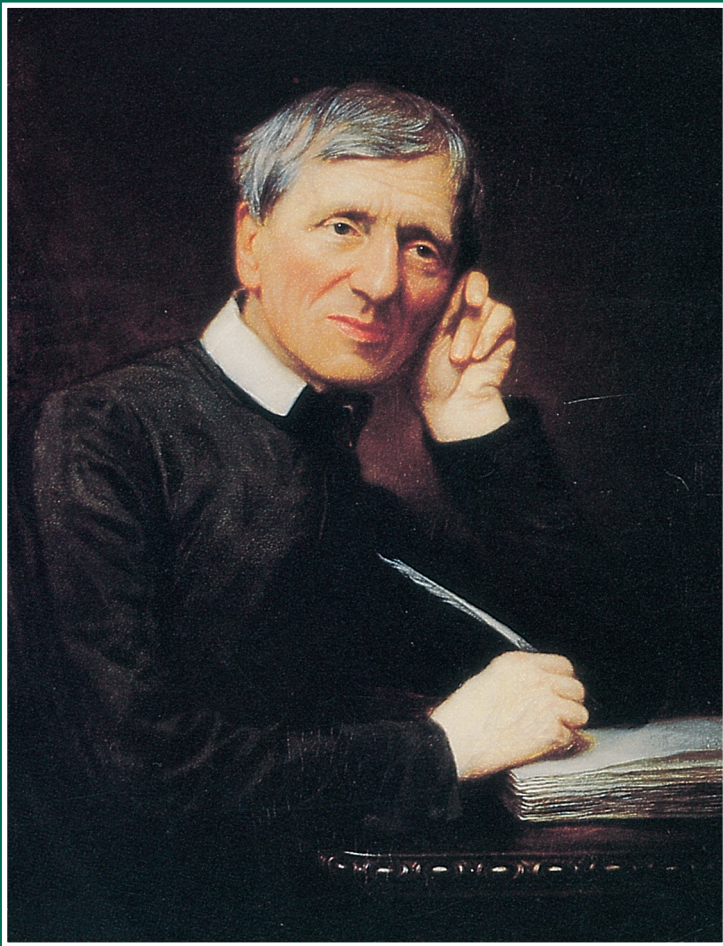




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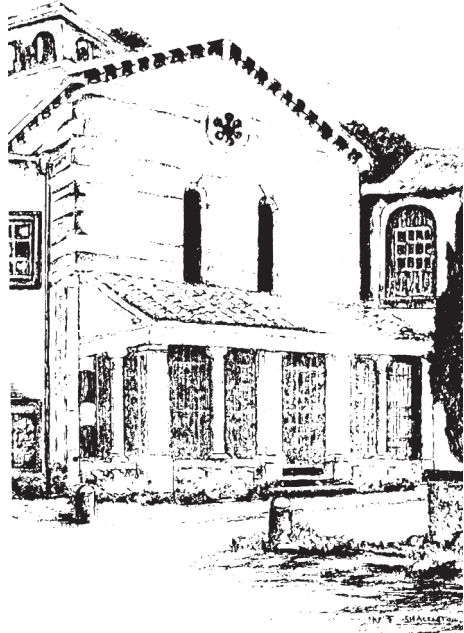
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<p>Front Cover: John Henry Cardinal Newman by A.R. Venables (1868), courtesy of the Oxford Oratory.</p>
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Opinions expressed in *The Venerable* are not necessarily those of the Venerable English College, Rome, nor of the Editor.

Editorial

NICHOLAS SCHOFIELD (EDITOR)

Pessimists, with some justification, might call it the *annus horribilis*. Most readers will be familiar with the catalogue of misfortunes that we have suffered this year, both personally and collectively: the Rector's illness, the long closure of the College after the deaths of two Old Romans from Legionnaires' Disease, adverse coverage in the media, and continued uncertainty as the current seminary system has come under the spotlight.

However, those of a slightly more optimistic bent of mind will say, with Dickens, "it was the best of times, it was the worst of times". The "exile" was for many a surprisingly enriching experience: a chance to make new friends and taste the customs and regimes of other seminaries, whether it be the constant diet of chips at the Scots College, early morning Mass in Gaelic with the Irish or the inspiring Rector's conferences at the NAC. Moreover, on returning to the College, suitably broadened by these experiences, it was a tremendous joy to celebrate an Old Roman and former Rector's elevation to the sacred purple. The week of the Consistory and the presence of Cardinal Murphy-O'Connor amongst us will long be remembered by all those who were privileged to be there.

For good and for bad, then, it has been a truly bumper year, resulting in yet another bumper issue of *The Venerabile*, with the usual selection of articles relating to the College's heritage, the College's faith and the College's year. The previous four issues have understandably been conditioned by the lead up to and celebration of the Holy Year. Now that we are safely into the Third Millennium, it seemed appropriate to look elsewhere for this year's *leitmotif*, and this was found in the bicentenary of Cardinal Newman's birth. Here, a short *apologia* might be called for. It is true that Newman was never a student at the College and only an occasional visitor. However, he was probably the most famous English ecclesiastical student to have studied in Rome and thus deserves to be commemorated in a truly "Roman" way. Fr Jerome Bertram – an Old Roman and a member of the Oxford Oratory – eloquently shows how the College was connected to Newman at the key moments of his life. Here it was, for example, that he met Wiseman as a curious Anglican, that he said one of his first Masses, and that he celebrated his elevation to the College of Cardinals. Fr Joseph Carola – a familiar figure from the Greg library and bar - examines Newman's theological importance by focusing on the *Lectures on Justification* and his relationship with St Augustine – making the English Cardinal a veritable *Augustinus Redivivus*, a figure of great importance for the Universal Church.

Other aspects of the College's past are covered in the "History" section. As we all know, history is not just about decaying documents in dusty archives. It spans the whole of man's existence, and this includes the world of sound. Fr Philip Whitmore picks up these faint musical echoes in the surrounding streets and

provides a fascinating account of music over the ages, “within earshot of the College”. We encounter great musical pioneers, such as St Philip Neri, who believed that music was an important vehicle for evangelisation and laid the foundations of the *oratorio*; we are transported into the *salone* of Baroque cardinals for their extravagant *spettacoli*, and meet the great *castrati*, such as Farinelli, the superstars of their day.

The second article in the “history” section grew out of a chance meeting at a parish barbeque during my pastoral placement at St Bonaventure’s, Welwyn Garden City, last year. When I heard that parishioner Melissa Wilkinson had been researching the College’s *Responsa Scholarum*, it seemed too good an editorial opportunity to miss. Her contribution helps us see some of the Elizabethan students as more than mere names in the *Liber ruber* by looking at their family and educational backgrounds. Mark Vickers looks at another Elizabethan student, St Eustace White, and gives a brief account of his search for this sometimes-elusive figure, which has resulted in a new biography published by the monks of Farnborough Abbey.

Moving into the nineteenth century, Fr Peter Philips has kindly shared with us his research into John Lingard and reveals his considerable contribution to the restoration of the College in 1818. Meanwhile, the Editor attempts to reconstruct the *villeggiatura* at “dear old Monte Porzio”, drawing largely upon nineteenth and early twentieth century student diaries, some of which have never made it into print before. More student memories are preserved by Fr Bernard Jackson - last survivor of the year of 1931, whose memories include seeing Hitler and Mussolini as he walked back from the College dentist - and Mgr Tony Philpot, who has written a “Romanesque” on the subject of rules. Up until the late 1960s, “Romanesque’s” were a regular feature of *The Venerabile*, describing and satirising various aspects of College life. They have since appeared only sporadically – the last one was in 1992 – and according to my calculations, Mgr Philpot’s is the 98th such “Romanesque”! The “History” section ends with Fr Sean Connolly’s review of Mgr Michael Williams’ latest book, *Oscott College in the Twentieth Century*, of interest not only to old Oscotians, but also to all interested in modern seminaries and their future.

The “Faith” section opens with a compelling article on the priest as a warrior by the renowned Jesuit writer and spiritual director, Fr Joseph Tetlow. This was based on a conference he gave to the candidates-to-be during their eight-day retreat at Monte Argentario last October. We are most grateful to him for taking the time to write this for us. Of course, being a minister of Jesus Christ also means bearing one’s share of the cross. Dominic Howarth writes about “the costly witness” of Francis Xavier Nguyen Van Thuan, recently made a cardinal, who was imprisoned by the Vietnamese government for thirteen years before coming to Rome to work for the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. It’s an inspiring story that should encourage us all to be zealous and courageous “warrior-priests”.

Andrew Pinsent has penned a thought-provoking article on truth, especially in the fields of education and the media, in his “Pavlov’s Dogs Go Hunting”. Taking a break from his by now traditional historical article, Richard Whinder examines the theme of martyrdom by looking at the writings of Claudel and von Balthazar. Fr Nicholas Paxton looks at the fascinating figure of Hippolytus and his early Roman church order, *The Apostolic Tradition*.

Students spend much of their last year madly typing up their Licence *tessina* –

the result of months of research, though they are often left forgotten in the library once they are finished. It is my hope that *The Venerabile* will occasionally include articles based on these theses – and we start with Chris Thomas’ account of the Conciliar contribution of Abbot Christopher Butler, one of the most prominent Englishmen at Vatican II. We are grateful to Downside Abbey for permission to include material from their archives.

We conclude with the usual round of articles relating to College life and reports from the Roman Association and the Friends of the Venerabile. Of special note are Dominic Howarth’s brief account on life “in exile” at the Irish College, Gerard Skinner’s reminiscences of the Consistory in February, Fr Philip Whitmore’s report of the *Schola*’s year as well as a longer than usual series of “Leavers’ Notes”, including anyone who has finished any particular incarnation at the College. There is also an obituary of Canon Harold Parker, former Pastoral Director at the College, who was one of two priests who died from Legionnaires’ Disease following their visit to Rome – RIP.

Editing this year’s *Venerabile* has been great fun and has involved a steep learning curve as I familiarised myself with the mysterious world of Windows 2000 and e-mail attachments. However, the Editor’s work is only a tiny fraction of all the effort that has gone into this edition. I would like to thank all the contributors for their generosity of time and expertise, as well as their great efficiency in handing their pieces in on time – a great consolation for the Editor! Just as pivotal has been the work and support of our new printers. As you can see, there is a new format for this year’s issue, slightly smaller and more condensed, without losing its readability. It is highly appropriate that an Old Roman is behind all this – former Liverpool student, Fergus Mulligan, who now runs his own publishing business in Dublin. To him and his team, many thanks!

Finally, little could usefully have been done without the great help and encouragement of the Business Manager, Paul Moss, and the Assistant Editor, Marcus Holden. This is Paul’s second and final year as Business Manager and he will be replaced next year by Alex Redman, whilst Marcus will edit the next edition, which will be *The Venerabile*’s 80th birthday. To all those who have helped to produce this issue and to this venerable magazine, *ad multos annos!*

The Venerabile 2001

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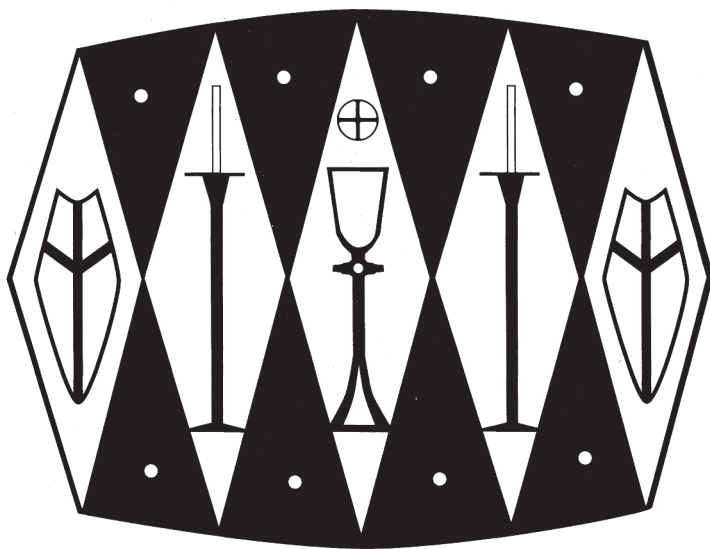
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Part 1

John Henry Cardinal Newman
1801 - 2001



Courtesy of the Birmingham Oratory.

John Henry Newman and the English College

JEROME BERTRAM OF THE ORATORY

I

When Newman and his pal Hurrell Froude stayed in Rome in spring 1833, they were both nervous of the city and its religion, terrified of priests, anxious about the fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecy. Was not this Rome, the Fourth Beast of the Prophet Daniel? Could they be sure the Beast was quite dead yet? “And besides I cannot quite divest myself,” writes Newman, “of the notion that Rome Christian is somehow under an especial shade as Rome Pagan certainly was — though I have seen nothing here to confirm it. Not that one can tolerate even for an instant the wretched perversion of the truth which is sanctified here...”¹ Perhaps that is why it took them long to pluck up the courage to call on Dr Wiseman, and enter the terrifying portals of the English College. Although they had apparently tried to see him when they first arrived (“missed Dr Wiseman in the afternoon”,² of 10 March), it was the Wednesday of Holy Week before they actually met him, Holy Saturday (6 April) before they had a chance to talk. Newman himself wrote little about the encounter: to Henry Jenkyn only, “We have been to the English College here, which was founded in Saxon times — it was all but destroyed by the French, who behaved here (as everywhere) with the most brutish rapacity”.³ To his sister Jemima, he wrote, “I ought to tell you ... about our communication with Dr Wiseman head of the English College ... Oh that Rome were not Rome; but I seem to see as clear as day that a union with her is impossible.”⁴

For an explanation of the impossibility we have to turn to Froude, who described their conversation in greater depth: “The only thing I can put my hand on as an acquisition is having formed an acquaintance with a man of some influence at Rome, Monsignor [Wiseman], the head of the [English] college, who has enlightened [Newman] and me on the subject of our relations to the Church of Rome. We got introduced to him to find out whether they would take us in on any terms to which we could twist our consciences, and we found to our dismay that not one step could be gained without swallowing the Council of Trent as a whole.”⁵ Newman adds a note to the effect that he and Froude were not genuinely interested in reconciliation, Froude’s words “being a jesting way of stating to a friend what really was the fact, viz. that he and another availed themselves of the opportunity of meeting a learned Romanist to ascertain the ultimate points at issue between the churches”. Nevertheless, like many a prospective convert since, they do seem to have entertained the idea that a

selection of Catholic doctrines could be mixed up to suit the English palate, safely leaving the full horrors of the Council of Trent for foreigners to enjoy.

II

When Newman took leave of Wiseman, the latter expressed a conventional wish to see him again. Newman demurred, saying he had a work to do in England. This presentiment of a work impending grew stronger during Newman's return to Sicily, and sustained him during his near-fatal illness there. "I sat some time by the bedside, crying bitterly, and all I could say was, that I was sure God had some work for me to do in England."⁶ Froude had concluded his account of their visit to the English College, "We mean to make as much as we can out of our acquaintance with Monsignor [Wiseman], who is really too nice a person to talk nonsense about."⁷ Wiseman could afford to bide his time: he would have much to do with Newman thirteen years later, but of Froude, alas, he saw no more.

When Newman returned to Rome, in the autumn of 1846, it was as a Catholic, enthusiastic for the faith, though still fastidious about the sanitary conditions, of Rome. Although he himself studied at Propaganda, he was a frequent visitor now to the English College. He was there for Christmas, "where stopped for vespers", and returned on 30 December for "theatricals and a supper".⁸ During the following spring he was a regular attender at theological debates, involving himself, Dr Ferdinand English, William Clifford, Thomas Grant the Rector, J.C. Shaw a student, and Ambrose St John. The subject was apparently the validity of Anglican orders, but there is no record of who spoke on which side.⁹ He was evidently unhappy about some aspects of the College, for he wrote to F.S. Bowles on 21 February, "I don't think the English College is the place for you, though it would take some time to give my reasons." Nevertheless he remained on excellent terms with the College and its inmates, continuing to visit for dinner and even breakfast after he had moved to Santa Croce to begin his Oratorian life. After his ordination on 30 May (Trinity Sunday) he did not say his first Mass until 3 June, but on 5th June he celebrated his third "at English College at St Thomas' altar ... we went to Pallotti's for a reception."¹⁰ This was of course Saint Vincent Pallotti and his Congregation.

For most of the summer Newman stayed in Rome, calling on Wiseman who was staying at the College, and making plans for the establishment of the Oratory in England. In October he went for a short trip to the Castelli, and dined at the Villa in Monte Porzio with Dr Sharples and Dr Wells.¹¹ Finally, soon before leaving the City for the three-week journey to Birmingham, he took his leave of the English College on Monday 29 November 1847.¹² It was obviously during these many visits to the College, and while Newman was developing his ideas about the Oratory, that he heard the often-recounted story about St Philip Neri:

When the English College at Rome was set up by the solicitude of a great Pontiff in the beginning of England's sorrows, and missionaries were trained there for confessorship and martyrdom here, who was it that saluted the fair Saxon youths as they passed by him in the streets of the great city, with the salutation, *Salvete flores martyrum?* And when the time came for each in turn to leave that peaceful home, and to go forth to the conflict, to whom did they betake themselves before leaving



John Henry Newman visiting Nicholas Wiseman at the English College in 1833.

Rome, to receive a blessing which might nerve them for their work? They went for a Saint's blessing; they went to a calm old man, who had never seen blood, except in penance; who had longed indeed to die for Christ, what time the great St Francis opened the way to the far East, but who had been fixed as if a sentinel in the holy city, and walked up and down for fifty years on one beat, while his brethren were in the battle. Oh! the fire of that heart, too great for its frail tenement, which tormented him to be kept at home when the whole Church was at war! and therefore came those bright-eyed strangers to him, ere they set out for the scene of their passion, that the full zeal and love pent up in that burning breast might find a vent, and flow over, from him who was kept at home, upon those who were to face the foe. Therefore one by one, each in his turn, those youthful soldiers came to the old man; and one by one they persevered and gained the crown and the palm, — all but one, who had not gone, and would not go, for the salutary blessing. My Fathers, my Brothers, that old man was my own St. Philip."¹³

III

When Newman returned to Rome more than ten years later, much had changed. Instead of being the lionized and famous convert on whom the Pope and the hierarchy reposed such hopes, he came back in the depth of depression, crushed by the way in which the work he had been given to do by the Pope had been frustrated by the pride and inertia of Wiseman, and the racist hostility of Cullen. He came briefly to Rome in the winter of 1856 in order to sort out difficulties between the Birmingham and London Oratories, and, in the course of a round of visits to canonists and dignitaries, found time for only one visit to the English College, on Sunday 27 January, when he dined, and preached.¹⁴ A rare glimpse of

him there is preserved in a rambling article by Donald MacLeod, later Moderator of the Church of Scotland, writing twenty seven years later:

It was my good fortune to hear John Henry Newman preach in Rome. It was in the chapel of the English Roman Catholic College. I believe I was the only Protestant present, having gained admission through my friend, the Vice-Rector. The chapel was filled with English Romanists of all ranks and descriptions. Never will I forget the aspect of the preacher — that weird countenance of his — as he hurriedly entered from the sacristy, nor the intensity of his obeisance as he passed the altar on the way to the pulpit. It was not that he knelt, but that he seemed to crush himself down before it in brief, earnest prayer. His sermon was touching in the highest degree. Its theme was the experiences of St Paul on giving up all his former associations, beliefs, and friendships, in order to be true to his new convictions. As addressed by such a man to such an audience, the bearing of the discourse was obvious. More than once, as he read illustrative passages from the Acts and the Epistles, the half-suppressed sob showed how deeply the preacher was moved. However widely he might differ from Newman, his would have been a callous nature which could refuse its sympathy, or not feel all that was best in him quickened by the self-revelation given by this sincere and pure-hearted man.¹⁵

Ten years later the storm clouds were even darker over Newman's head, as a regular conspiracy of jealous clerics attempted to poison the ears of the Pope against him. Having succeeded in undermining the hopes of a Catholic University for the United Kingdom, they were now determined that Newman should not be allowed to encourage Catholics to go to any other university. The plans for the Oxford Oratory were so many times deferred or frustrated, that Newman sent Fr Henry Bittleston and Fr Ambrose St John to Rome to try to find out what was going on. He deluged them with telegrams and letters, using the English College as an address, though in the event the fathers stayed in an albergo. On the 3rd of May 1867 they went to the College to see the Rector, Frederick Neve, who was consistently supportive of Newman and his friends. However they were elbowed out of the way by the unspeakable Monsignor Talbot, who "kept them waiting no end of time". Talbot afterwards cornered Fr Ambrose in the Vatican, alleging that he had not recognised them, but arguing fiercely against Newman's position. Blessed Pio Nono, on the other hand, was most friendly and helpful, so that Talbot changed tack and became affable, urging the Birmingham Fathers to dine with him.¹⁶ Fr Ambrose for a moment agreed, but on thinking it over, sent the letter which survives in the College Archives. He had accepted Talbot's "invitation for Fr Bittleston & myself to dine with you" but has reconsidered this in the light of their position "as subjects of F. Newman acting in his name and in his behalf in a matter in which he feels with great justice he has been publicly wronged. We came because it was stated that he was persistently cooperating in a scheme of mixed education contrary to the express desire of the Holy See. The charge of disobedience in this matter I consider to have been sufficiently withdrawn" but he cannot accept "hospitality from one who has before the world taken a strong line against him".¹⁷

Talbot was not amused, and wreaked his vengeance by having Fr Neve turned out of his place as Rector of the English College.¹⁸

IV

Newman's own final return to Rome had to wait until the ecclesiastical storm clouds were dispelled. The City had by now fallen to the barbarians, and it was a captive Pope who summoned Dr Newman to receive the Red Hat. Infuriatingly, the new Cardinal was confined to his rooms with a severe bout of influenza for virtually the whole of his stay in Rome, but he was able to visit the English College once, on 14th May 1879, when the English-speaking Catholics of Rome gave a reception for him and presented him with some vestments. This presentation had actually been arranged by Leo XIII himself: "his kind interest extended so far as to settle the day, and the details of attendance, and of the Cardinal's dress for that day."

At eleven o'clock on Wednesday, May 14, his Eminence Cardinal Newman, accompanied by Mgr. Cataldi, Master of Ceremonies to his Holiness, and the Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory who are with him, went to the English College to receive the address and the gifts of the English, Irish, Scotch and American residents in Rome. He was received at the College by Dr. O'Callaghan, the rector, Dr. Giles, the vice-rector, and Mgr. Stonor, and conducted to a large upper chamber, already crowded by ladies and gentlemen. At the further end were exposed the complete set of vestments, rich as becoming the intention, but plain in accordance with the Cardinal's desire, a cloth-of-silver cope and jeweled mitre, a Canon of the mass book, a pectoral cross and chain, and a silver-gilt altar candlestick, for which the English-speaking Catholics at Rome have subscribed as a present to his Eminence, together with a richly illuminated address.

Lady Herbert of Lea read the address, and the Cardinal replied very briefly. He reflected that "most men if they do any good die without knowing it; but I call it strange that I should be kept to my present age - an age beyond the age of most men - as if in order that, in this great city, where I am personally almost unknown, I might find kind friends to meet me with an affectionate welcome and to claim me as their spiritual benefactor." The reporter notes that "a great improvement was manifested in the Cardinal's appearance since the day before yesterday".¹⁹

Fr Pope commented that "He looked very noble in Cardinal's attire — and we sent to the Vatican for his *gentiluomo* in the picturesque medieval dress — with sword — and the Father's biretta on his knees. Two carriages and all in proper form. But the Father is fearfully tired and weak. That grip on his throat and bronchia was a sharp one — and I shall be glad now to see him home again."²⁰ In contrast, Fr Bacchus (who had been a student at the College) writes, "the Father seemed to enjoy himself very much, laughing and making himself pleasant."²¹

There, then, we may leave him in his glory, welcomed back in triumph in the College where he had first spoken to a Catholic priest forty six years before, which

he had frequently visited in the first months of Pio Nono, and where his envoys had been snubbed by the agents of the “aggressive and insolent faction” who had made Newman’s pilgrimage on earth a *via dolorosa* for so much of his life.

Jerome Bertram trained at the College up until his ordination for the diocese of Arundel and Brighton in 1979. During his time in Rome, he produced a single volume catalogue of the College Archives, still used today. After various parochial and university assignments, Fr Jerome joined the newly founded Oxford Oratory in 1991. A member of the Society of Antiquaries, he has written many books and articles on subjects as diverse as brass rubbing, Newman’s Oxford, the works of John Cassian and the sacrament of reconciliation.

- ¹ LD III, 258; letter of 18 March 1833 to R.F. Wilson.
- ² LD III, 247.
- ³ LD III, 280.
- ⁴ LD III, 284.
- ⁵ *Remains of the late reverend Richard Hurrell Froude, MA*, [ed. by J.H. Newman] (London 1838), I, 306-7.
- ⁶ *Autobiographical Writings*, p. 136; cf. *Apologia*, p. 34.
- ⁷ *Remains*, I, 310.
- ⁸ LD XI, 302.
- ⁹ LD XII, 16, 22, 27, 54, 57.
- ¹⁰ LD XII, 86.
- ¹¹ LD XII, 124.
- ¹² LD XII, 130.
- ¹³ “The Second Spring”, in *Occasional Sermons*, 181-2.
- ¹⁴ LD XVII, 141.
- ¹⁵ “Some Italian Memories, by the Editor”, in Donald Macloed (ed), *Good Words*, 1883, p. 424.
- ¹⁶ LD XXIII, 218.
- ¹⁷ Correspondence of Mgr. George Talbot, indexed by Anthony Kenny, 1954, now classed as *Libri* 1635-1639, with index volume *Liber* 1640; letter 1164, 6 May 1867. The Talbot correspondence is most illuminative as to the extent of the machinations of Vaughan, Manning and party.
- ¹⁸ LD XXIII, 316.
- ¹⁹ The whole account of Newman’s visit to the College is in W.P. Neville (ed.), *Addresses to Cardinal Newman with his Replies, etc. 1879-81* (London 1905), 71-4.
- ²⁰ W. Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, (1912) II, 464.
- ²¹ LD XXIX, 125.

Augustine, Newman and the *Lectures on Justification*

JOSEPH CAROLA, S.J.

I

Augustinus Redivivus

In 1930 Jesuit Father Erich Przywara called John Henry Newman the one and only *Augustinus redivivus* of modern times.¹ Since then others have followed Przywara's lead and have found a profound spiritual affinity between the Bishop of Hippo and the Oratorian Cardinal. Although he acknowledges that Newman would never have thought of himself in such terms, Jean Guitton concurs with Przywara's vision of Newman as Augustine come back to earth.² Both Augustine and Newman, Guitton maintains, offered their respective ages a framework for building the City of God. Pedro Langa insists that they were men of the Church who consecrated their lives to her defence and edification by the word and the pen.³

In his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* Newman extols Augustine's position in Western history, remarking that "[t]he great luminary of the western world, is, as we know, St Augustine; he, no infallible teacher, has formed the intellect of Christian Europe."⁴ Although no such claims as regards contemporary Western civilization are made on Newman's behalf, those who find in him a marked resemblance to Augustine point out that both these great Christian thinkers were masters of the inner life, each demonstrating a profound appreciation of the human conscience. Both Augustine and Newman, moreover, contributed significantly to the Church's own historical self-consciousness. Thus, Pedro Langa, Jean Guitton, John O'Meara and others find it easy to compare Augustine's *Confessions* with Newman's *Apologia* and the former's *City of God* with the latter's *Essay on the Development of Doctrine*. Jean Honoré concludes that John Henry Newman's "indebtedness with regard to the African is considerable, not only in terms of the volume of citations and references, but also and above all on account of the decisive contribution which the Doctor of ecclesial unity and grace brought to the major debates in which Newman was engaged at the heart of the Oxford Movement."⁵ But Pedro Langa insists that above all else Newman fulfilled the role of *Augustinus redivivus* when the Augustinian phrase cited by Nicholas Wiseman in the *Dublin Review*, *Securus indicat orbis terrarum*, rang in his ears as the phrase *Tolle, lege* had rung in Augustine's. At that moment Newman's *Via Media*, like Augustine's reluctance to heed God's call, came tumbling down.⁶ Augustine's retreat to Cassiciacum and Newman's to Littlemore were still to come, nevertheless the direction of their spiritual journeys had become clear. Augustine

was baptized the following Easter in Milan by Saint Ambrose, and Newman was received into the Catholic Church six years later on a rainy October night at Littlemore by Blessed Dominic Barberi.

II

Newman and the Fathers

The young John Henry Newman's first encounter with Augustine and the Fathers was in the Autumn of 1816 when he was only fifteen years old. He recalls in his *Apologia*: "I read Joseph Milner's *Church History*, and was nothing short of enamoured of the long extracts from St Augustine, St Ambrose, and the other Fathers which I found there."⁷ It was, however, only after two significant tragedies in Newman's life, his breakdown in late 1827 and the death of his sister Mary in January 1828, that his early devotion towards the Fathers returned. During the Long Vacation of 1828, Newman began to read the Fathers in chronological order, beginning with Saint Ignatius of Antioch and Saint Justin.⁸ The rule of Antiquity which Newman discovered in them formed the basis of the Anglican *Via Media* which he, along with other members of the Oxford Tractarian Movement, attempted to construct. Nevertheless, Newman later confesses that it was the Fathers themselves who made him Catholic. The Alexandrian Fathers revealed to him Rome's sure position⁹ and Augustine presented him with a rule from Antiquity which decisively dismissed Antiquity as an absolute rule in itself.¹⁰

Jesuit Father Vincent Blehl, however, cautions that:

[t]he role of the Fathers of the Church in the thought of John Henry Newman is a difficult and complicated subject. That he studied them carefully and was influenced by them, especially the Alexandrian Fathers is common knowledge, but that they were in the strict sense sources of his ideas is more difficult to prove according to the canons of historical method.¹¹

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the ancient faith of the Fathers animates Newman and his works. The Newman scholar and Birmingham Oratorian Father Charles Dessain astutely comments that Newman

never wished to be original, he wished to preach and pass on the revealed religion of Christianity, which was handed down in the Holy Scripture and in the Fathers, and so above all in the Eastern writers. His works have been one of the means by which Eastern theology has penetrated into the West. One of the easiest and pleasantest ways of imbibing the ancient faith of East and West is to read, besides *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, those less-known works, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, *Lectures on Justification*, *St. Athanasius*, and *Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical*.¹²

"[Newman] sought," writes Orthodox priest George Dragas, "through writing and action to restate the patristic truth of catholicity for his own times, in modern linguistic and cultural idiom."¹³ Even though identifying the Fathers' precise influence in John Henry Newman's theology might prove somewhat elusive in general, Newman's numerous citations of the Fathers and above all of Saint

Augustine in the *Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification* make the scholar's task easier in discerning the Oriel Fellow's debt to the Church Fathers in the work acknowledged to be the most significant theological product of Newman's attempts at a *Via Media*.

III

Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification

In December 1836 the *Christian Observer*, an Evangelical publication, attacked Edward B. Pusey's *Tracts* on Baptism. John Henry Newman took up the challenge and responded at length to the magazine both in January and March of 1837. Writing on 12 April to his good friend and old school-mate from Trinity College, John W. Bowden, Newman reports: "As my Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, rose out of my correspondence with the Abbé Jager, so those on Justification rose out of my controversy with the Christian Observer."¹⁴ The following day Newman delivered the first of the *Lectures on Justification* in the Adam de Brome chapel at Saint Mary's in Oxford. He finished the lecture series on 1 June of that same year. The preparation of the *Lectures* for publication, however, was an exhausting business, as Newman himself explains to his sister Jemima:

My book on Justification has taken incredible time. I am quite worn out with correcting. I do really think that every correction I make is for the better, and that I am not wasting time in an overfastidious way, or making it worse than it was, – but I can only say the means of correcting are inexhaustible. I write – I write again – I write a third time, in the course of six months – then I take the third – I literally fill the paper with corrections so that another person could not read it – I then write it out fair for the printer – I put it by – I take it up – I begin to correct again – it will not do – alterations multiply – pages are re-written – little lines sneak in and crawl about – the whole page is disfigured – I write again. I cannot count how many times this process goes on.

