessly disregarding its immediate habitat it ensures that its roost is never invaded by rival species. I and a friend once observed the Harold roosting just after it had replenished its hump with its favourite amber tincture. Failing to recognise it at first due to its dishevelled appearance, I asked my companion what on earth this strange thing might be. He stared intently for a moment and murmured in the laconic tones of Dr. Spock, “It’s life, captain, but not as we know it”. This, I have always subsequently felt, provides the key to a rewarding observation of this delightful species.

Andrew Headon

Arrival: Sept. '89 Departure: July '95. Age: 29

Former Occupation: (His version) Accountant with Coopers and Lybrands.(Our version) “Gofer” for Norman Lamont

Studies in Rome: (His version) Biblical Theology.(Our version) Rugby Union (esp.Welsh).

Favourite Place in Rome: (His version) Piazza Farnese by night. (Our version) The stage.

Favourite Italian Food: (His version) Penne All’Arrabbiata. (Our version) Welsh Rarebit

Favourite Lecturer: (His version) FrCharles Conroy. (Our version) Van Morrison.

Great Memories: 1. Heading the winning goal vs the Urbanianum in 1991; playing for English College vs French College at Rugby '93 (30-0); singing the Gospel at the Synod Mass '94; (our version) The “Battle of Britain”, Milan '92, chez Col Bagshott.

Finest Hour: (His version) Earning 400,000 lire for one hour’s violin playing at La Foresta for the festive meal in honour of the newly made Cardinal Mahony of L.A.(Our version) Earning nothing for singing Johnny B Good dressed as a red Indian in the '94 Panto.

Epitaph

O Essex Man is this the final of your disappearing;
is that Thatcher star about to wane?
Ever since the time when your careering
changed from accounts to what God should ordain
the monetarist flag with loyal persevering
you have carried in entrepreneurial vein.
But now a major/ontological change is freshly endearing
those high Victorian values and enterprised gain
to new hearts in Basildon maybe whilst we remain
with only the echoes of rich deep tones
- if you didn't buy the tape recording -
which could render equally Bach or the Rolling Stones
and were always used generously not rewarding
College Schola listeners and Pantomime fans alone
but to many choirs and music ventures according
the benefits of his talent. He didn't have a mobile phone
- as far as can be reasonably known -
a mark of his resistance
to the age in keeping with his quiet insistence
on principle, cheerful and direct
always commanding an easy respect
from the rest of the clan.
A man
willing to turn out for the team and give his all
- even though happier with a different shaped ball -
his true skills never expressed,
Welsh spirit and commitment never suppressed.
Creative, thoughtful, caring
but with determined bearing
he set an individual but kindly mood
flecked with a pastoral charm for the fairer sex.
Was he really one of Thatcher's brood?
Maybe not - goodbye Andy Essex Man-ex.

Fr Malachy Larkin – An Obituary

Fr Malachy Larkin's unique biological, chemical and theological background - while at Ushaw he read biochemistry and theology at Durham University - was perhaps the perfect foundation for a licence in moral theology. On arrival at the college from the Diocese of Leeds, Malachy sported a quiff based on James Dean, a philosophy of life (or death) based on Morrissey and spectacles based on Pope Pius XII. Once described as a "true goth", Malachy had the ability to regale a dinner table with the plot of the latest film, to spice up a homily with apposite quotes from The Smiths or to make constructive theological comments with an accuracy that would do credit to a sniper wielding an AK-47 (his favourite weapon). Perhaps we could look for clues to the "real" Malachy in the footnotes of his tesina on the human genome project, but his Irish DNA certainly shows an affinity for Guinness. As he returns to the mission, we are left with a gap that would be



Michael Wheaton with a few of his favourite things.

hard to fill - if it weren't for the untidy stack of New Scientist magazines he is sure to have left on the floor of his room.

Obituary: Michael Wheaton

On a humid September evening in 1989, Michael Wheaton turned up at Chorley for a two-weeks crash course in Italian (accent on the "crash", eh, Michael?), clad in a rather fashionable man-from-Delmonte cream-coloured suit, with pipe in mouth and Telegraph under arm. Within five minutes his deep English tones had communicated to me his opinions about the contents of his broadsheet, and this moderately offended, extremely unimpressed and rather immature writer concluded that friendship between the two of us was highly unlikely and, if at all possible, then probably a long way off.

Six years down the line, and I am delighted to boast of the total error of my judgement and the absolute unfoundedness of those early prejudices. It did not take any of us very long at all (indeed, only the length of time required to get to Anna's Bar on our second night in the Eternal City!) to forge with Michael that priceless brand of bonhomie which his gentle manner seemed to elicit so easily from a person.

Michael can quite justifiably be inserted in that category of VEC students labelled "Legend"! Being a very learned sort of chap, Michael was famous for a book collection that was second to none and (unlike myself with regard to my own books) for the fact that he had inwardly digested the contents of them all! He possessed an incredible gift of being able to enlighten most people on most subjects (even their own!). A more cynical member of his year was quoted as saying that, "Michael has the knack of making you think he knows what he's talking about, even when he hasn't the first notion!". Michael was, of course, the College's elder statesman when it came to having a jar or two and getting up for Morning Prayer showered, shaved and ready for a day's work.

He was the only man who ever killed "Killer", slayed "Superpriest" and veritably was annihilator of all-comers, and the only blot on a superb career record was a hiccup of a defeat at the hands of an unknown Gorizian bottle-slinger named Stefano. This flash in the pan one-fight wonder was resident in the College long enough to be thoroughly trounced in the rematch!

Michael's passion was not restricted to the odd cleansing ale or theological tome. He enjoyed his cigarettes and his pipe, and Satan did his damndest to ruin a fine vocation with the Italian tobacco strike of '92! Providentially for the Church, there were enough Plymouth priests coming to Rome for those few months to keep their diocesan confrere in duty free! Michael was also one of the founder members of the VEC Indian Curry Club, which won him few friends among those near him in Morning Prayer.

Having accomplished many years of distinguished service in his natural habitat of the library, Michael turned a fine hand to the garden when the giardiniera became an official house job for the first time in 1994. If Panto/Lent Play director had ever been made a Rector-appointed job too, the boss need have looked no further than to the genius from Exeter, who was co-author of two of the finest Christmas productions of recent memory ("Cinderella", 1990, and "A Christmas Carol", 1993).

Aside from his tremendous generosity with his books and time, and patient kindness when explaining theological issues to those of us less able than himself, I believe that Michael's greatest virtue, indeed, the source of all his virtues and the soil in which they all grow, is his humility. He carries his knowledge, his gifts and his abilities very lightly, and

one becomes aware of this wonderful mixture of scholarship and modesty, that is, wisdom, soon after meeting him. Humility cannot be summed up for an occasion and it speaks through the sum qualities of Michael. It is this that wins Michael the many friends he has from so many different backgrounds and perspectives. I am proud to count myself among them.

John Wilson

John arrived at the VEC in September 1989, emerging somehow from a theology degree under Professor Hastings at the University of Leeds with his sense of humour and faith both intact.

John's attitude to seminary might be characterised as "escahatological" – he always looked forward to the end – yet he made a sparkling contribution to the College community, showing talent in such diverse areas as banking ("The Bank that likes to say 'No!'"), catechesis, make-up (for the stage ...), guitar playing, swimming, and not least as Master of Ceremonies. His relaxed approach was sometimes taken to extremes, such as when he spent an entire summer without getting out of bed. His Arian features and youthful complexion (enhanced, no doubt, by a daily diet of several kilogrammes of fresh fruit) always added a special air of completeness to the concentr ... er ... holiday camp atmosphere of the Villeggiatura every summer.

Our thanks and best wishes go with John as he returns to enrich the presbyterate of the Diocese of Leeds with his abundant qualities and talents.

College Diary

1994-95

MAY

Thursday, 19th: Editor of the *Venerabile*: 'You're doing the next diary.' Diarist: 'Am I?'

Saturday, 21st: Arrigo Tagliaferri died early this morning. He's been unwell for months, but it's still an enormous shock to his family and to the College.

Monday, 23rd: A prayer service is held for Arrigo in the College church. It is simple but dignified. The main doors are open onto the Monserrato, and many neighbours and friends crowd into the church. John Marsland preaches about how we can hope even within mourning, and students bear the coffin to the hearse.

Fr Giacomo Santarossa returns to Kenya after spending a term's sabbatical here while studying at the Urbanianum. The quiet missionary zeal of this Italian *Fidei Donum* priest has been an unexpected addition to our Little England horizons. Fr Philip Smith has also left this week to other accommodation in Rome.

Thursday, 26th: More pomp and ceremony at the Chiesa Nuova for the feast of St Philip. In this Year of the Family, Cardinal Arinze presents his solution to the worldwide vocations crisis: 'Catholic parents should have more babies'.

Friday, 27th: Another one of those 'historic moments': The Catechism Dinner. The Catechism's controversial and scandalously late 'non-inclusive-but-not-exclusive' English translation has officially arrived: launched at the Vatican this morning and lauded at the VEC this evening. Loads of cardinals (Law, Ratzinger), bishops, publishers, food and speeches: all the big names, with everyone thanking everyone else for thanking everyone else, and no-one mentioning their 'sisters and brothers' or 'humankind'. It was a surprisingly warm and cheerful occasion, despite one or two heavy moments.

Saturday, 28th: With his licence finished, and with most students abandoning spiritual direction for the summer months, Arthur Roche has taken to watering the flowers for his therapy.

Sunday, 29th: The College photo is taken after Mass in the cortile. Honorary seminarian Sarah Thomas (from the flat next door) manages to sneak in. The Rector calls a spontaneous House Meeting before we break rank, and announces that a Sister Amadeus Bulger IBVM will be joining the staff in September. There are mixed reactions: some glad there will be 'a woman'; others worried about tokenism. Does this mean there will be no academic tutor? What exactly will her role be? The portrait of IBVM foundress Mary Ward, which hangs on the main staircase, seems to be smiling more than before.

Monday, 30th: A new Apostolic Letter. With all the authority he can muster this side of infallibility, the Pope puts his thumbs even further down to women priests. All those books about 'the fallibility of non-infallible statements' are dragged off the shelves.

Next year's House timetable goes up. Every week is mapped out until the Greg Academic Mass of October 1995!

Tuesday, 31st: Mgr Gilby (92 years) breakfasts opposite Mgr Sullivan (91). Jim is delighted to have an elder in College, and is running around fetching boiled eggs and bananas like a sprightly youth.

JUNE

Wednesday, 1st: Exams start. Everyone looks worse for worry, but better for sleeping in.

Thursday, 2nd: President Bill Clinton is in town, and Rome grinds to a halt with endless motorcades screaming through the streets.

The Villeggiatura timetable is published: gone are the Day of Recollection and the Pastoral Day.

Friday, 3rd: Hugh MacKenzie issues his definitive encyclical on the women priests issue in the Letters page of the Independent today. Quotations from Lumen Gentium 25 abound ('submission to non-infallible teachings'). The Pope, according to Hugh's letter, has confirmed that the Catholic tradition is committed 'to the maleness of the priesthood - almost as strongly as it is, we might say, to the femaleness of motherhood...' Hugh hopes to start a philosophy licence in October.

Sunday, 5th: Corpus Christi at the Little Sisters. The Blessed Sacrament weaves itself in and out of the ice-cream sellers and tourists, before being plunged into the wailing and incense of the tiny Maronite chapel. Their priests and seminarians join the procession, which ends in rose-petals and benediction.

Bibos Catering retreats to Milan for the day, and the base ecclesial community from No.48 next door (Marla, Sarah and James) cook us a Real English Lunch (roast lamb, apple crumble, Bird's Eye custard) and a Real English Supper (curry and popodoms).

Monday, 6th: The 50th anniversary of D-Day. Simon Thomson wishes he could preach.

Tuesday, 7th: The deacons are starting to worry about their chasubles. William Massie is concerned that his very traditional gothic vestment has its medallion very untraditionally on the front to face the people. Jean Laurent Marie has had four chasubles made by enthusiastic Mauritian nuns (where priests are still priests!) Paul Grogan has gone for the Tesco Superstore school of symbolism - bread, wine, grapes, mozzarella, funghi porcini...

Wednesday, 8th: After much indecision, the staff have decided to call Sr Amadeus 'House Tutor' instead of 'formation integrator' or 'holistic development coordinator'.

Thursday, 9th: The Archbishop of Kigali, Rwanda, is murdered with two other bishops. The possibility of war in North Korea grows daily. In Rome, Michael 'Ghostbuster' Wheaton Joins Paul Grogan in the Second Library to try to get to the bottom of mysterious bangings and whisperings. Bryan Chestle just shrugs his shoulders as if to say, 'I told you so, years ago'.

Friday, 10th: Isidore Chinez slips back to Romania quietly, having finished his tesina on Evil in the Novels of Bernanos.

Sunday, 12th: Rain. Lots of it. The flowers are happy. Arthur is devastated.

Monday, 13th: Cardinal Hume is here for a few days to discuss the Millennium with the Pope. He (JP II) hopes to gather the leaders of the world's monotheistic religions on the top of Mount Tabor. All the Cardinal can think about is his hips.

Social Ethics examinations: Fr McNellis: 'I think it's disgraceful that you students should turn up here expecting to pass exams after only a few hours cramming the night before'. Anonymous student: 'But Father, we've been doing that at the English College since the time of the martyrs'.

Tuesday, 14th: Room lists for the Villeggiatura and next year's retreat are posted - time to spot which names should be there but aren't.

Vice-Rectorial news: Sr Laudelina and the other sisters are moving to the first floor flat at No.48; the vacated nuns' quarters will be converted into a self-contained Casa del Clero for foreign priests; the Old Nuns' corridor is saved, and the three month sit-in organised by the residents' committee can end.

Wednesday, 15th: Philip Denton plays a valedictory organ voluntary after mass. Perhaps more than anyone, he has kept the quality of our organ music so high in the last few years - as musician, organiser, and enthusiast; and not least by taking over as unofficial organist last term.

Thursday, 16th: After years of negotiations, the Vatican and the State of Israel took up full diplomatic relations today. Back at home, bowels will be moving this evening: baked beans in the ref, whilst Jean-Laurent Marie and Mark Brentnall prepare the annual CUCU Curry Contract in the tea room.

Friday, 17th: The Beda diaconate ordinations take place in St Paul's.

This afternoon eight VEC sporting heroes take on St George's School at volleyball. They are horrified to discover that what takes place after lunch at the Villa is not volleyball, and that in real volleyball the court is twice as long, the net twice as high, and the rules twice as complicated. This evening, World Cup Football mania sweeps through the college once more - the opening game is Bolivia vs Germany.