Although it was painstaking work, Newman finally published the *Lectures* on 30 March 1838.

In the advertisement to the first edition, Newman describes his motivations for pursuing what he considered to be the crucial theme of justification: "It was brought home to the writer from various quarters, that a prejudice existed in many serious minds against certain essential Christian truths, such as Baptismal Regeneration and the Apostolical Ministry, in consequence of a belief that they fostered notions of human merit, were dangerous to the inward life of religion, and incompatible with the doctrine of justifying faith, nay, with express statements on the subject in our Formularies."¹⁵ Newman considers it his particular task in the *Lectures* to labour for "the consolidation of a theological system, which, built upon those formularies which were framed in the 16th century, and to which all Clergymen are bound, may tend to inform, persuade, and absorb into itself religious minds, which hither to have fancied that, on the peculiar Protestant question they were seriously opposed to one another."¹⁶ As a result the *Lectures*

are an outstanding example of Newman's attempts to construct a vital and real *Via Media* in the Anglican Church.

As Newman envisions his project, the two poles through which his *Via Media* must pass are Protestantism and Romanism. The theological climate, however, against which Newman is most concerned to fight is an Evangelical Protestantism then prevalent in the Church of England. Its adherents were principally influenced by Calvinism. Nevertheless, Newman erroneously attributes their rejection of baptismal regeneration and their forensic notion of justification to Luther. Having expounded this "Lutheran" position in the first lecture, Newman cautions his reader at the beginning of the second lecture:

I have hitherto been employed upon a view of justification which happens to be very extensively professed in our Church at this day, either systematically or not; and has great influence, *as a system*, in consequence of the many religious men who hold it *without system*. I cannot for an instant believe that so many would adhere to it, if they understood what it really means when brought out as distinct from other views on the subject, and made consistent with itself. They profess it, because it is what is put into their hands, and they graft it upon a temper of mind in many cases far higher and holier than it.¹⁷

William P. Haugaard correctly explains that the Evangelicals offered the strongest resistance to the Tractarians' plans to revitalize the Church of England and to restore traditional Catholic teaching and practice. Therefore, Newman, along with his fellow Tractarians, knew well that if he could show the Evangelicals' "Luther" to be wrong, then, the Evangelical position itself would fall.¹⁸ John Henry Newman turns to the Fathers of the Church and above all to Saint Augustine of Hippo in order to refute this "Lutheran" position and its erroneous interpretation of Sacred Scripture concerning the doctrine of justification.

Alister McGrath, however, argues that the concept of a *via media* was already obsolete in Newman's own day because the Council of Trent had already legitimated a range of theologies of justification contiguous at crucial points with Protestant theologies of justification. The pursuit of a *via media*, therefore, was theologically rather insignificant. McGrath declares, moreover, that Newman's attempt at a *via media* doctrine of justification is "irredeemably discredited" because Newman misrepresents the thesis and antithesis of the dialectic.¹⁹

Although correct in part, McGrath's remarkably strong critique does not seem to do justice to Newman's own later theological and religious development. After the controversy over *Tract 90*, Newman himself painfully realized that his concept of a real and vital *Via Media* in the Anglican Church was irredeemably unattainable. Nevertheless, the *Lectures* positive contributions to a doctrine of justification were not simultaneously discredited. For even after abandoning his *Via Media* and converting to Catholicism, Newman himself still considered the *Lectures* worthwhile and republished them without any substantial revisions. "Unless the Author held in substance in 1874 what he published in 1838," the Birmingham Oratorian insists, "he would not at this time be reprinting what he wrote as an Anglican; certainly not with so little added by way of safeguard."²⁰ Although the *Via Media* to which they were originally intended to contribute proved impossible, the *Lectures* remain a valuable contribution to the doctrine of

justification in itself and prove to be a rich, even though indirect, source of patristic and above all Augustinian teaching on justification.

McGrath rightly points out, nevertheless, that clearly establishing the two poles of the dialectic was both crucial to Newman's theological enterprise and the source of its difficulties.²¹ The fact, however, that Newman erroneously applies the appellation "Lutheran" to the Evangelical position does not impede his *Via Media* to the same extent as does the inequality between the two systems of doctrine. While Newman considers the "Lutheran" position to be completely wrong, he appraises the Roman Catholic position represented by Augustine to be merely incomplete while being generally correct. In his *Apologia* Newman admits that he did not find any real intellectual difference between Rome and Canterbury on their understanding of the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith.

If in 1837 Newman regarded the Roman Catholic position as highly as he did, then, it is important to ascertain where his difficulties with it laid. Did he seriously disagree with the Augustinian theology of justification that he expounded as representative of the Roman school? This is certainly not the case, for throughout the *Lectures* Newman reveals himself to be markedly Augustinian. The problem lies rather in Newman's distaste for the scholastic approach to Augustine which he found prevalent among Catholic theologians – an approach that neglected the mystery of the divine indwelling and concentrated too heavily upon the human person's own obedience. In the eighth lecture the Oriel Fellow insists that he is critical not of Augustine but of those who "explain away the mystery."²² Newman would have appreciated Agostino Trapè's comment regarding the Augustinian doctrine on grace: "Its true significance will be more easily understood the more one removes it from the context of later discussions, whether Scholastic or Controversialist."²³ Although the *Lectures* themselves are argumentative, Newman's approach manifests a sincere attempt to understand Augustine free from those scholastic categories which hindered Catholics and the sixteenth-century controversies that plagued Anglicans and Protestants in their common appreciation of the great Latin Father. In this regard Newman pioneered the *via media* of contemporary Augustinian studies.

IV

Via Augustiniana

In 1839 it was "the palmary words of St Augustine"—*Securus indicat orbis terrarum* – that were directly instrumental in the collapse of Newman's *Via Media*.²⁴ During the Long Vacation of that year, Newman was absorbed in his study of the Monophysite controversy. He found his reading unexpectedly illuminating as regards his own contemporary position in the Church of England. Antiquity proved to be brutally frank:

I saw my face in that mirror [i.e., fifth-century Christendom], and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental communion, Rome was, where she now is; and the Protestants were the Eutychians.²⁵

In September not long after Newman had finished his disturbing course of reading, friends insisted that Newman read Wiseman's article on the "Anglican

Claim” in the August edition of the *Dublin Review*. The article was on the Donatist controversy in the Church of North Africa. After originally missing the grave significance of the Augustinian phrase *Securus iudicat orbis terrarum* and dismissing the article, Newman returned to Augustine’s words at a friend’s insistence. Then, in a moment of profound insight, Newman realized that those words “decided ecclesiastical questions on a simpler rule than that of Antiquity; nay St Augustine was one of the prime oracles of Antiquity; here then Antiquity was deciding against itself.”²⁶ Newman recalls:

For a mere sentence, the words of St Augustine, struck me with a power which I never had felt from any words before. To take a familiar instance, they were like the ‘Turn again Whittington’ of the chime; or, to take a more serious one, they were like the ‘*Tolle, lege, – Tolle, lege*’, of the child, which converted St Augustine himself. ‘*Securus iudicat orbis terrarum!*’ By those great words of the ancient Father, interpreting and summing up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized.²⁷

It was again Augustine who directed Newman towards the truth.

John Henry Newman, a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, found in Saint Augustine and the Fathers of the Ancient Church a well-trod path to Catholic truth, but he discovered that certain Anglican maps pointing out the way were not always accurate. Where they were misleading, he tried to correct them. He translated sign posts from ancient tongues so that his fellow Englishmen might be able to understand them as well. Concerning merit and reward, for example, Augustine had written: “When God crowns our merits, he crowns nothing other than his own gifts.”²⁸ Thus Newman, in turn, asked: “For what is the reward of a religious action, but God’s favour, accorded to us in consequence of good things wrought in us by the Holy Spirit?”²⁹ This path upon which Newman walked, however, proved not to be a *Via Media* between Protestant heresy and Roman corruptions, but rather a *Via Appia* of sorts which lead Newman to that ancient See made holy by the blood of the martyrs, Saints Peter and Paul.

In the *Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification* written years before Newman ever considered leaving the Church of England, the Oriel Fellow used Augustine of Hippo to refute the Evangelical position on justification prevalent in the Anglican Church. The work is in part an exercise in patristic exegesis. Faithfully following Augustine’s reading of Saint Paul, Newman argues for an essential complementary relationship between the Spirit and the law in justification. Along with Augustine he concludes that God’s justifying grace enables men and women to fulfill the moral law. For both Augustine and Newman, it is faith which apprehends this divine gift of justification. They affirm, moreover, that this justifying faith necessarily expresses itself in love. While confirming the primacy of grace attested to by the doctrine of justification by faith, Newman, furthermore, upholds in the Augustinian tradition the truth of an inherent righteousness which results from baptismal regeneration and expresses itself in justification by obedience. Although this righteousness is inherent within the human person, Newman insists that it is not a quality which anyone can claim to have come from himself nor, in an act of self-sufficiency, declare to be his own. As Augustine highlights in Saint Paul, righteousness is God’s gift. Newman emphasizes that it

is the gift of God's very own self. The human person's righteousness is the indwelling of the Triune God. Both God's grace and inherent righteousness – and similarly the law and justification by obedience – are ultimately matters of love. God's love poured forth by the Holy Spirit into the human heart – the very presence of God himself dwelling within the human person – both justifies man and progressively sanctifies him. Although two in idea, these functions of God's gracious love are, for both Augustine and Newman, one in reality. But bound by the Thirty-nine Articles and committed to the creation of an Anglican *Via Media*, Newman was hindered here from a fully explicit espousal of Augustine's theology. Nevertheless, remaining faithful to the Bishop of Hippo's own *via media* between Manichean pessimism and Pelagian optimism, Newman arrived at a genuinely Catholic understanding of the doctrine of justification.

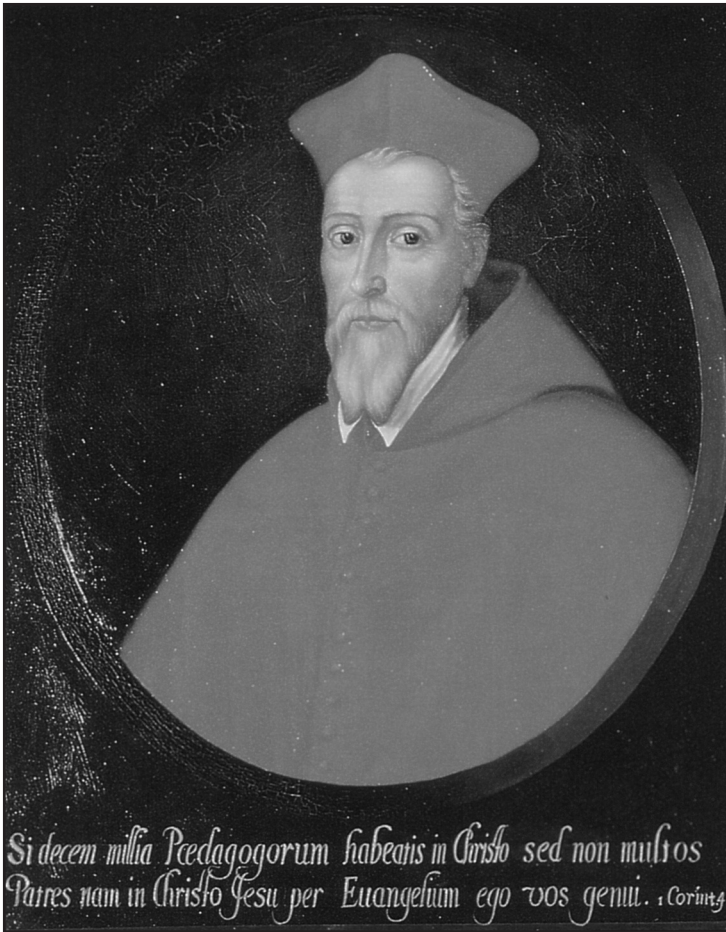
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- ¹ Erich Przywara, "St. Augustine and the Modern World," *A Monument to Saint Augustine*, trans. E. I. Watkin (London: Sheed & Ward, 1930), p. 286.
- ² Jean Guittou, *The Modernity of Saint Augustine*, trans. A. V. Littledale (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1959), p. 65.
- ³ Pedro Langa, "John Henry Newman o el 'Augustinus redivivus'": *Religión y Cultura* 25 (1979) 563.
- ⁴ John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua: Being a History of His Religious Opinions*, ed. Martin J. Svaglic (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 237.
- ⁵ Jean Honoré, "Newman et Saint Augustin": *Revista Agustiniana: John Henry Newman, I Centenario de su muerte (1890-1990)*, 31 (1990) 824.
- ⁶ Pedro Langa, "John Henry Newman o el 'Augustinus Redivivus,'" p. 557. See also Newman, *Apologia* pp. 109-111.
- ⁷ *Apologia*, p. 20.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110.
- ¹¹ Vincent Ferrer Blehl, "The Patristic Humanism of John Henry Newman": *Newman Studien Zehnte Folge: Herausgegeben von Heinrich Fries und Werner Becker* (1978), p. 60.
- ¹² Charles Stephen Dessain, "Cardinal Newman and the Eastern Tradition": *The Downside Review* 94 (1976) 98.
- ¹³ George Dion Dragas, "John Henry Newman: Rediscovering the Catholicity of the Greeks Fathers": *One in Christ: a Catholic Ecumenical Review* 17 (1981) 50.
- ¹⁴ John Henry Newman, *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol. VI, ed. Gerard Tracey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 53.

- ¹⁵ John Henry Newman, *Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification* (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1966), p. v.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. vi.
- ¹⁷ *Lectures*, p. 30.
- ¹⁸ William P. Haugaard, "A Myopic Curiosity: Martin Luther and the English Tractarians": *Anglican Theological Review* 64 (1984) 399.
- ¹⁹ Alister McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 132. McGrath is not alone in his criticism of Newman's *Via Media* project in the *Lectures on Justification*. The Oxford Don's harsh criticism pales in light of Scott Murray's polemical comments: "Newman was not really charting a course between Lutheranism and Romanism. He had his feet firmly implanted in the church of Rome. By making love the form of faith he attributes to the work of love the power of justification. He makes man's apprehension of the righteousness of Christ active and thus meritorious. This is clearly the Pelagian or semi-Pelagian position of the Roman church, not some mediating position," Scott Murray, "Luther in Newman's 'Lectures on Justification'": *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 154 (1990) 167. (Would Murray not likewise call Augustine a Pelagian?) Murray continues: "Given Newman's lack of primary sources, it is no wonder that his view of Luther and Lutheran theology was so flawed. However, even if Newman had had access to Luther's works, he still would not have been capable of charting a genuine *via media*. He had already conceptually placed himself in the Church of Rome, despite his seeming addition of the concept of the indwelling of the Trinity," *ibid.*, p. 174. In response to Murray's critique, it is simply incorrect and historically inaccurate to accuse Newman of having "his feet firmly implanted in the church of Rome" when he wrote the *Lectures on Justification*. In his *Apologia* Newman recounts how he himself responded to similar accusations in 1839: "In January, if I recollect aright, in order to meet the popular clamour against myself and others, and to satisfy the Bishop, I had collected into one all the strong things which they, and especially I, had said against the Church of Rome, in order to their insertion among the advertisements appended to our publications. Conscious as I was that my opinions in religion were not gained, as the world said, from Roman sources, but were, on the contrary, the birth of my own mind and of the circumstances in which I had been placed, I had a scorn of the imputations which were heaped upon me," *Apologia*, p. 91. In September of 1839, however, Newman himself came to realize that his *Via Media* was fatally flawed, but not for reasons of any consciously held Roman biases.
- ²⁰ *Lectures*, p. ix.
- ²¹ McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, vol. II, pp. 129-132.
- ²² *Lectures*, p. 184.
- ²³ Agostino Trapè, *Patrology* vol. IV *The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicea to the Council of Chalcedon*, trans. Placid Solari, ed. Angelo di Berardino (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1991), p. 443.
- ²⁴ *Apologia*, p. 110.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.
- ²⁸ "Cum Deus coronet merita nostra, nihil aliud coronet quam munera sua," Augustine, *ep.* 194.5.19.
- ²⁹ *Lectures*, p. 55.

Part 2

History



“Saints and Singers” – Music within Earshot of the College

PHILIP WHITMORE

Singers in Rome at the time of the College martyrs were not exactly two a penny, but in 1619 you could get two for $3\frac{1}{2}$ *scudi*¹ – and they were the best in town. In those days, so many churches in Rome employed professional musicians that there were always plenty of good quality singers available to be engaged for one-off musical events. In London today, it would not be unusual for a professional singer to be engaged for morning Mass at Westminster Cathedral, Evensong at St Paul’s, and a concert in the evening in one of the City churches. It must have been quite similar, *mutatis mutandis*, in Counter-Reformation Rome.

At the time, the Church was still one of the principal patrons of musicians throughout Europe, so it was not surprising that a thriving musical culture should have existed in Rome. Even smaller churches such as our own employed one or two musicians, and had no difficulty engaging the services of a good many more for particular festivals, like St Thomas’ day. Other churches in the vicinity also maintained professional musical establishments, notably San Lorenzo in Damaso, San Girolamo della Carità, Santa Maria di Monserrato and San Giovanni Battista dei Fiorentini.

The English College was fortunate in having the services of Felice Anerio as musical director in the 1580’s, albeit for only about a year. His career followed a fairly typical pattern for a Roman church musician of the period. Born around 1560, he spent his whole life in Rome, receiving his musical training as a choir-boy at Santa Maria Maggiore. He was subsequently employed as a singer at the Cappella Giulia in St Peter’s, and later at San Luigi dei Francesi. He received the tonsure in 1584, at about the time he entered the service of the English College, but only much later, in 1607, did he receive major orders. In 1594, on the death of Palestrina, Anerio succeeded him as composer to the Papal Choir.

Many Roman musicians at the time were members of the clergy. In fact, membership of the Cappella Sistina was reserved to celibates, although an exception was made, at least briefly, for Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, a married man with a family. Pope Julius III, who appointed him, had previously been Bishop of Palestrina, and was a generous patron of the composer who had been his cathedral organist in that see. Sadly, the appointment lasted only 8 months: under Pope Paul IV the celibacy rule was enforced.

Twenty-five years later, in 1580, Palestrina’s wife died, and at this point an interesting association with the English Catholic community emerges. The widowed composer seriously considered entering the priesthood, and proceeded to receive the tonsure in the Church of San Silvestro in December 1580, at the hands of Bishop Thomas Goldwell.² Goldwell was the last surviving member of the

Catholic hierarchy of England and Wales, having been Bishop of St Asaph under Mary Tudor. After the Elizabethan Settlement he had settled in the English Hospice on the Via di Monserrato, but at the time the College was founded he moved elsewhere. Palestrina, however, did not proceed to major orders. Less than three months after receiving tonsure, he had second thoughts and married a wealthy widow.

More closely linked with the immediate vicinity of the College was the Spanish priest-composer Tomás Luis de Victoria. He came to Rome in the 1560's, while in his late teens, to study at the *Germanicum*, a particular centre of musical excellence. From 1569 he was engaged as singer and organist at the Spanish Church, Santa Maria di Monserrato. In 1575 he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Thomas Goldwell in none other than the English Church on the Via di Monserrato. Then, for a number of years, he was a chaplain at the nearby Church of San Girolamo della Carità, but in 1587 he returned to Spain, where he spent most of his remaining years.

The Church of San Girolamo della Carità was, of course, the home of St Philip Neri, and as such had a part to play in one of the most significant developments in musical history that our locality has witnessed – the birth of the oratorio. St Philip's informal meetings for prayer and spiritual exercises in San Girolamo attracted a large following; in order to accommodate them, an *oratorio*, or prayer-hall, was constructed in a space above the nave. Music played a large part in these meetings, for St Philip recognized the power of music “to draw, with a sweet deception, sinners to the holy exercises of the oratory”. Pope Gregory XIII officially recognized St Philip and his followers as the *Congregazione dell'Oratorio*, and he placed at their disposal the Church of Santa Maria in Valicella, soon to be rebuilt as the Chiesa Nuova that we know today.

So St Philip's *oratorio*, just across the road from the College, gave its name not only to the Society of Apostolic Life which he founded, represented in present-day England by the Oratories in Birmingham, London and Oxford, but also to the new musical genre associated with the devotional gatherings that took place in the early oratories.

At first, the music at these meetings would have been quite simple, consisting mainly of the *laude spirituali* popular in St Philip's native Florence. In due course, however, local composers were engaged to provide more substantial offerings. An important landmark was the performance in 1600 in the *Chiesa Nuova* of Cavalieri's “sacred opera”, *Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo*. Opera itself was a recent invention, and the application of the new operatic style to sacred music provided a challenge for local composers. Though not normally staged, or at most, semi-staged, these early oratorios were not unlike sacred operas. Naturally enough, the two genres developed independently of one another, the oratorio making rather greater use of the chorus, for example. At San Girolamo della Carità and the Chiesa Nuova, preference was given to Italian texts; at the more aristocratic Oratorio del Crocifisso, based at the Church of San Marcello, Latin texts were used. Another important centre in the vicinity of the College was the Oratorio del Gonfalone just behind the Via Giulia, still used occasionally for concerts today.

Giacomo Carissimi, the so-called ‘musical orator’, was born in Marino in 1605, but spent most of his life in Rome. Probably the first great composer of oratorios, mainly Latin ones, he was based for most of his life at the Germanicum, then situated by the Church of Sant'Apollinare. He was ordained a priest in 1637. His

Jephthe, probably written for the Oratorio del Crocifisso, is among the earliest oratorios to feature in the standard repertoire today.

A later Roman composer, Alessandro Stradella, wrote a number of Italian oratorios, in addition to several operas and secular cantatas. In the Holy Year 1675, when the theatres were closed, he composed an oratorio for the Church of San Giovanni Battista dei Fiorentini, entitled *San Giovanni Battista*. A rather colourful character, known to have lived somewhere on the Via Giulia,³ he was forced to flee from Rome after incurring the wrath of the Cardinal Secretary of State. After a series of amorous adventures in Northern Italy and a few failed attempts on his life, he took refuge in Genoa, where he enjoyed the patronage of Prince Giovanni Andrea Doria. Some years earlier, while still in Rome, Stradella had composed a cantata to celebrate Prince Doria's marriage to Anna Teresa Pamphili Aldobrandini. Further amorous adventures in Genoa cost him dearly, however: he was stabbed to death there at the age of 37.

Private patronage in princely palaces was a significant factor in the musical life of 17th-century Rome, giving ample scope to the growing taste for lavish Baroque *spettacoli*. Many of the earliest operatic performances in Rome were sumptuous private entertainments. The Palazzo Barberini contained a theatre that seated 3,000. Nearer home, the Palazzo della Cancelleria also witnessed a great many spectacular musical entertainments under the patronage of Cardinal Barberini and, later, of Cardinal Ottoboni. Cardinal Pamphili and Prince Ruspoli were also great patrons of the arts. In fact Ruspoli played host to Handel in 1708, when his *La Resurrezione* was performed in the Palazzo Bonelli in Piazza Santissimi Apostoli.

Another great musical patron at the time was Queen Christina of Sweden, one of a number of formidable Swedish ladies to settle in Rome over the centuries. It was she who had invited Descartes to her court in Stockholm in 1649, wishing to be instructed in philosophy. He, alas, died of a fever a few months later, unable to resist the Swedish winter or the early starts (5am) favoured by the Queen for philosophical discussion. She, however, decided to become a Catholic. Having abdicated from the throne of her Protestant realm in 1654, she was received into the Church in 1655 and then established herself in Rome, firstly in the Palazzo Farnese and subsequently in the Palazzo Riario on the Via della Lungara, just across the river from the Colosseum. Her tomb is in St Peter's. Friend of popes, musicians and poets, she presided over a brilliant 'court', with innumerable *spettacoli*, for some of which she helped to write the librettos. Arcangelo Corelli, Alessandro Scarlatti and Alessandro Stradella all enjoyed her patronage. One of her lasting contributions to Roman musical life was to open the *Teatro Tordinona* in 1670 as the first public opera house in Rome. Permission for this was readily granted by Pope Clement IX, who, before becoming pope, had been a prolific opera librettist himself.

Pope Clement's enthusiasm for opera was not shared by all his successors, however, and the *Teatro Tordinona* had a somewhat chequered history: closed, re-opened, pulled down, and eventually rebuilt in 1733. From this time onwards, several public theatres were used for opera. The *Teatro Valle* was one, and in 1816, Rossini's *The Barber of Seville* received its first performance in the *Teatro Argentina*. If not the principal operatic city in 19th-century Italy, Rome was certainly among the top five. A number of Verdi's operas were first performed in the *Teatro Apollo* (as the *Tordinona* had been renamed), including *Il Trovatore* and *Un ballo in maschera*.

The last-named caused something of a stir in the planning stages. It is based on the true story of the murder during a masked ball of one of Queen Christina's successors – King Gustavus III of Sweden. Verdi's opera was to have seen the light of day in Naples, but the authorities there were distinctly uneasy about it: revolution was in the air, and, with unfortunate timing, an attempt was made on the life of Napoleon III while rehearsals were in progress. As a consequence, the opera had to be withdrawn, but it was produced a year later in Rome. Here too, the idea of a European king being murdered on stage was held to be too subversive, but it was considered acceptable if the action could be transferred to 17th-century Boston, and the victim re-cast as an English colonial governor. So it was that the fictitious Riccardo, Earl of Warwick, met his end to the strains of Verdi's glorious music in an opera theatre on the banks of the Tiber in 1859.

The opera most intimately linked with our locality is, of course, Puccini's *Tosca*. Set in Rome in 1800, it was first performed in Rome in 1900. By this time the *Teatro Apollo* had already been demolished to make way for the construction of the Lungotevere Tordinona.⁴ *Tosca* first saw the light of day in the *Teatro Costanzi*, opened as recently as 1880. This theatre, redecorated and modernized in 1928, with more than a touch of Mussolini, is the *Teatro dell'Opera* that we know today. The action of *Tosca*, however, is set much nearer home: Act 1 in the Basilica of Sant'Andrea della Valle, Act 2 in the Palazzo Farnese, and Act 3 on the roof of the Castel Sant'Angelo.

Tosca herself is an opera singer, at the time of the Napoleonic wars. While this might seem an unremarkable historical detail, it is worth noting that, until a short time before, women had been officially banned from singing in public theatres in Rome. The same Pope who suppressed the Jesuits in 1773, Clement XIV, was also responsible for lifting the ban, at the same time authorizing women to sing in churches.

It is difficult for us to imagine opera without female singers – and indeed the ban was by no means always strictly enforced.⁵ In many cases, though, female roles were sung by *castrati*. And in church choirs too, there was plenty of work for eunuchs.⁶ Indeed, a barber's shop in the Via dei Banchi Vecchi used to bear a sign saying *Qui si castrano i fanciulli per la Cappella papale* until at least 1789, though it disappeared soon after the arrival of the invading French armies.⁷

The most celebrated *castrato* of all, Carlo Broschi, known as Farinelli, took Rome by storm in the 1720's, as the following account reveals:

... there was a struggle every night between Farinelli and a famous player on the trumpet, in a song accompanied by that instrument: this, at first, seemed amicable and merely sportive, till the audience began to interest themselves in the contest, and to take different sides: after severally swelling out a note, in which each manifested the power of his lungs, and tried to rival the other in brilliancy and force, they had both a swell and a shake together, by thirds, which was continued so long, while the audience eagerly waited the event, that both seemed to be exhausted; and, in fact, the trumpeter, wholly spent, gave it up, thinking, however, his antagonist as much tired as himself, and that it would be a drawn battle; when Farinelli with a smile on his countenance, shewing he had only been sporting with him all this time, broke out all at once in the same breath, with fresh vigour, and not only swelled and shook the note,

but ran the most rapid and difficult divisions, and was at last silenced only by the acclamations of the audience.⁸

This account gives a flavour of the cult of *castrato* singers in Italian opera at least until the later eighteenth century. Rossini, born in 1792, much lamented their disappearance from the operatic stage. At the end of his life he confided to Wagner: "It is difficult to form an idea of the beauty of the voice and the consummate virtuosity that these champions possessed in lieu of other things and by way of compensation."⁹

Castrati continued to sing in the Sistine Choir for over a century after the offending sign was removed from the barber's shop in the Via dei Banchi Vecchi. Finally, in 1902, Leo XIII prohibited the employment of any further castrati. Those already employed were allowed to remain. Thus it was that the last castrato, Alessandro Moreschi, continued to sing in the Papal Choir until 1913; he died in 1922. Moreschi was the only castrato ever to be recorded on the gramophone. He is also known to have sung, with the permission of the Vatican authorities, at the funerals of King Victor Emmanuel II in 1878 and King Umberto I in 1900.¹⁰

Clearly the musical landscape in Rome has changed considerably over the centuries, even if some aspects of the urban landscape have remained remarkably intact. Much music continues to be made on the Via di Monserrato and in the vicinity, albeit seldom on quite the scale of the Baroque *spettacoli* that Cardinal Philip Howard might have witnessed. Great musicians as well as great saints have lived and worked in our neighbourhood before us. Who knows what sounds may ring through our cobbled streets in centuries to come?

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¹ See G. Dixon, 'Music in the English College during the early Baroque Era', *Venerabile*, 1984, p. 67.

² See W.H. Grattan Flood, 'Palestrina and Bishop Goldwell', *The Tablet*, 17 April 1926.

³ This information was kindly supplied by Dr Carolyn Gianturco, Professor of Music at the University of Pisa.

⁴ A drinking fountain and a stone monument, just across the Lungotevere from the Via Tor di Nona, mark the site of the theatre where *Il Trovatore* and *Un ballo in maschera* were first performed.

⁵ The performance in 1708 in the Palazzo Bonelli of Handel's 'La Resurrezione' provoked a letter of protest from Clement XI over the employment in the oratorio of a female singer. See Percy M. Young, *Handel* (London, etc., 1947; rev. 1979), p. 17.

⁶ For example 'The eunuch of Principe Savelli' was engaged to sing at the English College on St Thomas's Day in 1619. See G. Dixon, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

⁷ See Angelo La Bella, *I Castrati di Dio* (Valentano, 1995), p. 5.

⁸ Charles Burney, *Dr Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, ed. P. Scholes, 2 vols. (London, etc., 1959), i.153.

⁹ Angelo La Bella, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7f.

Responsa Scholarum: Students at the College, 1598-1603

MELISSA WILKINSON

The English College in Rome was founded as one of several seminaries abroad, a strategy necessary due to laws prohibiting the practice of Catholicism and the training of priests in England. This study is concerned with the *Responsa Scholarum* of the College, which consist of separate documents answering a series of questions set by the College authorities for those who aspired to enter it. Their purpose was to enable the authorities to find out about the individual's life and family background, and also to provide information, albeit obliquely, about the political situation in England. Within these documents, the political and personal are interrelated. If Churchmen in Rome were hoping for the re-conversion of England, they may have considered that parental influence and position in society were important starting points for future Catholic participation in affairs of state. The *Responsa* also provided evidence of the orthodoxy of the individual, his loyalty to the Catholic Church, and the trustworthiness of his vocation to the priesthood. It is possible that plausible answers to these questions lessened the likelihood that the individual was a spy, although this is not necessarily the case. Those who wrote these documents did so "shortly after their arrival in Rome, while they were living in the college but before they put on the scholar's gown."¹ The presence of a set of answers does not indicate that an individual was accepted at the English College, or that he completed his studies in Rome.