Saturday, 18th: The anonymous student fails his Social Ethics exam. The ghetto Catholics put on their shamrock scarves to watch Ireland beat Italy 1-0. Tim Hopkins takes over Joe Coughlan's top floor flat at No.48 for his farewell party. The number of ravishing young Italian women able to speak flawless English is a testimony to the thousands of hours that VEC students have squandered locked up in their bedrooms giving language classes.

Sunday, 19th: The college photos have been developed, Photo A, ruined Antonio Panico picking his nose; Photo B, ruined Joe Jordan extending his tongue; Photo C managed to survive all schoolboy pranks.

John Pardo and Ewan Ingleby organise a collection of old clothes for the Missionaries of Charity. Tim Menezes takes the opportunity to off-load some of his carpet shirts before ordination.

Monday, 20th: 'Ad Clerum #2' from the Rector: (i) prayer groups remain 'optional', but because of their 'great value' individuals should opt out 'only for serious reasons'; (ii) prayer groups might be suspended for extraordinary addresses from outside speakers - as happened with Cardinal Hume last year; (iii) obligatory 'Rector's Meetings' might be called; (iv) students must not feel pressured into putting on a Lent play - what about some light entertainment as an alternative?

The 'Ad Rectorem' muttered in the ref this evening included these comments: (i) it's a funny conception of 'optional'; (ii) what's wrong with House Meetings?; (iii) have the staff been misled by unnecessary controversy over last year's Lent play, or do they really think it's a waste of time?

Tuesday, 21st: Most of the Deacons-to-Be left at the crack of dawn on retreat, headed for various monastic mountains to meet with God. Mark Harold and Michael Wheaton, never known to make a fuss over anything, slept in as usual and strolled over to the Coelian Hill to meet with Phil Rosato

Wednesday, 22nd: The last community mass in Rome. Bruce Burbidge plays 'Arrivederci Roma' as the voluntary It's strange that leaving should be so connected with arriving — most of us associate that tune with our first painful days at Chorley language school, pretending to appreciate Italian music.

Thursday, 23rd: What crisis? The official total for next year's first year is THREE. Italy vs Norway in the Blue Room. Bets are taken on whether or not Mark Harold will be watching the game while on retreat or not.

Friday, 24th: Football fever has even taken over the liturgy at Palazzola. The Solemnity of the Birth of John the Baptist is brought forward 15 minutes so that Sisters Madeleine, Gertrude and Baptist can watch the Ireland match.

Saturday, 25th: Villa '94: The Martin Boland (Villa Man) Experience gets under way. Bishop Cyril Restieaux is here again, putting the Rector in his place. A 'Cinema Club' seems to be developing in the New Wing common room. Paul McDermott has taken up the 'lonely hero' role: running the bar, sacristy, and cars, for want of any other leadership.

The much coveted 'Self-Improvement Award' is well under way. Front runners are (a) Adrian Toffolo reading Rino Fisichella (in preparation for next year's First Theology seminar); (b) Paul Mason reading Martin Buber (but unsure about how the 'I-Thou' relationship will go down in his North Shield's pub); (c) John Paul Leonard reading Thomas Mann (totally out of his depth as he tries to break into the Central European/South American intellectual set at the Greg bar).

Sunday, 26th: Late entries: Philip Miller reading Wittgenstein; Robert George reading Marquez; Chris Bergin - unaware that successful authors can't be used again - reading Dostoevsky. Whatever happened to the English novel? Tennis, football, and pseudo-volleyball distract the non-intellectuals.

Tuesday, 28th: The top years are returning, elated or shell-shocked, from their retreats. Hugh MacKenzie runs straight to the football court and takes a very nasty fall, bruising his eye so badly that it closes over completely.

Ged Byrne adds his own unexpected trumpet blast to the psalmist's praise of God at vespers this evening.

Wednesday, 29th: Mark Harold is back. He did watch the game, 'With permission...'

Thursday, 30th: Rob Taylerson leaves for England to be back in time for his grandmother's funeral. He will go on to be spiritual director and fashion adviser at Oscott in September.

Only yesterday someone was recalling the remarks of a visitor last year who found the masculine atmosphere of the college 'arrogantly hostile'. Today Brentwood 'New Men' Paul Fox, Jean-Laurent Marie, and Michael L'Estrange put a stop to this with the revolutionary concept of 'non-competitive volleyball'. Even the macho Northerners are swept into the euphoria of not having to rage, fume, and castigate. 'And they shall beat their swords into...' Meanwhile, the Columbian player whose own goal took them out of the World Cup is shot dead on returning home.

JULY

Friday, 1st: The Lake Gita. Yesterday's non-competitiveness dies a quick death, as the whole of War and Peace is re-enacted in five glorious hours. Long-range three-pint water pistols are useless in the ferocity of hand-to-hand combat.

Sunday, 3rd: The new Lectors have second thoughts about their ministry as Bishop Cyril preaches on the joy and fruitfulness of celibacy.

Tuesday, 5th: The largest Villa crowd yet gathers to watch Italy beat Nigeria 2-1 in extra time. Joe Coughlan takes some adventurers camping at Tusculum for the night. Their idyllic 'Back to the Wilds' self-discovery programme is spoilt by park wardens, druggies and Satanists who have the same ideas.

Wednesday, 6th: Early Mass and breakfast at Tusculum David Potter just avoids getting eaten by marauding dogs on the way.

Friday, 8th: John Paul Leonard cannot disguise his glee as he takes the Rector's middle stump with his first ball in the North-South cricket. The South were on their way to a clear victory, but threw the game at the last minute so as not to bring about a crisis in the tottering Northern morale. (Well ... you could interpret it like that ...)

Goodbyes at the Top-Year-Tea. John Marsland praises the top year. Bruce Burbidge praises Ant Towey. Paul Grogan praises his college, his year, and himself.

Saturday, 9th: We have been praying for Fr David Smith, national vocations director, after news that he has had a serious heart attack in America.

Philip Miller and Dominic Allain have their names and addresses taken by the Carabinieri when they are spotted climbing into a private orchard in Albano.

Wednesday, 13th: Diaconate. Hearing the new deacons sing 'Be Thou My Vision' at the evening party was almost as moving as the ordination itself.

SUMMER

Ordinations, holidays, work, pastoral placements, decisions...Ewan Ingleby decides to have a year out, and begins a job in London. Simon Tierney (VEC 1991-93) marries. Michael L'Estrange returns to Billericay to reflect for a while. At Cambridge, three students are ordained together - a real rarity for the English College: Bruce Burbidge, Sean Connelly, and Martin Hardy.

SEPTEMBER

Monday 12th: The first-year and Sister Amadeus arrive in Rome. Chorley has been abandoned, and they start an experimental 'Italian' Italian course with John Marsland's brother, and the Italiadea language school from round the corner. There are now five first-years. Andrew Stringfellow is living proof of what we knew all along: that drawn-out selection conferences and psychological testing are a waste of time. All it took was a prayer to Our Lady in Lourdes, a twenty-minute meeting with the bishop, and here he is five weeks later.

Saturday, 24th: James MacDonald (VEC 1992-93) marries ex-English College Italian teacher Angela Altieri in the parish church at Bath. The best man, with the straightest of faces, reads out a good luck telegram from Italiadea.

Monday, 26th: Everyone arrives back, Just as the lectionary cycle begins the Book of Job - 'the Lord gave, the Lord has taken away...'

Tuesday, 27th: Pastoral courses begin: Communications, Counselling, Leadership, Liturgy, and Catechetics.

Friday, 30th: Year groups take their course leaders out to supper, who seem concerned that the restaurants won't have enough room in which to split up into small groups.

OCTOBER

Saturday, 1st: College football is off to a good start. Nineteen people are up to the Doria Pam park for the first non-competitive practice of the year, making it the most popular and uncliquey activity on offer. Steve Billington sports a new Liverpool shirt.

Cardinal Hume, Archbishop Ward and Bishop Nichols arrive with their travelling circus for the Synod on Consecrated Life.

This evening only police intervention managed to stop a street brawl developing between a disgruntled Italian driver and a crowd from the college. Joe Jordan's foot is run over; Ant Towey, freed from the burden of having to act like an exemplary member of staff, asks for an apology, 'or we'll deal with your car as you dealt with his foot'.

Sunday, 2nd: The new-style individually directed retreat begins at the Villa. A whole team of smiling psycho-therapists has been flown over from England. We were expecting the rigours of Ignatian warfare, but the introductory session is more like a shop floor. Lunchtime conversation had been part of Arthur's plan, but there must be a contemplative mood sweeping the College: we vote for silence during all meals, for music during these 'silences', and for the frustrated extroverts to be allowed one hour's optional recreation in the library after lunch.

Monday, 3rd: Silent meals have started well, despite the inevitable giggles, and the exaggerated non-verbal gestures for 'bread' and 'water'. You have to appreciate your neighbour in a new way without words - his moods, her needs, his manners. And never before have the Latin wall-plaques been so scrutinised.

Wednesday, 5th: Neil Bromilow has restrained himself from screaming, 'For God's sake, why doesn't someone say something?'. Arthur and the Rector are well ahead in the fidgeting-stakes. Funny how the students (not staff) wanted silence, and the staff (not students) seem least able to cope with it.

Thursday, 6th: The college has been burgled in our absence. Computers and cash were stolen last night by someone who must have had keys, and the Cardinal was woken by noises in his bedroom.

Meanwhile, at the Vatican. Bishop Nichols: 'Isn't it interesting, Holy Father, how there are more language groups in English than Latin at this Synod?' John Paul II: 'Malheureseument!'

Friday, 7th: The retreat ends and the New Persons join us at the Villa for the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary. Anglican student Andrew Allington takes up the baton of Great Controversialist from last year's Mark Bratton and spends an hour challenging the faulty anthropology implicit in the dogma of the Assumption.

Saturday, 8th: The Pope's World Day of the Family. St Peter's Square is mobbed by faithful, fruitful family life - as if to put the on-going Synod on Consecrated Life in perspective. We fall between the two stools - not yet consecrated, unlikely to be fruitful - and attend the Greg Academic Mass.

Sunday, 9th: Even after a continental novel, John Paul Leonard is still struggling to get the 'Malheureseument' joke.

Collective memory and oral tradition are obviously not enough: at this evening's House Meeting the Rector presents us with a set of House Rules. Sr Amadeus gives her own manifesto: it seems that she will be an indefinable but hard-hitting 'Force For Good'. She says that she hopes to bring the talents and perspectives of womanhood, religious

sisterhood, laypersonhood and outsiderhood to the (male, secular, clerical and introverted - my implication not hers) staff.

The 'drinks cupboard' was open in the Common Room from 9.00-10.30 this evening - an attempt to create an unofficial bar. Mark Brentnall's initiative got off to a good start, with twenty-odd people popping in for beer, chocolate, and conversation. We do lack a real common space for this kind of casual meeting.

Monday, 10th: Term starts. The only novelty this year is in moral theology, as Eddie Clare and Mark Miles become the first VEC students to do some of their studies at the John Paul II Institute for Marriage and Family Life.

Tuesday, 11th: The VEC Rovers AGM takes place this lunchtime, and twenty punters vote on a management committee for the new season. Joe Jordan: Manager; Steve Billington: Captain (restless newcomer wins out against the old guard); Andy Headon takes on the new post of Fixtures Secretary, and has four games timetabled within the next hour. Football is back!

Wednesday, 12th: The Polish priests are back. Adam Kostrzewa and Darek Kuzminski have moved into the new Sherwin House. Adam Domanski and Jacek Skrobisz remain in the college. They are still supported by Aid to the Church in Need, which has somehow succeeded in financing a large, black limousine to facilitate their pastoral work.

Thursday, 13th: The filthy space above the altar in the Martyr's Chapel has finally been covered over by a painting which has previously hung in the Tribune. The good money is on it being 'The Birth of Our Lady', but you never can tell with babies - even after the painstaking cleaning carried out by Robert George.

Sunday, 16th: Cardinal Hume presides at a mass to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Cardinal Allen's death. We are joined by a big group of Catholic Record Society pilgrims staying at Palazzola. The Beda College have kindly given us a new set of festal vestments. Never has so much gold thread been sewn to so few square feet of fabric.

The Duke and Duchess of Norfolk join us for a lavish lunch. The family, as well as being related to Allen, have always been great friends and benefactors of the College. Brian Dazely, Rector of the Beda, alludes to malicious accusations that his college is full of 'men who have given their flesh to the world and now wish to leave their bones to the Church'. Sean Connolly, that great thorn in the flesh of innocent revelry, gets us all thinking about the counter-Christian witness of inviting the rich and not the poor to our parties. Dives certainly has a soul which needs our pastoral charity - but why does Lazarus spend so little time in College?

Monday, 17th: The altar is stripped, the tabernacle emptied, and crowds pile into the church to hear Dr Eamon Duffy's Allen talk. At Douai, Allen's first seminary, the entire Bible was read through twelve times each year at mealtimes. Perhaps we need a bit of this rigour.

At 9.55pm, as if from nowhere, anonymously produced copies of the magazine 'NON LO SO!' appear under every bedroom door: a strange mixture of tongue-in-cheek news, medical advice, awful stories, semi-serious reflections and student profiles. The Rector's fourth 'Ad Clerum' is issued as an insert. Who is responsible?

Tuesday, 18th: With great charm, and a little cheek, Eamon Duffy gives us a slide show this evening of his favourite baptismal fonts. The cutting edge of Catholic revisionist reformation history seems to be as sharp as ever.

Wednesday, 19th: Yet more celebrating as we all go over to Sta Maria Sopra Minerva in honour of Cardinal Philip Howard, who died 300 years ago. Timothy Radcliffe, English Master General of the Dominicans, presides at mass. The reception at the Doria Pamphili Palace afterwards is staggeringly posh, and no-one knows how to pronounce 'Velasquez' in the gallery afterwards.

Friday, 21st: Friday mass will now be in Italian in the company of the Elisabethine sisters. As we've lost the 'Nuns' Mass' (they now have evening Mass in their new flat) this will give us a chance to pray with them regularly, and to remind ourselves that we are not actually living in Britain - despite appearances to the contrary.

Saturday, 22nd: This morning's choir practice involved forty grown men chanting 'Cu-Koo-Cu-Koo' to obscure German tunes.

Wednesday, 26th: The First Years decided to perform something 'relevant' at their initiation party, and sing their own embarrassing version of Monty Python's 'Philosophers' Song'. Varghese Puthussery sings a haunting hymn to Our Lady in his native Malayalam tongue; John Udris, fresh from the parish-club circuit, performs one of those biblical skit songs you wish you could remember the words to; Paul Mason, once again, shocks even the most liberal-minded students with his latest risqué song; and Paul Rowan presents a battle of the archbishops (Hume and Worlock) which was just a fraction too true for comfort.

Thursday, 27th: A memo is issued by First Theology: they want to make 'some changes in the children's participation in the Sunday liturgy', to 'achieve continuity and meaning' by adapting the present 'liturgical regimes'. Provocative language: it's almost as exciting as the '60s.

Saturday, 29th: The Blue Room is packed to watch the closing mass of the Synod on Consecrated Life. Michael Wheaton and Andrew Headon deacon for the Pope.

Twelve students send an indignant fax to the BBC World Service because the Endsleigh League results failed to appear on its sports programme. Other non-sporty types grumble about the publicity this unofficial representation might arouse.

Sunday, 30th: The new Cardinals are announced: they include Archbishop Winning of Glasgow, and Yves 'Too Old to be Dangerous' Congar.

NOVEMBER

Tuesday, 1st: The BBC fax back. The gist of their reply is wonderfully dismissive: 'You Roman ex-pats are just a drop in the ocean as far as our viewing statistics are concerned...'

Wednesday, 2nd: Moral confusion hits the College again. Oliver Stone's controversial film, 'Natural Born Killers', is showing in Rome - it hasn't yet been granted a certificate in Britain. Students see it as 'just entertainment', 'horrific, dangerous', 'a provocative moral fable', or wonder what justification there could be for seeing a film so vicious and so violent - whatever the moral.

Thursday, 3rd: The butchery moves from the screen to the garden. Mark Brentnall and Michael Wheaton destroy the two showpiece trees in the centre of the garden - they were, apparently, dying anyway.

Friday, 4th: Kieron O'Brien announces the staff's new plans for liturgical planning. Year groups will now organise a whole season's liturgy at a time, instead of the piecemeal liturgy groups which never provided any continuity and rarely even met.

Residents of the '44' corridor have hung an enormous painting in their lobby, fished out of the old Queen Mary rooms. No-one can agree on the subjects: Joseph and Jesus? Joachim and Mary? - depending on which sex you think the adolescent figure is. And no-one, apart from Imelde, seems to like it.

Saturday, 5th: The Via di Monserrato is open for a street festival this week as part of a publicity wheeze for the local shops. The College church is open to visitors. Administrator Joe Coughlan is in his element, wandering round like a proud headmaster at an open day.

Hordes of Italian visitors are still milling around the church during mass and vespers. We seminarians look self-conscious and pretend not to notice them - we don't quite know how to react when the real People of God come into our world and disturb us.

Sunday, 6th: The Duchess of Kent is here for mass and lunch, at the end of a week's pilgrimage to Rome. Everyone is worried about whether to say 'Ma'm, as in jam', or 'Ma'am, as in arm'. Despite being sick of feasts and suspicious of fuss there is a real appreciation for her visit. She speaks to most of the students, managing to circulate without seeming too 'professional' about it; and it is striking how much of an impact Rome has obviously had on her.

150 Italians turn up for a wrongly advertised Schola concert, so Joe Coughlan plays some old Schola tapes from a ghetto-blaster in the Tribune, they seem to be happy.

Historian Judith Champ gives a Forum talk to about 25 students on 'Priests, Laity, Community...' - a breeze through 400 years of English Catholic history. The 'Now-Officially-A-Bar-And-Not-A-Drinks-Cupboard' goes on in the background.

Monday, 7th: Chris Bergin's father died this morning, after taking ill suddenly last night. It's a terrible shock to everyone.

It is announced that Eddie Clare will be ordained deacon this December. In the Martyrs' Chapel after supper he gives a fine example of Latin oratory by making his profession of faith and act of fidelity.

Tuesday, 8th: The Rector calls an urgent 'Extraordinary Rector's Meeting' after supper. The message? Pull up your socks, pull together, pull yourselves out of the pub before midnight and out of bed before 7.15am. Returning to College after 2am (as seems to have been happening) 'is, to put it bluntly...[long pause]...silly!'. Is this as blunt as he gets?

Wednesday, 9th: The showers run cold on the Monserrà this morning - the heating system cannot cope with the whole college being up for 7.15. We will have to start staggering the rising again.

Saturday, 12th: One million people demonstrate in Rome against Berlusconi's Finanziaria laws. Radical priest Antonio Panico is somewhere in the thick of it.

Sunday, 13th: Finally, Stephen Dingley does get his Schola a slot in the Monserrato Festival, performing a medley of golden oldies in the church.

Monday, 14th: Never let it be said that VEC students are cut off from the joys and hopes, the griefs and anguish of the men and women of our country: Neil Bromilow has tickets for the National Lottery on the first day of sales, and promises to leave College as soon as he wins his £2m jackpot on Saturday. Eddie Clare has doubts about the morality of the Lottery. Could this be the end of CUCU?

Wednesday, 16th: We expect Sr Gemma to sing ‘She’ll be comin’ round the mountain...’ on the feast of St Elizabeth of Hungary. But no-one was prepared for how much Sr Maria could make of a captive audience and a few old jokes.

Thursday, 17th: Mark Hackeson has rescued the Margaret Clitherow statue from the dinginess of the Tribune. She now looks knowingly down the Common Room Corridor.

Friday, 18th: There’s nothing like a power-cut during vespers to find out who really knows their breviary.

Saturday, 19th: 10. 20pm. Neil is still here.

Sunday, 20th: The Vice Rector gives his annual pre-chill pep-talk. This year’s excuse for keeping the heating off: the exemplary asceticism of the great Welsh saints who stood in cold water- to defeat their unruly passions. Wyn Thomas keeps a chaste silence throughout the meeting.

Monday, 21st: We hold a long, intense, but good humoured public meeting about some of the bigger issues of the day. But I don’t think the diarist is allowed to make them public.

Wednesday, 23rd: Essex Man Andrew Headon brings all the gimmicks of a Basildon Karaoke evening to this year’s CUCU Charity Auction. Live telephone links are made to such media stars as Cardinal Hume, Jack Kennedy, and Simon Thomson.

Thursday, 24th: The theft of someone’s seminar notes has created an atmosphere of shock and suspicion - it seems so pointless.

Saturday, 26th: Bagpipes in St Peter’s Square - Glasgow has its cardinal.

After the violence of our last game, the manager appeals for ‘Gospel Values’ in this afternoon’s match at the Urbanianum. We lose 4-0, but it is a triumph just to finish the game.

First Advent Vespers: I knew there was a reason for chopping down the beautiful Japanese cherry tree from the garden, it has re-appeared in the church with five candles atop, posing as an advent wreath

Sunday, 27th: Bob Faricy leads our Day of Recollection He is still shooting from the hip - and we are bombarded with consecrated celibacy, the Lordship of Christ, and the Motherhood of Mary

The Scots College comes round for Vespers and Supper It’s not often that we remember our common vocation to serve the Church in Britain, and there is a real fellow-feeling this evening, Cardinal Winning praises England’s faith; Cardinal Hume, for some reason, remembers Scottish military defeats at the hand of the English

DECEMBER

Thursday, 1st: Archbishop Worlock presides at Martyrs’ Day mass, and preaches beautifully.

Joe Coughlan chooses Anna’s Latteria as the unlikely place to propose to Marjorie.

Friday, 2nd: Sr Amadeus (we are still not sure whether to call her ‘Sister’ or ‘Amadeus’) gives her first spiritual conference. She sends greetings from Paul Grogan, who even makes the diary from somewhere in the North of England. He reassures us that good looks, success, and brains just don’t matter when it comes to being a priest - this observation might reflect the illusions of his seminary life, or the handicaps of his present life, or both.

Monday, 5th: The Irish Church is plunged into deeper crisis by further sexual scandals. What the hell is happening?

Tuesday, 6th: The Common Room becomes a bohemian studio once again. We are all turfed out to make way for the stage designs of Jonathan Leach and Stewart Keeley.

Wednesday, 7th: There are rumours that 'WEIGHT' is going to become a formation issue. It would be unkind to mention those who are getting nervous.

Thursday, 8th: Holly Cam dies a sudden death today. There are no Second Philosophers to collect holly; and about forty people chose the attractions or duties of a day at the College instead of going to the Villa.

Friday, 9th: Arthur warns us not to become 'cynical, lifeless bachelors' who compensate for our singleness by indulging in food, drink, and fraternal animosity. Supper was almost unbearable - everyone painfully aware of how much they ate, or drank, or frowned.

Sunday, 11th: The Rector tries to address some of the concerns raised at the Public Meeting - poor communications between staff and students; the possibility of forming a Council of Student Reps and Staff. I'm sure it was the same in the time of Ralph Sherwin.

Wednesday, 14th: Hugh MacKenzie has been trapped in his room for the last week like the upturned beetle in *Metamorphosis*. His back is worse than it seemed - so he has had nothing to do but philosophise about the ceiling and counsel a steady stream of caring visitors.

The Monserrà Christmas party is held on its traditional evening. Paul Mason's soundsystem manages to recreate a Tyneside nightclub environment; and Paul Ross proves to be the John Travolta of the first year. The Rector is kept up until 3am yet again.

Friday, 16th: The '44' Corridor is much too Liturgically Correct to hold a Christmas party, and so celebrates its annual Advent Evening of Joyful Expectation: food, drink, and Walt Disney (Aladdin) in the Blue Room.

Saturday, 17th: The English College steps even closer to Neverland by staging *Peter Pan* as its Panto. Joe Jordan and John Paul Leonard bring technical wizardry (Tinkerbell flying over the Taj Mahal) to traditional panto slap-stick, with some restrained reflections about time, youth, and death. Andrew Stringfellow plays his innocent self as Peter; Chris Higgins is a glam-rock Tinkerbell; and young Christopher from across the cortile makes an early bid for seminary by playing Wendy's grandson in the epilogue. Paul Duxbury and Graham Platt make heroic efforts not to look uncomfortable during the Tiger Feet dance; and Ged Byrne's costumes eat up the budget once again.

Today's 'Tablet': 'Lecture by top liberation theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez vetoed by Cardinal Pio Laghi'. Even the mild-mannered mainstream of Catholic theology seems to be too much for the Greg.

Monday, 5th: 7. 25pm: Deacon Headon leads us to pray for our 'fellows' - a curiously non-inclusive alternative to 'fellow men'. Perhaps we needed 'fellows and fellowesses' or 'fellowettes'.

8.40pm: I could be wrong. I have just consulted Chamber's Dictionary, and 'fellow' means 'an associate, equal, counterpart'; but it can also mean 'a man generally, a worthless or contemptible person...'

Tuesday, 20th: The civilised gentlemen of St Joseph's Corridor are amazed that their Christmas Gathering manages to get beyond midnight.

Wednesday, 21st: Eddie Clare is ordained deacon. What a beautiful evening: Eddie's infectious joy, his six-inch grin; Bishop Michael Fitzgerald's sermon - the faithful, humble service of the deacon; the music - Mark Miles choirmastering at full stretch; and Eddie's mum, who spoke at supper, so proud and affectionate - touched, as she said, by the 'religion with a human face' that her son had found in Catholicism and that she had found at this College. We are here for a reason: thank goodness we are given a chance to remember it before we leave.

Thursday, 22nd: 'Those magnificent men in their flying machines. . . ' Berlusconi resigns.

Saturday, 24th: 'The Catholic Times' carries a half-page 'Seminary Diary' written by Dominic Allain. Your resident diarist is in an envious huff.

Meanwhile, in 'The Tablet', Prof. Mary Grey comments on the dis-inviting of Gutierrez to the Greg. 'It is a profound counter-symbol that a man totally committed to the poor of Jesus Christ should be given no room at this particular inn.' Our (wildly undeserved) reputation as reactionary conservatives is not going to be helped by all this.

JANUARY 1995

Sunday, 8th: After a quiet return yesterday, there are party games this evening. No-one quite managed to find a biblical character for every letter of the alphabet. The almost successful teams came up with Virgin Mary for 'V' and Whore of Babylon and Whale for 'W'.

Tuesday, 10th: The fact that we are freezing to death is now 'OFFICIAL'. This is some consolation. The administrator admits on the noticeboard that the boilers aren't working - engineers arrive tomorrow. For the first time in a generation, students are flocking to the Greg library to make the most of its stifling heat.

Thursday, 12th: The heating has been fixed. The Greg is empty again.

Friday, 13th: The Spiritual 'Conferences' are getting shorter by the week. Have we run out of spirituality? This week - a short reading from St Augustine jammed into the middle of evening prayer. Next week - an eleven word Zen 'koan' designed to shatter rationality and egocentricity...

Saturday, 14th: Snow falls in Rome for about half an hour this morning.

Sunday, 15th: Four million people meet John Paul II in Manila - a real Woodstock for the nineties, only without the naked mud wrestling.

Tuesday, 17th: Foreign priests Carmelo Lupo and Jacek Skrobisz are coming on leaps and bounds with their English. At the Bede's mass today, Jacek opens Eucharistic Prayer 3 with the words, 'Father, are you holy indeed?'

Wednesday, 18th: The Week of Prayer for Christian Unity. Andrew Allington and David Allen's ecumenical intercessions are being censored by canonist John Pardo. He wasn't sure about thanking God for 'uninhibited' Pentecostal worship, in case it implied that the rest of us were in fact 'inhibited'. The word was changed to 'spirited'.

Friday, 20th: DOOM is the latest computer game to distract us from formation (Cert 18; 3D graphics; Schwarzenegger-type destruction). Robert George has clocked-up the most alien-hours so far.

Cynical VEC students couldn't cope with this evening's Iona Community hymn (HON 716): 'Jesus Christ is raging/raging in the streets...' Where is our passion? Where is our poetry?

Monday, 23rd: Fr Derek Jennings died this evening. Only last Holy Week he was leading us in such an inspiring, quirky, hysterical Day of Recollection. He showed us, above all, that priesthood isn't about becoming a 'type', but just means saying 'Yes' to the crazy love of Christ, and letting it have its way, with our warts and wounds and all. May his wounds, united with Christ's, lead him to the Father.

Tuesday, 24th: The Great Barrier finally goes up between the VEC and Sherwin House, the new accommodation for clergy: the partition-door halfway along the Common Room Corridor is finished.

Friday, 27th: Exams begin. The Rector announces that house jobs will be 'stream-lined' because of the drop in student numbers, i.e. the deacons-to-be will be given jobs. Bang goes the idea of being given more time to study for licences. But what are the alternatives?

FEBRUARY

Wednesday, 1st: The Rector returns to England looking for staff, students, and money. The lack of an academic tutor is felt more strongly at exam-times like this.