The *Responsa* documents were collected and edited in the 1960s by Anthony Kenny. In his introduction to volume one, Kenny describes the original unbound format of the documents: "The *Responsa* are loose pieces of paper, mostly half-sheets folded in quarto . . . On some occasions, they took up more than one sheet, but were never bound". They were, he adds, "gathered up in bundles year by year." The *Responsa* were published in two *Catholic Record Society* volumes, the first of which covers the years 1598 to 1621, and the second from 1622 to 1685², which contain the Latin documents and an English translation of their salient points. For this study, I have used the sixty-five Elizabethan documents that make up Kenny's sequence of *Responsa* between 1598 and 1603. Nine documents are numbered and dated in Kenny's edition but were not included in the published material. We are concerned with the remaining fifty-six.

In looking at the Elizabethan *Responsa*, we have to remember that we are dealing with a small group of individuals who travelled to one of a number of seminaries in Europe. We cannot view them as being representative of potential seminarians, or assume that the conclusions that we draw from the *Responsa* entries provide us with infallible answers. In this study, we shall explore a number of factors relating to this group, such as the number of aspirants to the English

College, and age at which they travelled to Rome. We shall also look at the education of *Responsa* individuals, and those who write that their education was interrupted. We shall look at those who attended university, and the age at which they did so. Finally, we shall look at individuals who were educated abroad.

Kenny writes that the *Responsa* written after 1622 show that the “lives of the applicants are less full of incident, and conform more to a pattern.”³ We can distinguish a pattern in the regularity with which potential seminary students from 1604 onwards had received all of their secondary education abroad. The fundamental difference between the 1598–1603 *Responsa* individuals, and those who came after them, is that they were educated in England. In studying this group, I have found that they were distinguished in several significant ways. Firstly, a large number of Elizabethan *Responsa* individuals were educated at Oxford and Cambridge. Those who were already Catholic, as well as those who subsequently became converts, were attending English universities forty years into Elizabeth’s reign. Secondly, the majority of our *Responsa* group were converts to Catholicism, an indication of the spiritual attraction of Catholicism, particularly among those who had some form of higher education. Both of these factors were present despite legal penalties associated with being or becoming Catholic. As Morey indicates, in England “all conversion to Catholicism was treated as a withdrawal of allegiance.”⁴ From this we may deduce that Catholicism had not been eradicated, despite the legal supremacy of Protestantism, and remained part of English life before seminary priests arrived in England during the late sixteenth century. It would not have been surprising if individuals had expected the pendulum to swing the other way, leading to the re-establishment of Catholicism. This had been a question in the late 1580s, when the problem of who was to be Elizabeth’s successor was complicated by the presence of the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots. Moreover, study of this group leads us to the conclusion that they reacted against the climate in which they lived. Those who were or who became Catholics had made personal, political, and religious choices which made it impossible for them to remain in England, and perhaps influenced their unwillingness to settle in one place for any length of time.

Numbers of new students

Numbers of potential entrants to the English College were spread throughout the six-year period. Two years stand out as having the largest number of *Responsa*: 1600, which had sixteen *Responsa*, and 1603, with fifteen, although we cannot say conclusively that they remained at the college. The fact that more students were travelling abroad at the beginning of the new century may have been due to a climate of conversion caused by outbreaks of plague, expectations for the new century, or millenarianism. It may also have had a political cause, such as Catholic optimism caused by Elizabeth’s death in March 1603 and the accession of James I. The remaining four years do not show significantly fewer numbers, as 1599 and 1601 both had ten applications, 1602 nine, and 1598 five applications. This indicates that the number of individuals going to the English College was fairly constant. It shows that the cumulative effect of penalties, such as the “new act [1585] directed against the seminary priests and Jesuits ordained overseas”⁵ (passed thirteen years before these *Responsa* were written) did not prevent individuals from going abroad to study.

Age of entry into the College

Knowledge of the age at which this group of *Responsa* individuals travelled to Rome enables us to view their time at the English College within the context of their education as a whole. In our study, twenty-four of those whose age is known (fifty) wrote their *Responsa* between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, which amounts to just under half of our sample. These statistics show relatively small fluctuations in age of intake from year to year. All but one of our sample was born during the reign of Elizabeth. Thirty years separated the youngest, who was fourteen years of age and born in 1585, from the oldest, who was forty-five and was born in 1555, in the reign of Mary Tudor. The majority would not have had personal experience of the ascendancy of Catholicism during Mary's reign, although older family members may have done so, and, indeed, the religious changes that accompanied Elizabeth's reign did not happen overnight. Calculations relating to age are based on fifty *Responsa* records, as six applicants gave no indication of the age at which they arrived at the English College. In his study of Catholic education, Beales gives parameters for admission to seminaries: "No student could be admitted younger than fourteen or older than twenty-five . . ."⁶ However, six of our sample of *Responsa* individuals indicated that they were over twenty-five, which indicates that this age rule was not rigidly enforced. The majority of our *Responsa* candidates were between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. Beales presents a brief analysis of some information gleaned from both of Kenny's *Responsa* volumes.⁷ It is interesting to compare his statistics with those of this study. He writes that "The youngest entrants are under sixteen (two), the oldest . . . is forty five. Over half . . . enter between eighteen and twenty-two."⁸

We can speculate that those who travelled to Rome, both converts and those from Catholic families, sought to avoid questions relating to their allegiance. Information relating to age derived from our sample of *Responsa*, indicates that the majority travelled to Rome between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, and that the average age was twenty-three, or two years after the age of majority. Disregarding the idea of coincidence, we can put forward several hypotheses as to why individuals travelled to the English College at this age. A significant number of *Responsa* individuals described their families as 'rich'. This enabled them to be educated, and these individuals may have aspired to offices in the state, such as JPs, or a position at Court. In his study of intellectuals in Stuart England, Curtis writes that universities "prepared too many men for too few places"⁹ at Court. It is probable that those individuals who aspired towards offices in the state would have had their religious and political allegiance questioned.

Previous Education

Our entire *Responsa* group had some form of education, a combination of school and/or higher education. Stone discusses questions relating to the increasing numbers of individuals who attended university and the Inns of Court during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He writes that by the 1640s "2.5 % of the annual male seventeen-year-old age group was going on to higher education."¹⁰ This group of *Responsa* individuals seems to have been part of the increased popularity of higher education. Details are vague since the majority of this *Responsa* group do not give the year of commencement or abandonment of education, or use phrases such as "educated to age 10"¹¹ to describe their

formative education. Those who recorded all or part of the amount of time they spent in education were educated for between two and twelve years before applying to the English College in Rome. For individuals born in 1591, life expectancy was 35.5 years.¹² A cursory glance at the Elizabethan *Responsa* reveals that these individuals had spent a major proportion of their lives being educated. For the majority of *Responsa* individuals, family wealth enabled them to spend time in education rather than in paid employment. It is possible that after the completion of their education, they would have been expected to pursue a role connected with the position of their family in society.

At this stage we can delve into the attitudes of a number of the group towards their education. Some *Responsa* entries are surprising, particularly those written by individuals who mention theology. For example, Thomas Pershall wrote that he had “studied divinity [at Oxford] with little profit”¹³ before going to Rome. We may ask why such an individual wished to attend a seminary, and presumably repeat his unprofitable experience. It is interesting to note that only four *Responsa* individuals indicate that they had studied theology before arriving in Rome. Several different levels of education are represented within the *Responsa* documents. The factor which links descriptions of these levels is that the experience described was negative rather than positive, such as “wasted time in frivolity at Oxford”¹⁴ and “wasted three years.”¹⁵ A number of individuals describe their time in education as unsatisfactory. They give several reasons for this, such as lack of motivation to study and little progress in learning – for example, “has studied Grammar and a little Logic, without great progress”,¹⁶ and “studied haphazardly.”¹⁷ The negative nature of these descriptions indicates that then, as now, a number used their time at University as something to do for a few years, rather than as a serious learning exercise. It is interesting to note Beales’ comment that “the Venerabile was obliged increasingly to admit boys less well grounded educationally . . . sometimes . . . not certain of their vocation at all”,¹⁸ which may explain some of these attitudes. From knowledge of formal academic qualifications attained by the Elizabethan *Responsa* individuals, we can see that intellectual capacity varied from person to person. This variety of achievement is something we would expect from so large a group.

A small number of individuals wrote that their education had been interrupted for periods of time that varied from a few months to “no tuition at all for two years”¹⁹, although the majority of *Responsa* documents do not record the length of time that elapsed between periods of education. Various reasons are given for leaving education. These are important for our study, particularly if they were linked to religion. The majority of individuals suggested, either obliquely or overtly, that religion was the reason for their expulsion. The majority were expelled, or left higher education. Several were expelled from school for religion, though they perhaps form a smaller proportion than we would expect, particularly in the case of those who had always been Catholics. This indicates that individuals encountered distinct Catholic and Protestant educational goals, perhaps due to an increasingly zealous enforcement of Protestantism. Others clearly had their own religious agenda, and were committed to a policy of non-co-operation with Protestants. Russell, writes of individuals who “refused to adjust again to a change in religion”²⁰ after the reign of Mary Tudor, and “went into exile to defend their faith in action and . . . writing.”²¹ Clearly, there is a parallel here with the Elizabethan *Responsa*, particularly the Catholic individual who wrote that he was

“expelled for refusing to attend heretical services”,²² and the individual who stated that he “could never be persuaded by his teachers that Protestantism was true Christianity.”²³ Other reasons for expulsion are somewhat vague, but we can presume that they have religion at their root, such as “abandoned studies seven or eight years ago until reaching St. Omers.”²⁴ Only one *Responsa* document provides a non-religious reason for expulsion from university. One individual, who wrote that he was “advised by doctors to return home on account of languishing disease”, cites illness.²⁵

We know from the later *Responsa* that, after 1603 Catholic students increasingly chose to study at seminaries abroad rather than in English universities. This was because of the increasing legislation against Catholics under Elizabeth and the necessity of subscribing to the Oath of Supremacy - the title of “Supreme Governor of the Church in England” was re-asserted by Elizabeth and confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1559. Our sample group of *Responsa* belongs to the final period of Elizabeth’s reign. During the previous forty years, university education had become increasingly “Protestantized”, a process which gradually reversed the trend towards Catholicism during the reign of Mary Tudor. A number of Elizabethan *Responsa* students chose to study in England. These are evenly spaced throughout the timescale of the documents, whereas we might expect student numbers to fall as a result of Acts against Catholicism. Several of those who studied in England had always been Catholic, but the majority were converts to Catholicism, which indicates, unsurprisingly, that Catholicism was still present in English universities, even after Catholicism had technically become illegal.

During the sixteenth century, Cambridge was more institutionally Protestant than Oxford, and four Cambridge *Responsa* individuals relate problems associated with religion. Richard Cornwallis, son of Henry Cornwallis²⁶, was one of the most intellectually impressive of this group. Cornwallis was deprived of his fellowship at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, because of his Catholicism, and travelled to the English College soon afterwards. At the beginning of this study I stressed the importance of gentry families to those in Rome, and the Cornwallis family illustrate the influence that the Catholic gentry had within English affairs. Sir Thomas Cornwallis, a “prominent anti-Puritan”²⁷ played a leading role in Tudor life in Suffolk. This confirms MacCulloch’s point that rank and political influence were important in Tudor society.²⁸ It is impossible to assess whether those who converted to Catholicism did so whilst at university or on leaving. For some *Responsa* individuals, conversion to Catholicism may have accelerated departure from university. This was so in the case of Charles Yelverton, who “left [Cambridge] on account of becoming a Catholic”²⁹, and William Taylor, who was “refused [a] fellowship on grounds of religion.”³⁰ Several individuals indicate failure to achieve further academic distinction, such as “disappointed of the fellowship which he expected at Corpus Christi”³¹, Cambridge, although it is difficult to say conclusively whether this was for religious or intellectual reasons.

Converts make up the largest group of *Responsa* writers. Forty³² were converts to Catholicism, of which a number may have been the offspring of second and third generation Protestants, and sixteen had always been Catholic.³³ Unless the converts had Catholic relatives, they had presumably not previously been exposed to Catholicism. However, they may have been exposed to anti-Catholic polemic, which indicated something of the nature of Catholicism. A number of *Responsa*

writers from Catholic families record that they had lapsed into formal schism or heresy at sometime during their lives. A number of lapses recorded in these documents coincided with periods of imprisonment, but often they relate to individuals for whom “... ‘schism’ could refer just as easily to a state of disinterestedness ... as to a formal dislocation from the Roman Church.”³⁴ Those who had periods away from Catholicism in these circumstances have been classified as converts for the purposes of this study.

The majority of converts covered by the Elizabethan *Responsa* were educated at Oxford and Cambridge. Writing about the complete extant *Responsa*, Beales states that a total of fifty-seven individuals went to Oxford and Cambridge. He writes that “about one in four have had a higher education, at Oxford (38), at Cambridge (19) or the Inns of Court.”³⁵ In the Elizabethan *Responsa*, twenty-four individuals went to Oxford and Cambridge, and, of these, twenty-two were converts to Catholicism. The two who had always been Catholic³⁶ had attended Oxford Colleges: Gloucester Hall, a Marian Foundation, and Magdalen College. If we compare our figures with those of Beales, we can see that nearly half of the total *Responsa* individuals who attended Oxford and Cambridge came from the Elizabethan period.

Why did people convert to Catholicism? Firstly, that conversion symbolised a nostalgia for the Catholic past, particularly for those who had been exposed to Catholic ideas whilst at university. Secondly, that religious change was spawned by exposure to knowledge. Brigden writes that books and teaching, particularly in universities, were important for spreading new ideas, as “to be in Cambridge ... where a ‘climate of heresy’ existed, was to make men susceptible to conversion.”³⁷ The Cambridge described in this passage of Brigden’s article existed eighty years before the date of these *Responsa*, although the idea of conversion is relevant to the period under discussion. Most of the *Responsa* are vague about the experience of conversion. The two responses that provide details were influenced by books, and show the influence of Catholic and Protestant literature on those who converted. William Alabaster, who had been chaplain to the Second Earl of Essex, was allegedly converted by reading a “Catholic book of Rainold’s”³⁸ whilst at Cambridge. Rainold was a famous Puritan anti-Catholic polemicist, and fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. McConica describes him as an individual whose “mental world ... demonstrated the flowering of the Oxford schools under Elizabeth: Catholic and eclectic, ... yet staunchly protestant”³⁹ Edward Cottington was converted in the library of Trinity College, Oxford (a Marian foundation). In his answer, Cottington notes that he was influenced in his decision to convert by the presence of “three volumes of Bellarmine”⁴⁰. The books that influenced these individuals provide an indication of the wide variety of theological literature, both Catholic and Protestant, available in the collegiate libraries in Tudor Oxford, and we can conclude that at least two of the *Responsa* individuals were well read.

In the sample of twenty-four *Responsa* individuals who went to Oxford and Cambridge, the age range for going to university was between eleven and eighteen years. The average age of going to university for our sample was fifteen, and this equates with Foster’s survey, which states, “the usual age for admission to university was about fifteen, but younger boys were allowed.”⁴¹ Elizabethan legislation against Catholics had similar effects as the legislation against Protestants in the reign of Mary Tudor. Foster intimates that the avoidance of Acts and oaths

was an important factor in the age at which individuals went to university. He writes that Catholics were “inclined to come up early because the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy only became obligatory at 16”⁴² and one can presume that they were anxious to avoid taking these oaths.

Responsa writers who attended Oxford and Cambridge did so for varying amounts of time. The recorded length of time that our *Responsa* individuals spent at Oxford and Cambridge varied between six months⁴³ and seventeen years.⁴⁴ The majority attended university from under two years to ten years, but no distinct patterns are formed by these statistics, and we cannot conclude from them alone that individuals attended a set course of study of ‘n’ years. All but six *Responsa* state the number of years of study, but matriculation and degree lists, such as those compiled by Venn⁴⁵ for Cambridge, provide further information about the majority of individuals. Guy writes that “Elizabethan matriculation statutes enforced the registration of all students, including those not taking degrees.”⁴⁶ The names of nine⁴⁷ *Responsa* individuals appear in matriculation records but there is no record of graduation. However, Guy writes, “Many students attended lectures and tutorials at university without taking a formal degree. Prominent among them were sons of the gentry”.⁴⁸ No particular pattern emerges when looking at the *Responsa* writers who did not graduate, although we can say that a significant number came from gentry families. Thomas Pershall and Hugh Anderton,⁴⁹ are not mentioned in any of the matriculation lists, although their *Responsa* indicate that they attended Oxford for six months and seventeen months respectively, which seems to indicate that they left without a formal qualification.

A small number of *Responsa* individuals indicated that they had received the whole of their education abroad, prior to the English College in Rome. The most popular destination was Douai (13), followed by St Omers (8), and Louvain (5), of which one had also studied at Cambridge, Valladolid (3) and Valenciennes (1). Two examples stand out as being representative of Catholic families educating their sons abroad. John Copley⁵⁰ arrived at the English College in Rome in 1599, at the age of twenty-two. He had studied at Valenciennes for nearly two years, the English College at Douai for one year, St Omers for eighteen months and in Spain for an undisclosed amount of time. Frederick Bentley⁵¹, one of the 1602 *Responsa* writers, attended St Omers for four years and Douai for three before attending the English College Rome for five years. It is difficult to say what this implies – whether different institutions specialised in different areas of study or whether these individuals were unable or unwilling to settle.

Thirty-two of the *Responsa* indicate that individuals had attended school in England but had not graduated from university. These were educated at a wider variety of educational establishments and also exhibit a greater religious polarity, as eighteen were converts to Catholicism. Four indicate that they received their university education in England and at seminaries abroad, and, of these, two were converts. Because this group is so neatly divided between Catholic and Protestant, we cannot discern a definite trend, such as that they were forced by their Catholicism to change school regularly.

Ten individuals indicated that, although they had attended school in England, they had received no higher education before their arrival in Rome. The majority of these applicants had attended schools in the locality in which they lived - seven attended grammar schools, eleven public schools, and one described his school as ‘private’. Fifteen described their school as ‘local’. Eight went to schools outside

England. None of these individuals recorded whether their place of education had a Catholic or a Protestant ethos, though one indicated that “a Catholic neighbour”⁵² had been responsible for his education, and others indicated that they were educated by family members, such as “one year with brother.”⁵³ Edward Chaderton’s answer provides the only example of an individual educated by “private tutor.”⁵⁴ Others may also have been educated in this way since, as Beales writes, “. . . the Catholic nobility, . . . educated their children at home by means of tutors.”⁵⁵ It is possible that this was to avoid Protestant schools, but equally plausible that they educated their children in this way before the Reformation. From Beales’ remark we would expect that more of the Catholic *Responsa* families would have been educated outside the school environment, particularly as a significant number were wealthy, although this was not the case with Catholic *Responsa*.

As Guy writes, “Higher education was largely restricted to persons entering the two universities and the four Inns of Court In Elizabeth’s reign the Inns of Court were known as the third university, since increasing numbers of young gentry finished their education there.”⁵⁶ Six individuals, from the *Responsa* of 1599 and 1600,⁵⁷ indicated that they had attended the Inns of Court in London, and five specify that they spent between three and six years there. The sixth does not indicate how long he spent there, but we can gauge that he was there sometime within the six years between finishing university and writing his answers in Rome. They had all attended Oxford, although in four cases there is no record of graduation. They are important to our study because they show an alternative educational path for Catholic students. All six stated that they were converts, although two or three could originally have been Catholics, as they recorded that members of their immediate and wider family were Catholics.

Conclusion

Beales⁵⁸ writes of priesthood and education as being central to the survival of the Catholic Church during the late sixteenth century. The writers of this group of Elizabethan *Responsa* documents were reactionary individuals. The majority were converts, and their espousal of Catholicism, a religion that contravened the Protestant laws of England, indicates that individuals were being converted despite the religious upheaval in Elizabethan England. They were distinguished because they travelled abroad in defiance of these laws, in order to attend seminaries, although it is possible that personal preference, rather than religious dissent, dictated that they did not settle in any one place. The Elizabethan *Responsa* group exhibited a diversity of educational achievement, which they gained in England, unlike the writers of the *Responsa* documents written between 1603 and 1685. An educated clergy ensured the promulgation of Catholic ideas through writing and teaching, which was particularly important if they were accepted in Rome, and if they later returned to England as priests. Finally, the documents of the *Responsa Scholarum*, written between 1598 and 1603, provide the historian with an insight into the lives of individuals who aspired to enter the English College in Rome.

This article is based on the author’s MA thesis, recently completed at King’s College, London. She is currently working on a PhD on Fr Frederick William Faber, the noted Victorian spiritual writer and founder of the London Oratory.

- ¹ A. Kenny (ed.), *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College Rome*, Part I: 1598-1621, Publications of the Catholic Record Society, 54 (1962) [Hereafter referred to as *Responsa I*] p.vii (Introduction)
- ² *Responsa I*, and A. Kenny (ed.), *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome*, Part II: 1622-1685, Publications of the Catholic Record Society, 55 (1963) [Hereafter referred to as *Responsa II*]
- ³ *Ibid.* 5
- ⁴ Morey, *Catholic Subjects*, 65
- ⁵ Morey, *Catholic Subjects*, 65
- ⁶ Beales, *Education*, 121
- ⁷ Kenny's volumes present the *Responsa* written between 1588 and 1685
- ⁸ Beales, *Education*, 84
- ⁹ M.H. Curtis, "The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England", *Past and Present*, 23 (1962), 27
- ¹⁰ L.Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560'1640", *Ibid.*28 (1964), 68
- ¹¹ *Responsa I*, 62
- ¹² J. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), 33
- ¹³ *Responsa I*, 80
- ¹⁴ *Responsa I*, 25
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 62
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 29
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*,80
- ¹⁸ Beales, *Education*, 130
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 52
- ²⁰ E. Russell, "Marian Oxford and the Counter-Reformation", in C.M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (eds.), *The Church in Pre-Reformation society: Essays in Honour of F.R.H. Du Boulay* (Woodbridge, 1985), 227
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Responsa I*, p.72
- ²³ *Ibid.* p.8
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*,99
- ²⁶ See G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1650*. Volume 1: Elizabethan, 1558-1603 (1969), 89
- ²⁷ D. MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986), 193
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*,342
- ²⁹ *Responsa I*, 102
- ³⁰ *Ibid.* 83
- ³¹ *Ibid.* 133
- ³² *Ibid.* Records 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358, 360, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 383, 385, 386, 387, 388, 390, 393, 396, 398, 399, and 401.
- ³³ *Ibid.* Records 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 359, 361, 374, 375, 384, 386, 392, 395, 397, 400, and 405.
- ³⁴ M C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1590-1625* (Cambridge, 1996),180
- ³⁵ See Beales, *Education*, 84-5
- ³⁶ *Ibid.* see record 405 (Edward Fowler) and 392 (John Yate)
- ³⁷ S. Brigden, "Youth and the English Reformation", *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), 41
- ³⁸ *Responsa I*, 3
- ³⁹ J. McConica, "Elizabethan Oxford: The Collegiate Society", in *idem The History of the University of Oxford*, Volume 3: The Collegiate Society (Oxford, 1986), 713

- 40 *Responsa I*, p.66
 41 Foster, "Survival" p.113
 42 *Ibid.*
 43 *Responsa I*, p.79
 44 *Ibid.* p.93
 45 J. and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, (Cambridge, 1922)
 46 Guy, *Tudor England*, 422
 47 *Responsa I*, records 353, 355, 358, 360, 367, 370, 378, 392, and 405.
 48 Guy, *Tudor England*, 422
 49 *Responsa I*, records 364, 371
 50 *Ibid.* 121. See also, Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, 87-88
 51 *Ibid.* 117
 52 *Ibid.* 135
 53 *Ibid.* 70
 54 *Ibid.* 52
 55 Beales, *Education*, 37
 56 Guy, *Tudor England*, 421
 57 *Responsa I*, records 353, 355, 357, 364, 369, 371
 58 "The Church saves the faith by saving the priesthood and the school": Beales, *Education*, ix (Introduction).



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In Search of St Eustace White

MARK VICKERS

Anyone in a remote corner of south-west Wiltshire on a Saturday afternoon in August 1999 might have beheld a strange spectacle: a short procession of clerical black and country tweed clambering over five bar gates and tramping across sodden meadows. The object? An ancient farmhouse, stone retaining its thatch; this was Lower Berry Court, the former demesne house of Shaftesbury Abbey and later home to the recusant Grove family.

The foremost member of our party was striding on ahead. "Of course, we must ask them whether they know St Eustace." By now he was peering through the windows. "They're obviously decent people; look at that grand piano! Nice pictures too."

"It's all right for you, Ian, you don't have to live here; we do! Besides, they might have a shotgun." The recent case of the Norfolk farmer shooting an intruder on his isolated homestead was obviously preying on the mind of our host, who was coming no closer than the nearest silage shed.

Fortunately, or otherwise, the occupants were not at home. On we continued to the Elizabethan gables of Norrington in its secluded valley, an altogether more substantial Catholic house in the neighbouring parish of Alvediston. We were, or we hoped we were, on the trail of St Eustace White during his three years of priestly ministry prior to his capture in September 1591 just across the Dorset border in the market town of Blandford. Capture led to imprisonment, trial and martyrdom at Tyburn.

St Eustace is one of the Forty Martyrs of England & Wales, an alumnus of Rheims and Rome. The only substantive article to appear in *The Venerabile* was back in 1942, written by Mark Swaby. Like myself, Fr Swaby's interest in St Eustace probably arose from his association with the martyr's birthplace of Louth in Lincolnshire. (Mark Swaby's father was an Anglican clergyman who served at St. James's, Louth and published a history of the town in the 1950s.) That 1942 article gathered together the few known primary sources relating to St Eustace. In the prelude to the canonisation in 1970, the CTS published a six-page pamphlet. There remained large gaps relating to the martyr's earthly life and education and the circumstances of his conversion; there were even uncertainties about seminary life and ordination dates; where and to whom did he minister during those few, brief years of freedom in England? What could I do in piecing all this together?

One has to accept that after four hundred years many of the sources have disappeared. Then, by its very nature, when detection meant certain death for himself and those who assisted him, the Catholic priest in Elizabethan England worked in the greatest secrecy. Yet there was further evidence to discover, almost endless avenues to pursue, theories of varying degrees of probability to suggest. In

doing so, a continuous narrative could be built up regarding the background and life of St. Eustace White.

His father's career in local government has left its own documentation. St. Eustace's mother was from a family of established gentry for whom various records exist. Then there is the fun and the tedium of sifting through parish registers, Catholic Record Society publications, biographies and doctoral theses, letters from diocesan and county archives and manuscripts in the British Library. Sometimes it is only an inference, sometimes an actual entry in the *Liber Ruber* or a letter written by the martyr from the prison in which he was tortured. Finding his mother's family home still standing, seeing the font in which he was baptised, the houses in which he may have said Mass, the sites of his imprisonment and martyrdom bring their own poignancy. After two years' research, there is sufficient information for a biography of about a hundred pages.

Is it just an academic exercise, a scholarly pursuit? No. The clear message received from reading the correspondence of St Eustace and his contemporaries is that these were not remote figures living in the unfamiliar territory of the Middle Ages. They are modern men writing in accessible language whose beliefs, motives and actions are of immediate relevance to us. We know that the English College has venerated its martyrs since the death of our proto-martyr, St Ralph Sherwin, in 1581. We, for whom life is sometimes too easy, have a great deal to learn from these holy men and women who attached so much importance to the sacraments, especially the Mass, and to hearing Christ's Gospel preached in the Church. Veneration of the martyrs can help us appreciate better the values and teaching for which they laid down their lives. Their witness has as much relevance for us today as it had for their contemporaries four hundred years ago.

St Eustace White, pray for us.

All the Martyrs of this Venerable English College, pray for us.

Mark Vickers is a fourth year student for the Archdiocese of Westminster. His new book, St Eustace White: An Elizabethan Priest and Martyr, is published this autumn by St Michael's Abbey Press, Farnborough.

John Lingard and the Restoration of the Venerabile in 1817-18

PETER PHILIPS

One of the outstanding issues for the Catholic community in England in the wake of Napoleon's fall in 1814 and the gradual return of Papal Rome to something like a normal life, remained the re-opening the English College in Rome. It was but one thread in a complex skein, first to be teased out from the pattern of Roman affairs, later from amidst the politics of Catholic emancipation in Britain. From its first days, of course, the College had been under the control of the Jesuits but, with their suppression in 1773, both the English and the Scots Colleges were put under the direction of Italian superiors. One party at least amongst the English Catholics, felt that the time was right to place their College in the safe hands of the English secular clergy; the Scots were of a like mind. A central figure in this drama is Sir John Cox Hippisley, a bencher of the Inner Temple and M.P. for Sudbury in 1790-1796 and from 1802 until his retirement from the House of Commons in 1819.¹ He was to become a firm supporter of Catholic emancipation and a staunch ally of the English secular cause in their dispute with the ex-Jesuits. In a brief, initial residence in Rome in 1779-1780 and again between 1792 and 1796 he was able to act as an unofficial go-between for the British Government and the Papal Court and played a significant part in obtaining a pension from George III for Henry Benedict Stuart, the Cardinal Duke of York.

Hippisley was clearly respected highly in Rome as well as in London and so was well placed to negotiate a settlement of the question of the College. During his first visit to Rome, Hippisley had struck up a friendship with two lawyers in the Papal Court: the Italian, Filippo Campanelli, and the Scot, Charles Erskine. Both were to become Cardinals. Campanelli was a Cardinal before 1795 and, at least partly through Hippisley's influence, was appointed Protector of the English College. Hippisley and Campanelli encouraged the Pope to consider sending Erskine as an envoy to London in 1793; he stayed until 1801 and although, with hind-sight, Bernard Ward was to be rather dismissive of the embassy, Hippisley at the time was rather more enthusiastic, regarding the Napoleonic invasion of the Papal States as the chief reason for diplomatic failure, rather than the political situation in Britain.²

Bishop Douglass corresponded with Bishop Hay of the Lowland District as early as 1792 about the possibility of gaining national superiors for their respective Colleges in Rome. The Pope's appeal to the British Government in the face of the increasing threat of Napoleon provided the opportunity, and in February 1793 Douglass was able to report some progress to Hay:

Rome has thought proper to employ [me]... to obtain the protection of Great Britain in the imminent danger to which Rome was exposed etc. The Cardinal Antonelli pledged me his word that there was nothing which would be denied me at Rome, if I would exert myself and did succeed in procuring the protection of this Court, and now, it having pleased Almighty God to grant success in my intreaties and to incline the hearts of our Ministry to protect the Temporalities of his Holiness, I advised with Mr Smelt [the English Agent at Rome], and have directed him to claim the Cardinal's promise and to ask for National Superiors to our two Colleges as soon as he should see a proper opportunity for making the application ... and in his last letter to me which I received on the 6th of June, he told me that he should wait till Lord Hood's fleet appeared in the Mediterranean; the application, he thought would be much enforced by the sight of the fleet.³

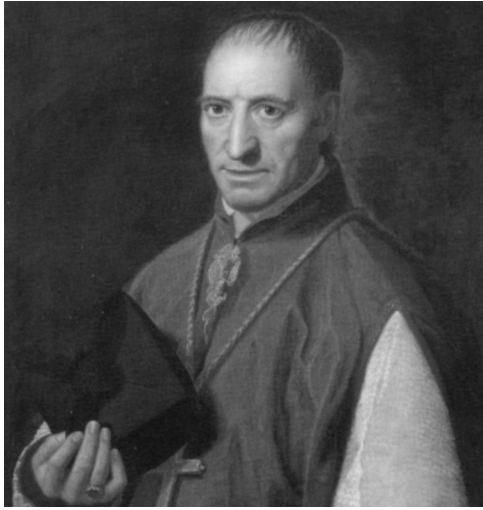
For various reasons, nothing more happened at this point. Hippisley raised the matter again in early 1795 and with Campanelli won over the Italian Rector to the cause, the latter even being prepared to resign should an English secular priest be nominated by the Vicars Apostolic.⁴ Campanelli's sudden death, however, after only a month in office, and firm opposition from the Cardinal of York to the nomination by the Vicars Apostolic of the English Agent, Robert Smelt, led to something of an impasse. Only the occupation of Rome, and suppression of the College by the French, emptied the question of significance.⁵ Perhaps it was as well that Smelt was not appointed Rector since the English Agent revealed little concern for the College community and quickly forsook Rome for a refuge in Florence after the French entered the city in February 1798. It was left to the Scots Agent, the Abbé Paul Macpherson, to escort the English students, with the Scots and Irish Collegians, through enemy France to the safety of the British Isles. The indefatigable Macpherson was back in Rome by 1800 and, on Smelt's return to England in 1803, was also keeping a watching brief on British concerns there and intermittently acting as English Agent.⁶ Before leaving Rome, Smelt had clearly made some effort to keep alive the issue of re-opening of the College with the appointment of an English secular priest as Rector, and Bishop Poynter raised the question again during the following year but with no success.