Post-trauma counsellors were at the ready to greet John Wilson, Adam Domanski and others after getting stuck in our tired old lift this afternoon.

Friday, 3rd: One of those surreal notices went up on the board today: 'The catfish is dead. Length: 11 inches. Bryan'.

Tuesday, 7th: Exams are finishing, and the exotic holidays are beginning. This year Sicily seems to be the most adventurous.

Thursday, 9th: Neil Bromilow has his leaving bash at Franco's Pizzeria, joined by most of the college. He admits, after three and a half years' griping, that he has enjoyed some of it and will miss some of us.

Tuesday, 14th: Dr and Mrs Graham Leonard are here for a few days to meet the high and the mighty at the Vatican.

Thursday, 16th: It's not a good year for health. Hugh MacKenzie is back from England today, but still hobbling. Martin Mikolasik has been taken ill and had to return to the Czech Republic.

Friday, 17th: The annual BIBOS Breakfast CUCU Contract is fulfilled this morning - bacon, eggs, muffins, and Nutella for the lucky breakfast table.

This evening, Graham Leonard gives us a guest spiritual conference on humility before we retire upstairs to formulate Propositions and Proposals in a highly secretive and confidential Public Meeting. I can't write a thing.

Saturday, 18th: Mgr Paul Gallagher arrives from the Philippines. He will be living at the College while he works 'down the road' for 'the old man' - he always speaks in code, as if there are secret agents around.

Sunday, 19th: Simon Madden tries to make his choirmaster-mark at his final Sunday Vespers. Only a bold man would attempt 'I danced in the morning' with guitars, mandolin, tambourine and organ; only a reckless man would set the Magnificat antiphon to the tune of 'Somewhere Over the Rainbow'. Bishop John Crowley looks on impressed.

Monday, 20th: Manny Gribben returns to sow liturgical havoc in the fertile field of Ushaw. Martin Boland is the People's Choice for senior student.

Tuesday, 21st: Professor John Marsland delivers his first lecture at the Greg this morning. The forty-strong aula might indicate a new interest in catechetics, or a very old interest in taking whatever happens to be the only English language optional course in First Cycle Theology.

Eddie Clare is the new deputy senior student. Paul Duxbury has flown home today to be with his father, who is very sick at the moment.

Wednesday 22nd: The day when no-one dares answer their door. 'Ah, hello...(Clive), (Robin), (Archibald), (etc.) ... I wonder if you'd be willing to...' House jobs arrive. 'Gardener' is re-instated as an official house job – a strange decision in times of rationalisation, but one that might prove inspired.

Thursday, 23rd: The whole of the toilet/shower block of the '44' has been knocked out of action by a rogue water-freshener getting blocked round some major bend. This is why, according to one plumbing theory, the Monserrà has had hot showers for the first time in ages.

Friday, 24th: Imelde's husband Savino Ricci died last night, after a long illness - may he rest in peace.

Formal thanks are given to Bruce Burbidge and Mark Harold for twelve months as SS and DSS. The Rector: 'Senior students are like dogs, they come in all shapes and sizes; some are large and fluffy, some small and cuddly...'; Martin Boland: '...and some are Rottweilers'.

Saturday, 25th: About twenty five students, staff, and personale were at Imelde's parish for Savino's funeral this morning. She was heartbroken, but appreciated being comforted by so many friends from college.

Sunday, 26th: A number of distinctive 'goatie' beards are sprouting: about two square inches of hair on the end of the chin, the rest cleanly shaven.

It's the fashion, apparently, in English football at the moment; but it probably reveals a simpler longing for a bohemian fling before diaconate.

Tuesday, 28th: Bishop O'Brien is here from Middlesbrough, and helps us eat Claudio's strawberry jam pancakes for Shrove Tuesday.

MARCH

Wednesday, 1st: Lent. Arthur reminds us that the Grail Psalms were written in the 'sprung rhythm' of Gerard Manley Hopkins, and suggests we might reflect that in our recitation. Fat chance! It's hard enough focussing at 7.15 in the morning, let alone 'dancing with the delightful dashes'.

Friday 3rd: I don't think we've heard the Echo Our Father since the last Labour government.

The Rector responds to the Propositions and Proposals which came out of the last Public Meeting: communication; interview procedures; ministries; student decision-making – you can guess some of the perennial tensions that lie behind these headings. His response was of the 'We're trying' school. At the same time, student self-assessment questionnaires are handed out to help us reflect on things before interviews. Many questions cut to the heart (faith, relationships, priesthood); some, perhaps unavoidably, sound like a 5th Form social science module (Are you smoking? Do you think this is good for you? Are you going to do anything about it?).

Saturday, 4th: Jim Whiston arrives to give the staff a weekend management course on ... Communication. They certainly are trying.

2.17pm: Jesus and Joseph fell off the wall of the '44', nearly killing Chris Higgins and friend Suzanne. Divine retribution? Or have the impious modernists sabotaged this flower of unselfconscious piety?

Sunday, 5th: Liturgy groups are stage managing the Lenten Sundays to great effect: the church left in meaningful silence and darkness until the first reading. We thought the absence of the processional cross was part of this seasonal spectacle until we realised that acolyte Nick Tucker had just wandered off, forgetting to plant it before the altar.

Paul Fox came back from the French Church glowing this morning, having met, talked with, and hugged Cardinal Lustiger - one of his great heroes. Only Paul Fox could hug a Cardinal on their first meeting.

Monday, 6th: In order to improve communication, the staff have decided to eat Friday lunches alone in their own common room. Tim Menezes is back after one of those 'had to see the dentist' holidays.

Wednesday, 8th: Siestas are OFF for the foreseeable future, as the building of the fire escape starts with a vengeance. Scaffolding fills one corner of the cortile, together with one of those yellow plastic rubbish tubes which lets out a great primaevial scream everytime a wheelbarrow is emptied down it.

Thursday, 9th: The Lent play is officially *The Elephant Man* (no problems finding a lead character there). Martin Boland will take the unheard-of step of casting 'a woman' (as yet unnamed) in one of the lead roles, to turn an 'adequate play' into something 'potentially good'.

Friday, 10th: Paul Duxbury's father died this morning, RIP.

Saturday, 11th: The building noise is relentless - drilling, banging, screaming. Dust is seeping under the doors into the very pores of Monserrà residents. Kieron O'Brien has lost his tower staircase, and so - lacking a Rapunzel - has to climb through the rafters to get to his room.

Sunday, 12th: The Rector calls a meeting. He reminds us how important it is to it and eat together for supper, to stay the gruelling course of forty minutes, so that we can learn social graces. If we lack them, he asks us to see him, and he will pass us on to someone who is able to teach them. The DSS appeals for plate-stacking at meals - even from those students who find this habit 'too common'.

Tuesday, 14th: Something has gone wrong: the play is off, No-one is sure what's going on; and no-one has been thick-skinned enough to walk through Martin's 'DO NOT DISTURB' sign.

Friday, 17th: Arthur asks for 'prayer, prayer, and more prayer' in his conference. In the garden, Ged Byrne's devotions are growing faster than his daffodils - a beautiful terracotta relief of Our Lady, surrounded by climbers, has been fixed onto the back-wall.

Sunday, 19th: The film 'The Priest' is hitting Britain and Italy. The differences in advertising are telling. Britain: profile of clean cut priest; Italy: naked shoulder.

Wednesday, 22nd: Candidates-to-be go to Palazzola before their retreat. They take the unprecedented step of choosing to socialise as a year group, and go out for a pizza together.

Thursday, 23rd: For the first time in a generation it is possible to see in the First Library. Tim Menezes, 'Light Man', spent a day up a ladder removing most of the early seventies chandelier glass and replacing forgotten bulbs. Tom Saunders has been donating his weekly 'Spectator' to the Periodicals Section, which has been a pleasant diversion from the weighty journals, and helped us to get to the roots of his urbane, angular humour.

Tuesday, 28th: The Second Year Licence students are in the process of gaining 'Tesina Immortality'. Their painstaking studies of every 30t and tittle of forgotten sentences of obscure texts are popping up in the Library.

Wednesday, 29th: BBC Radio is here to interview some typical students. Find me one! Dominic Allain's 'Seminary Diary' continues to run fortnightly in the 'Catholic Times'. My mum says she has learned more from his columns than years of my letter writing.

Mark Harold has finally sold out. The man of the people who promised to preach the love of God to the faithful in words of one syllable or less has given a storming sermon about 'existentialism' and 'eschatology'. Has tesina tension even got through to Harry?

Thursday, 30th: *Evangelium Vitae* is released - all 189 pages of it.

Friday, 31st: Morning prayer this week has almost been edged out by the 1995 VEC Festival of Religious Poetry - poems instead of hymns. It is unfortunate that the beautiful programme looks like a Greg thesis-sheet, and that the imagery of Eliot, Dunn, Heaney and Sitwell is just a bit too obscure for us at this time in the morning.

David Alton MP and fellow Movers for Christian Democracy are staying in College while they discuss politics with Vatican officials.

APRIL

Saturday, 1st: Mgr James D. Crichton has been with us all week, and today receives his Honorary Doctorate from San Anselmo - a prestigious and rare award, even more so when given to a diocesan. You can still think and be a secular priest!

Sunday, 2nd: Two new vacuum cleaners have appeared for student use.

Tuesday, 4th: Sr Amadeus is shocked by our reluctance to get out on Thursdays, and doesn't believe our 'money' excuses. She is making a list of destinations which can be reached on public transport for the price of a pint of beer (L7000 - O'Connor's Bar, March 1995), and is trying to revive the noble tradition of 'cestine' from the kitchen.

Wednesday, 5th: The garden has been re-gravelled; the purple irises are blazing; and not a weed in sight.

Thursday, 6th: Villa Update: The wrought-iron lectern which complements the new altar has finally arrived; the common room is cleaned and painted; the 'Tiramisu' piggy-bank has been smashed and the long-awaited lift installed -opening up the whole Villa Experience to pilgrims daunted by the staircases. An articulate Italian woman announces which floor you are on.

Friday, 7th: The Salotto has become the music room; the music room (Queen Mary) has become the Guardaroba; and the old Guardaroba has been gutted to allow us to eat in there when the ref is re-wired. Sr Livia now has her own sewing room near the kitchen.

Saturday, 8th: Children who are preparing to receive Holy Communion next month celebrate the Sacrament of Reconciliation this morning. It's become a precious part of the College's year, when we are not just preparing for a future pastoral harvest, but celebrating

it now. The children are so unselfconscious, and it's they who lead their parents back to the Father's merciful embrace.

3pm: We all leave for Palazzola for three days - a calm before the storm.

Sunday, 9th: It's nice to have a real procession for Palm Sunday, wandering round the Villa gardens - the musicians like medieval minstrels, children scattering bay leaves ahead. It is a bit like a Mafia funeral in a Coppola film (sombre priests in dark glasses), but Tony Grimshaw's appeal for 'clamorous dancing' makes sure we don't take ourselves too seriously.

Monday, 10th: Paul Murray OP leads our day of recollection. He combines the dark, Iberian wisdom of John of the Cross with the dry, Irish wit of Dave Allen: an incessant melody of letters, stories and anecdotes, all reminding us of the one thing necessary - that Christ has redeemed us, and that although we have to push the door open, it has already been unlocked.

Wednesday, 12th: Relatives and friends are arriving, and the singing at evening prayer is again augmented by female voices. Guestmaster Paul Rowan, overwhelmed with keys, beds, and 'Ladies Loos' signs, makes a heroic prayer this evening - thanking God for the 'blessings of having our guests with us this Easter'. Is it sarcasm or relief?

Quotation of the week. The Rector to Andrew Stringfellow's dad: 'I don't think; I just make decisions'.

Thursday, 13th: Maundy Thursday. The deacons are at St Peter's for the Chrism Mass. The house is frantic with preparations for the Triduum. Everyone seems to be involved in the music - part of Gregory Knowles' 'active participation' masterplan as choirmaster. Sr Amadeus tries to fob him off by saying that she can't even play the triangle. She is now due to play the triangle on one of the more outrageous psalm-settings of the Vigil.

No gimmicks at the Mass of the Lord's Supper. We disperse to visit the magic 'Seven' altars of repose around Rome. Some nameless students struggle shamefully to explain to a guest what a 'plenary indulgence' is, 'It's ... like a blessing ... it's ... a wonderful thing! Yes! ... isn't it?'.

Friday, 14th: Good Friday: People always claim to see the designs of providence in the patterns of the weather, but it really is uncanny how at the sixth hour (noon), as soon as the Stations of the Cross started in the garden, the sky blackened and the heavens opened. Raging thunder and lightning terrifies us all afternoon. Mark Hackeson drives a group of devotees up to Bracciano for the traditional re-enactment of the Passion, only to find it snowed off. It was better to be out for supper, however, than to suffer the penance of brussels sprout omelette.

Saturday, 15th: Ex-VEC student Dennis Nolan and his production team take over the church to record some hymns for 'Good Morning Sunday'.

It pours in the garden during the Vigil. Hugh Pollock's inspired sacristy team keep their cool, and use the six foot garden umbrella as a makeshift baldachino. The unextinguishable Easter light of the risen Lord was drowned out ten seconds after being lit. Somehow, Arthur was able to pretend that this meteorological disaster was a blessing in disguise ('a symbol of our baptism ...') But we had smarties at the party!

Monday, 17th: David Potter's long-awaited supplies of VEC Clothing have arrived from England - T-Shirts, sweat-shirts. No VEC cassocks yet.

Monday, 24th: Boxes of All Bran greet us for our first communal breakfast after the holiday. Is this part of our integral human formation?

Paul Connolly's family are welcome at any time. At supper we devour an enormous box of Quality Street left by his sister Christine.

Tuesday, 25th: The whole of Italy grinds to a halt for Liberation Day – except the Greg.

Saturday, 29th: The death of VEC music occurred at 12.53 this afternoon. Three choirmasters tried valiantly to resuscitate the early seventies folk classic 'Awake, Sleeper!'. But no-one could work out how the words fitted the tune.

Sunday, 30th: Nurse Higgins has filled the noticeboard with NHS warnings about the dangers of excessive tanning.

MAY

Tuesday, 2nd: Another prayer group, sick of meditating by candlelight, takes to the streets on a 'Meaningful Places in Rome' tour.

Friday, 5th: John Marsland gives his promised talk about psycho-sexual development, which turned out to be a bit of an anti-climax. Some helpful distinctions are drawn (we shouldn't confuse our desire to be pastors with our needs for intimacy) - but without any vision of what our sexuality is. The nearest we get to a definition is that it is a sort of 'energy'.

Saturday, 6th: Tish Nichols has been with us for a week teaching us to speak S-L-O-W-L-Y A-N-D C-L-E-A-R-L-Y, but without pausing artificially between words. Her gentle criticisms and suggestions have upped the quality of public speaking a notch, without inducing that painful self-consciousness which so often accompanies voice work. But will it last?

Monday, 8th: The evenings are getting warmer and brighter, and after supper people are paying homage to the goldfish instead of the noticeboard.

Tuesday, 9th: Malachy Larkin's family is here in Rome for a week. No-one can quite believe he comes from such a restrained, well-adjusted, and civilised background.

Friday, 12th: Recently ordained priests have sent their advice back to us, responding to a request from the Rector. In brief: (1) Know thyself; (2) Pray; (3) Get some friends. They urged us to study, learn some discipline, and think about having a pastoral year before ordination.

Saturday, 13th: Joe Coughlan is given a 'Mother of all Stag Days', taking in the Ciampino bowling alleys and Luna Park. The surprise party is in his own flat, with most of the College, minus those who couldn't bear to miss the Eurovision Song Contest.

Sunday, 14th: Happiness and sadness. The children's First Holy Communion Mass is a wonderful end to seven months catechesis, and a wonderful beginning to their renewed life of faith. But we lose to the Scots in their annual Sevens Football Tournament. It wasn't surprising, given the excesses of last night.

Monday, 15th: We have nine first philosophers already booked in for next year - things are looking up.

Letters to the Editor

From Richard Walmesley-Cotham:

Lund, Vicarage Lane, Newton with Scales, Preston, PR4 3RX.

Dear Mr. Jordan,

I write from interest in the article "Anzio Trip" by Paul Grogan in the 1994 edition of "The Venerable".

I served on the Headquarters of 168 Brigade of the 56 London Division that landed at Anzio 3-4th February 1944 – the brigade was virtually annihilated there.

I would wish to point out that on page 70 the statement that "the American General Mark Clark was keen to secure the beach-head before advancing" is probably incorrect. The fault in not endeavouring to advance from an unopposed landing lay with the commander on the ground – American General John P. Lucas who commanded the 6th Corps of General Mark Clark's 5th Army.

It is true that Mark Clark possibly did not prod Lucas sufficiently to endeavour to advance in the early stages of the landing; Lucas obviously being affected by the problems he had faced at the landings at Salerno.

Eventually, long after the golden opportunity was lost and Lucas had managed to contain the Germans, he was replaced by the American General Lucien K. Truscott. It might be of interest to you to know that my great great great grand-uncle was Charles Walmesley O.S.B. 1752-1797 Lord Bishop of Rama and I understand that there is a picture of him in the College.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Walmesley-Cotham.

From Raymond Reynolds:

78 Northumberland Ave., Rainham, Gillingham, Kent.

Dear Sir,

I anticipate with pleasure the new edition of "The Venerable" and I am never disappointed. Every article is full of interest to someone without any connection beyond a two or three night stay with a party touring Italy. The magazine opens a life to me that I could never hope to become involved in. That is until I opened this current edition. I was in the magazine! Or at least my friends were, buried in Italian soil!

Paul Grogan's article on his visit to Anzio and the photograph of the cemetery stirred memories. I was able to identify one stone, the front row on the left. By using a magnifying glass and twisting the photo around I was able to identify the cap badge of the South Staffs – the true lovers' knot. The South Staffs, with the Loyals and 6th Gordons formed 21B 2nd Infantry Brigade and we 238 Field Company were engineers. We were a unit, a family! It was good to see the cemetery.

Incidentally, I didn't get to Anzio. I was wounded returning from the invasion of Pantellaria, but my friends went and I am sure some of my own company are under the stones in the picture. If I hadn't been wounded I might well be under one of those stones; we had 70% casualties and were never regrouped as a fighting force. Thank you "Venerable", you have no idea what the article did for me.

Yours sincerely,

Raymond P. Reynolds.

From Rev. John T. Daley:

Dear Mr. Jordan,

I have been reading "The Venerable" for 1994 and would like to make reference to the photo on page 92 of a reunion of my year at the College (1936-43). You mention Anthony Storey and Hugh Lavery, but I would like to mention the other people on the photo, and also its location. The re-union took place at Stonyhurst College, Lancs., and the front portals of the College form the backdrop for the group. As to the other names, starting at the left hand side, front row there is Mgr Joseph Gibb (Liverpool), Fr Joseph Holland (Liverpool), Fr Hugh Lavery (Hexham & Newcastle), Mr. Donald P. Roche (now resident in Majorca), Fr John T. Daley (Shrewsbury), Canon Anthony Cotter (Clifton). Back row: Mr. Frank O'Leary (resident in Bristol), Fr Anthony Storey (Middlesbrough), Rev. John O'Connell (Deacon – Lancaster).

Missing from the photo are Fr Denis Fahey who lives and works in South Africa, Fr Tom Brown (R.I.P.) and Fr J. M. Pledger (R.I.P.). May I also point out that Fr Denis Fahey's name as a Jubilarian was omitted in 1983. Our year was exiled to Stonyhurst in 1940 because of the Second World War and we continued in St Mary's Hall until ordination in 1943. The course was affiliated to the P.U.G. and resulted in the S.T.L. degree.

Words to the wise!

John T. Daley.

EDITOR'S NOTE: We apologise for the omission and have reprinted the photograph. Sadly we also carry an obituary to Fr Hugh Lavery elsewhere in the issue.



The Nuns' Gita

In a year which has seen Hollycam die and the Lent play aborted there was apprehension that it may be a case of the none gita rather than the normal college beanfeast. Such pessimism resulted in a list of absentees more appropriate for choir practice than a day of fun in community.

Numerically we justified the annual dilemma of selecting the 'quiet' or 'noisy' coach, but with Father Rector and Suor Maria in the travelling party there were more variables than normal to be considered.

The excitement was tangible as we awaited confirmation that we would be travelling south. Spirits plummeted on the leading coach as its passengers were bombarded by melancholic music. The 'personale' sought reassurance they had not signed up by mistake for a psychological field trip for the more depressed members of the community. Fortunately, before we spotted a roadside telephone to call the Samaritans, we pulled into Fossanova, famous as the place of St Thomas Aquinas' death.

Holy Mass was celebrated in the beautiful romanesque church. Father Rector, inspired by the Angelic Doctor preached on Nature and Person, and once more reminded us of his happy student days in the swinging sixties. During Mass we remembered Imelde's husband Savino who had died during the year, and Arrigo's anniversary on this very day.

After Mass, the room in which St Thomas lived, studied and died was opened, but at this stage a considerable number of students had decided the only being and essence they wanted was of the coffee variety. No substance these students! Hugh Mackenzie bemoaned the fact that the only philosophical speculation provoked by this visit to the shrine of Thomism was how Thomas's fellow monks had managed to remove St Thomas's cadaver from his room down such a narrow staircase?

Religion for the day completed we could now seek more secular pleasures of sea, sand and sandwiches. Signposts for Terracina were spurned as we headed for Sabaudia beach.

At two o'clock, a little later than tradition would dictate, the first gin and tonic was poured. Mark Hackeson saved the day by retrieving the lemons from the food supplies. Requests for ice were met with the contempt they deserved.

The well oiled kitchen machine of Hackeson, Higgins, Ross, Boland, and Pollock swung into action and no sooner had people changed into their beach clothes than the lunch was served. Baywatch eat your heart out.

A very substantial lunch and generous liquid refreshments were still not enough to prevent a post pranzo outbreak of activity. A classic beach football game ensued. Fr Rector, throwing back the years, kept goal. Varghese and Tom made promising debuts and Alessandro, despite losing a limb, played the game of his life.

Meanwhile the personale recaptured their childhood by skipping games near the water's edge. Other students slept, swam and talked to each other under sun umbrellas.

Steve Wang eyed the horizon eagerly in search of an approaching plane, helicopter or submarine to whisk us away to the next stage of the day, but it was not to be. Today was to be confirmation that simple good company on the beach was sufficient.

J. P. Leonard

Vanity Chase

And all of this is vanity and a chasing of the wind

(Ecclesiastes 2:26)

but men, impelled by the Holy Spirit ...

(2Pet 1:21)

Atop the hill of Golgotha
Breathes Sinless on the sinned,
Blows forth the Spirit's fresher wind,
Anew makes up God's other.

Atop the hill of ego, there,
But chasing worldly wind,
Be man, while thinking he's behind,
Always with Spirit-goader.

Philip Miller
Sunday 19th March, 1995
Dear Old Palazzola

THE OLD ROMANS ASSOCIATION

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Secretary</i> | Rev. P. Daly, Catholic Missionary Society, Mission House, 114 West Heath Road, LONDON, NW3 7TX. |
| <i>Assistant Secretary</i> | Rev. P. Gillespie, St Albans, Bewsey Street, WARRINGTON, Cheshire, WA2 7JQ. |
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| Brentwood | Rev. R. Ashton, 30 Southwark Road, STUFORD LE HOPE, Essex, SS17 OPS. |
| Cardiff | Rev. R. Reardon, 71 St Helens, Nantgarw Road, CAERPHILLY, Mid Glamorgan, CF8 3FB |
| Clifton | Rev. T. Atthill, St Osmond's, 95 Exeter Street, SALISBURY, SP1 2SF. |
| East Anglia | Rev. A. Philpot, 180 Hawthorn Drive, IPSWICH, IP2 0QQ. |
| Hallam | Rev. J. Metcalfe, The Annunciation, Spencer Street, CHESTERFIELD, S40 4SD. |
| Hexham & Newcastle | Very Rev. Canon F. Kearney, St Agnes, Westburn, CRAWCROOK, Ryton, Tyne & Wear, NE40 4ET. |
| Lancaster | Rev. M.Taylor, English Martyrs' Church, 18 Garstang Road, PRESTON, PR1 INA. |
| Leeds | Rev. G. Creasey, St Patrick's, New York Road, LEEDS, LS9 7DW. |
| Liverpool | Rev. G. Anders, Sacred Heart, Tyledsley Rd., Hyndsford, ATHERTON, M46 9AD. |
| Menevia | Rev. C. Johnson, St Benedict's, 41 Pontardawe Rd., Clydach, SWANSEA, SA6 5NS. |
| Middlesbrough | Rev. Alan Sheridan, St Francis Presbytery, 5 Levick Crescent, ACKLAM, Middlesbrough, TS5 4RL. |
| Northampton | Rev. S. Healey, The Presbytery, 1 Frithwood Crescent, Kents Hill, MILTON KEYNES, MK7 6HS. |
| Nottingham | Rev. P. Tierney, Our Lady of Lourdes, Station Road, Ashby de la Zouche, LE6 5GL. |
| Plymouth | Very Rev. Canon A. Bede Davis, St Mary's, Killigrew Street, FALMOUTH, Cornwall, TR11 3PR. |
| Portsmouth | Rev. B. Murphy-O'Connor, Sacred Heart, 1 Albert Rd., BOURNEMOUTH, Dorset, BH1 1BZ. |
| Salford | Rev. J. Manock, Our Lady & St John, The Presbytery, High Lane, CHORLTON-CUM-HARDY, M21 1EE. |
| Shrewsbury | Rt. Rev. Mgr C. Lightbound, St Mary of the Angels, Chester Road, CHILDER THORNTON, South Wirral, L66 1QJ. |
| Southwark | Rt. Rev. J. Hine, V.G., Archbishop's House, St George's Road, Southwark, LONDON, SE1 6HX. |
| Westminster | Rev. M. Langham, Clergy House, Westminster Cathedral, 42 Francis Street, LONDON, SW1 1QW. |
| Wrexham | Rev. A. Jones, St Joseph's Church, Fford Mela South Beach, PWLHELLI, Gwynedd, LL53 5AP. |
| Venerable English College | Rt. Rev. Mgr A. Toffolo, Rector, Venerable English College, Via di Monserrato 45, 00186 Roma, Italy. |

The Roman Association

The Roman Association is the Association of former students of the Venerable English College, founded in January 1865. It exists to support its members and the College. This it does primarily by its Annual General Meeting, which is both a social and a business meeting, its Year 2000 Appeal, in which the Association hopes to raise a million pounds by the next century in order to guarantee a regular income to the College, and the Martyrs' Day gatherings which members organise.

The 126th Annual General Meeting of the Roman Association took place at the Raven Hotel, Droitwich, from June 5th to June 7th.

On the evening of Monday, June 5th, 40 members gathered at the Raven Hotel for an open Council meeting which traditionally previews the agenda for the General Meeting. The Council Meeting closed with Evening Prayer and was followed by dinner. Many of the members present then took the opportunity to find and explore the Church of the Sacred Heart with its Ravenna-like mosaics before returning to the bar.

Annual General Meeting: Tuesday, 6th June.

The Meeting began at 10:15 with Mgr Canon Clyde Johnson in the chair.

Apologies and best wishes had been received from 126 members.

The minutes of the 1994 AGM were accepted. There were no matters arising.

The *de profundis* was recited for deceased members, including Bishop Jock Tickle, Derek Jennings, Bill Purdey, Hugh Lavery, Thomas Regan, Desmond Swan and Steven Tarpey. Sick members of the Association were also prayed for.

The Secretary's Report: The Secretary began his report informing the Association that of this year's newly-ordained only four had joined the Association, some had not replied and two had written to decline membership. He reminded the members that anyone who had studied at Rome within the College was eligible to join whether ordained or not. This would include, for example, former members of the Anglican exchange. He asked members to let him know of students who left before ordination who would like to join.

He had been invited to the committee meetings of the Friends of the Venerable. This would be a good opportunity for co-operation between two groups with the interests of the College at heart. He had been asked to invite all Old Romans to the AGM of the Friends at St George's Cathedral Hall, Southwark on Saturday, September 16th at 10:30 a.m.

He finished with a plea to Diocesan Liaison men to keep him informed of moves and deaths and thanked the Raven Hotel for their hospitality, Philip Gillespie for the liturgical arrangements and James Manock for the music at Mass.

The Secretary's Report was accepted by the Meeting.

The Treasurer's Report: The Treasurer first presented the accounts of the Association and was able to report a healthy year. Once again, he appealed to members to think about covenanting their subscriptions and to change from annual to life membership, possibly with Gift Aid.

He then presented the accounts of the Roman Association Trust. The Trust had, despite uncertainties with investments, had a reasonably good year, one in which the result was more consolidation than growth. He thanked the stock-brokers for the advice that they give the Trustees in managing the Trust. The Trustees are always open to suggestions from those at the AGM.

The Treasurer's Report was accepted by the meeting.

The Rector's Report: The Rector was delighted to report that 1994-1995 had been in many ways a good year.