Bishop Milner, Vicar Apostolic for the Midland District, arrived in Rome in May 1814, only days after Pius VII's triumphant return from exile and imprisonment in France. Milner, acting in his own name, but also as Agent for the Irish bishops, sought the revocation of the Quarantotti Rescript. He had also come to vent his wrath on the party in England who were prepared to make concessions to win emancipation for Catholics. He stayed in the city for twelve months, one of the first of the Vicars Apostolic to visit Rome.⁷ Macpherson was soon able to report to Poynter that the Pope had the measure of the man, judging him "a firebrand" (*un tizzone*).⁸ Milner nevertheless won the ear of Cardinal Litta at Propaganda and some of the other Cardinals and was able to depict Bishop Poynter and his allies in the worst possible light.⁹ Poynter was summoned to Rome to answer the accusations in person. The details of this debate belong elsewhere;¹⁰ it is sufficient to say that in the course of discussion both bishops quite independently raised again the matter of the English College.

At one point Macpherson could claim that the Pope was determined to forbid Milner's return to England and Macpherson suggested that he be offered the office of canon in one of Rome's major churches. Another suggestion was that Milner himself should take on the Rectorship of a re-opened English College. Milner would have none of this, being determined to return to England to be in the thick of the fray. Bishop Poynter, approached at about the same time, suggested other candidates including John Lingard, the historian and controversialist, who had been of considerable support to Poynter.¹¹ Peter Gandolphy, a staunch ally of Milner, seems also to have made a bid for the Rectorship.¹² International politics forestalled a solution. Europe was again in turmoil: Napoleon had left Elba for the adventure of the Hundred Days and the Pope fled Rome for the safety of Genoa.

With Napoleon finally defeated at Waterloo, Europe was again open to English travellers. Two years later, in 1817, William Stourton, who had succeeded to his father's title in 1816, invited John Lingard, his former tutor, to join the family for a short trip to Rome. Lingard, now settled in the rural Lancashire parish of Hornby, had already made something of a name for himself with the publication of *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* in 1806 and a series of pamphlets about the situation of Catholics in England. Both Bishop Gibson, Vicar Apostolic in the Northern District and his Coadjutor, Bishop Smith, encouraged him to look positively on the offer and Bishop Poynter of the London District sent letters of recommendation ahead of him to Rome. Tensions in England followed Lingard to Rome. The Tempests, from Broughton Hall, near Skipton, were making an extended Grand Tour and had joined Lingard, Lord Stourton and their party in France. Charles Tempest their second son, had had a rather unsatisfactory spell at Ushaw in 1811 and 1812 before continuing in the family tradition of Jesuit education.¹³ Stephen, his older brother, an inveterate traveller, died in Rome in 1822 and was buried in the Gesu; he had been at Stonyhurst. His father, another Stephen, educated by the ex-Jesuits at Bruges and Liege, was an outspoken supporter of the Jesuits.¹⁴ A later letter from Lingard to Gradwell, hinting at possible trouble in store during a proposed later visit to Rome by the Tempests, suggests that in 1817 they could well be using the opportunity of this visit to Rome to champion the cause of the *Padri*.¹⁵ It must all have been a little difficult. Stephen Tempest, Bishop Milner and the pro-Jesuit party had the ear of Cardinal Litta, Prefect of Propaganda Fide. Cardinal Consalvi, the Secretary of State, inclined to a different position. Consalvi felt himself to be sensitive to the nuance of politics in England and appreciated Bishop Poynter's desire not to upset the British Government with rumours of a restoration of the Jesuits in England.¹⁶ Lingard was impressed by Consalvi, and remained so.

Things were becoming critical for the future of the College. Cardinal Braschi, Cardinal Protector of the College since 1795, died in April 1817; both Cardinal Litta and Cardinal Consalvi were strong contenders to succeed him, and each, without doubt, would bring his own particular perspective to the direction of the College. Lingard on his arrival in Rome had picked up the startling rumour that only the intervention of Pius VII had prevented Litta attaching the College directly to Propaganda.¹⁷ Something had to be done quickly, but Milner had prepared his ground well and Lingard received as cool a welcome from Cardinal Litta as had Bishop Poynter, a few years earlier. As Poynter reported to Bishop Collingridge, "Mr Lingard is knocked down with some great stone."¹⁸ Yet again, the stone proved to be one thrown by Bishop Milner. Lingard gave the details in a letter to



Robert Gradwell, re-founding Rector 1818-28 and later Coadjutor Bishop for the London District. The new seminar room, on the site of the old 'Queen Mary', has been named after him.

Poynter. Initially Cardinal Litta had written to the Abbé Macpherson with enthusiasm, inviting Macpherson to present Lingard and his companions and offering help with access to libraries. Before the meeting occurred, however, Litta had received a letter from Milner cautioning him against the historian. Lingard met with a firm rebuff:

I thanked him for his offers, and expressed my hopes of receiving from him great assistance in the prosecution of my history: he only observed that he had read Hume, and that Dr Milner had answered his calumnies in the *History of Winchester* and the *Letters to a Prebendary*. I got my work [*The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*] bound in morocco, with his arms on it, and some days after presented it to him with my remarks on the report... I went alone. All my efforts were ineffectual. I gave him the extracts from the *Orthodox Journal*: he said he expected them but changed the subject. I told him that I lived 300 miles from London, and was not so well furnished with assistance as I could wish, but that at your request I had written against the report, he immediately replied that Dr Milner had written against it. I hinted again at assistance with respect to my history, but he would not take the hint.¹⁹

Lingard eventually learned a little more from Cardinal Consalvi's private secretary. It appeared that someone, and who else, one might guess, but Milner, told Cardinal Litta that Lingard was a notorious Jansenist. A letter to Poynter gives the details:

As this was delivered to me as a secret, I could not make use of it. I waited, however, on Cardinal Litta, and complained to him of the accusations of Jansenism which were so often brought against the

English clergy. He fought very shy, nor could I by any means bring him to acknowledge that I had been so accused. We talked of Mister Gandolphy. I told him that Mr G was only supported by Dr Milner and a pitiful faction...²⁰

Relations with Litta were healed somewhat by the time Lingard was leaving the city and the Cardinal had the grace to make some amends by giving Lingard a letter to Bishop Poynter which spoke highly of Lingard and included promises of future help. Lingard was anxious to play down the rumours of Cardinal Litta's bad treatment which had already reached London, but his doubts about Litta's motives might be forgiven as he mused to Macpherson, "is it policy or is it an *amende honourable*?"²¹ Lingard's work met with a more enthusiastic reception in other quarters in Rome. Cardinal Consalvi opened the Vatican Archives to him, and instructed Monsignor Baldi to give every assistance: it was only the havoc left by the French army of occupation which prevented his consulting some of the material he needed. Cardinals Somaglia and Quarantotti also offered their support, Somaglia accepting a copy of *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church and his Observations on the Laws and Ordinances which exist in Foreign States*. Haile & Bonney note that the latter was in such demand in Rome that Lingard had to write for extra copies from London.²²

While sight-seeing with the Stourtons and the Tempests, and devoting time to historical enterprises, Lingard also set to addressing the matter of the English College. A later article about the re-foundation of the College in the June 1832 edition of the *Catholic Magazine* prompted a correction from Lingard. His covering note to Kirk is rather more detailed:

It is said 'after twenty years, at the repeated representations and earnest entreaties of the Bishops in England his holiness Pius VII restored it to the English clergy.' Now this is not at all the fact. Representations had formerly been made by the bishops but to no effect. But the bishops had no more to do with the restoration of the college than the man in the moon. On the death of Cardinal Braschi, the protector, who had kept possession as long as he lived, Mr Walsh applied to the Pope through Cardinal Litta, to obtain it for the gentlemen of Stonyhurst. He met with a refusal and left Rome. I accidentally heard of this, consulted Mr Macpherson, and waited with Mr Macpherson on Cardinal Consalvi, to whom as Secretary of State in the absence of any Cardinal Protector, the care of the college belonged. From him we obtained a promise, that if the bishops would propose to him a clergyman for Rector, he would appoint him, provided no Protector were appointed in the mean time, and would take care that the property of the college should be devoted to its original purposes. Dr Gradwell was proposed by the bishops and appointed by Cardinal Consalvi, as Secretary of State. The appointment was afterwards confirmed by Pope Pius. The care of Cardinal Consalvi to recover whatever had originally belonged to the college, was deserving of high praise. He may almost be called the second founder.²³

There is rather more to the matter than Lingard admits to Kirk. Kirk, a Roman

student himself, having arrived at the English College in 1773, the year of the suppression of the Jesuits,²⁴ was Lingard and Macpherson's preferred choice as Rector; the only problem, in Lingard's mind, being his youthful association with Joseph Berington and the Address of the Staffordshire Clergy.²⁵ This, Lingard thought, might count against him at the Papal Court. It is not known how Poynter felt about the suggestion, but within a few days Lingard had proposed Robert Gradwell's name to Poynter and Poynter wrote to Macpherson enclosing a request to Cardinal Consalvi to this effect.²⁶ Gradwell was pupil of Poynter's, several years junior to Lingard, and, like Poynter, one of the *trente-deux*.²⁷ Sharing the common horrors of imprisonment, Poynter must have come to hold him in high regard. So, too, did Lingard: Gradwell had taught briefly at Ushaw, before ill health had led to a move to the mission at Claughton, near Preston and not far from Hornby, and the two men had remained close friends. What is more, he held similar views to Lingard and Poynter regarding the gentlemen of Stonyhurst. Lingard was writing a warm letter of recommendation about him to Macpherson by the end of July.

Lingard had returned to Lancashire before Gradwell left Claughton for Rome and they were able to meet to discuss the situation in Rome. Gradwell set off on September 23rd travelling over land to Genoa and then made a frightening, almost fatal, sea voyage across the Gulf of Genoa to Leghorn.²⁸ Significantly, Sir John Cox Hippisley set out for Rome at about the same time, hoping to use his influence to smooth Gradwell's path: Poynter briefed him and he took with him more material relating to the Gandolphy affair. Gradwell himself eventually arrived in Rome at the beginning of November and took up residence at the Scots College. Life in Rome was not as he expected and he found the political cut and thrust of the Roman Court most distasteful:

I can only say that when I arrived in Rome in 1817, I found things in a state which I little expected and which shocked me exceedingly. I found a confederacy artful, violent and flushed with confidence and success against the Bishops, blackening the fame and vilifying the character of these venerable Prelates with wanton outrage. Letters from Wolverhampton, London and Dublin were pouring into Rome with every post and were diligently seconded by crafty agents at Rome... They represented to the Cardinals and the Prelates and even to the Pope himself one of our fellow Bishops a Baionist, another as a Blanchardist, a third a doting tyrant - all slaves sold to Government and the Catholic laity, as conspirators against the Jesuits...²⁹

It was a world away from his Lancashire mission and he had a lot to learn. Under Macpherson's guidance, he began to familiarise himself with work of the Agency and awaited formal appointment as Rector of the College.

This came, at last, on March 8th 1818. Gradwell celebrated with a little dinner party for Paul Macpherson, Sir John Cox Hippisley and Signor Galeassi, who seems to have been the secretary for English affairs at Propaganda Fide.³⁰ There was still much work to be done in putting the College in order and, according to letters from both Hippisley and Lingard, another essay on the College from the Jesuits had to be rebuffed.³¹ Milner inevitably distanced himself from Gradwell and refused either to send students, or use him to conduct his affairs in Rome, Gradwell being far too close to Poynter for Milner's liking.³² Gradwell was certainly able to restore the balance in Rome and undo the damage Milner had

done to Bishop Poynter's reputation during his visit in 1814. Gradwell was also able to prepare a case in Rome against some of Gandolphy's writings on prayer and the sacraments as well as Plowden's *Catechism*, which had earned the condemnation of all the Vicars Apostolic in England save Milner, who was, as usual, vociferous in his support of these men.³³ A report on the English mission, drawn up by Gradwell for Propaganda in early 1819, states categorically that Milner and Gandolphy used the pages of the *Orthodox Journal* to intrigue against Poynter and that the recent troubles in England were due in the main to Milner, Gandolphy, Robert Plowden and the ex-Jesuits:

the encouragement which this small but active party has achieved in Rome has already raised a great commotion in England and filled all the real friends of the peace and prosperity of the mission with great surprise and serious apprehensions [giving] scandal and disgust to the great majority of English Catholics; has excited the derision of Protestants, and attracted the attention of the British Parliament.³⁴

In spite of these trials, as well as his ignorance of both the Italian language and the Roman scene, Gradwell settled in well.³⁵ In December the College was ready to welcome the first batch of new students: six from Ushaw, and four from Old Hall Green. The Ushaw contingent included the young Nicholas Wiseman who was to recall his awe at the ceremony of presentation to the Pope in the Quirinal Palace on Christmas Eve.³⁶ The future of the English College was assured and, in the figure of Wiseman, a new era for the Church in Britain was about to dawn.

Fr Peter Philips, a priest of the diocese of Shrewsbury, has just returned to parochial ministry after a long spell teaching at Ushaw.

¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, (London, 1891).

² Bernard Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival*, vol 2, (London, 1909), pp 37 - 50. John Cox Hippisley cited Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789 - 1829*, (Edinburgh 1983), p 108. See Gary Mooney, 'British Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See 1793 - 1830', *Recusant History*, 14 (1978), ppp 193 - 210.

³ John Douglass to George Hay, July 3rd 1793, Blairs Letters, cited in Johnson, *Developments*, p 101.

⁴ Ward, *Dawn*, vol 2, p 177.

⁵ Smelt had certainly set his eyes on the post (Smelt to Bishop Douglass, July 22nd 1797, cited Ward, *Dawn*, vol 2, pp 178 - 179) and was at odds with the Cardinal of York: 'King Henry IX, who is as despotic a monarch as his ancestor Henry VIII, and full as impatient of contradiction' (Smelt to Thomas Horrabin, October 15th 1796, cited Ward, *Dawn*, vol 2, p 180).

⁶ Johnson, *Developments*, pp 100 - 110, pp 187 - 191. Smelt did return again to Rome for a time, but left the city for good in 1810. He died in London in 1814.

⁷ It is perhaps not without significance that Milner was present in the Gesu at the ceremony during which Pius VII formally restored the Society of Jesus.

⁸ Macpherson to Poynter, Westminster Diocesan Archives, cited Bernard Ward, *The Eve*

- of *Catholic Emancipation*, vol 2, (London, 1911), p 100. Milner succeeded in obtaining the revocation.
- ⁹ Macpherson to Poynter, Westminster Diocesan Archives: '[Dr Milner] represents you all as venal, corrupted people, entirely sold to the Catholic laity, whom he represents as undermining the Holy See and religion' (*Eve*, vol 2, p 103).
- ¹⁰ See *Eve*, vol 2, pp 100 - 134.
- ¹¹ For Poynter's suggestion that he should become Rector of the Venerable, vol 2, p 113.
- ¹² Michael Williams, *The Venerable English College Rome*, (London, 1979), p 77 see *Eve*.
- ¹³ Lingard to Stephen Tempest, February 13th 1811, February 25th 1811, Broughton Hall Mss, Box 14, No 5. Lingard found Charles Tempest very deficient in the Latin language and advised him to lay aside Latin to concentrate on English, French, Geography and history. Charles Tempest left Ushaw in March 1812.
- ¹⁴ For the Tempests, see M. E. Lancaster, *The Tempests of Broughton*, (Skipton , 1987).
- ¹⁵ Lingard to Gradwell, February 18th 1821, VEC Archives, *scr.* 66, 9, 13.
- ¹⁶ John Martin Robinson, *Cardinal Consalvi 1757 - 1824*, (London, 1987). William Eusebius Andrews, editor of *The Orthodox Journal* and a staunch supporter of Milner's cause, reveals only the prejudices of his own party in his startling dismissal of Consalvi: 'the temporal minister of the Pope... a crafty courtier and a designing man, and having coalesced with the protestant ministers and leading senators here, the same as the Jansenists of France did with the hugonots (sic) and infidel ministers of the state, they bullied and threatened the holy see with the displeasure and vengeance of the British government, and succeeded, thought the means of this cardinal secretary of state, whose influence over the Pope, now reduced to old age and sufferings to a state of imbecility, is all-powerful, in getting the holy father to rescind the decrees of propaganda. Thus faction triumphs over principle, and the cause of religion is sacrificed to the errors and prejudices of narrow-minded and obstinate men.' (*The Orthodox Journal*, June 1820, pp 237 - 8).
- ¹⁷ Lingard to Poynter, June 6th 1817, Westminster Diocesan Archives, Ushaw Transcripts 183.
- ¹⁸ Poynter to Collingridge, cited *Eve*, vol 2, p 279.
- ¹⁹ Lingard to Poynter, June 17th 1817, Westminster Archives.
- ²⁰ Lingard to Poynter, July 24th 1817, Westminster Archives.
- ²¹ Lingard to Macpherson, August 28th 1817, VEC Archives, *scr.* 14, 171.
- ²² Haile & Bonney, *The Life and Letters of John Lingard*, (London, [1911]), p 145.
- ²³ Lingard to John Kirk, [July/Aug 1832], Ushaw Transcripts 171. Edward Walsh had been a Jesuit from before the suppression of the Society and was now living as a secular priest in Durham (there is a sketch reputed to be of him in a collection of drawings by Bouet in the Durham University Library). He had been chosen by the English Jesuits to travel to Rome in early 1817 to plead their case for the restoration of the Society in Britain (see *Eve*, vol 3, pp 28 - 29).
- ²⁴ Kirk recorded his experiences of life in the English College at this time in an account compiled a few years later and now preserved at Oscott. For an abbreviated version see, Vaughan Lloyd, 'Decline and Fall - 2 "The Bad Boy's Diary, 1773 - 1778"', *The Venerable*, vol.16 (1952), pp 2 - 16.
- ²⁵ Lingard (writing from Florence) to Macpherson, July 12th 1817, English College Archives, *scrittore* 14, 169. For the Staffordshire Cergy see Ward, *Dawn*, vol 1, p 205ff: fifteen Staffordshire clergy wrote an Address to Bishop Talbot in support of the Catholic Committee and accepting the proposed oath attached to the Relief Bill as well as the title 'Protesting Catholic Dissenters'. This Address caused dissention for some years to come and the authors remained under a cloud of suspicion.
- ²⁶ Lingard to Poynter, July 18th 1817, Westminster Archives; Poynter to Macpherson, July 25th 1817, VEC Archives, *scr.* 55, 8, 100.

- ²⁷ The name given by their French galoers to the group of Douai men, seculars and Benedictines, who had been arrested after the closure of the colleges and imprisoned in the citadel at Doullens. It became a title of honour.
- ²⁸ For Gradwell's dramatic account of his voyage see *Eve*, vol 3, pp 6 - 7.
- ²⁹ Gradwell to Butler, September 5th 1821, VEC Archives, *scr.* 64, 1, 2.
- ³⁰ Geleassi had been responsible for penning the Quarantotti Rescript: See *Eve*, vol 2, p 82.
- ³¹ John Cox Hippisley, VEC Archives, *scr.* 54, 6. Lingard to Kirk, May 29th 1818, Kirk Papers, Birmingham Diocesan Archives, Ushaw Transcripts 217. Lingard writes: 'Grassi the head of the Italian Jesuits, Mess^{rs} Tempest and Weld mustered all their forces. Their procured ten cardinals, who promised to speak to the Pope in their favour, and Gradwell was publically told that his reign was at an end. He took heart, however, went to the Pope, had a conference of an hour with him, and returned with the assurance, that he, the Pope, would protect him. So it turned out. Consalvi at his return, was highly pleased with Gradwell's conduct, and two days after sent him a diploma, constituting him rector, as from the Pope himself. He says, all other rectors are appointed by the protector or secretary of state. He therefore thinks himself secure. Not so the Jesuits. A short time ago while he was at the Vatican with Consalvi, Grassi entered the College, took formal possession, and turned out Gradwell's servant, telling him that his master might go to an inn. Gradwell on his return took possession again, and wrote an account of all to Consalvi, who immediately sent for Grassi, and reprimanded him most severely. All this shews that Gradwell is safe while Consalvi reigns, but he will have to work hard afterwards. - Consalvi has recovered for him about 6000 crowns per annum, and a great part of the library, has fixed his salary at a certain sum per month, and fixed the sum at which he is to keep the young men at 200 crowns per annum each. He has also drawn up some rules for the College, not he says as invariable rules, but as an aid to him, leaving him to judge and make such alterations as he may think best...'
- ³² Milner to Gradwell, Westminster Archives, cited in *Eve*, vol 3, (London, 1912), pp 9 - 11.
- ³³ For Gandolphy see *Eve*, vol 2, pp 205 - 220. Robert Plowden, one of the ex-Jesuits and missionary at Bristol, had embarked on an extended campaign of criticism against Bishop Collingridge in whose District Bristol lay (see J. B. Dockery, *Collingridge*, (Newport, 1954), pp 153 - 163). Bishop Collingridge, Vicar Apostolic for the Western District, who, as a young priest, had been fellow missionary at the Spanish Embassy with Gandolphy, commented in an earlier letter to Poynter, 'had we never had a Bishop Milner dragooning his colleagues, we should never probably have witnessed a Plowden or a Gandolphy' (*ibidem*. p 115).
- ³⁴ Report from Gradwell to Cardinal Fontana, February 9th 1819, VEC Archives, *scr.* 53, 6, 2.
- ³⁵ For a discussion of Gradwell as Rector see Michael Williams, *The Venerable English College Rome*, (London, 1979), pp 84 - 89.
- ³⁶ Nicholas Wiseman, *Recollections of the Last Four Popes and of Rome in their Time*, (London, 1858), pp 14 - 20.

“Dear Old Monte Porzio” – the nineteenth century villeggiatura

NICHOLAS SCHOFIELD

A little northwest from Frascati lies the sleepy *Castelli* town of Monte Porzio. The name may not mean a great deal to many readers, beyond a vague recollection of having read it on a wine label, but for J.R.Meagher, looking back to his student days in the 1925 *Venerabile*, “the name breathes balm and benediction; it is odorous with the perfumed memories of youth”¹. He was by no means alone. When John Joseph Mulligan left the College in April 1841 to take up priestly work in the Midland District, he sent a number of poems to the College’s Debating Society in which he eulogises those tranquil days on the Porzian height, which must have seemed such a contrast to the demands of the English Mission. In the final verse of his “An Evening Melody at Porzio”, based on the sound of the evening *Ave Maria* in the village, he writes:

Ave Maria, dear words that remind me
Of times I have passed where religion is free
Ave Maria, dear words that e’er bind me
To one loving spot in my lov’d Italy.²

The most celebrated Porzio enthusiast was Cardinal Wiseman, whose thoughts returned there as he lay on his deathbed:

I am sure it would do me more good to have a long talk about Monte Porzio than to be kept so much alone.....I can see the colour of the chestnut trees, and Camaldoli, and the top of Tusculum. What a beautiful view it is from our Refectory window! A newcomer does not value Monte Porzio properly. It takes a hard year’s work in Rome to enable you to appreciate it. I loved it dearly. I keep a picture of it in my bedroom...³

Indeed, the extent of Wiseman’s love for the place was such that, when his elevation to the cardinalate was announced before that of the restoration of the Hierarchy and he assumed he would have to live in Rome, he considered buying a villa at Monte Porzio. Even as Archbishop of Westminster he continued to visit Porzio, writing the bulk of his novel, *Fabiola*, during one of his visits. The little town with its simple piety and succession of summer feasts was as central as the Papal Court to Wiseman’s idea of Catholicism. If one of his great achievements was assimilating English Catholicism to Ultramontane Italianate models, then Porzio had an important part to play in this, at least in the realm of the imagination. It was at Porzio that Wiseman fell in love with the Italian countryside and its people,



The old College villa at Monte Porzio, now a carabinieri station. The shrine to Our Lady of Good Hope can be seen next to it and the parish church of S. Gregorio is in the distance.

and perhaps his thoughts often returned there as he visited the more rural parishes of Westminster.

What attraction did this obscure town have for generations of Englishmen? It was in this *Citta del vino* that, from the early seventeenth century up until 1917, the English College took its summer *villeggiatura* away from the Latin lectures, the strict College timetable and the *mal aria* of Rome.

Monte Porzio was first used for a College *villeggiatura* in 1614. The College rented a property belonging to the English Jesuits, which had been bought out of a bequest given for missionary purposes by the celebrated convert, Sir Tobie Mathew, son of an Archbishop of York. These moneys had also resulted in the purchase of the La Magliana vineyard, seven miles out of Rome and managed by English Jesuit lay brothers, whose revenues helped to finance the Jesuit College at Liege. The vineyard was used by the English College for free days until 1917. The property at Monte Porzio, which consisted of vineyards and lands, including some at nearby Monte Compatri, was finally purchased for the College in 1708. Porzio was almost lost to the College in 1873, when new laws regarding church property in Rome required the selling of property not actually occupied by the community. However, the Duke of Norfolk saved the day when he bought the villa and gave it back to the College. Moreover, a decree of 1877 saved the Via di Monserrato 45 and Porzio from confiscation, although it would be sold forty years later after a Visitation deemed the villa unhealthy and unsuitable for the needs of the College.

The old villa, to be found on the Via Verdi, is today a rather dilapidated complex comprising of a *carabinieri* station, a small shop and an excellent *trattoria* (*Cantina Romoletto*), with a very tasty *salsiccia* dish. In its external appearance, the villa cannot have changed much since that last *villeggiatura* of 1917. “A cross between a catacomb and a rabbit warren”⁴, it was basically three houses knocked into one - “humble, uncomfortable, ramshackle, not over-clean” but “for three

months in the summer it was an English oasis in an alien wilderness".⁵ The villa, "with its dark and rambling staircases, its brick floors, and its hundred minor discomforts...certainly had the advantage of contrast to the stately halls and spacious corridors of the College in Rome". All in all the Porzian experience was "tolerated with Spartan courage for the sake of the lovely country to which it gave ready access".⁶ And, indeed, the natural location was beautiful, as can be seen in Wiseman's idyllic description:

While the entrance and front of the villa are upon the regular streets of the little town, the garden side stands upon the verge of the hilltop and the view, after plunging at once to the depths of the valley, along which runs a shady road, rises up a gentle acclivity, vine and olive-clad, above which is clasped a belt of stately chestnuts, the bread-tree of the Italian peasant, and thence springs up a round craggy mount looking stem and defiant, like what it was -the citadel of Tusculum.⁷

The *villeggiatura* normally stretched from August to October, and there was often a holiday at Porzio at Easter. However, the villa was not merely a *casa di villeggiatura*. Students went there to recover from illness and to shelter from troubles in Rome. During the cholera epidemic of 1837, for instance, the students moved from the College, which was used as a hospital, and even established a committee of health while away. Porzio itself escaped the epidemic.⁸ Students also escaped there at Pentecost 1889, when the new statue of Giordano Bruno was unveiled in the Campo de' Fiori. The Greg was ordered to close for a week due to fears of radical anti-clericalism and the students could enjoy the pleasures of the Campagna in June.⁹

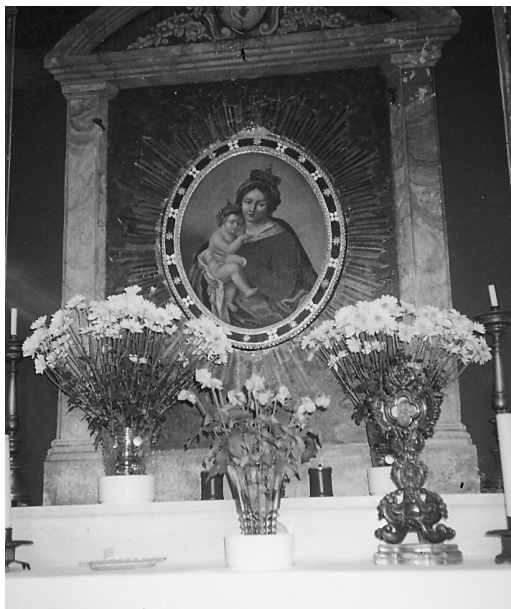
The journeying between Rome and Porzio was not always one way. On 12 September 1869 William Kirkham recorded in his diary: "At 11am was disturbed in my room by [William] Gordon coming and saying that fighting was going on in the direction of Socrates and that the fellows on Tusculum had heard the cannonading going on all morning. On going to the Parish Church only heard one shot. So it has begun!"¹⁰ What had been heard was not fighting but the blowing up of a bridge by Papal troops in preparation for the expected siege, but nonetheless it was decided that the students should return to the Via di Monserrato for safety. The spirit of the *villeggiatura* continued as the Union Jack was raised over the College entrance, students toured the city fortifications and listened eagerly for gunfire, and the community was sent into the cellar as the fighting intensified, where they were served with hot wine. They returned to Porzio on 30 September. Other dramatic events could also disturb the rhythms of the Porzian summer, such as a conclave. On 4 August 1903 St Pius X was elected pope, and H.E.Hazlehurst recorded "great commotion" in his diary - worked all afternoon getting out illuminations, etc. Designed a *Pio X*. We had a grand show; band came, the whole village turned out; a balloon, etc". Having already travelled into Rome to pay their respects to Leo XIII a fortnight before - the face is quite changed and discoloured: not nice" -the students caught the train on 9 August for the Coronation. Hazlehurst had a "grand view of Pope" although "he looked quite upset: tears in his eyes, made no movement".¹¹

What was the *villeggiatura* itself like at Monte Porzio? Everyday student life remains peculiarly elusive to the historian, at least up until the time of Mgr Giles

and the advent of *The Venerabile* in 1922. The student diaries we have in the Archive tend to concentrate on details of churches visited, papal liturgies attended and dignitaries spoken to, rather than personal details of what to them, perhaps, seemed mundane and normal, but what to us would contain much interest. Even personal milestones such as Ordination Day were reported in a handful of lines and in a matter-of-fact way. However, we are fortunate when it comes to the topic of Porzio, for the diaries unsurprisingly contain often quite detailed descriptions of their recreations, excursions and *feste*. To reconstruct those sweltering months at Porzio, we will largely draw upon student diaries and memoirs stretching from the 1820's up until the last days of Rector Giles. Although these cover different regimes and generations, the basic "Porzian experience" remained more or less the same. By ploughing through such sources, we begin to feel very much "in touch" with these long dead seminarists, seeing them not so much as names in the *Liber Ruber* but as young men in search for rest and recreation after long months of formal study.