Eleven students were ordained priests in 1994 and ten were due to be ordained in 1995. They were all well-balanced and pastorally orientated with some capable of higher academic study. The morale was good. The Annual retreat had taken the form of an individually guided retreat for the House which had required the service of several directors.

The autumn had seen several major events. First was the Synod of Bishops with the presence of the Cardinal, Archbishop Ward and Bishop Nichols. During the Synod the College celebrated the anniversary of the death of Cardinal Allen. Cardinal Hume presided at Mass and Dr. Eamon Duffy presented a lecture in which, to the delight of Archbishop Ward, he reminded all that Owen Lewis had as much, if not more, to do with the foundation than Allen. Later in the autumn, Fr Timothy Radcliffe OP celebrated Mass with the College in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva for the anniversary of the death of Cardinal Howard. Howard was responsible for the building of much of the present College. For the Mass and celebrations the College was joined by the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk and their family. HRH the Duchess of Kent visited the College whilst on a visit to Rome. She attended Sunday Mass, chatted to the students and stayed to lunch. Royal visits had almost become part of College life since HRH Princess Margaret earlier in the year had visited Palazzola. In November Cardinal Winning and the Scots College came to Sunday Vespers and supper on the occasion of the consistory. The crowded autumn timetable came to an end with Martyr's Day, on which Archbishop Worlock presided and preached at Mass.

In many other ways this was an historic year. Sister Amadeus IBVM continues a connection between the College and Mary Ward and her sisters. She works with the students in the area of pastoral and human formation and looks after the guests.

Palazzola, too, continues to touch and bless many people. It is used a great deal by the College and, due to its success, is being improved all the time.

Sherwin House, the "Casa del Clero" of the VEC, is proving a success. Twelve rooms are available for priests who would like to preserve their "independence" from the seminary regime. The possibility of using College flats for lay students is being considered. This will bring greater financial benefits to the College than renting them to families.

The Rector spoke of the difficulties of the past year. It has been a very small intake but the good news was that the planned intake for 1995 was considerably better, in the region of fourteen new students. Staffing was a perennial problem, though the Rector was delighted to announce that Fr Tony O'Sullivan was joining the staff from September as philosophy tutor.

The Rector reminded the Association that the College still needed its help. It could assist the College in the promotion of vocations, in accepting pastoral placements and supporting those newly ordained and, of course, through the Year 2000 Appeal.

As regards finances, the situation is still serious. The Burt legacy prevented the College making a severe loss due to the shortfall in fee income, but it is imperative that the VEC be freed from relying exclusively on fee income in the future. No other seminary for English and Welsh students relies solely on fees: they have levies on dioceses and/or investments and land. Major areas of expenditure in the future will include: the possible settlement of disputes with former employees, the completion of the rewiring of the College, the upgrading of some very dangerous fire escapes and some outdated service

facilities, improvements to the heating system and the development of unused space such as the cellar.

The Rector was thanked for his report and answered questions from the members.

The following were elected as members of the Association:

As Life members: Paul Cuff, Damien McGrath, Tony Murphy, Kevin Haggerty and Philip Gillespie, being already annual members, were elected to Life membership.

As Annual members: John Conneely, Kevin Dring, Paul Grogan, Jean-Laurent Marie, William Massie and Simon Thomson.

As Honorary members: Jim Sullivan, Dennis and Mary Barratt, and Peter Horgan.

Gerald Creasey was unanimously elected as President and Michael Groarke, Tony Laird, William Massie, Paul Shaw and Michael Taylor were elected to the Council for three years.

The Year 2000 fund was discussed in detail. Fifty-five members give to the Appeal at present. It was suggested that those at the meeting should approach other members and consider the possibility of a one-off parish appeal. It was decided that the Council would meet in September to plan the way forward.

The Secretary reported that, following a suggestion by the Treasurer, he had approached the editor and business manager of the *Venerabile* to see if the report of the AGM could be incorporated into the *Venerabile* magazine, and the Association would place a bulk order for the magazine on behalf of its members. It was pointed out that the Friends already account for the majority of magazines, and so the Association's bid would enable the *Venerabile* to lower the cost and the Association to give more of its funds to the Appeal. It was envisaged that the price per copy for the Association would be the same as that charged to the Friends.

The Annual subscription had been £15 for several years. In view of the proposal re - the *Venerabile* magazine and the Appeal, it was decided to raise the subscription to £20.

Tom Dakin agreed to investigate the possibility of a return visit to Rome in September 1996, particularly for those who had returned from Stonyhurst in 1946. The Secretary announced that next year's AGM would be held at Stonyhurst on the 15th-17th July and, as far as he understood, the Martyrs' day gatherings would take place as usual at Tyburn, Preston, Salisbury and Shirley thanks to the kindness of the organisers.

The Association moved to the Church of the Sacred Heart where Bishop Alan Clarke presided and preached at a Concelebrated Mass. Lunch followed in the hotel. The following sat down to eat: Bishop Alan Clark, Leo Alston, Richard Ashton, Tony Bickerstaffe, David Blower, David Bulmer, Wilf Buxton, Peter Cookson, Francis Coveney, Gerald Creasey, Paul Crowe, Tom Dakin, Paul Daly, Peter Fleetwood, John Formby, Tony Foulkes, Jeremy Garratt, Philip Gillespie, Kevan Grady, Michael Groarke, George Hay, John Hine, Petroe Howell, Richard Incedon, Clyde Johnson, Michael Keegan, Jack Kennedy, Pat Kilgarrieff, Peter Latham, Chris Lightbound, Charles Lloyd, William Massie, Kevin MacDonald, Terry MacSweeney, James Manock, Gerard Murray, Peter O'Dowd, John O'Leary, Tony O'Sullivan, David Papworth, Harold Parker, Tony Pateman, Philip Pedrick, Frank Pullen, Paul Shaw, John Short, Mervin Smith, Michael Smith, Billy Steele, Peter Storey, Andrew Summersgill, Michael Taylor, Peter Tierney, Adrian Toffolo, Adrian Towers, Vincent Thurnbull, Jim Ward, Tony Wilcox and Thomas Wood.

Mgr Clyde Johnson, as outgoing President, proposed the toast of the College in English and Welsh, and Mgr Jeremy Garratt proposed the toast of the Hierarchy.

Old Romans' Directories for Portsmouth and Southwark

PORTSMOUTH DIOCESE

Here are the names of Venerabilini in the Portsmouth Diocese:

Mgr Jeremy Garratt (1975) is now at St Joseph's, Basingstoke in Hampshire, and has been since his return from his tour of duty as Vice Rector.

Fr Alan Griffiths (1974) is now in Ringwood, Hampshire.

Fr Peter Hart (1980) is at St Margaret Clitheroe, Bracknell, Berkshire.

Mgr James Joyce (1971) is at St James' Church, Abbey Ruins, Reading, Berkshire.

Canon Brian Murphy-O'Connor (1954) is at the Sacred Heart Church, Bournemouth.

Mgr Cyril Murtagh (1957) is still at St Laurence, Petersfield, Hampshire.

Fr John Nelson (1984) is now at Wash Common, Newbury, Berkshire.

Canon Brian Scantlebury (1946) is still at Southsea, Hampshire.

Canon Terence Walsh (1944) is living in retirement at 9 Janson Road, Southampton.

Fr Paul Haffner (1981), Portuguese College, Rome.

Fr David Watson (1976) Chaplain, De Aston School, Willingham Road, Market Rasen, Lincs., LN8 3RF.

Fr David Forrester (1972) Catholic Chaplaincy, Oxford.

Fr Michael Feben (1964) Institute of St Anselm, Edgar Road, Cliftonville, Kent, CT9 2EU.

This is the complete list of Romans in the diocese. Since I last wrote to you, my brother, Mgr Patrick, died on 26th August, 1991.

Canon Brian Murphy

SOUTHWARK DIOCESE

Archbishop Michael Bowen – celebrates his silver jubilee as a bishop on the 1st July this year.

Leo Mooney – moved from being parish priest at Catford in South London to be parish priest of Southborough in the leafy edge of Tunbridge Wells. Unfortunately not long after his move he suffered a heart attack, and, although much recovered, is now waiting for a heart operation later in the year.

Ronan Magner – living in retirement in a flat in Walworth and concelebrates Mass with the Carmelites at the parish of the English Martyrs, Walworth.

Michael Cooley – has been parish priest of Bermondsey Melior Street for over ten years. The parish, very close to London Bridge station, includes the Manna Centre, which provides a great service to the poor and homeless of that part of London, and also Guy's hospital.

John Iline – has been Vicar General and Chancellor of the diocese for the last eight years.

David Standley – has been parish priest for over three years of Sheerness, on the isle of Sheppey, connected to the rest of the diocese by a single bridge. He is chaplain to one of the prisons on the island, and also continues his commitment to the L'Arche Communities and to Justice and Peace issues.

Timothy Galligan – has returned to Rome since the summer of 1993 to join the Pontifical Council for promoting Christian Unity, living in the Casa Internazionale del Clero.

David Gummatt – parish priest of Sydenham Kirkdale for nearly two years, and his ministry includes being chaplain to St Christopher's Hospice.

Paul Hendricks – has been teaching philosophy to the students of St John's, Wonersh for over five years as well as keeping the college going in his role as bursar.

Timothy Finigan – has been administrator of Thamesmead South since January '94, and apart from that is also dean of studies for those in formation for the permanent diaconate. Has recently started studies for a doctorate at Kings College. Edits FAITH magazine on the quiet.

Anthony Barratt – after seven years as assistant in the Cathedral parish is about to start teaching dogma at St John's, Wonersh. He also sustains the role of director of in-service training for the permanent deacons in the diocese. It is not known whether his wine cellar is moving to Wonersh or not!

Nicholas Hudson – after a year of study in Louvain, Nicholas has been Director of the Christian Education Centre for two years, where he leads a six member team involved in catechetical formation in the parishes and schools of the diocese.

Charles Briggs – left one busy parish in South London (Lewisham) a year ago to be assistant in an equally busy one (West Croydon).

John Kenny – after three years in Deptford, where he published a history of the parish, John went last year as priest assistant to Strood, an extensive Kent parish by the Medway.

Gary Lysaght – has been teaching moral theology in St John's, Wonersh for over three years. He can occasionally be seen or heard giving learned views on moral matters on the media or encountered in one of the more venerable London clubs!

Simon Peat – from assisting in Tooting Bec parish, Simon is now chaplain to St Joseph's College Beulah Hill and part-time teacher of moral theology at the Franciscan Study centre in Canterbury. These activities do not preclude him from honing his golfing skills!

Stephen Langridge – has recently moved from Clapham Park parish, where he developed an extensive ministry to young people, to assist at Maidstone, the county town of Kent.

Kevin Haggerty – has recently been appointed Rector of St John's, Wonersh.

Martin Edwards – having started his ministry in Tunbridge Wells, he has now moved on to assist in the parish of South Norwood.

Stephen Boyle – continues in his first appointment as assistant in the inner South London parish of Camberwell.

Notes on Old Romans

BRENTWOOD

We welcome to the diocese two newly-ordained priests from the Venerabile: Philip Denton and Jean-Laurent Marie.

Philip Denton was ordained in Brentwood Cathedral on 10th September 1994 and is now curate in St George's Parish, Walthamstow. There is at present no church in the parish: the previous church (built in 1901) was burnt down two years ago. Philip's PP is Fr Conrad Smith who trained in the English College, Valladolid and once was curate in Philip's home parish of Rayleigh where Philip was an altar server at the time.

Jean-Laurent Marie was ordained in his home parish of St Patrick's, Walthamstow on 17th September 1994 and is now curate in St James the Less & St Helen, Colchester. Jean-Laurent's PP is Fr James Hawes, who studied in Rome at Propaganda Fidei and was ordained in 1964 during Vatican II.

Correction to a printing error in last year's Old Roman Notes: Adrian Graffy was at the VEC for one year 1974-1975. There are no other changes to last year's details.

HALLAM

Anthony Towey: (back at last) Chaplain to the Sheffield Hallam University. Resident at Saint Wilfrid's Presbytery, Saint Ronan's Road, Sheffield, Yorks., S7 1DX. Tel: Sheffield 255 0827.

John Ryan: Holy Trinity Church, Saint Dominic Street, Matroosfontein, 7960 Cape, South Africa.

LANCASTER

Wilf Buxton celebrated his 50th anniversary at Keswick on the 10th February 1995 and has moved from Keswick to Grasmere, and is still working. Monsignor Michael Kirkham steered the Emmaus programme for the priests of the diocese successfully.

Peter Clarke, after his ordination, has been appointed to St Joseph's Preston. Fr Michael Murphy is now the chaplain to Cardinal Newman College, Preston.

Bishop Foley is enjoying his retirement at Nazareth House, Lancaster.

Larry Wells, now retired, is in the Little Sisters, Garstang Road, Preston.

A very successful Martyrs' Day with over 40 present was celebrated in Preston last November.

Michael Taylor

MENEVIA

Rev. Michael J. Burke, J.C.L., has been moved from Burry Port to Our Lady's Presbytery, Neath Road, Briton Ferry, Neath, SA11 2YR, Wales. Tel: (01639) 812178.

C. H. Johnson

PLYMOUTH

Fr David Rossiter died on 30th June 1994 at the age of 64. Ordained by Archbishop Traglia at the Lateran on 28th February 1953. Curate at Plymouth Cathedral and Sacred Heart, Exeter, (including chaplain to Exeter University), Holy Redeemer, St Paul's and Holy Family, Plymouth. Then Parish Priest at Cullompton and Tiverton

and Dorchester. In charge of Plymouth Catholic Children's Society for many years. After much illness he retired to Shaldon and then to his sister in Torquay, where he died.

Fr Michael Koppel is still at Sacred Heart, Exeter.

Fr Robert Plant is moving from St Austell, Cornwall, to Axminster, Devon, after Easter.

Bishop Cyril Restieaux. Oh dear! I got into deep water from himself for omitting any mention of him last year! He has just kept his 85th birthday and is still in retirement at the convent of Les Filles de la Croix in Torquay. He keeps reasonably fit and attends the major diocesan functions.

Bede Davis

Friends of the Venerable

Our 7th Annual Meeting took place in September 1994 in Wakefield with the help and support of Mgr Philip Holroyd and a band of his parishioners. Our Vice Chairman Mgr Jeremy Garrett had prepared readings and prayers to open our day. A special welcome was given by our Chairman, Jeremy Hudson, to our Speakers Mgr Adrian Toffolo, Tim Menezes and Stephen and Elizabeth Usherwood.