The summer timetable showed more flexibility than that in Rome. It usually began with meditation and Mass in the small chapel on the top floor of the house, which was "nearly always 60° before we crowded in".¹² Nor was the intense heat the only obstacle to prayer, for it was "very hard to keep one's eyes from wandering to the windows through which, on the one side, the rising sun may be seen approaching over the house-tops, and on the other, the open *campagna* stretching towards Rome".¹³ After breakfast, students were supposed to go to their rooms until eleven, "doing something useful", as the rules put it. Indeed, "the new men used to be frightened in advance, being told that even in holidays they had to study all the morning, but no one could move, even in the shade, until the sea breeze waved the acacias punctually at eleven".¹⁴ How much study was actually accomplished in the heat of the villa is uncertain - in August 1853 the rector, Robert Cornthwaite, spoke to the students about "reading novels in time which ought to be given to *bona fide* study".¹⁵ After midday the students climbed up to the cramped chapel for Rosary and Prayers for England, and returned there for "Visit" after lunch. Recreation, followed - during which one could read, gather round the piano or play cards, chess or billiards on a table which "like the villa, bears the mark of antiquity". Gradually the common room emptied as the sacred *siesta* approached - a time when, we are assured, "the whole village is wrapped in the deepest slumber".¹⁶ Another student recalled that "you could hear the village breathing deeply, and the thousand million flies drying up sliced tomatoes on the wooden trays on window-sills in the sun. It was all so quiet that the sounds went to decorate the silence".¹⁷

A bell rudely interrupted this blissful sopor and announced tea, after which many chose to go for an evening stroll, perhaps to Tusculum or the nearby Camaldolese monastery, which had been a favourite haunt of the Old Pretender. Tusculum played an important role in the months at Porzio. Rich in natural beauty and historical associations - it was on the site of a Roman town and the stronghold of the medieval Dukes of Tusculum, until it was razed by Celestine III in 1191 - it was easily accessible from the villa grounds. Sometime in the mid nineteenth century members of the College erected a wooden cross on the summit, the progenitor of the present steel cross, which was placed there in 1934. In 1891 the third Tusculum cross was found desecrated - sawn off at the base and with a Masonic message attached - although the holidaying students quickly raised a new



The miraculous shrine to Our Lady of Good Hope next to the Porzian villa.

cross to the loud singing of *Pange Lingua*, “Faith of Our Fathers” and *O Roma Felix*.¹⁸ On the summit of Tusculum, students rambled and dozed in the shade, wrote poetry, held breakfasts and dinners, hunted for skulls and other ancient relics or even caught butterflies. This latter activity seemed particularly popular. On 10 August 1853, George Johnson recorded that he had been “out catching butterflies nearly all day” and several weeks later he was looking for “emperor caterpillars, nearly giving up in despair when we found a beautiful one”. On one occasion he rather daringly “got a good moth from [the] rector’s rooms”.¹⁹ He could also be found hunting and killing vipers, or “setting lime twigs to catch my old feathered friends”. On 22 February 1854, whilst recuperating from a serious illness, he caught a goldfinch and a wren in such a trap.²⁰ For those who remained at the villa, there was also - under Giles - the option of tennis in the orchard.

At eight dinner was served in the refectory. Before Night Prayers closed the day, students would typically gather on the terrace where, “in easy chairs, the walkers rest their tired limbs, and drink in the delights of the cool Italian night”. Discussion could be lively: “a balcony argument”, wrote A.N.Barrie, a member of the last generation to use Monte Porzio, “has come to mean one which is carried on *ad infinitum*”.²¹ There might be other evening pastimes. One evening in 1829 there was “a French juggler in ye College who performed very well in cards, changing sums of money, with his dancing harlequin”.²² Under Cornthwaite, students might repair to the common room to read *The Porzio Post*, a student rag, which anticipated the more famous *Chi Lo Sa?* of the twentieth century.²³ Recreation did not always end with lights out. One night, Johnson speaks of a “lark expelling C.Graham from our dormitory, we pulled his bed and fastened our door and he had to pass the whole night on the bare boards”. The highlight of the week was the daylong excursions in the surrounding countryside. These would often include a picnic lunch and an open-air *siesta*. “If anyone happened to come upon

this scene”, speculated one student, “he could not but think that a massacre of the clergy had taken place, for he would find the ground strewn with the bodies of clerical students in the most contorted attitudes”.²⁴ However, certain rules had to be followed. On the first day of the 1903 *villeggiatura*, for example, the students were told that bathing was only allowed after the Tusculum dinner. Moreover, “speaking of going in *osteria*’s etc on long walks, [the staff] knew there was one at Rocca di Papa much frequented so that the women went by a familiar name: That house is forbidden, out of bounds”.²⁵

Palazzola was a popular destination - on 25 October 1853, Johnson recorded in his diary that he “dined in the convent there, a most beautiful place and affording some magnificent views”.²⁶ George Ambrose Burton went there with Mgr Giles in September 1888 - “we dined in the Refectory of Capuchins, into which a tribe of coenobitical cats every now and then furtively intruded, to be whipped out with little ceremony by a snow bearded friar, who, having spent some years in the neighbourhood of the Tigris, delighted to regale us with morsels of Arabic”.²⁷ He was there again the following year - “here I visited the Church and garden again, and then went up to dine in the faded *saloon* upstairs. After grace I went down the wooded declivity below...and sat for a good while in the sun”.²⁸

Many students got to know the villagers during their three-month stay at Porzio, although they often displayed a rather patronising and chauvinistic approach to the local population. Richard Browne’s diary shows a particular interest in socio-economic information. Writing about a young vintner he met in September 1829, Browne records his hours of work, wages, diet and educational details, and concludes his observations in the manner of a parliamentary commissioner: “I take this boy for a fair specimen of ye fixed or resident village labouring class”.²⁹ On meeting “a sick youth” several weeks later, he notes that many Porzians “would rather die at home in misery than go to the hospital [in Rome], for they thought they would be expedited there quickly either being killed or turned out”, and that they called the hospital the *anticamera della casa del diavolo*.³⁰ That same summer Browne interviewed “a civil husbandman” and “a charcoal carrier with 4 sacks on an ass”.³¹

The *villeggiatura* coincided with the main village feasts. On these occasions the students joined the local community for Mass in the parish church, where the organ was reported to have “resembled a broken pair of bagpipes”.³² 2 September saw the festa of the village patron, St Antoninus, and the “*Nobile Collegio Inglese*” would assist at Mass and the procession of the relic, as well as listen to the village band and watch the fireworks and balloons. On 24 September it was the feast of the village’s patroness, St Laconella, an early virgin martyr whose bones, coated in *paper mache*, were in the parish church. There were also red-letter days for the villa - St Edward, the villa’s patron, on 13 October and, more importantly, the feast of Our Lady of Good Hope on 8 September, whose miraculous image was proudly housed in a shrine attached to the villa. Mass was said at the shrine, which was decorated with lights. The villa itself was covered with Chinese lanterns, lamps and garlands spelling *Ave Maria*, and *trasparenze*.

The visit of important guests was another treat for the students. On 7 October 1847, for instance, the newly ordained John Henry Newman dined there with Dr Grant and Dr Sharples, having walked in the morning towards Monte Cavo.³³ No records exist of what the students thought of their famous guest. When Cardinal Wiseman arrived at his beloved Monte Porzio for a day



St Antoninus, the second century martyr and patron of Monte Porzio, whose feast on 2nd September was one of the highlights of the 'villeggiatura'. Of royal blood, he is supposed to have been ordained in Rome and, after preaching in Italy, to have been beheaded either at Pamiers in France or Apamea in Syria.

in October 1853, the students “gave him as good a cheer as 21 voices could as he drove up”. During dinner “the [village] band played for him in their uniforms” and over *caffè e rosolio*, he told the assembled company “a great many anecdotes about the old college”.³⁴

Two popes visited the villa during the nineteenth century: Leo XII on 29 October 1827 and Blessed Pius IX on 5 September 1864, both commemorated by slabs which were translated to the refectory at Palazzola in 1920. The visit of Leo XII has been particularly well described. In late September 1827 the sluggish *villeggiatura* was suddenly interrupted by a profusion of activity. College hangings and furniture arrived, together with a fine fatted calf from the Borghese farm of Pantano. In the village itself, roads were repaired, streets cleaned, tapestries hung out and triumphal arches built. On the morning of the great day, students could be seen leaning over the garden wall, carefully watching the road from Frascati along which the pontifical entourage was expected to appear at any moment. At last, a glint of a dragoon helmet and sword was spotted, followed by the papal carriage itself, which before long was parked outside the villa. Pope Leo walked to the parish church to pray, before going to a house in the main square where he met the important Porzians and blessed the villagers from a balcony. He then went to the English villa for lunch, where he spoke to all and commented: “it is seldom that a poor Pope can enjoy the pleasure of sitting down to dinner with such a fine set of men”. After taking a *siesta* in the rector’s room, he met the local clergy, “able though plain, and certainly most disinterested men”, sitting in a rush chair and not in the throne prepared from him. The Pontiff obviously enjoyed his visit, presenting the College the following Easter with a “fine, fat, live calf with a halter

of red silk and gold on its head, its feet tied with red silk cords to the litter, and its head and neck adorned with beautiful garlands of artificial fruits and flowers” - a treat enjoyed by all the English Catholics in Rome.³⁵

Life continued at Porzio into the first years of the twentieth century. If the figure of Mgr Giles became so synonymous with the College during his long Rectorship (1888-1913) that it was known as *Palazzo Giles* then surely the summerhouse at Porzio was the *Villa Giles*. His rooms there effectively became a painting and photographic studio during the *villeggiatura*, and his many fine watercolours of the area remain one of the most vivid monuments to Porzio in the present College, as are the famous photos of his breakfasts on Tusculum. The student’s fondness for “the Gi” is captured in the celebrations for his Golden Jubilee of Priesthood in August 1904. The house was decorated and a “canopy of ivy leaves and gold braid with *ad multos annos* in leaves on red background” was erected in the refectory. Even the village band offered to play, but Giles, perhaps on account of his refined musical tastes, declined the kind offer. A paper balloon was also constructed with a picture of a precious and plain mitre and the words *Tu es Sacredos in aeternum*. Unfortunately it collapsed as it was being hoisted and “part of it blew into a neighbouring tree”.³⁶

With Giles’ death in 1913 a chapter in College history closed. Things were changing as war clouds loomed. The visitation completed in 1916 resulted in the recommendation that Porzio should be sold since it was unsuitable and unhealthy. The last *villeggiatura* was spent there in 1917, and the then rector, Arthur Hinsley, began looking for a new villa. Meanwhile, a community of Elizabettine nuns, fleeing from the fighting in north Italy, moved into the Porzio house. Hinsley eventually persuaded them to move into the College to look after the domestic arrangements - in which capacity they remained until 1995.³⁷

The summer of 1918 was spent at a former friary at Montopoli in Sabina, with an adjoining church boasting “gaudily decorated pillars and trumpeting angels”. When news of the Armistice arrived, Hinsley declared a “no bell day” and presided at a solemn Benediction and *Te Deum*. The previous evening a crowd of *Montopoliani* had approached the villa shouting *Evviva l’Inghilterra!*³⁸ The stay was extended by the Spanish flu that was meanwhile wiping out the inmates of Amaldi’s recently established health camp at Palazzola. This former Capuchin convent had already captured Hinsley’s attention, and negotiations were begun with the proprietor. Hinsley managed to snap it up for an amazingly low price - everything was included, even the cutlery, which fortuitously bore the initials “C.A.”, interchangeably “Carlo Amaldi” and “*Collegium Anglorum*”.

In the heart of the Alban hills, there are many continuities between Palazzola and Porzio - not least of which are the slabs in the refectory commemorating papal visits to the old villa or the venerable tradition of Mass on Tusculum during the *villeggiatura*, even if it is four times further away now. Palazzola is undoubtedly a finer place in almost every aspect - location, architecture, and history. J.R.Meagher admitted that “no one regrets the change”, but still found that memories of “the taste of wine, the smell of garlic, the sound of a bell, the drowsy peace of a summer’s night [could] play havoc with emotions and call up the gentle ghosts of exultant days”. For “as a roof and walls, Monte Porzio meant little to us; but as the gateway to Romance, the very thought of it thrilled us”.³⁹ Generations of students - going back to the reign of James I and almost certainly including some of “the Forty-Four” - have rested, studied, played and been formed at “dear old

Monte Porzio”, almost all have fallen in love with “this lovely spot” and many have found God in the stuffy chapel or the rolling woods.⁴⁰ The unassuming little village has thus had a subtle and unique place in English Catholic history and has summed up for many what the “Roman experience” was all about. Its important place in the consciousness of many English priests down the ages is summed up by Mulligan’s “Farewell to Porzio”, on which note we too shall end:

Once more, loved spot – farewell, farewell!
 Sweet Porzio dear, a long adieu!
 You’ve won my heart, you’ve bound a spell
 Around my soul of love for you! –
 One only wish with thee I leave, –
 May every neighbouring grove and dell
 Long echo back my heart’s fond heave
 To each and all – farewell! farewell!⁴¹

Note on the Sources

The following sources were consulted from VEC Archives:

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Nicholas Schofield, a fourth year student for the Archdiocese of Westminster, has just completed his STB. Before entering seminary, he read Modern History at Exeter College, Oxford, and is currently Editor of this august journal.

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²⁶ VEC Archive *Liber 821* – entry for 25 Oct 1853.
²⁷ VEC Archive *Liber 824* – entry for 20 Sept 1888.
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³⁰ *Ibid.* – entry for 13 Oct 1829.
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³² VEC Archive *Liber 821* – entry for 31 Aug 1853.
³³ LDXII, 124.
³⁴ VEC Archive *Liber 821* – entry for 27 Oct 1853.
³⁵ Wiseman, *op. cit.*, 313-322.
³⁶ VEC Archive *Liber 828* – entries for 24 and 25 Aug 1904.
³⁷ Williams, *op. cit.*, 150-156.
³⁸ J. Scarr & R.Meagher, “Montopoli” in *The Venerabile*, Vol. VI, 277-293 (Oct 1933).
³⁹ Meagher, *op. cit.*, 212-213.
⁴⁰ VEC Archive *Liber 824* - entry for 24 July 1890: “Said the Community Mass in our little chapel at the top of the house wherein I have received so many graces from God”. The following day Burton wrote: “Enjoyed my last afternoon sprawl under the acacias of the Pio garden: breeze was fresher than ever, skies bluer, the hills green”.
⁴¹ VEC Archive *Liber 588*.

Looking Back: The College in the 30s

BERNARD JACKSON

Towards the end of October 1931, three young men from St Bede's College, Manchester, set out for Rome full of excitement and not a little trepidation, at least on my part, never having left England before. George Ekbery, Fred Stone and myself were those three young men. Father Vincent Fay, who was returning to Rome to finish his course of studies after ordination in England, was our guide and mentor for the journey. Father Fay organised a mini Cooks Tour for us visiting Venice and Padua on the way. We arrived in Rome on the Saturday evening before the Feast of Christ the King. We had the privilege of attending a Papal Mass, Pius XI of course, in St Peter's on the Feast day. This was a fairly rare occurrence in those days.

Monsignor, later Cardinal, Godfrey, was Rector of the College and Father Humphrey Wilson was the Vice Rector. I think he was a convert and had served in the First World War as a machine gun officer. He returned to England and to parish work about twelve months after our arrival. His place was then taken up by Monsignor (Larry) Smith.

When we arrived in Rome, the pound had become devalued with the result that our meagre financial resources had become even more meagre than when we had started our journey.

There were nine of us in that first year including two future Bishops, Bishop Brian Foley and Bishop Eric Grazar. Bishop Grazar was given the nickname "Crasher", not because of the similarity to his actual surname but because his arrival had not been expected by the College authorities. The matter was eventually sorted out to everyone's satisfaction.

Day *gite* were a very welcome change from the daily life of the College and the Greg. Long *gite* were not for us humble philosophers, but we were occasionally taken in small groups by the Rector or the Vice Rector on interesting trips to various places. I remember a trip with the Rector to Orvieto, where we were careful not to neglect to test the local vino. This trip also included Laverna and the Carthusian Monastery at Pavia. The Abbott at that time was an English Carthusian from Parkminster with whom Monsignor Godfrey was well acquainted. We stayed in the Monastery guesthouse for a couple of nights. Our beds, as I recall, were mattresses stuffed with cornhusks. Every time one made the slightest movement the noise was deafening. Subiaco was a very popular place to visit. There was a Brigittine Convent in Lugano where we were always welcome. The tougher brethren used to go mountaineering and skiing in the Abruzzi and other mountainous regions. It was not for me.

Political problems were occurring in many countries, especially in Europe at that time. The Spanish Civil War had repercussions even in Rome. Some of the

Spanish Jesuits who had been banished or who had escaped, came to Rome and some became professors at the Greg. This added a new dimension to the varieties of accents in the Latin lectures.

The Italians and the French were constantly at loggerheads and, whenever either one shouted a bit louder than the other, troops were out in force surrounding the French Embassy in the Palazzo Farnese. The war in Abyssinia also did not improve relations between Italy and the rest of the world. It must have been 1936 or 1937 when I was returning to the College after a visit to the dentist. I was walking along the road that runs down the side of the Quirinal Palace. There were very few people about when suddenly a motorcade with motorcycle outriders came along beside me. There was a large open staff car in the middle in which Hitler and Mussolini were sitting in full view just a stone's throw from where I was standing. Hitler, I understand, was on a state visit and was being entertained by the King at the Quirinal. The storm clouds of World War 2 were already gathering.

I do not know what the daily programme in the College is like nowadays. I assume it must have changed a good deal since my time. Our Christmas week was quite a busy time with the feast days and the various entertainments we provided for our own amusement and for guests. One of the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas was performed at Palazzola in the summer and it was repeated as part of the Christmas celebration.

One of the duties of the Senior Student was to buttonhole interesting people residing in Rome or visiting and to persuade them to speak to us on a variety of subjects. John McCormack, the Irish tenor, was one of these as I recall. Being a Papal Count, he was required to attend on the Holy Father from time to time. Of course, he was not allowed to escape without an aria or two. Mar Ivanios is also a name that springs to mind. He visited us soon after he with all his followers converted to Rome. Mr Hugh Montgomery, the British *Charge d'affaires* at the Vatican, was a frequent visitor to the College. I remember a talk he gave us on Queen Victoria. In the course of his talk he passed round for our inspection a small box containing, he said, a piece of the Queen's wedding cake. It was only a small piece. When it arrived back to the speaker I fear it was an even smaller piece. Looking back, I suspect our legs had been duly pulled. When Mr Montgomery's term of office expired, the post was taken by Mr D' Arcy Osborne, who also became a frequent visitor to the College, especially to Palazzola where he occasionally spent weekends with us in the summer. Mr Montgomery left the diplomatic service soon after leaving Rome and offered himself as a candidate for the Priesthood to Westminster where he was eventually ordained. However, his diplomatic career was not over. During the war, he was recalled by the Foreign Office and asked to return to the Vatican in a liaison capacity.

I imagine I must be the last surviving member of that group who made up the first year in 1931. May I ask you who read this to pray for all those good friends of mine who are no longer with us and who shared my experiences? May they rest in peace.

Fr Bernard Jackson entered the Venerable English College in 1931, while the future Cardinal Godfrey was Rector, and was ordained in 1937. He has spent much of his life at St Bede's College, Manchester, where he is still going strong.

Romanesque 98: Rules

TONY PHILPOT

At school we all had to join the cadets. They took us to a bleak and howling rifle range in North Bedfordshire called “The Butts”, a place where the rain fell horizontally, I swear, and they taught us to shoot at a target. I, being congenitally awkward, shot on to the target of the boy next to me. The officer in charge stopped behind me and said, disgustedly, “That’s an offence”.

The trouble was, you see, that they had taught us something called “aiming off”. If there was a strong transverse wind you had to make allowances, we were told. It was a matter of fine judgment how much you would shift your sights to the left or the right, but you couldn’t ignore the elements. My judgment was insufficiently fine.

The same principle of “aiming off” seemed to be in operation when I came to the English College in 1952. My year arrived at the tail-end of a tradition which saw the rules of the College, quite simply, as the principal formative influence of the seminary. If you had the humility and the patience to keep all the rules, in their entirety, all the time, you would make a splendid priest. The rules had a mystic and spiritual significance: at least, for the Rector they had. It was clear that in his mind, the rules were the rock on which rebellious spirits would be broken-in, rather as high-spirited colts are trained to be disciplined racehorses. He was a deeply devout man, and had a very high theology of the rules, which he had inherited from his own time as a student in the Hinsley days. For him, I think, the law was greater than the legislator (i.e. himself). They had something of the immutable character of the Decalogue, and nothing pragmatic about them at all. We never asked him, but I am pretty sure that he regarded the keeping of the rules as a moral issue, and each infraction as matter for confession. Some men entered into the spirit of this and conducted themselves with total correctness and poise. We, however, were wartime babies: many of us were accustomed to obedience, yes, but also used to ‘skiving’, and seeing what you could get away with.

Were the rules made in the expectation that people would only keep three-quarters of them, rather as the rates of income tax in some countries presumed a constant percentage of tax evaders? There was, for instance, a rule which said you could only go shopping on Thursdays, and then only in threes or fours, so that we had to hunt in packs even for things like shoelaces. The sensible thing, of course, would have been to drop off to get them on the way to the Greg, any day but Thursday, but the sensible thing was not seen as the principled thing. “Rather than buy toothpaste on a day other than a Thursday,” thundered the Vice Rector, halfway through my course, “you should be prepared to let your teeth rot.” I am afraid we treated this rather as one treats the purpler passages in the more bellicose psalms: we “aimed off”. It was the beginning of an era which tested things - “Does it make sense?” - and if the regulation failed the test, well, tough. Whereas the

generation before us would have seen no absurdity in the rumoured antics of some religious novitiates (planting cabbages upside down, washing stairs from the bottom up, offering the greengrocer a sack of halfpennies instead of a ten-shilling note) we did. For us, this was not the Way of Perfection. The secular world, with its abrasive commonsense values, was breaking into the walled garden of religion. There is no doubt that some of our superiors knew the way we thought, and, on occasion, thought that way themselves. One rule said that no one, under any circumstances, could receive gifts of food. For the old Rector this would have been a principle to die for. For the Vice Rector, a veteran chaplain of World War Two, and subsequently himself the Rector, less so. He called a friend of mine to see him. "You realise, " he said, "that being sent supplies from home is strictly against the rules ?" "Yes, Sir." "Very well, if you look under the sofa in the *Salome*, you may find something to your advantage." And the contraband cake was recovered, right under the Rector's nose.

We were not the only ones who broke the rules. Four Greg lectures on the trot were sometimes more than flesh and blood could stand, and we all had an encyclopaedic knowledge of the bars around the Piazza Pilotta. The Ecclesiology professor at the time was the wrinkled Father Zapalena. He had written the most enormous book, so heavy that it almost fell out of its binding. In the process he appeared to have gone blind, so that when he quoted passages of it to us in the *Aula*, he actually rolled his eyeballs along the printed page, as one would a mouse on a mouse-pad. We presumed that he could see nothing at all, until the fine morning when he stood on the steps of the University, squinting at the passing crowds, and delivered himself of an apocalyptic rumble, "*Americani, Americani, vanno a caffè gli Americani !*" I was to be reminded of this years later when my first Parish Priest, a graduate of Oscott, said "I think a lot of nonsense is talked about the discernment of vocation. One day four of us went illegally into Birmingham, to a tea-shop. While we were there, we saw the Vice Rector approaching. Two got out of the window in time, and two were caught. The ones caught were expelled. And now I'm a Canon."

It is interesting, on reflection, how many of our rules were about food. Were we really hungry ? Not really, not often, although the meals in College did have the smack of post-war austerity. *Pizzeria*, however, had an irresistible attraction, spiced with illegality. On reflection I can see why the 'no restaurant' rule was wise, if unenforceable. There was something vaguely scandalous, for the Italy of the time, in the spectacle of quantities of cassocked figures eating their heads off in public. To the eyes of the Communists we were parasites, doing no productive work, while many of their party members were grossly underpaid and could not afford to go to restaurants. One of the election posters of the time showed a group of Christian Democrat politicians at a banquet, with underneath the single word, *Forchettoni*. There wasn't actually a purple sash or a pectoral cross in the picture, but there might well have been. The trouble was that there were so many of us, and we were so easily identified as what we were. At the end of a week's gita, as a last flourish before reporting back to the Via di Monserrato, we flocked like starlings to our favourite watering-holes, and took them over.

A contemporary took a group to Naples in Easter Week. They were due home for supper on Saturday. They were missing. Later, the leader reported to the Rector, and the following immortal conversation is alleged to have taken place.

“I brought seven people home late for supper, Sir. The train from Naples caught fire near Latina, and they had to get the Fire Brigade.”
 “Very good, but don’t let it occur again.”

There was sometimes collusion on the part of the staff, although of course you could not count on it. During the *villeggiatura*, the Rector said, he did not want the students imposing on the Piacentini family by visiting them at home. They were such hospitable and courteous people that they would never even hint that student visitors were a burden or a nuisance, but this was a risk we must not run. Needless to say, some of the men became, nevertheless, regular callers-in on the Piacentinis. Well, the convention was that the Rector or the Vice Rector, if they themselves were coming to visit, would cough loudly while still some distance off, like biblical lepers with their bells. They would approach the house from the front, which gave Alfredo time to bundle the offending students out through the back door. Thus confrontation was avoided. Another no-go area would be the *Monserra* corridor during the week when *Chi Lo Sa ?* was being produced. The entire editorial team would be in someone’s room (instead of at the Greg), smoking their heads off (an activity properly confined to the common-room, during limited hours) and having brainwaves. The laughter and the typewriters echoed through the house, but there was, as far as I recall, never a raid: a blessed amnesty that week. After all, the superiors enjoyed *Chi Lo Sa ?* as much as the men, and got first look at it.

Breaking rules and not getting caught made us regress, I think. It prolonged our schoolboy-japes phase longer than was desirable, and hindered development. The real issue, which nobody voiced, should have been not “Can you be unthinkingly obedient to regulations imposed on you by authority?” but “Can you work, patiently and cooperatively, as members of a diocesan team, under the Bishop, even if you don’t always get your own way?”

Priests need a whole sheaf of virtues, and obedience is one of them, but it is only one. And obedience is not just snapping to attention when the superior officer speaks. It is something much more profound and long-term. For us, it is having the elasticity to submit to the circumstances in which we have to minister, not just for a moment, but for a lifetime. We are less prone than our forefathers were to interpret the will of the boss as necessarily and always the voice of God. We’re too critical for that ! But there is a deeper and utterly spiritual obedience which is still demanded of us. Saying a generous, humorous “yes” to being appointed to a place we do not care for, to a pattern which is no-pattern, to days when we are in demand beyond what is reasonable, to other days when nothing happens, to liturgies which seldom go as we would like, to phone bells and door bells, to kids who don’t turn up for sacramental preparation, to tramps with ingenious stories, to days which teeter on the brink of the anarchic and chaotic. “If you can keep your head when all around you” Kipling might have added “without whingeing and slagging off the management”. That’s the deeper obedience, which requires a great heart, and a mature one.

Mgr Tony Philpot, a regular contributor to this journal, is a priest of the diocese of East Anglia and a popular retreat giver. The author of several books, he has just completed four years as Chaplain at Palazzola and returns to the College as Spiritual Director.

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BOOK REVIEW

SEAN CONNOLLY

Oscott College in the Twentieth Century

by Michael E. Williams

Gracewing 2001 (ISBN 0 85244 534 2)

£9.99 (194 pp)

“Living in a college like Oscott is a very special and in some ways a strange experience”, says Mgr Kevin MacDonald in his foreword to this new book by Michael Williams, which chronicles the history of the first seminary to be established on English soil. I have lived in two seminaries in my life (Oscott and the VEC) and I would agree: it is a very strange experience indeed.

What Fr Williams manages to do in his book is to follow the lead characters of Oscott’s past (the rectors and archbishops *et al.*) whilst at the same time drawing attention to the perennial problems that seem to face all such institutions: the diocesan and inter-diocesan politics, the difficulties of staffing, the worry over student numbers, and the problems posed by that interface of the institutional with the truly communal. In the words of Qoheleth: “There is nothing new under the sun.”

Michael Williams has an engaging style and his research includes not only official documentation, diaries, letters and suchlike but also the recollections and memories of former students such as Mgr James Crichton and the VEC’s current rector, Mgr Pat Kilgarriff.

Perhaps the one disappointment (at least for me, as an Oscottian of the late 1980s and early 90s) is a lack of any detail on the more recent history of the college. But then, as Williams notes, “the time is not yet ripe” and we are still too close to those decades (and even the immediate aftermath of the Council) to treat them as history.

Oscott College in the Twentieth Century is an enjoyable read and would, I am sure, appeal to a wider audience than merely past and present students. It is also a timely assessment of the English seminary system and its weaknesses as we move into a third millennium and try to consider how best to train priests for such a rapidly changing church and world.

Sean Connolly, a priest of the diocese of East Anglia and author of such books as Simple Priesthood, is working on a doctorate on C.S.Lewis.

Part 3

Faith



Priests: Warriors in the Order of Melchisedech

JOSEPH TETLOW, S.J.

The conference reported here was given during the candidates-to-be retreat at the Convento dei Passionisti, Monte Argentario, 30 September to 8 October 2000. It speaks directly to men who are called to the priesthood in the order of Melchizedek, who will be ordained to serve the People of God as they live and worship at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This report is approximately what was said, but if anyone remembers differently, he is probably correct.

Knowing Jesus of Nazareth fully means knowing the Warrior of God. Yet we do not often reflect on warrior energies of Jesus, for at least two reasons. The first is that we concentrate today on Jesus the Christ, the Redeemer of all humankind, whose work is done and who is now lifted up in triumph, drawing all to himself. The second is that, when we do turn to look at Jesus of Nazareth, we tend to see the merciful healer, the tender shepherd and the loving friend.

Those who are called to leadership in the Church today, however, will do well to grow aware of the warrior energies of Jesus. The reasons should be clear. They will be up against the ferocious evils that humankind is visiting on itself today, from drugs and pornography to dispossessing the poor and discarding the useless. They need a righteous anger. They will both experience and, willing or reluctant, contribute to the divisions and injustices even within the Church. Church leaders need intelligent loyalty.

Jesus himself is reason enough, however, for a priest to grow and keep aware of the valiant Warrior of God. No one knows Jesus who does not know the warrior's energy that marks a great deal of his experiences. In the hissing faces of the synagogue's leaders, he cured a man's withered hand. A crowd tried to fling him over a cliff because of what he had said about the Law of Moses; he walked straight through them and they could not touch him. The religious authorities wanted to kill him because he unmasked their hypocrisy; he kept turning up in the Temple, day after day, facing their mounting fury. In the end, at the hour of the power of darkness, he went into a battle to the death without a cry of terror or a word of protest. He held his dread in his own bowels and stood silent.

If we do not grasp the energy in Jesus of Nazareth that we have learned to name the warrior energy, then we know only a cardboard cutout of this brave, righteous, loyal man.

The Warrior's Energies

We would have a fair set of images of the warrior's energies. But we can know both Jesus the Warrior and our own warrior's energies by recalling how some authorities describe them. Note first of all that the warrior fights perhaps one day in a thousand, but he is always a warrior. For in the final analysis, the good warrior stands, not for violence and mayhem, but for right order. The warrior protects his own turf – his own city or realm – keeping good order within it as well as fending off mischief from outside it. The warrior's energy is focused and purposeful, even though he may spend long periods of time in boredom or apparently pointless exercises. It's the warrior energy, not in passing, that keeps a man persevering in exercise and practice.

The warrior follows a lord, or someone or something that takes the place of a lord, who leads always for the sake of some higher good, some ideal. Importantly today when authority has been so dreadfully abused, the warrior knows that his lord's authority is benevolent. He knows that doing what the lord commands is for his own good ultimately, though first of all for the higher good or ideal that both lord and warriors serve. This energy welds a man to his leader in fidelity and constancy.

The warrior lives by a code, clearly enunciated and carefully observed. He keeps it himself and he expects and demands that his fellows keep it, for their relationships are shaped by their code. In fact, when one of his fellows does not keep it, he confronts and corrects him.

The warrior feels to the marrow of his bone that each man has his place and his function, and each depends on all the others to know and keep their own, as each is depended on by the rest. This energy binds men together, not by mutual devotion or by personal affection. Rather, it ties men together in loyalty, which is the commitment of men to one another in the service of a great ideal.

His turf, his code, and his loyalty all demand of the warrior that he keep his kit in order and himself in training and shape. The warrior energy keeps a man always ready; a famous group of warriors long ago chose the motto, *Semper Paratus*. Always ready to take a life-threatening risk if that is called for, and to take it on the instant.

But the warrior is equally ready to wait and wait. His waiting is not empty. He makes certain that he knows everything he needs to know, and that he knows it when he needs to know it, in order to do his duty, keep his code, and serve his lord.

The warrior's typical virtues seem an odd combination: patience and anger. But the warrior patiently keeps ready, waiting for what needs to be done. And the warrior blazes out in an anger that moves him to act when he sees what violates his turf or his fellows or his code, and most especially when he sees harm done to his lord or to those who belong to his lord.

Jesus Is the Warrior Lord

As hard as it seems to us to contemplate, we have candidly to recognize that Jesus of Nazareth shows many qualities not only of the Lord of Love but also of the Warrior Lord. We do not really know Jesus until we accept this splendid side of his humanity. And we surely will not be worth much as priests of the order of Melchizedek unless we feel the energy of the warrior within ourselves and let its loyalty, patience, and anger move us to righteousness.

He stood loyally in front of his men when a troop came out with firebrands and swords to arrest him. “I am he. If I am the one you are looking for, let these others go” (John 18:9). But he had been in front of his men all along. When enemies blamed his friends for breaking some taboos on time and food, and he snapped at them, “No! New wine, fresh skins” (Mark 2:22). When the self-righteous complained that he was consorting with the wrong kind of people, he faced them down. “It is not the healthy who need the doctor, but the sick; I did not come to call ‘the virtuous,’ but sinners” (Mark 2:17).

It was his warrior energy that allowed him not to worry about tomorrow, because tomorrow would take care of itself, as long as he was keeping his kit in order, his “heart set on God’s kingdom first, and on his righteousness” (Matthew 6:33). Jesus’ remarks about the birds of the air and the lilies of the fields are always interpreted in terms of trusting God. He was surely talking about that. But the subjective correlative – the way the man Jesus lived this trust – was with the energy of the warrior: dutiful, ready, patient. Jesus the warrior had spent thirty years, getting ready, then in readiness, for the short time that he was to spend doing what he had to do. He did what was right from the moment of John’s baptism to the time he silently let them murder him instead of calling down legions of angels. Knowing that his enemies meant to kill him did not turn him aside from what he had to do. He did what his place in the reign of God called on him to do (for which God gave him a Name above every other name, and we are eternally grateful).

Jesus truly respected The Law, every jot and tittle. He rode into Jerusalem on a donkey to keep what Isaiah and Zechariah had prophesied (Matthew 21:5). But he respected what it truly said. So he told the Pharisees, citing Hosea, “Go and learn the meaning of the words, ‘Mercy is what pleases me, not sacrifice’” (Matthew 9:13).

Matthew in particular records the battles he had with the religious authorities. These were not academic debates without consequence. They were deadly. He had been patient with them, speaking his truth, inviting them to reflect on what they already knew. He quoted back to them the wisdom that they had taught him as a boy. When patience and loyalty got him nowhere, he did not abandon his task or his turn.

He knew what would happen when, as his confrontation with the religious authorities grew tenser, he began to speak in parables. He even cited the tough stance enunciated by Jeremiah and Ezekiel that the hardhearted would “look without seeing and listen without hearing or understanding” (Matthew 13:13). His enemies understood whom he meant. He knew The Law, and he knew that his fellows under the code also knew it but were not honouring it. This is what filled him with righteous anger, erupting finally in “woe to you....”

Look at Jesus when he went into the Temple “and drove out all those who were selling and buying there” (Matthew 21:12). He found his fellows – the ones who knew perfectly well that the Temple was to be a house of prayer and who had let it become a marketplace – allowing disorder onto their turf, onto the holiest part of their turf. He turned on them in righteous anger. And after their confrontation, he did not apologize or smooth over any feelings. “He left them and went out of the city to Bethany, where he spent the night” (Matthew 21:17).

Jesus Established the Code of His Reign

Jesus deeply respected The Law, yet he established his own code, which we really need to grasp if we are to be leaders in his Church and follow him in the order of Melchizedek. Part of what he did was read the Old Testament correctly. In the end, he found nothing better than Tobit's line to summarize the whole of Law and the Prophets, as Matthew tells it, "always treat others as you would like them to treat you" (Matthew 7:12).

But part of Jesus' reading of The Law results in his own code, as Lord of the New Testament. Look at his reading of The Law as reported in Matthew's fifth chapter. It comes right after his battle with the power of darkness in the desert, where his warrior energies are eminent: do not try to make me disloyal to my Lord or break the code or be untrue to my own self.

Then Jesus enunciates first the Beatitudes, which are not promises or prophecies, but which tell the way things really are now that God has sent his Son into our flesh. The Beatitudes are easily understood – as they have been by enough theologians, who know more about it than I do – principally as a moral program that the true follower of Jesus keeps. For every one of them elicits the energies of the warrior, and it is pre-eminently the warrior who keeps a code. So the Beatitudes can look like an enunciation of that code. Whether they do or not, each Beatitude demands the energies of the warrior. Gentleness, a thirst for uprightness, mercy, purity of heart, and the rest, are not possible unless a man is loyal, patient in keeping Christ's code, endures while waiting but feels the strength of anger when wrong is being done. Men who do not live the Beatitudes may be nice people, but they haven't enough of the energy of the warrior.

This bit about the Beatitudes might seem complicated, but what follows in Matthew is blunt and simple. It is clearly Jesus' own code. You have heard it said that you shall not kill. But Jesus' code requires that you not even brand your fellow a fool or a traitor. You are not your fellows' judge; look to how you keep the code, yourself, before you go after him – beam and mote. And if you are about to worship God and remember that you have done wrong to a fellow, don't try to worship until you've set that straight. If you are not loyal to your fellow, you are not going to give good worship to God.

You have heard it said that you are not to commit adultery, but Jesus' code goes further into humanness. Do not even *want* to commit adultery, and be tough on yourself when you come up against temptations to do it. This is where the business of plucking out your eye and cutting off your hand comes in. Keep your code all the way down into the core of your self. This requires keeping yourself in shape, keeping your life in sane order.

You've been told to love your friends and hate your enemies; I say more: love everyone, since everyone is beloved of the Father. Note that the warrior's energy is not for violence and destruction, but for peace and good order, without which "universal love" is a cream puff fraud.

You are not to swear by God or by God's creatures – just say 'No' if that's what you mean, or else just 'Yes.' When you are fasting or praying or taking care of yourself, keep it between you and your God; all this show is hollow and its own reward. There is no show or display in the warrior's energy; all the fluff of uniforms and feathers comes from another source. The warrior keeps lean and efficient, a long way from cloaks and kedis.

The heart of Jesus' code could not be simpler: "You must set no bounds to your love, just as your heavenly Father sets none to his." This is not mush, not in this code. There would be nothing but mush if the norm were to love only those who love you. But Jesus is entirely explicit, "love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you." Never scandalize the young, the little ones, and forgive your fellow seventy times seven times. Unless a man has deep sources for his loyalty, this forgiveness and the whole business of universal love will be all sound and nothing real.

And then, do not live afraid. Unmask false prophets who are wolves in sheep's wool. Do not trust anyone who talks big but does not keep the code. And you are to use the talents that God has given you, use them to the full and do not bury them, whatever their size. You have your place in this cohort, fill it. If you have a gift or a talent, enact it! This means keeping your kit straight, keeping your life in good order so you can fulfill your own aims.

Priests of the Order of Melchizedek

When we accept the Church's call to be priests, we accept many gifts and challenges and graces. We have to bring a lot to this vocation, too. We can reflect on how, in today's Church and in today's world, we need to let this call stir up in us the energies of the warrior.

We are doing what one of the warriors does in Ursula LeGuin's wonderful fable, *Rocannon's World*. He has been through some adventures and has met some failures. But the moment comes when he can pledge himself to a new lord, who is Rocannon. So the warrior says the formula: "To my lord I give the hours of my life and the use of my death." This is not pretty stuff. "The hours of my life" are going to drag along, at least much of the time. And the priest today – perhaps unlike the priests in the past who farmed or made tents or administered the taxation of a township – will do a lot of waiting and wondering. In an age of self-fulfillment measured by fairly instant and incessant gratifications, the long slow maturing of the priest is going to feel like "the hours of my life."

But the hours of life and the use of our death is what we are giving to Jesus Christ when we accept the call to the priesthood. We are demanding of ourselves that we be loyal to others in our order, as well as to the Church, itself, which is our "turf." Accepting ordination is making the commitment to be faithful friends to other priests, as well as to those whom we serve in our parishes or institutions. And it is making a commitment to the Church as it is right now, full of well-meaning disingenuousness and downright wrongdoing. The hours of my life include celibacy, which is now the requirement for ordination in the order of Melchizedek, and those hours are sometimes going to seem very long. No priest will get through them without the energies of the warrior, sticking with determination to his code for the sake of his Lord and the great idea that they both serve.

The warrior loves, even as a warrior. How? Under the ideal and according to the code. Faithful friends love one another under the Lord's ideal, who loved his friends to the end, and according to the Lord's code, which in this matter states that we are to love the way the Lord loved us. The Lord was celibate; the Lord had a very few intimates, more good close friends, and a lot of friends. Those who love as he loved do not draw one another to do wrong or to go against the code. More than that, it seems to me that priests who are faithful friends watch out for

one another. They can and do see when another is in trouble or failing, and go to him, in whatever way they can help. Loneliness is a virulent plague among the priests you will join, as it has been on all the priests I have ever lived among. We cannot let that go on, and we have to stir the energies of the warrior to be loyal companions, companions of the Lord who stir up some righteous anger about our loneliness, anger that will move us to break out of our needless isolation.

Seen from the perspective of the warrior's energy, being a priest means being intensely dedicated to the leader, the Lord, who is Jesus. The warriors who are close to the lord know the lord better, and are better known. It seems to me that being a priest means being closer to the Lord than other positions in the kingdom might demand. We need to know what the Lord wants, not theoretically or theologically, but in the present moment, in the parish, in this difficult situation or that hard relationship.

The priest's warrior energy, it seems to me, will surely erupt in anger on occasion. We are afraid of anger today, and somehow the West has persuaded itself that anger is a bad thing, or even a Bad Thing. It is not. It is a necessary thing. And it belongs to the energy of the warrior (as well as to that of the king and the prophet), and supports everything about him. It supports his loyalty, so that anger moves him to act when there is injustice on his turf. Anger moves him to keep the code when he feels like sloughing it off. Anger brings him to face his fellow when a fellow is doing wrong.

Anyone who has been a priest for a few years will say that this really happens when a priest is watching his turf. You will find out that a spouse is abusing a spouse, and you must feel anger at the abuse and at the abuser, as much as is appropriate. You will discover laborers being dealt with unjustly and know the employer, and you must feel anger at the injustice, the anger that moves you to do what you can with and for the employer. You will hear the Church criticized in sweeping terms by people who are enjoying the benefits of its ministries, and you need to feel anger at the dishonesty or disingenuousness, and learn how to speak out your anger so that others will hear you and be moved.

Anger, of course, you will express in many ways. You may never raise your voice. You may never speak sharply. But you must be ready to do either or both when the code requires it of you, when the love of friend and enemy demand it. I once had to say something really harsh to a woman and walk out of the room where we were. (I was probably more surprised than she was.) You may not find yourself in many dramatic situations like that. But you have to be ready to speak clearly when a relationship is growing toward irresponsibility, and ready to accept your own responsibility for the shape of every relationship with women and men, the young and the elderly.

Your culture has been shifting with the development of postmodern global culture, and does not now honor various codes as it once did. In some places, the people you will be among will scoff at the mere idea of a code. Right there, you will be the warrior. Know your code, and know that you are not being merely rigid or mindless when you simply keep the code you have taken as your own. Today the opinion is common that each person does whatever he or she wants to at a given moment, a mythical belief that covers over a sea of compulsions, addictions, manipulations, and unreflected convictions. The priest today has to do better than that, and along with a lot of virtues and other energies, it's the warrior energy that he needs when it comes not only to keeping his code, but also even to having one.

Odd as it may seem, the priest needs the energies of the warrior to take time for himself. Probably everyone you will serve will understand that a priest has to pray regularly. But few embrace the conclusion that he must mark off time for prayer and must defend that time against unwise intrusion or unfair imposition. So, he has to let people think what they will think as he does what he needs to do in secret with God his Father. Priests fail to pray for a lot of reasons, some of them not so bad even if not adequate. But one reason why many never take time for themselves is that they do not feel the energy of the warrior, always keeping his kit in order, always thinking and pondering what his lord is about, always getting ready for something that may happen only once in a thousand days. They do not feel that energy, and so drift from task to task and finally come to wonder what it's all about.

Ready. The priest today has to be ready. He does not enjoy the needs of children to determine what he needs to do and to be ready for, or the needs of a mate to help clarify his own desires. He has to know what he needs to know, and he needs to know it when he needs it. He needs to have his agenda clear, and he has to have his own agenda, while remaining loyal to his leader's. To use the language we've been using, the priest is going to have to keep his kit in order and his life in good shape. This is notoriously problematic just now, as the phone keeps ringing, as yet another movement sweeps across the diocese, as yet another group comes to have the parish's sponsorship, another directive comes from on high, and so on.

The agenda of the priest according to the order of Melchizedek, as that order now exists in the Church that we will serve, may sometimes seem like the agenda of the warrior in camp for many months during a peace. I know parish priests who feel that what they have to do adds up to a life very like the capon's in his cage, pecking at pebbles and occasionally crowing to an inattentive world. What a waste. Their warrior energy is as dead as last year's batteries.

The warrior scans the turf he is to protect, and anyone who scans any parish in the realm today will find a lot of darkness on his scope. There is not a parish in existence that does not hold a hatful of injustices, abuses, failures, and wrongs. All of them have a human face. Each priest has his talents and his gifts, and few of us have so little that we cannot see these evils and these faces within the boundaries of our parishes, on our own institutional turf, within our own dioceses, and nations.

It is the warrior who is alert and looking. Ready. Steady. Patient in waiting, of course, but pointed when anger is right. It is the warrior, and the warrior alone, who can say, "To my Lord I give the hours of my life and the use of my death."

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Justice and Peace: A Costly Witness

DOMINIC HOWARTH

Cardinal Francois Xavier Nguyen van Thuan is President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. He has been a bishop since 1967. In 1974 he became coadjutor bishop of Saigon, and in March 1975 he was arrested. He was imprisoned for thirteen years, kept under house arrest for a further three years, then expelled from Vietnam in 1991. He began work in the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, and became President of the Council in 1998. He was created a Cardinal by Pope John Paul II on February 22nd, 2001. On 26th March he spoke at the Foyer Unitas in Rome, as part of a series of talks organised by the Lay Centre and Vincent Pallotti institute.

* * * * *

“I had nothing to give my prison guards, to show them that I loved them. So I talked to them, about my student days in Rome, and my travels in Europe and America.

Slowly, they became my friends.”

For nine years, Cardinal van Thuan lived in solitary confinement. He was never brought to trial, and no formal charges were ever made against him. He was never convicted of any crime. He received no visitors, and no letters. His family and friends were told by government officials in Vietnam that they did not know where he was. Later, the government told them that he had died. In a soft, melodious voice, eyes sparkling, the Cardinal says wryly: “You see the effect of so many requiem Masses. Here I am.”

It is inspirational that this is the man who speaks for the Church on justice and peace issues throughout the world. He radiates the authenticity of prayer that has been suffered through, and yet sustained. Of love which has been bruised and crushed, but never broken. It is no surprise that this is the man whom Pope John Paul II chose to direct his Lenten retreat last year.

Cardinal van Thuan has been, as he puts it, into a place where “the nervous system is broken...where you do not know if it is a nightmare or reality, if you are sane or crazy.” He endured the mental torture of ten days under bright lights, ten days in total darkness. He recalls that “when it rained, the frogs came to stay with me ... I was in isolation, but I was a good ecologist!” In the lightness of these

words there is an undercurrent of the depth of isolation that compels a human to reach out to any other life, human or animal, for companionship.

Cardinal van Thuan is a powerful, engaging advocate of Christian social justice. He offers ideals which, in the flow of his words, and in the images he recalls, can be seen to have become realities. Above all, his words are permeated with constant, authentic love. He spoke much about prayer and friendship: he never once offered a negative judgement about any person who had been responsible for his imprisonment.

“Live according to the Testimony of Christ”

His constant reference point is Christ. “Christ gave me everything: words, body, blood, mother, peace, Church. So I have everything. He says this just after he has recounted the struggle to say the ‘Hail Mary’ once in half an hour, because he was so hungry, sick and with a “broken” nervous system. In those years he formulated and kept to one simple rule: “live according to the Testimony of Christ.” That is, “love one another as I have loved you.” Thus his way of living became his prayer.

Above all, he followed “the Testimony of Christ” in his relationship with his prison guards. For almost the entire time of his solitary confinement he had the same five guards. Gradually he befriended them, and learnt that he was considered “a dangerous Bishop.” The guards were told not to speak to him because he would “contaminate” them. He later learnt that the original plan had been for his guards to be changed every two weeks: after the first fortnight, however, a decision had been taken for him to keep the same five guards, so that only they would be “contaminated.”

It is clear that a special relationship did form between the Cardinal and his guards. They could not believe him when he said that he loved them. They had been to a Vietnamese Security University, where they had been “taught to hate.” Vendettas were the only way that they could see of resolving problems. The Cardinal summarized years of dialogue in the following way:

“I love you.”

“Why do you love us? We are your enemies.”

“I love you.”

“And when you are free, you won’t send your faithful to burn our houses, and beat up our wives and children?”

“No.”

“Why?”

“Because Christ told me to love you. If I do not love you, I am not worthy of the name ‘Christian’.”

It is not possible to print more detail about this, since some of the guards are still serving members of the Vietnamese security forces. Suffice it to say that it is very clear the time spent guarding the Bishop had a profound, enduring effect on his five guards.

“The most beautiful Masses of my life”

Before he was put into solitary confinement, the Cardinal spent four years in the main prison. During that time, he was allowed to write one letter. He wrote in the first line: “send wine, medicines against stomach disease.” The person who



Cardinal van Thuan

received it was sufficiently shrewd to know what the Cardinal was asking for, and a few weeks later he was summoned to see the senior guard. “Do you have disease of the stomach?” “Yes.” He was handed a little bottle, so labelled, which in fact contained communion wine. Hosts were obtained in a similar way.

The Cardinal celebrated Mass with three drops of wine, a drop of water, and a fragment of host, all in the palm of his hand. These were “the most beautiful Masses of my life ... because I can pray as I like ... I can be with Jesus.”

While still in the main prison, he was part of a group of fifty prisoners. They slept together, in one rough wooden bed, twenty-five each side. The Cardinal was able to arrange it so that the five Catholics in the group slept each side of him. After it was completely dark, they celebrated Mass, scarcely moving, and whispering the words. During the daytime there was hard manual labour, and the prisoners were kept on a diet of poor rice, cooked with the leaves (not roots) of vegetables. There was starvation and disease. The Catholics in the prison were examples of charity and love, sharing all that they could. It was clearly a powerful witness: through this example of Christ, many were converted. The Cardinal breaks into a mischievous grin as he says, “The prison became a school of catechesis.”

Once a week, there was an hour of “brainwashing.” All the prisoners came together and, in the break, prisoners from different groups mingled with each

other. The Cardinal got to know the Catholics in the other groups and, while celebrating Mass, consecrated more fragments of the host. These were put in cigarette boxes, and passed to the other groups. Soon, every group of fifty had its own sacrament. In many groups, in the dead of night, there were silent hours of adoration.

“I never hate them”

It is an amazing, self-giving, inspirational testimony. The message of Christ has truly been lived out by this gentle man, now head of the Catholic Church’s Mission for Justice and Peace across the world. Asked about his attitude when he meets people who are still persecuting prisoners in different parts of the world he says, “I never hate them.” He gives the example of those who come out of prison, perhaps having been falsely accused, and remain angry, waiting for their family to take up a vendetta on their behalf. The family are often unable or unwilling to act, and the former prisoner “sits in a corner of the house,” the anger eating away inside. They usually die within a few months of leaving prison.

The Cardinal’s way – Christ’s way – is love. Only with love is there hope of unity, he says. Around his neck is his Pectoral Cross – a visible and poignant reminder of that love. The cross is wooden – sawn at great risk while he was chopping wood as manual labour in solitary confinement, and kept in a bar of soap so as to remain undetected. The chain is from a piece of electric wire, brought at extraordinary risk by one of his guards. It was painstakingly pulled apart, and the filaments of wire woven together by the Cardinal in his cell. Both the cross and the chain are testimony of the love and friendship that grew between this “dangerous Bishop” and his prison guards.

Follow Jesus

In fifteen months time, God willing, I shall be ordained a Priest. To be training as a Priest in 2001 can be very difficult. It is easy to be caught in the negativity and seeming erosion of values, to be put off by the scandal and demoralised by some of the things done by those who have been ordained Priests. Cardinal van Thuan is a marvellous antidote. To meet him is to be in the company of an authentic witness to Christ’s love; hearing him speak gave me fresh inspiration and energy for Priesthood. It is instructive that Cardinal van Thuan’s episcopal motto is *Gaudium et Spes*. My Priesthood will almost certainly be lived out in a very different environment from that which he has endured: I can only pray that I will emulate some of his radiant joy and hope. I asked him what advice he would give to a seminarian about to become a Priest. Warmly squeezing my hand in emphasis at every word, he said: **“Follow Jesus. He will show you the way. You do not know the way. Follow Jesus. He will show you.”**

Dominic Howarth is a fifth year student for the diocese of Brentwood and was ordained deacon at Palazzola on 15 July 2001. Testimony of Hope: The Spiritual Exercises of John Paul II contains the Lenten retreat Cardinal van Thuan preached to the Pope in Lent, 2000 and is published by Pauline Books and Media, Boston.

Pavlov's Dogs Go Hunting

ANDREW PINSENT

*F*reedom is the freedom to say that two plus two make four. If that is granted, all else follows. By these words written in a clandestine diary hidden from the Thought Police, Winston Smith, the fictitious protagonist of George Orwell's *1984*, recognises that objective truth is the final guarantor of human liberty. Orwell wrote *1984* in the wake of the rise of totalitarian regimes in the 1930s and 1940s and drew heavily on his experiences of the Spanish Civil War. However, the great Christian writer C S Lewis drew a surprisingly similar conclusion from the apparently far more mundane world of children's textbooks. In what many believe to be his greatest work, *The Abolition of Man* (1944), Lewis gave a stark warning that trends in the British education system were beginning to substitute the concept of truth with that of subjectivism. He went on to warn that since human action still requires a basis for decision making, that basis would in the end have to come from subjective impulses that could be conditioned. Lewis' choice of the word conditioning has a resonance with the experiments of the Russian scientist Pavlov who trained his dogs to salivate at the sound of a bell. Lewis' prediction was that in the absence of objective truth conditioned humanity would come to respond, like Pavlov's dogs, to the stimuli given by their masters (the 'Conditioners'), who would in turn be enslaved to their own 'natural' (ie irrational) impulses.

At first glance such a vision seems totally at variance with the apparent freedom that we enjoy today in the wealthy countries of the world. When, however, one observes our societies carefully over a period of years and decades, trends become apparent that are highly disturbing. Because these changes are incremental and take place against a background of rising material prosperity, few people notice or are roused into taking action. Nevertheless, gradual alterations in strategic areas such as education, the media and the legal system are bringing Lewis' prophecy closer to fulfilment. The manifestation of these trends varies according to circumstance but the underlying common characteristic is a growing distaste for, avoidance or even a hostile rejection of any reference to objective truth, whether of an epistemological, ethical or aesthetic nature. The cumulative effect is a gradual closing of the human mind, a denial of human potential and a growing vulnerability of our society to explicit or covert dictatorship.

The changing philosophy of education is the paradigm for these developments. In the 1940s it took someone of Lewis' philosophical acuteness to recognise the dangers inherent in substituting phrases like *This is sublime* with *I have sublime feelings* in children's textbooks, namely that predicates of value would gradually come to be seen as statements about the emotional state of the speaker rather than about the world. In subsequent decades the type of thinking that Lewis was writing against became more explicit and acquired names. A prime example was

deconstructionism, according to which there can be no absolute truth, merely a host of ‘truths’ which are the tools of various groups, classes or forces. Despite a stance which is ultimately antagonistic to knowledge, deconstructionism quickly became the philosophical norm for many academic circles and was widely used to attack those who held to the reality of objective values. However, its subtle though pervasive effects on the education of children went largely unnoticed until the early 1980s, when it began to seriously affect the teaching of grammar, spelling, science and mathematics in schools. Responding to parental concerns, the Observer columnist Melanie Philips sounded a warning with a devastating and detailed critique of the British education system in her book *All Must Have Prizes*. This showed how teachers were failing to correct elementary errors on the basis that there is no right or wrong answer. Superficially this tolerance of error was justified on the basis of not wishing to damage a child’s self-esteem. However, the practical effect was to deprive children of the ability to surpass themselves, and she acutely observed that the inability to think clearly would leave children open to manipulation and conditioning in later life.

This brings us to the second critical area in contemporary society, namely the media. As an industry that must firstly remain profitable to survive, the media is less overtly susceptible than education to slavish adherence to a particular ideological stance. Nevertheless, the combination of technological change and market forces, and especially the almost total dependence of most modern media on advertising revenues, has led to a marked convergence of approach. Advertising itself has become so much part of the air we breathe that the average human adult in the western world today is exposed to up to one thousand images every day, each one of which is specifically designed to condition his or her behaviour. Since advertising is largely directed at individuals making purchases for themselves, it continually urges people to turn inwards, to make themselves the measure of all things. Allied to this extreme subjectivism is a progressive deconstruction of the objective world. The objects presented to us are increasingly sold on the basis of image rather than substance, and there is a strong vested interest in short duration, high impact presentations that cumulatively reduce attention spans and discourage reflexive thinking. Furthermore, ever growing competition and the almost total absence of an agreed framework of ethical constraints within society has led to similar factors at work in those areas of the media that advertise themselves rather than third-party products. One of many examples is the way that news programmes, documentaries and editorials are increasingly concerned with commentary and entertainment for their own sake rather than the communication of truth. A corollary of this is the increased incidence of documentaries being faked and facts being misrepresented and distorted.

If Pavlovian influences were limited to education and the media the Church could at least compensate by educating her own people with reference to objective values of true and false, right and wrong. Despite constant assault a well prepared mind possesses powerful defences. However, the first indications have started to appear that conditioned humanity will not be content to remain idle, but will seek to actively hunt down those remaining areas of our culture that have resisted assimilation. To stretch the analogy, one can conceive of Pavlov’s dogs as going hunting, seeking out the unconditioned to assimilate or destroy them. Already much educated opinion in Britain and the United States bitterly resents *anyone* claiming to have Truth in an absolute rather than relativistic sense, a topical

example being the furore that greeted the publication of *Dominus Iesus*. However, there is now also the disturbing possibility that the legal system could be used to make relativism in some senses legally binding. Under these circumstances the Church, which as an institution functions with the forbearance of civil authority at every point of the globe outside Vatican City, could come under great pressure. Laws could even be placed on the statute books that would allow legal action to be taken to close down Church operations, particularly in the field of education. Lest this scenario seem farfetched, it is alarming to recall that during the Jubilee Year EU ministers came close to approving an “equality directive” by the Employment and Social Affairs Directorate-General that would have outlawed discrimination in any kind of employment on the basis of belief. It is probable that many of those ministers did not understand the implications of what they were doing, since (as a result of Pavlovian conditioning) many people today unthinkingly assume that anything done to combat discrimination must be worthwhile. However, the result would have been that Catholic schools throughout the European Union could have faced prosecution for discrimination against atheist candidates for teaching posts, which in turn would have led to the *de facto* erosion or even destruction of Catholic religious education in Europe. It was only when Irish Justice Minister John O’Donoghue threatened to use his veto at the Council of Ministers meeting in October that a vital clause was inserted to protect the rights of churches and other public or private organisations from prosecution.

Although the Church has immeasurable experience from her history of the challenge of surviving and preaching the Gospel in a fallen world, there seems to be a widespread naivete today about the reality of evil. Behind the chimera of technological mastery human nature itself has not essentially changed since the time of Diocletian or Henry VIII. The subtle but relentless assault on objective truth currently taking place in western culture is like the erosion of a protective wall that has long held us back from total submission either to external powers or to the worst excesses of our own natures. At present we still have a period of grace, a chance to give solid training in the truths of the Faith and the practice of the Christian life whilst we possess the infrastructure and freedom of action to do so. If we fail to rise to the challenge of presenting the truth of the Gospel rather than that of Pavlov’s dogs, we may soon find that what the Church has left in England and Wales will be taken from us, and the wider society which we serve be unable to resist its own relentless slide into barbarity.

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Sevenswords and Cordula

RICHARD WHINDER

In an autobiographical note to “In Retrospect, 1965”, Hans Urs Von Balthazar recalls his days as a student in Paris during the 1930s, and the shared passion for theology which united him with de Lubac, Danielou and many of the other great figures present in Paris at that time. This enthusiasm for theology led Von Balthazar to translate de Lubac’s *Catholicisme* into German, and to undertake a study of Origen, Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor. But it also had a more unexpected outcome. “This passion...” he writes “led us to read Claudel’s *Soulier de Satin* (The Satin Slipper) together on free days on the hills overlooking the Saône - the translation of this was almost my first literary attempt.”¹ This play of Claudel’s proved to be of enduring significance for Von Balthazar. His translation into German went through four editions between 1939 and 1949, and he continued to polish the text thereafter. He also provided a lengthy theological afterword which accompanied this German edition.² Moreover he was to return to one of this play’s most important themes in the years of theological confusion that followed the Second Vatican Council.

By the 1960’s, Von Balthazar was a well-known, indeed somewhat notorious theologian. He had seen many of his friends and mentors fall under suspicion in the years following Pius XII’s *Humanae Generis* of 1950. He himself had called for a change of ecclesiastical outlook in his programmatic “Razing the bastions” of 1952. Then he had seen that call triumphantly vindicated in the documents of the Second Vatican Council, in whose deliberations many of those old friends had acted as *periti*. Yet to a man of Von Balthazar’s genius it was obvious that the situation in the Church in the years immediately after Vatican II was no more satisfactory than it had been in the years which immediately preceded it. All too often, in fact, one set of false priorities had merely been exchanged for another. The Church that had seemed isolated from the world within its sacristies had become the Church which threatened to be dissolved into the world with the minimum of resistance. It was the heyday of a so-called “world-affirming” Christianity. Ironically, just as Vatican II had recognised a value for the historical method of exegesis, theologians with a poor grasp of eschatology were casting the memory of the apocalyptic preacher of Nazareth into oblivion. As Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger has written, commenting on over-enthusiastic reactions to the document *Gaudium et Spes*, “The feeling that, in reality, there were no longer any walls between Church and the world, that every ‘dualism’: body-soul, Church-world, grace-nature and, in the last analysis, even God-world, was evil - this feeling became more and more a force that gave direction to the whole. In such a rejection of all ‘dualism’ the optimistic mood that seemed actually to have been canonised by the words *Gaudium et Spes* was heightened into the certainty of attaining perfect unity with the present world and so into a transport of adaptation that

sooner or later had to be followed by disenchantment.”³ The practical result of this “transport of adaptation” was that Christ threatened to become irrelevant to Christianity. As Von Balthazar was to comment, “Anyone who speaks of anonymous Christians cannot avoid (nor doubtless would he want to) the conclusion that there is ultimately no difference between Christians who are such by name and Christians who are not...And anyone who proclaims the identity of the love of God and the love of one’s neighbour and presents the love of one’s neighbour as the primary meaning of the love of God must not be surprised (and doubtless is not) if it becomes a matter of indifference whether he professes to believe in God or not.”⁴ With both God and Christ removed as the focus of Christian witness, there was a space left to be filled by all sorts of grand theorising, usually revolving around the concept of a “mankind come of age”. Human progress could be uncritically identified with “the Kingdom”, and it was proposed that the Church should assist in the building of this kingdom in much the way that a parish council might collaborate in the building of a new road or the construction of a better drainage system. And all this was no longer the secondary but the primary object of Christianity.