The date of our Meeting again clashed with the date of an Ordination, this problem seems to be unresolvable. A highlight of happenings at the College. This year the Rector Mgr Toffolo told us that 10 new Priests had been ordained. That in May the College had been chosen to be the place where the English version of the Catechism was launched, with three cardinals and ten bishops of the English speaking world. We heard of the long standing financial problems and how some help had been forthcoming. We heard of the drop in numbers of students and the difficulty in replacing staff, but on the plus side we heard of the appointment of Sr Amadeus as House Tutor.

Tim Menezes talked to us on the academic side of seminary life and how this was part of life in College alongside the spiritual and the pastoral. He explained to us why the academic side was of great importance. We heard of the years of study and that the resulting priest was an Icon of Christ and not a parish rep. The Friends elected to the Committee were Jo Barnacle, Chairman; Mgr Jeremy Garrett, Vice Chairman; Bernard Sullivan, Hon. Secretary; Hamish Keith, Hon. Treasurer, and as committee members, Jeremy Hudson, Antony Hudson, Tom Fattorini, Agnes Melling, Eddie Schulte and Elizabeth Usherwood.

Mgr Toffolo thanked Jeremy Hudson for all his work as Chairman over the past 4 years.

Friends of the Venerable joined with members of the Catholic Records Society for a week's stay at Palazzola to join in with the celebrations for the 4th centenary of Cardinal Allen and the 3rd centenary of Cardinal Howard. A week of so many highlights. Two of these highlights were reproduced in March at Kings College; London where Anthony Coles had organised for Eamon Duffy and Judith Champ to repeat their talks on the cardinals for those who had been unable to get to Rome. The day was enjoyed by all and a few new Friends recruited.

Each year a few more Friends are able to attend the Masses which take place in England around December 1st in honour of the College Martyrs.

Our main contribution to the College this year will be £10,000 for a new vehicle for student use.

As Chairman I had a great visit to College in early April and was blessed with a warm sunny spell. I was made to feel very welcome and so much at home that I was allowed to help with the gardening and the mending. My thanks to everyone at the College.

As we celebrate our 10th Birthday this year we are still struggling to increase our membership: please help us to reach the elusive 1,000 members by persuading your friends, families and visitors that to be a Friend is a great way of keeping in touch with the College.

A Reprint of a Letter from Rt. Rev Gerard Tickle, establishing once and for all the contents of the College Cocktail!

From

The Right Rev Gerard W. Tickle

Bishop in Ordinary to H.M. Forces (R.C.)

54 Ennismore Gardens, London, SW7 1AJ

Telephone: 01-589 1273

15th December, 1977

My dear Mr. X,

Thank you for your letter. Your ingredients for the College cocktail* are in the correct proportions 1:2:4 of Gordon's Gin, Carpano Punt e Mes and Cinzano Bianco (Sweet). I think they produce a dry Cinzano now. Perhaps it is not seen in Italy. I always put a fair amount of ice IN the mixture. This dilutes it pleasantly and of course it is a good exercise in economy.

On a couple of occasions an experiment was made using whisky instead of Gin in the mixture but the result did not meet with approval.

Wishing you every blessing for Christmas.

Yours sincerely in D.no,

* For more boozy types, the quantity of gin can be increased a little.

The Right Rev Gerard Tickle

Reprints of Press Obituaries

The Right Reverend Gerard Tickle, who has died aged 84, was the former Roman Catholic Bishop of HM Forces.

A jovial but caring pastor, "Jock" Tickle established an immediate rapport with servicemen of all ranks after his appointment as RC Bishop-in-Ordinary to HM Forces in 1963.

Having been an Army chaplain during the Second World War, he brought to the job a thorough understanding of Forces' life. The appointment freed him from the details of curial organisation, in which he had taken little interest, and allowed him to concentrate on a purely pastoral ministry.

Tickle's duties took him not only to Northern Ireland, but also to Germany, Gibraltar, Cyprus, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Singapore, Malaysia, Borneo and Hong Kong.

In 1978, after the Ministry of Defence imposed what he saw as arbitrary economies which effectively restricted his travels, he decided it was time to go and resigned. But he continued as Apostolic Administrator until the next year, when he was succeeded by Mgr Francis Walmsley.

Tickle's life was threatened only once in the course of his career. In 1972, shortly after the introduction of internment, he made an extensive pastoral visit to Northern Ireland. He felt morally obliged to support the British Army, which upset those who believed that he should not have taken sides.

Two years later he received through the post what he took to be a presentation Bible. A bomb was concealed inside, but failed to explode; it was later discovered to be the work of Paul O'Doherty, an IRA terrorist.

Gerard William Tickle was born at Birkenhead, Cheshire, on Nov. 2, 1909 and educated at Douai. On leaving school he resolved to study for the priesthood and went to the Venerable English College, Rome, where he was ordained in 1934.

He then returned to his home diocese of Shrewsbury, where he spent seven years as an assistant priest at St Joseph's, Sale, before becoming an Army chaplain. In August 1944 he joined the Allied invasion of Europe, serving with a field hospital in France, Belgium, Holland and Germany.

Discharged from the Army in 1946, Tickle returned to Rome as Vice-Rector of the English College. He was appointed Rector six years later, and remained in the post until 1963. His last year in Rome coincided with the opening of the Second Vatican Council, which afforded Tickle the opportunity to play host to the English bishops.

This was a task he relished. In his memoirs, *A Crown Of Thorns*, the late Cardinal Heenan recalled how "Jock" and his students worked like slaves for several weeks as they prepared to welcome the bishops. Heenan, an old friend of Tickle's, was delighted to be given a notably spacious apartment.

There were occasional mishaps when a wardrobe collapsed on the formidable and elderly Bishop Parker of Northampton; Tickle calmly extricated him from the wreckage.

Tickle's appointment as the Forces' Bishop in 1963 afforded him the opportunity to continue his generous, sometimes lavish entertainment. As well as a generous table, he

kept a choice of good Italian and French wines and was celebrated for his cocktails. His parties at Ennismore Gardens, the Bishopric headquarters, were widely spoken of.

Tickle's social skills were a great asset. Despite the tedium of military displays, he maintained a cheerful ability to meet servicemen and their officers, while managing to listen patiently to those in difficulty. He had a gift of smoothing out difficult situations with good humour and common sense.

Tickle spent his final years in North Wales, not far from the area of his upbringing and early ministry.

Daily Telegraph

Gerard Tickle enjoyed a dual success in his life: as Rector of a centuries-old college for the training of priests in Rome, and as Roman Catholic Bishop to the Forces.

The apogee of Tickle's career must have been when he was appointed to the Staff of the English College. Those who chose him knew what they were doing. The Venerable English College, in 1946, had only just returned from Stonyhurst in Lancashire where it had made its home during the Second World War. The ancient building, dating from the 15th century, was in need of repair and refurbishment. Links, both social and academic, needed to be remade locally and with the dioceses in England. A new life was beginning and administration needed to be updated. While these needs clamoured for attention, the revered Mgr John Macmillan was in failing health.

Thus Tickle, as the new young Vice-Rector, came into his own. The very qualities needed were those which he possessed. House management, including electric wiring, plumbing and artistic decoration, was among his many skills – he even created Classical ceilings with the skilful use of jelly moulds. The students learnt their trades from him, and were loaned out to various embassies in Rome faced with similar problems. Tickle welcomed guests warmly, and not with just a handshake. He understood all about food and wine, and was himself an expert chef. Never had the Venerable witnessed such a superb display of personal relations. He enlarged the reputation for hospitality which the English College had long enjoyed.

Tickle took over as Rector at a difficult period when matters were being openly discussed which were later to find acceptance — or rejection — in the forthcoming Second Vatican Council. His rock-like faith gave reassurance to the traditionalists — and curbed the exuberance of the ultra-radicals. Those who studied under him in those years, including Bishop Christopher Budd (Plymouth), and Bishop John Brewer (Lancaster) speak of his imperturbability and lovable nature. He is remembered as one who made friends easily — and never enemies.

His transition from the unity of college life to the diversity of life in the Services could have proved unsettling to one who was most at home with the familiar, but Tickle's courtesy and humanity set him above divisions, and he made friends for himself and the faith he so proudly professed. His first tour of the Far East, made shortly after his appointment as Forces' Bishop, set the tone for all subsequent tours and visits. He was equally at home with the three Services, as also with those of Australia and New Zealand.

He kept to a full schedule despite tropical heat and humidity and the normal fatigue of long-distance travel.

When he had completed his time as Bishop to the Forces he took his retirement and returned to his family and friends in his own diocese of Shrewsbury. He never had a word of complaint – only of appreciation.

John P. Mahony

Gerard William Tickle, priest: born Birkenhead 2 November 1909; priest 1934; Curate, St Joseph's Church, Sale 1935-41; Army Chaplain 1941-46; Vice-Rector, Venerable English College, Rome 1946-52, Rector 1952-1963; Privy Chamberlain to Pope Pius XII, 1949; Domestic Prelate to Pope Pius XII 1953; Bishop-in-Ordinary to HM Forces 1963-78; died Ruthin, Clwyd 14 September 1994.

The Independent

Jubilee 1943-1993

Reflections by Hugh Lavery

In October 1936 we entered the Venerable English College, Rome, to begin a seven-year course leading to priesthood. 1936 shared a distinction with 1066 and 1483 in being a year of three kings. We did not see 1936 as a pre-war year for the West was pacifist even though a former German corporal ranted on the radio about Lebensraum. He was a comic figure and a gift to Charlie Chaplin who made fun of him in a popular film.

England was a placid country and its problem unemployment. Stanley Baldwin was Prime Minister, a bland, almost bovine figure whose motto was 'Safety First'. This rhymed with the mood of the time for the memory of the Great War was evident in the broken and bereaved. November 11th was a sad and silent commemoration. In July 1936 Chesterton, our arch-apologist, had died and has not been replaced. He spoke to a world grown wary of war, even of life. He saw life as God's great gift and its waste as the worst sin. "I would rather live crucified than not live at all", he wrote.

In July 1936 two Spanish generals, Franco and Mola, made war on the Republican government. We expected a short war but Madrid was not taken till March 1939. Franco was in power for nearly 40 years. His regime was not benign. In England Churchill was painting landscapes at Chartwell and in the Commons called for arms and was named a war-monger. When Chamberlain returned from Munich promising peace for our time Churchill spoke like a prophet. "You have been offered a choice between peace and war. You have chosen peace. You will get war." Munich remains a term of opprobrium, and appeasement the policy of the irresolute. Many turned from politics for a second war was too hard to contemplate and there was escape in other things. After all, Fred Perry was tennis champion and the British Navy held command of the seas.

On our first Monday night at the college we met Signor Bartoli. He spoke the most limpid Italian and was to be our tutor. He was a Roman of Romans with a passionate love of the City and he owned to feeling ill at ease if he could not see the dome of St Peter's. Everyone has a year of catastrophe and for Signor Bartoli it was 1870 when the Holy See was desecrated by the invasion of the secular. He longed for the old Rome when Pius IX wandered through the streets of Trastevere scattering blessings on the people as they applauded his progress. The Lateran Treaty was an unhappy compromise and he prayed for the restoration of the Papal States. And he was not alone in that aspiration. It was a pity that seminaries of that time were enclosed institutions and we had no contact with Italian Catholics. Moreover, there was coolness between Italy and Britain after the Italian conquest of Abyssinia and the folly of sanctions.

The Vatican Galleries are a wonder of the world and I remember returning from a visit with a Westminster student. I was loud in praise of these masterpieces, but my companion was silent and seemed to resent my eulogy. I asked his opinion and his answer was brief. "I would swop the lot for a Constable." This was my first encounter with John Bull parochialism but I was to find that others shared his insularity. It was a misfortune that the mood of the College was so jingoistic and in spite of Signor Bartoli hardly anyone learnt Italian. In a perverse way it was seen as unpatriotic to show interest in any other country, in its history, its art, its achievements. And Italy under Fascism was in triumphalist mood after the conquest of Abyssinia. The main thoroughfare was the Via dell'Impero; the king was Re imperatore. Empire was no longer a British monopoly and jingoists thought this was an outrage and against the natural law.

Our faltering Italian received an unexpected impetus in November when banner headlines in the Italian press printed the name Eduardo VIII in bold capitals. Another name, 'la Signora Simpson', sharpened our curiosity. The English papers were of no help as all of them, even the Daily Worker, had imposed a self-denying ordinance and made no mention of the crisis that buzzed in every paper from La Prensa to Pravda. The British thought abdication absurd for history provided only one precedent, when Mark Antony sacrificed an empire for Cleopatra. But abdication came. Edward VIII, made king in January 1936, was Duke of Windsor in December. The whole nation rejected Mrs. Simpson, the South because she was American, the North because she was divorced. George VI became king and the Windsors passed out of history.

A further aid to our Italian was the Roman bookshop. We were astonished to find so many British authors translated into Italian. Wooster and Jeeves seemed so pure Piccadilly that we blinked to read 'Lo Zio Fred nella Primavera' next to 'Avanti Jeeves'. The Scottish novelists A. J. Cronin and Bruce Marshall were there. The best Italian authors were in exile and readers had to wait for classics like 'Fontamara' by Ignazio Silone and 'Christ stopped at Eboli' by Carlo Levi. In the Refectory we endured "The Lives of the Popes" by Ludwig von Pastor, an Austrian historian but no Macaulay. The translation was leaden and the hob-nailed prose made the meal something of a plod. The Rector wisely lightened the menu with books that appealed to an English palate. I remember, in particular, Cherry Garrard's 'The Worst Journey in the World', which told of Scott's trek to the South Pole which failed by a month to achieve his aim. The whole world mourned their deaths in the snow and commended their gallantry. Cambridge erected a monument to Scott and composed a memorable inscription: "Quaesivit arcana Foli; videt Dei". England then was still a Christian country.

Visitors asked us about Fascism but it made little impact on us. We heard Mussolini speak on the anniversary of the March on Rome in October. This was the Fascist day of Glory, its storming of the Bastille, but Mussolini did not march; he travelled by rail; first class. But the legend of the Duce foot-slogging down the peninsular was carefully preserved. He was a small man, a natural orator and a great poseur. He suggested strength and virility by thrusting out his jaw as if defying the whole cosmos, earth, sea and sky. He favoured semi-mystical phrases like 'Sacro egoismo' and won applause by anti-British jokes. "Per gli Inglesi il Mediterraneo è una via. Per noi la vita." The Mediterranean was a sea of contention and every Italian child was schooled to revere 'Mare Nostrum'.