Von Balthazar observed this process at first hand and understood only too well the dangers inherent in such a project. In what he termed “Neocatholic” Christianity there was no longer any place for the real essence of the Christian religion - the call to be like Christ. Instead, Christ himself was in danger of becoming no more than the anonymous Christian *par excellence*, and in the over-enthusiastic embrace of a “new Pentecost” the radical reality of the first Pentecost was being sidelined. Von Balthazar, in this context, saw the need to remind his contemporaries that the Spirit poured out on the first disciples had been an anointing for sacrifice, and that the red vestments we associate with Pentecost are the same we wear in the celebrations of the martyrs. The real test of the Christian is his sanctity, and the ultimate criterion of sanctity is the willingness to die for Christ. This is the uncompromising message of the book Von Balthazar first published in 1966, called in German, *Cordula oder Ernstfall*.

In English this title is usually translated as *The Moment of Christian Witness*, which preserves the meaning but loses the reference to St Cordula, a virgin martyr of doubtful authenticity, but very important to the call to arms Von Balthazar was attempting to sound. According to the “Legend of St Ursula”, Cordula was one of the 11,000 bridesmaids who accompanied the British princess in her fateful journey to Cologne. There, this holy band was all slaughtered by the pagan Huns, with the single exception of Cordula, who hid inside a ship until the massacre was over. Then, however, Cordula repented of her timidity. Her companions had all given their lives for the Master, why was she afraid to do likewise? The next day she emerged from her hiding place and willingly gave herself to martyrdom. Thus she too was added to the calendar of the saints, but her feast day was kept one day after that of St Ursula and her 11,000 companions.⁵

In dedicating his work to Cordula, Von Balthazar was in part issuing an appeal to his contemporary Christians - to abandon their spirit of compromise with worldly forces and instead dedicate their lives wholly to Christ the Lord. But, I would like to suggest, the figure of Cordula may also have had resonances for Von Balthazar which took him back to Paris and reading Claudel on the hills above the Saône. For Claudel’s *Satin Slipper* also has as one of its chief concerns the attitude

of the Christian to the world, and, like *The Moment of Christian Witness*, the authentic attitude is incarnated in the figure of a young woman, one who, like Cordula, desires to give her life for Christ. But, to grasp the parallels more clearly, we need to grasp an outline of Paul Claudel's play.

The Satin Slipper was highly thought of in its day, but hardly any English reader would be familiar with it today. In part, no doubt, this is because it is extremely difficult to stage. It is also decidedly politically incorrect.⁶ It is, moreover, a very complex work and accordingly difficult to summarise. Nevertheless, I shall attempt to do this as briefly as possible.

The play is set in the late Sixteenth Century, in the context of the Spanish Empire. The play opens with a dying priest offering his last prayers to God. His brother, Rodrigo, has abandoned the religious life in search of adventure. The priest asks that, since Rodrigo has rejected the most direct way to God, the Lord will bring him to the same end by a more complicated route. The rest of the play sees the working out of that accepted prayer. Rodrigo falls in love with a married woman, Dona Prouheze, and it is this unconsummated love that is ultimately to lead him back to the love of God. Prouheze (who has also fallen in love with Rodrigo) is sent by her husband to Africa. Rodrigo, on his part, travels to America, where he builds colonies and achieves various famous deeds. Appointed viceroy to the King, he travels with an army to Africa in order to rescue Prouheze, only to discover that she rejects him. Instead she presents Rodrigo with the care of her daughter, Dona Maria of the Sevenswords, and returns to die on the African coast. Distracted, Rodrigo travels to the East, where he is involved in various misfortunes and achieves more great feats. Eventually he returns to Spain, and, the days of his power having fallen from him, becomes a hanger-on at the royal court. Finally he becomes a mere unpaid menial at the convent of St Teresa of Avila. But by this time he has succumbed to the promptings of grace, and accepts his fate as the working out of his redemption.

The figure in the play that recalls Cordula is that of Dona Sevenswords, Prouheze's daughter. The parallels go far deeper than those of age and sex. In fact, in Act Four, Scene Eight of *The Satin Slipper*, Claudel provides a dialogue that contains within it the question at the heart of Von Balthazar's *Cordula* - what is the correct response of the Christian with regard to the world? Rodrigo, the Renaissance man, is very much a person of philosophies and systems. He will do his duty to the world by embracing everything the world has to offer - everything which was new and exciting in that brave new world of the Sixteenth Century, conquest, science, progress and empire. By embracing all this he can, as he argues to Sevenswords, do a vast amount of good. Is this not fulfilling his duty as a Christian? Sevenswords brings him down to earth. What God requires is not the planning out of some great enterprise of philanthropy, but the simple response of a human heart:

...it isn't so much patient well-doing to our brothers and sisters that is commanded us as doing what we can to love the captive and the suffering, the image of Jesus Christ, and to lay down our lives for them."⁷

And she calls Rodrigo to just such an act of self-sacrifice. Sevenswords wants to lead an expedition to north Africa, to rescue the Christian prisoners held there in the land where her mother had died. The fact that this hopeless enterprise will

almost certainly lead to martyrdom is (for Sevenswords) quite irrelevant. It is simply the response she feels called upon to make, the simple and costly consequence of her following of Christ the Lord. And it is here that she and Rodrigo meet their *impasse*. To the sophisticated Rodrigo, Sevenswords' plan seems vulgar and distasteful ("I don't like to be wept over. How much pleasanter it would be if one could do good without anyone taking any notice, in silence, like God"). Besides, what is the point of getting killed when one can do so much more good by staying alive and promoting progress and civilisation? He puts this case to Sevenswords.

Dona Sevenswords. And so it is not in your line to trouble about your suffering brethren?

Don Rodrigo. My special line is not to do them good one by one. I am not a man of detail...I came to enlarge the world.⁸

It is the same argument which will always re-emerge when men get carried away by progress and Christians risk growing more sophisticated than their Master - the situation that Von Balthazar was seeking to address with his *Cordula*. Because, after all, if there *is* no division between the Church and the world, if Christians are simply called to affirm human progress in all its various forms, then martyrdom does become, not only pointless, but actually negative. Cordula, had she stayed hidden in her boat, could have gone home and raised a nice Christian family, or founded a hospital. St Ralph Sherwin and his companions, instead of dying the most bloody of deaths at Tyburn, could have carried on further studies at the *Collegio Romano* and taken up positions in the Curia. And the countless martyrs of the Twentieth Century, far from dying forgotten deaths in Auschwitz and the Gulags, could have acted as a leaven in society by choosing to play a responsible part in the political process. All of which would be very reasonable behaviour, were it not for two significant details - the reality of evil and the manner of Christ's response to it on the Cross. Throughout *Cordula* Von Balthazar tries to ram it home to his contemporaries that evil is an enduring mystery which human progress cannot overcome. Rather, it is a mystery which can only be vanquished by a second mystery, that of redemptive suffering, and it is for *this* that those who claim the name of Christian are called to be ready. As Von Balthazar says, "Jesus Christ prophesied no other fate for his disciples than his own: persecution, failure and suffering to the point of death."⁹ This is the Christian response demanded of us - not the grand plans and imaginings of Rodrigo but the costly self-giving of Sevenswords.

In Claudel's drama, it is Sevenswords' way that wins. Rodrigo's plans to "enlarge the world" end in dismal failure, with the destruction of the Spanish Armada that was to have made him King-consort of England. Instead he ends up a defeated prisoner, sold into servitude at a Carmelite convent. Yet this conclusion is no tragedy, because in his defeat he at last realises his real calling - not greatness, but sanctity. With his dreams lying shattered about him, he is at last made able to respond to the insistent call of grace - and so at last find happiness. As Sevenswords had already said to him, "Imagination offers you a heap of good things all equally alluring. But a command received, there is no choice...Its so good, so mighty to obey!"¹⁰ This is Claudel's final message to us, for, as Von Balthazar writes:

In the tone of the dialogue between Rodrigo and Sevenswords one hears the trembling anxiety which grasps the aging poet too;...Both aspects of Rodrigo struggle with each other, for the difficult deed to which Sevenswords calls him will make it impossible for him to respond to the attraction of infinity. But in thinking about the “unification of the world”, the fantastical poet forgets about the existential deed. No doubt: from Rodrigo cries forth Claudel’s deepest longing of the heart, but he takes the side of little Sevenswords and shows himself and his hero to be wrong. It is easier, as Rodrigo had already said, to paint the portraits of the saints than to become a saint.¹¹

Claudel’s conclusion is also the conclusion of Von Balthazar. The first duty of the believer will always be one and the same, “yesterday, today and forever” - and it is to be holy. As Pope John Paul II has just recently reminded us, it is “holiness” which is the pastoral priority for the Third Millennium of Christianity.¹² No doubt, like Cordula, most of us will approach this goal hesitantly and with trepidation, for sanctity is not to be had without suffering, and suffering, when it is real, is never to be embraced easily. And yet, if we would bear the name of Christian, that is the path marked out for us.

What then should a Christian be? He should be one who offers up his life in the service of his fellow man because he owes his life to Christ crucified...because his whole existence is an attempt to make a loving and thankful response to God ‘by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me’.¹³

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¹ Von Balthazar, *My Work in Retrospect* (Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 1993), 48-49

² This “Afterword” is published in an English translation by Ed Block in *Communio* 26 (Spring 1999), 186-211

³ J.Ratzinger, *Principles of Catholic Theology* (Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 1987), 383

⁴ Von Balthazar, *The Moment of Christian Witness* (Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 1994), 120

⁵ St Ursula’s feast day is 21 October; St Cordula’s is 22 October.

⁶ The hero is a Spanish *conquistador*, the superiority of European culture is taken for granted and neither Protestantism nor Islam are treated at all favourably.

⁷ P.Claudel, *The Satin Slipper*, Act Four (The Fourth Day), Scene VIII

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Von Balthazar, *The Moment of Christian Witness*, *op. cit.*, 13

¹⁰ Claudel, *op.cit.*, Act 4 ,Scene VIII

¹¹ Von Balthazar, “Afterword” to *The Satin Slipper*, *op. cit.*, 207

¹² John Paul II, *Novo Millenio Ineunte*, 30

¹³ Von Balthazar, *The Moment Of Christian Witness*, *op.cit.*, 133, 141

An Early Roman Church Order

Nicholas Paxton

One of the few sources we have about Roman church worship and discipline before the late fourth century is the church order *Apostolic Tradition* attributed to Hippolytus of Rome. Since Hippolytus was not a very respectable figure in early Christian Rome, it would seem odd for him to have been credited with this work early on if he had not written it. We will look at this important church order from six viewpoints as we describe its author, textual history, contents, date, sources and reliability.

Who was Hippolytus?

In 1551, a headless marble statue was dug up in Rome from the site of a crypt in the *Ager Veranus* cemetery next to the Via Tiburtina. The statue now has a new head and stands at the Vatican Library, near the entrance; John XXIII had it put there. The figure is shown seated in a bishop's, or a teacher's, chair. The base has a calendar for computing the date of Easter on the left side and, on the right, a series of titles of works from which we can identify the statue as depicting Hippolytus, the antipope, writer and martyr of the early third century. Among the titles is *(A)postolike Paradosis*, "Apostolic Tradition". It seems that this statue was carved during Hippolytus' life in Rome, since the (wrongly calculated) Paschal calendar had evidently not been tried out and some works are omitted from the series, including the *Philosophumena*, a work against every heresy, which is later than 222.

The view that Hippolytus was a priest of the Roman church during the papacy of Zephyrinus (d. 217) gained extra credence in the later nineteenth century in consequence of the rediscovery on Mount Athos in 1842 of Books 4 - 10 of the *Philosophumena*. Doellinger (later to be better known as an opponent of papal infallibility as defined by Vatican I) contended that Hippolytus himself had written this work, in contrast to an earlier attribution to Origen who, visiting Rome about 212 as a young man, had heard Hippolytus preach a homily *On the Praise of the Lord Our Saviour*. About that time, Hippolytus entered into his long-running dispute with the Roman church establishment and most of the faithful. Part of the reason for this was doctrinal: there were arguments in Rome during Zephyrinus' pontificate over the theology of the Trinity, in which Hippolytus seemingly took a stand on Irenaeus' Trinitarian doctrine and made claims that Zephyrinus was sympathetic to the heresy of monarchianism.

Thus tension grew, and Zephyrinus' death precipitated Hippolytus' gathering together some followers and making his cool relationship with the official church into a full schism by having himself ordained as a bishop. As Gregory Dix tartly remarks, "doubtless he obtained consecration in some hole-and-corner way like Novatian thirty years later".¹ The chronology here is uncertain: either Hippolytus

had himself episcopally ordained, perhaps in an attempt to claim the papacy for himself, between Zephyrinus' death and the election as pope of Callistus I, whom he greatly disliked; or Callistus' accession itself impelled Hippolytus to become a rival bishop in Rome; or else some relaxation of the Roman church's penitential demands on grave sinners, which Callistus allowed as pope and to which Hippolytus was firmly opposed, may have brought about his schism. In any case, a deep personal antipathy was now added to Hippolytus' previous theological argument and to his contempt for what he saw as lax church discipline.

Hippolytus maintained his schism under the next two popes, Urban I and Pontian, and only ended it when he and Pontian were arrested in the persecution during Maximinus the Thracian's three-year imperial reign from 235 and deported to Sardinia as forced labourers in the mines (*metalla*). Pontian gave up the papacy on 28 September 235; Hippolytus resigned his claim to it also; and so the two made peace before their deaths under harsh treatment. Fabian, the next pope but one, caused the bodies of Pontian and Hippolytus to be returned to Rome, and the two funerals were held on a single day, 13 August 236/7.² Pontian was buried in the chapel of the popes in the catacomb of Saint Callistus, Hippolytus nowhere near but instead in the *Ager Veranus*. Thus the *Depositio Martyrum*, a work written up before 335 using third-century material, notes: *Id. Aug. Ypolite in Tiburtina et Pontiani in Calisti*, meaning that the two are to be commemorated at their respective places of burial on the 13 August. This date is still their joint memorial in the 1970 Roman Missal.

History of the Text

The original Greek text of the *Apostolic Tradition* is lost, and the text which we now have has had to be pieced together from (i) a translation into Latin; (ii) translations into four oriental languages Sahidic (Upper Egyptian), Bohairic (Lower Egyptian), Ethiopic and Arabic; and (iii) quotations, and allusions to it, in subsequent church orders.

The Latin translation was probably done about 350, though the earliest extant manuscript is from the later fifth century: W.H. Frere dates it to "before 486"³ This is MS Verona, Chapter Library, LV. 53; the text is incomplete and the manuscript is palimpsest, re-used in the eighth century for Isidore of Seville's *Sentences*. While the translation "is crude, and does not suggest liturgical use"⁴, its pedestrian and unidiomatic style has been helpful in enabling later scholars to see more easily the Greek behind it.

The date at which the *Tradition* was first translated into Latin helps to show that the Roman church did not use Greek, or look to its Greek heritage much, after the mid fourth century.⁵ However: since Greek was still well known in the Christian East, this early church order from Rome (the city where Peter and Paul had died for the faith) caught on there instead, especially in Egypt, at an early date. Of the Eastern translations, the Sahidic one is nearest to the original Greek, so far as we can tell. The Ethiopic and Arabic versions were probably done from it and the Bohairic text is later than the Sahidic. In Ethiopia, the use of Hippolytus' Eucharistic prayer has continued uninterruptedly to the present day.

Turning to more recent times, we should also note the published history, in outline, of the *Apostolic Tradition*. This began in London, where H. Tattam edited a collection of Bohairic material and published it with the title *The Apostolical*

Constitutions in 1848; the material of the *Tradition* was in the second part of this. Other versions were published in Arabic (1870 and 1904) and Sahidic (1878 and 1883). H. Achelis published a version in 1891, which he titled *The Egyptian Church Order* in his edition, Hippolytus' work appeared with the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus* and Book 8 of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.⁶ An Ethiopic text was printed in 1904. The contents of the different manuscripts from which these Eastern versions were published varies according to later developments of Hippolytus' original text. A translation of the *Tradition* into English, by B.S. Easton, appeared in 1934.

The twentieth century also saw huge advances in specifically critical scholarship. An edition by E. Hauler of the Verona manuscript was published in Leipzig in 1900. A little later, the philologist Eduard Schwartz and the Downside monk Richard Hugh Connolly, studying unknown to each other, worked towards establishing that this treatise was indeed the *Apostolic Tradition* recorded on Hippolytus' statue. Schwartz's 1910 work to this effect was more conjectural; it was left to Connolly to demonstrate as clearly as possible that Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* had survived as *The Egyptian Church Order*⁷ and H. Elfers' work, published soon after, strengthened this conclusion. More recently, Gregory Dix's critical edition with English text, Bernard Botte's edition of manuscript fragments in Greek and Latin, and most of all Botte's later, and outstanding, critical edition of 1963 have done much to help establish the best available text.⁸

The Apostolic Tradition's Contents

These fall into three sections. The introduction provides one point that helps establish Hippolytus as the author. It states that the author is moving on from writing about spiritual, or charismatic, gifts to writing about church order, while the title *Apostolic Tradition* on the list of works on Hippolytus' statue is directly preceded by the title *About Charisms*, evidently another treatise of his. The first section is about clergy and other ministers, particularly with regard to their ordination or commissioning. Dix gives it the title "of the clergy" by analogy with the second section, which retains the phrase "of laics thus", seemingly its original title, in a quotation in a later church order, the *Testamentum Domini*.⁹ In the remainder of this article, the text used will be Botte's and the numbering that generally used, namely Easton's, after Jungklaus and also followed by e.g. Dix, Deiss, and Jasper & Cuming.¹⁰

As befits a section devoted mainly to the clergy, the first section of the *Apostolic Tradition* contains the ordination prayers for a bishop, for priests, and for deacons, with directions on how these ordinations are to be carried out (nos. 2, 3, 8, 9), along with two ordinances on the status of confessors (10: 1 - 2), institution to the subdiaconate (14) and the ministry of reader (12) and admission to the order of widows (11) and to that of virgins (13). No. 15 is about "a gift" of healing; this may also refer to recognition of someone in the ministry of exorcist. Of the episcopal functions other than ordination that this section includes, the material on the Eucharist is by far the most important. Norms for the extemporization of the eucharistic prayer by a bishop are provided in 10: 3 - 5, while no. 4 describes the Eucharist of a newly-ordained bishop from the sign of peace (then before the offertory) to the end of the eucharistic prayer, including Hippolytus' model form of the prayer. Whether or not Hippolytus wrote this for his own episcopal

ordination is unclear, but George Every's wittily-expressed view is worth recording: "I see no reason to suppose that Hippolytus, whose opinion of his own eloquence is not in question, intended to use the prayer himself."¹¹ This prayer has become Eucharistic Prayer 2 of the 1970 Roman Missal with alterations, mainly the division of the epicletic material and the addition of new intercessions.¹² Nos. 5 and 6 give forms for the bishop's blessing of oil, and of cheese and olives. No. 7, which only the Ethiopic text gives, is spurious, and Botte does not admit to his edition the public prayers for before and after communion.

The second section, on the laity, comprises material on two subjects: how to regulate the catechumenate, and the liturgy of Christian initiation. In discussing the catechumenate, nos. 16 - 19 cover admission to it, with particular reference to who may be admitted and who may not; its length; the catechumens' common prayer and sign of peace, and the laying of hands upon the catechumens. At 19: 2 appears the baptism of blood: the principle that a catechumen's martyrdom counts for baptism. Nos. 20 - 23 describe Christian initiation: the final preparation of the candidates; directions and texts for the baptismal ceremony (Botte leaves out some spurious matter) with the threefold profession of faith at baptism; the order for confirmation, and the Easter Eucharist, with, for the neophytes, the provision of two cups in addition to the chalice, one of water for the cleansing of the inner, spiritual person, the other of milk and honey as a symbol of the Promised Land (which here serves as a type of Christ) which the neophytes have come into.¹³

The third section is a body of guidelines, and liturgical texts, about other Christian observances. The main aspects of church life which it covers are: the Eucharist (24; 32: 2- 4) and also the *agape* (26: 1 -13), together with the provision of a supper for the widows (27); the times of prayer (31: 1; 35: 1; 36: 2 - 15, and the description of the *lucernarium* in 26: 18 - 32); public instruction (31: 2; 33: 2; 35: 2 - 3); fasting (25; 29; 32: 1) and ministry to the sick (26: 14 - 17; 30). Three disparate topics also receive mention: the blessing of first fruits and flowers (28), the communal Christian cemetery (34) and the sign of the cross as a bulwark against temptation (37).

The Date of the Work

In 217, Callistus I succeeded Zephyrinus as pope. The *Apostolic Tradition* has been thought to be directed against Callistus as pope and hence post-217. Dix, however, has shown that the work more probably dates from the last years of Zephyrinus' pontificate, and that it was "written within a year or two either way of A. D. 215, in any case".¹⁴ Three points can substantiate this argument. Firstly, *Ap. Trad.* 1:5 corresponds much more to Hippolytus' stand in Zephyrinus' time than to his stand in Callistus' time: it implies that Hippolytus was not a bishop and antipope at the time of writing, but rather that he, who is not leading the church himself, is offering what he sees as correction to the man whom he acknowledges has that function. Secondly, 9: 2 - 5 treats of deacons in less than complimentary terms, while 9: 6 stresses the importance of priests. Hippolytus had received priestly ordination, whereas Callistus was a deacon until his election to the papacy. So Hippolytus' attitude to deacons may well be partly explicable by his opposition to Callistus, and his point here would be much stronger if Callistus himself were not yet pope but still a deacon, in which case a date before 217 is called for. Thirdly, 34: 1 implies that Hippolytus takes a low view of the way the communal

Christian cemetery is being governed: before Callistus became pope, he was in charge of this (new) cemetery.¹⁵

Furthermore, there are two other indications in the *Apostolic Tradition* of an early-third-century date. It is necessary to specify the standing of confessors who have been gaoled in a persecuted church (10: 1 - 2), and it appears that domestic premises may still be used as churches.¹⁶

The Provenance of Hippolytus' Sources

The questions of where Hippolytus came from, and where he took his material from, have likewise been debated. Eusebius, Jerome and Theodoret acknowledge that Hippolytus was a bishop but make no mention of his see.¹⁷ More recently, J.M. Hanssens' opinion, that Hippolytus came originally from Alexandria and brought the liturgy of that city with him to Rome, has been indicated by Botte to be erroneous. Louis Bouyer's opinion has more to commend it:¹⁸ he believes that Hippolytus introduced elements of a tradition from elsewhere, less developed than that of Rome. Following Tillemont's *Mémoires pour servir · l'histoire ecclésiastique* of 1701, Bouyer argues that these elements were obtained from Syria. Part of the evidence for this view that Hippolytus was a Syrian archaizer lies in the Semitisms found in the liturgies of the *Apostolic Tradition*. e.g. calling Christ the angel of the Father's will and also his *pais* (child) — and in the Semitic ideas underlying them (which we shall look at in a moment). However, it does not necessarily follow from Hippolytus' conservative and Semitic-minded church order that he was a Syrian: the importance given to the idea of *paradosis* may mean that such terms and thought were still part of the more general tradition,¹⁹ and as such were faithfully passed on by the definitely conservative Hippolytus; while the lack of any comparable eucharistic liturgy of the period save that of SS. Addai & Mari should not tempt us to identify the two liturgies too closely with regard to provenance.

While Syria remains the most probable source outside Rome for the tradition passed on by Hippolytus, we should not neglect the evidence for the tradition's Roman origin. The use of Greek should lead us to suppose, not that Hippolytus was necessarily an Easterner, but only that, as an educated man living in a city which served as a meeting-place for Christians and other people of many races, he knew Greek well. Again, if Hippolytus produced the *Apostolic Tradition* for Roman Christians, it is improbable that he would have sought to import liturgical elements and practices previously unknown in Rome and, further, to purvey them to the Romans as traditional. This view is reinforced by 1: 2—5, in which he says clearly that he is stating and handing on “the tradition which has perdured up to the present time” and which would therefore be known to his readers. As Botte notes, “one must take the *Tradition* for what it is: a church regulation written in Rome by a Roman priest for a Roman community”,²⁰ even though at least some of its material may be - so to speak - Syrian in origin but with a Roman ‘overlay’.

The Reliability of the Apostolic Tradition

We have two difficulties here. The first is that the text is a reconstruction from different sources. The present - day scholar Paul Bradshaw, following E.G. Ratcliff,²¹ has raised the necessary question of how far we can consider the text reliable, since it is not provable that the text went unaltered between c. 215 and c. 350, which date represents the date of the Latin version and the period from which

the earliest of those liturgical works which employ material from the *Tradition* date, and again between c. 350 and c. 500, which is the date of the Verona manuscript. While both Ratcliff and Bradshaw acknowledge that no firm conclusion can be reached on this matter, the possibility of later alteration in the interests of ‘improvement’ or amplification has to be borne in mind. Little can be said on this except that Botte’s careful, scholarly and critical 1963 edition amounts to the best reconstruction that can be made on the evidence as at present available.

The second difficulty is whether the work is really representative of early-third-century practice, particularly in view of its possible reflection of Hippolytus’ pronounced personal opinions on theology and church discipline. Here we must note that, for example, the eucharistic prayer of the *Apostolic Tradition* does not represent the third-century Roman liturgy in the way that the Gregorian Canon represents that of the sixth century: it is Hippolytus’ own composition, not the definitive form of the time. However, we should also remember that, if the *Tradition* was written before Callistus I’s pontificate and hence probably before Hippolytus went into formal schism, its prayers and other church practices are less likely to be strongly influenced by his personal views and more likely to reflect the practices of the Roman church at the beginning of the third century with reasonable accuracy, insofar as his own opinions obtrude into the *Tradition*, it is often forgotten that the work reflects his conservatism in discipline more than any adventurousness in theology (e.g. 1; 5: 1; 10: 4 - 5).

One factor which argues strongly for the reliability of the tradition which Hippolytus received, and which does not necessarily imply a non-Roman origin for it, is the way in which the indebtedness of the early-third-century liturgy to the Jewish origins of the church, and hence to Jewish forms of worship, is shown in the *Apostolic Tradition* more clearly than one might have expected. Though the Jewish influence was much Christianized after over a hundred and fifty years, it lasted on in the liturgy much more than in other Christian texts, precisely because of “apostolic tradition”. In the context of “apostolic”, we should remember that the apostles, in establishing the church, turned from preaching to the Jews to preaching to the Gentiles only when Jewish opinion proved at best unreceptive and at worst hostile (Acts 4; 5: 40; 13; 14: 1ff; 22: 19; 26: 11 passim) in the manner foretold by Jesus (Matt. 10: 17; 23: 34; Mk. 13: 9; Lk. 12: 11; 21: 12), in whose own lifetime expulsion from the synagogue became a punishment for acknowledging him, according to the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 9: 22; 12: 42). In the context of “tradition”, we should remember that *paradosis* involves much more than handing down only the teachings of the Christian Faith: on the contrary, it refers to the whole Christian life, to what the *Didache* calls “the Way of Life”. Since the determination of the New Testament Canon was a slow process, tradition in this wider and deeper sense was, as Dix notes, very important ‘in preventing the distortion of authentic “Apostolic” Christianity into a mere theosophy by Hellenistic influences’, Hence “the fact that this Judaic element persisted so much more strongly in the Church’s liturgy and devotional practice than in its literature and quasi-philosophical theology is only a proof of its potency”.²²

Dix illustrates this thesis carefully in order to stress the antiquity of the tradition which Hippolytus received. For example, the rules for the *agape* (*Ap. Trad.*, 26) are clearly descended from Jewish table-customs (particularly 26: 2 - 3). Likewise, the blessings of produce (oil, 5: 2; cheese and olives, 6: 2 - 4; first fruits and flowers, 28: 3 - 5) give praise to God over the objects as well as asking for his blessing on

them (especially 6: 4). Again, the entire liturgy of Christian initiation is strongly indebted (even rubrically) to the initiation of proselytes in Judaism, particularly in the baptismal rite and in the placing of confirmation - the "sealing" (22: 3) of the new covenant - in the same position as that at which the proselyte's circumcision (the sealing of the old covenant) took place in Hellenistic Judaism.²³ With regard to the Eucharist, the prayer in the *Apostolic Tradition* is constructed on the same lines as some of the thanksgiving prayers of the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha (e.g. 1 Kings 18: 36 - 38; Esther 13: 9 - 17; 14: 3 - 19; 1 Macc. 4: 30 - 34), of recalling God's past works and then, in the light of them, praying for present needs, usually with a connecting phrase between the two parts: in the *Tradition's* prayer this is *menemonoi toinun* (4: 11)²⁴.

From all this we can appreciate the early date of the tradition which Hippolytus inherited. Also, the rites and practices which he gives may well reflect the customs of the Roman church in the late second century, since Hippolytus states that he is recording what has been in force up to the time of writing (1: 3) and so as remembered from his youth, without innovations (1: 4).

Conclusion

One recent comment on the *Apostolic Tradition* has been: "There is of course no final proof that Hippolytus himself is the author of this text. Its dating would place it well within his lifetime; its place of origin is the city in which he exercised his somewhat stormy ministry."²⁵ However, now that we have established its authenticity as far as possible, we can with moral, though not absolute, certainty say that Hippolytus compiled it. Its influence lives on today, most of all in its prayer for the ordination of a bishop, which now forms part of the 1968 Roman Pontifical, and its eucharistic prayer, which - as we have seen - forms the basis of the 1970 Roman Missal's second eucharistic prayer. We should also place this venerable church order among the leading literary monuments of the early church in Rome, of which it has done so much to shed light on the worship and life.

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¹ G. Dix, *The Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus* (London, 2nd ed. 1968), xxvi

² L. Deiss, *Early Sources of the Liturgy* (London, 1967), 31. The reason why Pontian resigned seems to have been that he foresaw that he would die in captivity in Sardinia; see P.G. MAXWELL-STUART, *Chronicle of the Popes* (London, 1997), 24.

³ W.H. Frere, *The Anaphora* (London, 1938), 49.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ For example, Justin was not admitted to the sanctoral in the West until the ninth century, and his works were only translated into Latin in the sixteenth; see H. Chadwick, "Preface to the Second Edition", in Dix, *op. cit.*, h-i.