A controlled press is immensely tedious with little news and lots of propaganda. Italy was Arcady, Italy was Eden. No murders were committed, no burglars burgled, no workers were unemployed. That old and endearing Italian phrase 'dolce far' niente', 'sweet idleness', was replaced by 'lavoro' and 'silenzio'. Work and Silence belonged North of the Alps and it seemed to many that Mussolini was trying to make Italians into Germans. The goose-step became 'Il Passo Romano' and Jews underwent a subtle discrimination. Under orders, Italian shops marked their windows 'Aryan' but the logo proved to be dissuasive to a people unwilling to impoverish their compatriots. So the Jewish shops were well patronised and the logo removed. Italians were not Germans.

In 1936 Rome was not a large city, not a capital city like London or Paris. It was old and ecclesiastical, the City of the Popes. Most visitors were pilgrims and, like Luther before them, came to kneel at the tomb of the Apostles and to join in audience with the Pope. Tourists came to see the Swiss Guards and the Colosseum. For there are many Romes. Rome of the Caesars, of the Renaissance, of the Risorgimento. There were priests

everywhere and a sprinkling of Monsignori. Inevitably there were anti-clericals. They had wanted Milan to be the capital in 1870; it is the centre of banks and business, the New York of Italy. But the king was wise and aware that the soul of Italy was in Rome, and, in a telling phrase, observed that he did not want to be known as the Pope's sacristan.

In our course we knew two rectors and vice-rectors but the character engraved on the memory is the Rev H. E. G. Rope. He came to us from Shropshire with the reputation of a Luddite, having, it was rumoured, urged farm hands to sabotage the squire's new machinery and so save their jobs. He was a dedicated medievalist, loathed everything in the modern world and derided technical gadgetry of any kind. A student who once met him at the station was escorting him to a taxi rank when he exploded and, like Richard III, shouted "A horse, a horse". They arrived in a Roman carriage like minor royalty and the student paid the fare. "An old Plantagenet custom", he remarked a little ruefully.

Fr Rope's post was archivist but poetry was his passion. As electricity was tainted energy he could compose only by candlelight. And with a quill pen. The fountain pen was high tech; Chaucer would have despised it. It was uncanny to enter his room half-lit by candle glow and to see him, pen in hand, in agony over a rhyme for triforium. Being hard of hearing he was a popular confessor and one student, occasionally remiss in his quest for Reconciliation would open his act of penance with the words "It is facks weeks since my last confession". And the good Fr Rope would impart a generous blessing on this surrealist numeral.

Though the gentlest of men, his prejudices were strong and his conversation would be laced with arsenic if there was mention of the machine or freemasonry. We suggested that he painted too drab a picture of 'this so-called twentieth century' as the curate named it, but he allowed no mitigation. One evening a conversation brought him almost to the verge of apoplexy. We were talking, innocently enough, of people who met by accident and became partners in business. Marks and Spencer, Fortnum and Mason. A Salford student insisted that the most successful encounter occurred in 1904 at the Midland Hotel, Manchester. For there Rolls met Royce and a car of quality was conceived. Fr Rope was outraged and rose like Lear in his dementia to denounce this creation. The car was the symbol of all that defiled our planet and no true Christian could commend this evil contrivance.

In time we came to terms with his prejudices and someone, in impish mood, might stoke the fire that smouldered within by an aside in praise of freemasonry. Even faint praise would provide the ignition for a tirade. He saw the freemason as the author of the world's distress and the prelates of the Anglican church were the leading members of this conspiracy. He was a prolific writer and no matter what the subject there would be a digression which, at considerable length, would make the reader aware of the twin evils of the mason and the machine. Critics of his biography of Pope Benedict XV complained of the space given to matter totally unconnected to the life of the Pope. His prejudices even extended to Cardinal Newman, who had once remarked that English Literature was Protestant. This impiety was never forgiven and Newman would never be canonised. Socrates could never have reasoned with him.

Though he regarded Gothic as the most numinous form of architecture he loved the very stones of Rome and venerated its martyrs and monuments. The streets were paved with antiquity and it was this that moved him to composition. The old was best and it was a misfortune that he lived in the age of the technician. Only three inventions won his

approval, the wheel, the sail and the plough. They alone had ministered to the advance of the human race. Professionals built the Titanic. Amateurs built the Ark.

He was a patron of the 'Back to the Land' movement, a cause promoted by middle-class Christians who saw the good life in field and farm. Medieval and romantic, it was a kind of split religion and known to its critics as "Three acres and a Cow". Chesterton and Eric Gill gave it credence and it attracted many hopeful yeomen from the suburbs to exchange pin-stripes for honest corduroys. Northerners, desperate for work, turned to the factory; it provided more jobs than the farm. Long ago they had lost any romantic love of the soil and they did not mourn the pollution of the planet. "Where there's muck, there's money", they quoted as a pearl from the Book of Wisdom.

We knew nostalgia in those autumn days and talked much of England. We missed the twilight. We missed that restful period after tea and crumpets and the day's soft diminuendo. In Rome the night came suddenly and too soon. There was no clear conclusion to the day when curtains are drawn and silence covers the city like a cloak. In Rome street noises did not diminish and every bar turned up its wireless to call the population to do 'Il Passo Lambeth'. Cockneys had exported 'The Lambeth Walk' to the whole world and Italy answered fortissimo.

Unbleached by the Reformation, Italy is a carefree country, painted in primary colours, and its people love to sing and celebrate. We noticed how lightly they sat to law and how the Friday abstinence was no more than a pious option for those who took religion too seriously, too sadly, like the English. Italians basked in the light of God's mercy and they pitied those born under sullen skies who wear their guilt like a hair-shirt. Theirs was a sunny faith, mellow with the fragrance of St Francis. They left the North to ponder the night-thoughts of Kierkegaard.

What attracts the visitor is its vibrancy. I have changed a traveller's cheque at nine at night and found the bank busy, the tellers affable, the shops open. They were pleased to be of service and did not talk of home. Italian has no common word for home. English has no word for brio. Climate, of course, is a potent influence on manners and Italians are an outdoor people and they love long, vinous evenings in the grand piazza. Mussolini once imposed a law, regarded as draconian, when he ordained that the trattoria must close by mid-night and not open before six a.m. This evoked protest and people talked of action. Possibly an encyclical. "Vinum laetificat."

In our troubled years the Vatican was a rock of stability while dictators glorified war and paraded their weaponry. In 1938 Hitler visited Rome and the two leaders rode in triumph through the City. It was a time of tension. The Osservatore Romano did not mention the visit. Pius XI retired to Castel Gandolfo two months early. And Father Rope declared he would shoot Hitler – if he had a bow and arrow. The Vatican stayed silent for silence is the symbol of the transcendent and the eternal. Belloc was visiting the College at the time and after a talk we asked him what Hitler's death would be like. "Wagnerian", he answered. Death imitating art.

Our fifty years of priesthood began in 1943 and the whole world was at war. Three malevolent creeds, Fascism, Nazism and Communism converged in their hostility to Christianity. Communism was the most persistent and we have lived to witness its disintegration, to sicken and die of its own untruthfulness. So perhaps the lesson we have learnt is that -isms become wasms and that the truth always prevails.

Hugh Lavery

Father Hugh Lavery

Hugh Lavery was of such a calibre that a whole book could be written about him. Some of you here tonight may think that such a book ought to be written in order to give a just assessment of the life of this remarkable priest, whose modesty and diffidence blinded so many to his true worth. Certainly he was one of the great priests of this diocese since its inception close on 150 years ago. Equally certain it is that he should feature prominently in any future survey of the history, so disturbing for some, so exciting for others, of the Catholic Church in England during the last thirty years.

Before Hugh came to Brandon eight years ago to be carefully cossetted by his former pupil and friend turned housekeeper, Josie Caton, the paths of Hugh and myself scarcely crossed. Sadly I missed the exhilaration of being taught by him at Ushaw, and I joined the Ushaw staff in 1954 just as Hugh left the college to take up parish duties. Nevertheless, I hope the belated friendship I have forged with him during the last few years while he has been at Brandon gives me the right to speak to you briefly of his outstanding contribution to the life of the Church in England, at every level, parish, deanery, diocesan and national during the last thirty years.

Amidst the exuberant excesses of the 60s and 70s Hugh maintained a wise balance, believing that the Second Vatican Council was meant to be a bridgehead to lead the Church to meet the concerns of the modern world, not a bomb to obliterate the past. That invaluable lesson he had learned at grass roots while working in parishes in this diocese before he moved into the academic world, and it never left him.

Hugh's exceptional gifts as a communicator, amply revealed in the course of his history and English classes in the closed world of Ushaw of the forties and early fifties, were first brought to the notice of the public at large when in January 1959, as an assistant priest at St Joseph's, Gateshead, and with Tyne Tees Television only three days old, he presented the first of his many series of Epilogues. This he subtitled 'An Encouragement for each Night of the Month'. Hugh was always an enabler, an encourager, a life-giver.

In far from robust health Hugh was unexpectedly called from his parish at Highfield in 1972 to help Mgr Michael Keegan to manage the crisis that had overtaken Corpus Christi College in London, so recently launched by the English Hierarchy as a vehicle of religious education along the lines of the Belgian Lumen Vitae Institute. But as it could not be saved, it was natural for Hugh to migrate to the new Upholland Northern Institute, founded to maintain a theological presence in the North West when the Upholland College Senior Seminarians moved to Ushaw. There he became, so I am told, the anchor man. Though not the Principal of the College and only there for four years Hugh was looked upon as the Father-Founder, who exercised an immense influence on staff and students alike by the wideness of his learning, his mastery of the English language as well as his vision.

Sadly debilitated by recurring illness Hugh felt the need for a less stressful life. Yet in retirement, first at Seaham Harbour then at Brandon, he continued as far as he was able to contribute to the life of the Church by his writing and his preaching, his talks, his immensely popular retreats.

Caught up for so long in the mainstream of further religious education, Hugh was invariably concerned to lead his students, priests and lay people alike to a deeper appreciation of the Church and their role in it, so that they in turn could contribute to the work of evangelisation. At his last appearance at a meeting of the priests of the Durham Deanery, an occasion when we were encouraged by our new Bishop Ambrose to search for a vision which would carry the Church into the 21st century, Hugh cut through all our woolly, wordy waffle, saying very quietly and a little plaintively, "but we already have the

vision: the end of clerical monopoly and a partnership between priests and people” – the very vision he had been preaching for twenty-five years.

Hugh was above all a superb communicator. His love for words and his respect for language makes me hesitate to say that he had a facility for finding fresh ways of presenting the eternal truths of Faith. He would surely have pointed out that the word facility comes from the Latin meaning easy. It was anything but easy work for him. He slaved away at his script like a poet anguishing over every line of his composition. But the end product, the polished prose held thousands spellbound. Yes, a whole book could be written about Hugh Lavery.

I should think that thousands of people in this country and beyond its shores join us this weekend in mourning the loss of a great priest, whose aims as a Christian educator were so similar to those of our beloved Venerable Bede that it was decided to incorporate the Mass texts from his feast into this evening’s liturgy. The Venerable Hugh, like Bede before him, pondered the Lord’s hidden mysteries and showered forth words of wisdom.

True to his beliefs, expressed so often in his books, articles and newspaper columns, Hugh accepted with great serenity his last discomfiting illness. With great trust in God he smiled in the ugly face of death. He knew he had come to the end of his own book and was perfectly content to have it closed for him at 5.00 a.m. last Tuesday morning, utterly convinced that there is to be a glorious Epilogue for himself and for all, as St Bede puts it, “who have struggled to be the Light of Christ in this darkened world”.

**Father David Milburn,
January 13th 1995.**

House List 1994/95

SECOND CYCLE THEOLOGY

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Adam Domanski | Poland |
| Emmanuel Gribben | Lancaster |
| Malachy Larkin | Leeds |
| Carmelo Lupo | Italy |
| Martin Misolasik | Slovakia |
| Antonio Panico | Italy |
| Varghese Puthussery | India |
| Jacek Skrobisz | Poland |
| John Udris | Northampton |

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| Bruce Burbidge | East Anglia |
| Sean Connolly | East Anglia |

| | |
|-----------------|------------|
| Paul Connelly | Southwark |
| Mark Harold | Salford |
| Andrew Headon | Brentwood |
| Timothy Menezes | Birmingham |
| John Pardo | Gibraltar |
| Michael Wheaton | Plymouth |
| John Wilson | Leeds |

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| Martin Boland | Brentwood |
| Eddie Clare | Birmingham |
| Mark Hackeson | East Anglia |
| Hugh MacKenzie | Westminster |
| Mark Miles | Gibraltar |
| Paul Rowan | Liverpool |
| Wyn Thomas | Menevia |
| Nicholas Tucker | Southwark |
| Stephen Wang | Westminster |

FIRST CYCLE THEOLOGY

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|-----------------|--------------------|
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| Stephen Dingley | Arundel & Brighton |
| Joseph Jordan | Cardiff |
| Gregory Knowles | Leeds |
| Paul Leonard | Middlesbrough |
| Simon Madden | Leeds |
| Hugh Pollock | Lancaster |

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| Gerard Byrne | Salford |
| Paul Fox | Brentwood |
| Robert George | Southwark |
| Jonathan Leach | Shrewsbury |
| Paul Mason | Southwark |

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|--------------------|--------------------|
| Dominic Allain | Southwark |
| Christopher Bergin | Arundel & Brighton |

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Steven Billington | Leeds |
| Christopher Higgins | Hallam |
| Stewart Keeley | Lancaster |
| Paul McDermott | Westminster |
| Philip Miller | Westminster |
| David Potter | Liverpool |

FIRST CYCLE PHILOSOPHY

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Paul Duxbury | Shrewsbury |
| Graham Platt | Northampton |
| Paul Ross | Liverpool |
| Thomas Saunders | Brentwood |
| Andrew Stringfellow | Salford |

ANGLICAN STUDENTS

| |
|------------------|
| David Allen |
| Andrew Allington |

OTHER RESIDENTS

| |
|----------------|
| Bryan Chestle |
| James Sullivan |
| Paul Gallagher |

STAFF

| |
|----------------|
| Adrian Toffolo |
| John Marsland |
| Arthur Roche |
| Amadeus Bulger |
| Kieron O'Brien |

SHERWIN HOUSE

| | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Varghese Puthussery | India |
| Stefano Dal Santo | Venezuela |
| Raniero Fontana | Italy |
| Goko Gorvievski | Macedonia |
| Stanislaw Ivanczak | Poland |
| Bela Kapostassy | Hungary |
| Adam Kostrzewa | Poland |
| Darek Kuzminski | Poland |
| Peter Nkrumah | Ghana |
| Touma Saliba | Syria |
| Anthony Towey | Hallam |
| Emmanuel O'Daga | Uganda |