- ⁶ This work dates from the later fourth century, was seemingly compiled by an Arian, and consists of adaptations of earlier writings, to which extra matter has been added, including the *Apostolic Tradition*.
- ⁷ E. Schwartz, *über die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen* (Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg 6; Strasbourg, 1910); R.H. Connolly, *The So - Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents* (Texts and Studies VIII, 4; Cambridge, 1916); H. Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts von Rom* (Paderborn, 1918).
- ⁸ Dix, *op. cit.* B. Botte, *Sources chrétiennes 11* (Paris, 1946); B. Botte, *La Tradition apostolique de Saint Hippolyte* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 39; Münster Westfalen, 1963).
- ⁹ This is a church order written, probably in Asia Minor, at some time between c. 350 and c. 500. Its author incorporates material from the *Apostolic Tradition*, of which he repeats about half verbatim. The manuscript of the *Apostolic Tradition* that he used was evidently a very reliable one.
- ¹⁰ B.S. Easton, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Cambridge, 1934), *passim*; Dix, *op. cit.*, 1 - 72; Deiss, *op. cit.* .29 - 73; R.C.D.Jasper & G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (London, 1975), 21 - 25.
- ¹¹ G Every, *Basic Liturgy: A Study in the Structure of the Eucharistic Prayer* (London, 1961), 62 -63.
- ¹² For a discussion of this adaptation, see N. Paxton, *Word and Eucharist* (Macclesfield, 1990), 40 - 42.
- ¹³ For a learned yet imaginative account of the early liturgy of initiation, see A. Kavanagh, "A Rite of Passage", in *Liturgy '70* (Chicago), reprinted in *Southwark Liturgy Bulletin*, no. 27 (1978), 21 - 24.
- ¹⁴ Dix, *op. cit.*, xxxvii.
- ¹⁵ Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* 9: 14.
- ¹⁶ *Ap. Trad.* 16: 1 as quoted in *Testamentum Domini*. This reading is unsupported elsewhere and omitted by Botte, but Dix believes that it is "probably authentic"; see Dix, *op. cit.* 23 n. 1
- ¹⁷ Eusebius, *Hist.Eccl.* VI, 20 - 22; Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* 61, in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxiii, 707; Theodoret, *Eranistes* I - III, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, lxxxiii, 85, 172, 284.
- ¹⁸ J.M. Hanssens, *La liturgie d'Hippolyte* (Rome, 1959), *passim*; Botte, *La Tradition apostolique de Saint Hippolyte* (Münster, 1963), xvi; L. Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Notre Dame & London, 1968) 167 - 168.
- ¹⁹ in which connection we might note that the idea of Christ as angel lasted long enough for inclusion in the Roman Canon.
- ²⁰ Botte, *op. cit.*, xvi
- ²¹ P. Bradshaw, "The Liturgical Use and Abuse of Patristics", in *Liturgy Reshaped*, ed. K. Stevenson (London, 1982), 136; P. Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship* (London, 1996), 15; .C. Ratcliff, "The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora", in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 1 (1) (1950) 29 - 36.
- ²² Dix, *op. cit.* xliii -xiv.
- ²³ However, we cannot conclusively demonstrate one further parallel that Dix quotes. He argues that, just as the proselyte to Judaism had to give the matter for his first sacrifice straightaway, so the new Christian is obliged to provide an offering for the baptismal Eucharist, which is the convert's first Christian sacrifice (see the use of *thusia* in *Didache* 14: 1), on the basis of *Ap. Trad.* 20: 10:
- "Let the baptizands bring no other thing save that which each brings for the Eucharist. For it is fitting that he who has been made worthy should make offering at the same time."

Dix argues that the latter sentence shows that this extract probably refers to the convert bringing bread and wine for the baptismal Eucharist, in contradistinction to the view that the neophyte must bring a vessel in which to carry the sacrament home for domestic reservation and communion. But proof cannot be had: the Sahidic here may render Greek *skeuos*, but that is not certain and *skeuos* is in any case a very imprecise word, allowing either interpretation. See Dix, *Op cit.*, xl; Botte, *op. cit.*, 45 n. 2.

- ²⁴ For further explanation of the parallels between Jewish thanksgivings and Hippolytus' Eucharistic prayer, see T. Talley: "The Eucharistic Prayer of the Ancient Church according to Recent Research: Results and Reflections" (Paper delivered to the Congress of the *Societas Liturgica*, Trier, 26 August 1975), *passim*; T. Talley, "The Eucharistic Prayer: Tradition and Development", in *Liturgy Reshaped*, ed. K. Stevenson (London, 1982), 48 - 56.
- ²⁵ C. Jones, G. Wainwright & E. Yarnold, "The Apostolic Tradition", in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. C. Jones, G. Wainwright & E. Yarnold (London, 1978), 58.



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The Conciliar Contribution of Abbot Christopher Butler

CHRISTOPHER THOMAS

In 1962, Abbot Christopher Butler of Downside Abbey, the Abbot President of the English Benedictine Congregation, joined the two thousand or so Fathers of the Second Vatican Council in the Vatican Basilica to begin what was to be one of the most remarkable Ecumenical Councils the Church has known. In this short piece, Abbot Butler's contribution to the development of the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, will be described.

In March 1962, Abbot Christopher Butler wrote a letter to Canon Martin Hancock, his friend from university, which noted:

As Presidents OSB have seats on the Council, it looks as though I shall have a long stay in Rome this autumn. I don't look forward to it and I think the non-bishops will probably have little influence on the proceedings.¹

This mood of "depression" about the Council was quite common in Anglo-Saxon quarters. Butler also noted that some of the English bishops were concerned about the possible outcome of the deliberations in Rome; but despite this feeling, he had faith in the conciliar process and looked forward to seeing the realisation of the Council's orientation as pastoral, and innovative contributions from the German bishops;

One of the disadvantages I foresee in the Council is that the healthy forward looking movements in the Church, though very much alive, are still minority movements, and of course particularly ill-represented among the elderly prelates who constitute the Council. On the other hand, 'Lo! I am with you always' must be specially true of an ecumenical council, and, as I indicated to our Bishop the other day, the Holy Ghost may do good in spite of the earthen vessels containing the episcopal office. Of course, he is afraid of revolution, and I am afraid of conservatism.²

Pope John XXIII opened the Council on 11th October, 1962 in the presence of about 2500 Fathers. His opening address, *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia*,³ set the tone for the Council. The main themes that the Pope emphasised included the importance of the teaching office of the Church. The Council was to pass on the Christian doctrinal heritage, taking care both to preserve its integrity and to bring about an updated and effective communication of the Christian message. The deposit of faith, the principal concern of the Church, teaches people both to seek God and eternal happiness with him as well as to contribute to a better life on



Abbot Butler speaking at Vatican II - a photograph from the Downside archives

earth. In this regard, the church is obliged to continually attend to its received heritage of truth, but it must also study carefully the fruits of modern progress, so that it can communicate its teaching in a way beneficial to individuals, families and the whole of society.

The doctrinal work of the Council looked to a much improved communication of the whole Christian patrimony, grounded in a deeper understanding of Tradition and making timely reformulations in view of modern possibilities and needs. Experts in theology and pastoral care assisted the Council in its work, which was to transmit Catholic doctrine in all its fullness. The church preferred to refrain from condemnations and instead reach out to humankind in a loving and generous manner.

The draft schema on divine revelation was called *De Fontibus Revelationis*. The debate on *de fontibus* began on 14th November 1962 and the dramatic events that unfolded during the week of 14–21st November were to be crucial in the development of the Council.⁴ There had been a degree of dissatisfaction about this particular schema and its lack of pastoral direction. This had resulted in a number of papers being circulated around the Council aula before the debate began.⁵ The *relatio* of Cardinal Ottaviani noted that the Council should discuss only the schema presented by the Theological Commission and not these alternatives. Butler had asked to speak on the schema, but his name was too far down the list to speak on this, the first day, so his speech was made on Friday 16th November.

Butler was the last speaker in the debate on 16th November and because of themes which had already been discussed, he changed his original text in order to highlight one point, that of moral unanimity;

The speech I had prepared covered some points already touched on in the debate and I had now something else I wanted to say: the need of quasi-unanimity on our first doctrinal issue if only to avoid ‘scandal;’ and the suggestion of a joint party of representatives of both sides to see if the schema could be or made to be adaptable for detailed discussion, and if not to leave field for preparing of a new schema. So I spoke briefly (time was already late and I knew people would be itching to get away) and partly impromptu and in atrocious Latin (I also emphasised that EVERYONE accepts the Tridentine and

Vatican findings; the question is about their implications etc.) I was told afterwards that people listened to me with attention.⁶

This speech began with Butler explaining to the Council that he was an exegete and had an interest in the future of biblical scholarship, and that the schema displeased him, primarily because it did not hold with the spirit of the Council, as outlined by Pope John in *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia*. He also restated his intention to prevent any doctrinal matters from being rushed or the freedom of scholars to carry out legitimate research be inhibited;

My own main concern is to avoid dogmatic definitions about ANYTHING (unless possibly about the inherent powers of the bishops and episcopate;) and to avoid doctrinal statements, short of definitions, which clamp down on modern theological renewal, make conciliation with ‘modern knowledge’ and the sciences difficult, and invade the spheres of these sciences (esp. philosophy and historical and literary science, particularly as applied to the bible).⁷

By stating these intentions, Butler showed that he was certainly on the “side” of the reformers like König, Alfrink, Suenens, Ritter and Bea, who had all spoken against the schema on the first day of the debate. He aligned himself with Ritter in a particular way, as he had spoken strongly on the first day on the content being “nothing new” over Trent and Vatican I, even less clear in *de fontibus*. The whole tone was pessimistic and negative and casts doubt on the methods of modern New Testament exegesis. Ritter went on to say that if the Council wanted to promulgate solutions to certain problems, then it should do so rather than publishing affirmations that do not have any usefulness. This sort of statement was deemed to be a source of tedium and an unrealistic attitude towards theology and Scripture. For these reasons, the schema should be rejected.⁸ Butler too called for the rejection of the schema after two days of fruitless discussion in the aula. He suggested that two ways were left open to the Fathers; firstly, a redrafting of the current schema which could be done by representatives of both sides of the debate, or secondly, the rejection of this schema and the preparation of a new one. He was concerned that fervent dissent amongst the Fathers at such an early stage of the Council would be scandalous to the world.

On Tuesday 20th November, the Secretary noted that a vote was to be taken as to whether the discussion on the schema should continue or not. The general reaction period had been completed and now the Fathers were to move to the debate on each chapter. The proposition was spelled out by the sub-secretaries in different languages:

Wherefore the following question is being submitted to your vote. The question is “Should the discussion on the schema, on the dogmatic Constitution *de fontibus revelationis* be discontinued, terminated?” Those favouring discontinuance, should so signify by marking their ballot in the *Placet* square. Those opposed to the discontinuance, should so indicate by marking the ballot in the *Non Placet* square.⁹

This was repeated again and, despite this, confusion abounded in the aula with interventions and explanations. The wording of the question was clumsy and

clarifications were made over the noise in the aula.¹⁰ The result was declared that a majority had voted in favour of a discontinuance of the discussion, but this had not reached the required two-thirds majority being short by 105 votes out of 2209 cast. Butler noted his feelings in a letter to his friend Martin Hancock:

On Tuesday a question whether we should desist from the debate on the schema *De Fontibus* (which would practically amount to its rejection) was voted: desist – 1368, don't desist – 822 (numbers approx.) This was the first real test of the strength of the two wings...we were told that the 2/3 majority had not been reached and was thus not passed, and we proceeded to discuss the schema by chapter. So a technical defeat went hand in hand with a moral victory.¹¹

Butler in this first intervention had placed himself firmly with the reformers, what he would call the “forward party.” He felt that although the vote had been short of the required majority, the feeling in the aula had been expressed beyond doubt.

At the end of business on 20th November, the voting with respect to discontinuing the debate on *De Fontibus* was published. However, overnight Pope John had decided that due to the weight of opinion against the schema as it stands, he had ordered it withdrawn and set up a mixed commission made up of members of both Cardinal Ottaviani's Doctrinal Commission and Cardinal Bea's Secretariat for Christian Unity, with these men being joint chairmen.¹² It was hoped, that by this action, the Pope would prevent the Council from plunging into irreparable acrimony.

This decision took the Fathers by surprise, and because there was no other material on the agenda for the day, except the discussion of *de fontibus* chapter I, the Fathers continued with this debate. Butler was called third of the day and noted that the schema only proposed one legitimate school of thought in terms of Tradition and Scripture. He made an *apologia* for exegetes, returning often to praise them in their work, which was being heavily criticised at this time. His love of Scripture shone through in this speech, calling for freedom in legitimate biblical research.

Butler next spoke in the aula on this subject two years later, in November 1964. In the intervening period, he had participated in the work of the Mixed Commission on the biblical part of the *schema*. This period saw a shift of the way the Council was approaching the subject of divine revelation, in a special way due to the new pontificate of Paul VI who emphasised a more ecclesiological prospect than his predecessor.

Butler spoke on the third day of the debate, on Friday October 2nd. Bishop Van Dodewaard began the debate that day in the name of the Dutch bishops. He supported the position of Cardinal Meyer in moving away from a scholastic approach to tradition and the Magisterium. He also proposed a distinction between the *apostolic Church* and the *Church founded on the apostles* which seemed to be motivated ecumenically.¹³ The debate continued on Chapters I and II and at length Butler was called to speak.

His speech began by addressing the use of the word tradition and the possible ambiguity found in the schema. He then moved on to distinguish between the different roles of the Ordinary and Extraordinary Magisterium and the role of the

Ecumenical Council in this. He did note that the extraordinary Magisterium did define (e.g. at Vatican I) and this is a characteristic of the old form of Conciliar definition (remembering that Butler was against any form of dogmatic definition).¹⁴ In terms of the ordinary Magisterium, care must be taken to ensure that what is given in the texts reflects the *intentions* of the authors of the text.

Having stated this, he said that the ordinary Magisterium wanted to affirm that the things taught by the Church as divinely transmitted were true.¹⁵ The fact that certain *Catechisms* stated that this tradition has certain things in it which are not found in Scripture was because there was no concept of *dynamic exegesis* of the texts in those days. He said that the question of the scope of tradition and its relationship to Sacred Scripture was not a mature question for definition by the extraordinary Magisterium.

This was in accord with a press conference that was given at the Venerable English College by the British Hierarchy the day before. Butler had spoken out against the position of the conservative element by reminding people of the background to the definition of the Council of Trent on the deposit of faith. He also made recourse to Newman's *Letter to Pusey on occasion of his Eirenicon*, where Newman states:

Catholics said that not every article of faith was so contained in Scripture 'that it may be thence logically proved, *independently* of the teaching and authority of tradition,' Anglicans that every article of faith was contained in Scripture, '*provided* there be added the illustrations and compensations supplied by *the Tradition*.' Anglicans did not say 'that the whole of revelation is in Scripture, in such sense that pure unaided logic can draw from it the sacred text,' nor did Catholics say 'that it was not in Scripture, in an improper sense, in the sense that the *Tradition* of the Church is able to recognise and determine it there.'¹⁶

He stated that there could be "deep doctrinal abyss" if the position of the conservative Catholics was to be maintained and any hope of ecumenism could be forgotten, whereas if the position of Newman and people like-minded to Butler was accepted, then it formed a basis for discussion.

He finished the press conference by calling for a more christocentric approach to divine revelation, not reducing it simply to a set of propositions of truth:

God himself is revealed through actions and words and above all in the person and as the person of the Jesus of history.¹⁷

The final day of the debate saw Butler's last spoken intervention on *De Revelatione*. At the beginning of the Congregation, Cardinal Felici read out who was to speak at the proceedings, Butler was not on the list. He sent a message to the President for the day, who luckily, was Cardinal Döpfner, who called him to speak during the debate.¹⁸

Butler's main theme in this speech was to defend the freedom of historical criticism and biblical exegesis, to confirm exegetes in their valuable work, and finally to encourage the Fathers in the work they still had to do – not to fear the truth but to seek it. In many ways it was a masterly speech coming at the end of the debate on the schema. Noting that some fear the loss of the historical basis of the faith, he calls for liberty of biblical scholarship.

Finally he called for strength and confidence in biblical scholarship, and not to be afraid of the consequences of this liberty of study. In all research errors will occur (which he had pointed out in his first speech) but these will always lead to the truth. He assured the fathers that there was no world-wide conspiracy in biblical scholarship to undermine the faith, but this work was undertaken by “loyal Catholics” who are also scientists seeking the truth.

The final end is that with this liberty, a deeper understanding of the Word of God will be reached, and dialogue in trust with non-Catholic scholars will be a fruitful terminus. His final phrase is worth noting since it required courage on the part of the Fathers;

What we want is not the childish comfort which comes from averting our gaze from the truth, but a truly critical scholarship which will enable us to enter into a dialogue with non-Catholic exegetes to enter into and demonstrate a mature and adult Christian faith.¹⁹

In essence, Butler’s speech called for a development from the apologetic approach to scripture which could now, through the use of the techniques of *literary forms*, be widened so a deeper understanding of the Word may be reached. Secondary to this is that freedom will allow dialogue to flourish between Catholic and non-Catholic exegetes; the latter often seeing the former as being under the thumb of the Holy Office.

Dei Verbum, the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation was promulgated by Paul VI on 18th November 1965. The document, the smallest Constitution of Vatican II, was a masterpiece of theology. Butler had come to the Council with a feeling of impending doom, and worrying about the impact that non-bishops would have on the proceedings. He speaks of the Council;

I have described how I had lived for years with the uncomfortable sense that I was on the distant left fringe of Catholicism. As a result of the Council I found myself in what Suenens, again, has described as the “extreme centre;” not a position of compromise, but one in which it is possible to work for a genuine theological synthesis and practical application of the Gospel in the conviction that one is at the same time in harmony with the contemporary Church.²⁰

He had contributed to many of the debates; his contribution to the discussion on *De Fontibus* and *De Revelatione* has been noted here, but he made many excellent contributions both written and oral, in the development of *De Ecclesia* and *De Oecumenismo* to name but two. But what of his particular contribution to the development of *Dei Verbum*?

One of the major characteristics of *Dei Verbum* is its very concrete, historical and biblical approach to revelation. This is refreshing and capable of much further development, especially in the field of ecumenism. It bridges the gap between the scholastic theology of the manuals and the “excellent work” of biblical theologians and scholars. Butler had vehemently defended the freedom of biblical scholars during the debates and the new text allows for valid and scientific research of the biblical texts in reference to the magisterial teaching on the interpretation of Scripture. The multiplicitous use of scriptural references in the body of the text is also testimony to the biblical approach, giving a more pastoral and ecumenical orientation to the document.

Note the development from the “unwritten traditions” cited in Trent to the situation where the transmission of all that Jesus is, is seen in the widest possible view. What is to be preserved and faithfully transmitted is not simply a corpus of information received from the mouth of Jesus or the Holy Spirit but the very real presence of the Incarnate Word of God to the fullness of humanity. In this view, Scripture enters as an integral part of the whole content of the Tradition and grows with it, reading the signs of the times and making reference to the world in which the Church needs to dialogue.

In this, Butler hopes that this will yield a more fruitful dialogue with the eastern Churches whose own conception of Tradition has been less conceptual than that of the Latin Church. The role of the Holy Spirit in this will appeal to them, and the place of Scripture will form a bridge of discussion with the Protestants who find the concept of a constitutive tradition a block to the understanding of the Scriptures. In this way the Church, in her teaching, life and worship, perpetuates and hands on to all *generations all that she herself is, all that she believes*.²¹

In terms of faith, the Constitution, in applying the phrase ‘*The obedience of faith*’ [*oboeditio fidei*] is an attempt to render the richness of the biblical and above all, Pauline notion of faith, which is received through hearing the Good News and requires a response from the hearer. This notion of the act of faith is more personal focusing on the encounter with the Risen Lord and through his gift of grace in the Holy Spirit, moves *the heart and converting it towards God, opening thy eyes of the mind and giving ‘ease to everyone in assenting to and believing the truth’*.²²

The use of the schema *De Verbo Dei* in Chapter VI of the Constitution stresses the practical importance of the Scriptures in the life of the Church and in the personal prayer life of the believing individual. The emphasis on being nourished by *word and sacrament* is one of the important emphases here.²³ For the ecumenist Butler, the emphasis on the primacy of the word was something of a triumph for the Church. In 1960, in his work *The Church and the Bible*, he noted the importance of the Bible in drawing the reader in faith into a loving relationship with Christ, if the Church is to be one in its Lord, then the mutual respect of the Sacred Scriptures is the means by which to do it.²⁴

Butler saw three major developing and progressive influences in the Council, which demonstrated their importance in the drafting of the schemas. They were the presence of the Eastern-rite churches of the Catholic communion, the new churches of Asia and Africa, and the theologians. Of these, the role of the theologians was universally recognised as of vital importance:

It was highly symbolic that the Pope chose the *periti* to be his concelebrants at this public session, with names of great note – de Lubac, Courtney Murray and among the Conciliar Fathers Christopher Butler. The story circulated afterwards that at the conclusion the Pope paid a special complement to Père de Lubac, saying he esteemed it an honour to have concelebrated with such an eminent theologian. For in a sense this Council has been the Council of the *periti*, silent in the aula, but so effective in the commissions and the bishops’ ears.²⁵

Dom Christopher Butler played an important role in the Second Vatican Council. This work has attempted to focus on one particular part of this contribution. His concern for scholarship was visible, and on his return to

Downside after the Council, he set up the *Downside Centre for Religious Studies* at the University of Bristol. This organisation sponsored lectureships for Catholic theologians in the department of Theology at Bristol. His concern was that development in Catholic theology would benefit from the challenge of other disciplines, and that the Church should not hide itself away, but proclaim the Good News of Jesus Christ.²⁶

Each time *Dei Verbum* §11 is read, a visible reminder of Abbot Butler's contribution will be seen: the reference to 2 Tim 3:16–17 which he had specifically asked to be included, so the use of Scripture is seen to be grounded in the Church. As Christian people, all are called to live the *sequela Christi*, following the example of their Lord. The ancient Church “devoted themselves to the apostles’ teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers.”²⁷ The Scriptures are “inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work.”²⁸ Through the act of faith, the believer comes to understand that “God is with us to free us from the darkness of sin and death, and to raise us up to eternal life.”²⁹ With these in mind, it is no wonder that Butler once said;

The Council has brought about a tremendous change for the better. It all adds up, it is true, to a first step. And there will be much suffering ahead for all of us. But Adam was a first step. The first Christian Pentecost was a first step. Conversion, for the individual, is a first step. It seems to me that, if the Church, the People of God, does not now move forward to a great Christian renaissance, it will have been guilty of a *gran rifiuto*.³⁰

Christopher Thomas studied Abbot Christopher Butler's contribution to Vatican II as part of his STL in Fundamental Theology. He was ordained priest at Nottingham Cathedral on 17 July 2001 and it is at this historic church that he begins his priestly ministry. We thank Dom Daniel Rees of Downside Abbey, who gave permission for archival material to be published in this article.

1 *Letters to Canon Martin Hancock*, 5 March 1962, Downside Abbey Archive.

2 *Letters to Canon Martin Hancock*, 25 September 1962, Downside Abbey Archive.

3 Pope John XXIII, *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia*, Pope John's Opening Speech to the Council, in W.M. Abbot (ed.), *THE DOCUMENTS OF VATICAN II*, New York, America Press, 1966.

4 The history of this period will not be examined in detail here. The detail of this week is found in G. Ruggieri, *The First Doctrinal Clash*, in G. Alberigo and J.A. Komonchak, *THE HISTORY OF VATICAN II*, Volume II, Maryknoll, Orbis, 1997, 233–267.

5 G. Ruggieri, *The First Doctrinal Clash*, 250.

6 *Abbot Butler's Vatican II Diary*, Friday 16th November 1962, Downside Abbey Archives. Note that the emphasis is original.

7 *Abbot Butler's Vatican II Diary*, Tuesday 16th October 1962, Downside Abbey Archives. Note that the emphasis is original.

8 *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II*, Pars I, Vol. III, 47–48.

9 *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II*, Pars I, Vol. III, 222.

10 G. Ruggieri, *The First Doctrinal Clash*, 263.

11 *Letters to Canon Martin Hancock*, 25 November 1962, Downside Abbey Archive.

12 G. Ruggieri, *The First Doctrinal Clash*, 265.

13 *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II*, Pars III, Vol. III, 229.

14 See footnote 7.

15 This seems to be in response to the previous speaker, Fr Rubio, the Prior General of the Augustinians, who proposed two questions: whether one can support the position that all revealed truths have their basis in Scripture, or there exist truths which have a basis in Scripture but cannot be proven without the use of Tradition. He noted that this was the teaching of the ordinary Magisterium and the Council should confirm it.

Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II, Pars III, Vol. III, 257–260.

16 C.S. Dessain, *John Henry Newman*, London, Adam and Charles Black, 19712, 133–135.

17 Dio stesso si è rivelato mediante fatti e parole, e soprattutto nella persona e come la persona del Gesù della storia.

Details of this press conference in the original language were missing from the Butler Archive. The source of detail is from *La Civiltà Cattolica*, Vol. IV, No. 24, 19th Dec 1964, 599–600. Footnote 8.

18 *Abbot Butler's Vatican II Diary*, Tuesday October 6th 1964, Downside Abbey Archives.

19 *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II*, Pars III, Vol. III, 354.

20 B.C. Butler, *A Time to Speak*, Southend-on-Sea, Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1972, 149.

21 *Dei Verbum* §8.

22 *Dei Verbum* §5.

23 *Dei Verbum* §21 and §26.

24 B.C. Butler, *The Church and the Bible*, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 1960, 109–111.

25 D. Woodruff, *The Day of the Periti*, THE TABLET, 27th November 1965, 1318.

26 J.M. Todd, *Bishop Christopher Butler*, THE TABLET, 27th September 1986, 1029.

27 Acts 2:42.

28 2 Tim 3:16–17.

29 *Dei Verbum* §4.

30 B.C. Butler, *Joy in Believing*, THE TABLET, 5th February 1966, 153.

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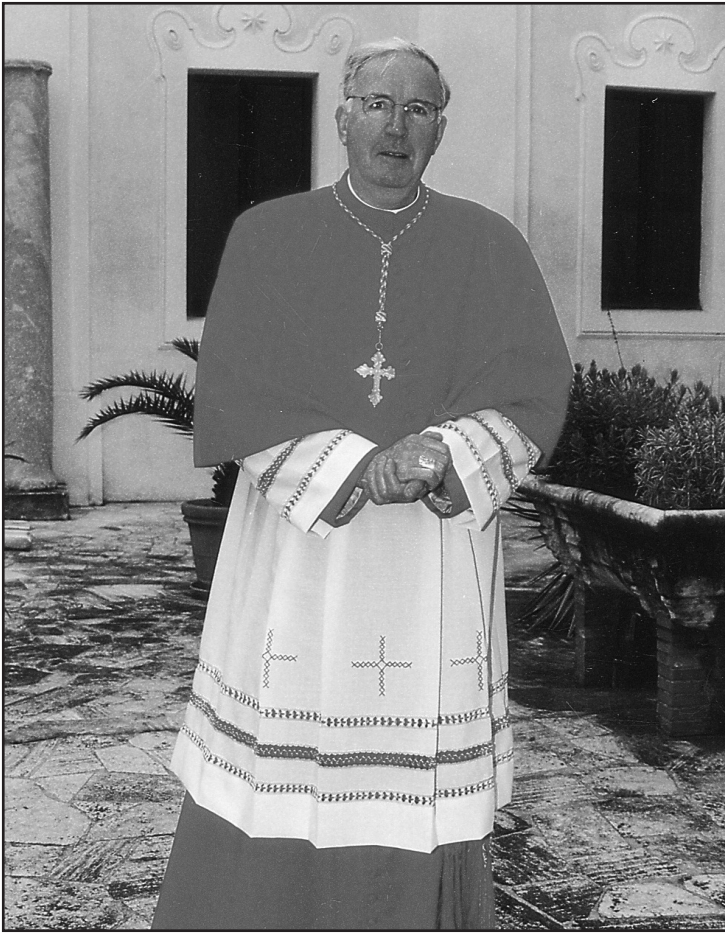
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Part 4

The College



College Diary, 2000-2001

MARK VICKERS

Monday, 12 June: With Easter and Pentecost falling late this year, the Diary begins with the house in pensive mood, part concentrating on exams, the rest more intent on Euro 2000. The College becomes even quieter as England loses 3-2 to Portugal.

Saturday, 17 June: The first anniversary of the death of George Basil Cardinal Hume. Fr Philip Whitmore says a Requiem Mass in College for the repose of his soul.

Those following Euro 2000 recover their voice and their pride as England beat Germany 1-0. The memories coming flooding back for Fr Kevan O'Brien: Wembley 1966, VE Day 1945...

Monday, 19 June: Fr Rector and the two Lancaster seminarians, Chris Ginns and Michael Docherty, represent the College at the funeral Mass of Bishop "Jack" Brewer, Old Roman, former Vice-Rector and Trustee. The College has lost a great character and a great friend. *Requiescat in pace.*

The Catholic Herald suggests that the College regime has behaved in recent years as if the little basilica at the end of the road with the Western Patriarch attached to it did not exist. Where do the Press get these extraordinary ideas about the College?

Tuesday, 20 June: With a last minute penalty and a 3-2 defeat to Romania, England are out of Euro 2000.

Friday, 23 June: Back in England, Chris Thomas is ordained deacon by his bishop in Nottingham Cathedral. The College is represented by Mgr Adrian Toffolo and various other Old Romans.

Sunday, 25 June, Corpus Christi: Notwithstanding the fact that numbers are depleted by those on canonical retreats and post-exam holidays, the usual house function is kept at the Little Sisters of the Poor.

Monday, 26 June: It is impossible to move without tripping over Archbishops. Maurice Couve de Murville, Emeritus of Birmingham, leaves after a few days' holiday with us, to be replaced by another brace: Cormac Murphy-O'Connor of Westminster and Vincent Nichols of Birmingham, out to receive their *pallia* later in the week.

29 June, Ss. Peter & Paul: Two distinguished Old Boys, the Archbishops of Westminster and Birmingham, receive the *pallium* from the Holy Father. The College celebrate with a festal lunch before the Mass in St. Peter's Square. Chris Thomas begins his ordained ministry on a high note by deaconing the Mass for the Pope.

Friday, 30 June: Westminster, Birmingham and friends join the two new Archbishops for an audience with the Holy Father. (The new Archbishop of New York offers to ship the dirt on his former Greg classmate to the Westminster seminarians.) It is pointed out to the Archbishop's secretary that it possibly might not be a good idea to sing to the Holy Father "London Pride" as the Westminster diocesan song given the impending gay rights demo in town.

Meanwhile, back in the College, the Rev. Tom Saunders presides over the deconsecration of the Common Room Corridor. After 400 years of benign government, the time is deemed ripe for self-government. Pith helmets are hung up, the Union flag lowered and the anti-Sherwinist oath tendered all to the reassuring sound of clinking ice.

The *Villeggiatura* begins. Most members of the College take the conventional route: a bus from Lungotevere. Paul "Livingstone" Simmons, however, attempts the perilous "North Face of Monte Cavo" approach. Casualties: one mountain bike, sundry personal possessions and a badly damaged ego.

Sunday, 2 July: Bishop Michael Fitzgerald institutes Michael Docherty and Andrew Robinson to the ministry of lectorate. Thus, 40% of the house are candidates-to-be.

Monday, 3 July: The College reads with pleasure the news in the Catholic press of the appointment of Fr John Rafferty as episcopal vicar in Shrewsbury diocese with effect from September 2001.

Tuesday, 4 July: The Leavers' Dinner is kept in the evening. Tom Saunders replies to Sr Amadeus' speech and toast. Much is expected of a former pantomime writer and (alleged) College diarist. Tom does not disappoint. The image of English College formation presented in terms of twelve cardboard boxes and a sheet of lightweight bubble wrap is one that strikes a chord and will endure with the audience for some time to come. The number of Leavers increases by one during the day as Christian Daw announces that he is to test a vocation to the Benedictine life at Downside. To Christian and all the Leavers the College sing a heartfelt *Ad multos annos*.

Wednesday, 5 July: The Choir of *Mater Dei* High School, Santa Anna, California sings a programme of devotional and spiritual music for us in Palazzola Chapel.

Thursday, 6 July: Some College traditions never change: the North beat the South in the cricket match.

The College bids a fond farewell to Fr John Marsland ("Johnny M") for nine years Pastoral Director and Vice-Rector.

Saturday, 8 July: A trip down memory lane as "Johnny M" presents his (the?) final Palazzola Folk Festival.

Sunday, 9 July: Bishop Crispian Hollis of Portsmouth institutes ten to the ministry of Acolytate: Kevin Colfer, Tony Currer, Christian Daw, Andrew Downie, Dominic Howarth, Jonathan Jones, Paul Keane, Graham Platt, Gerard Skinner and Adrian Tomlinson.

Wednesday, 12 July: The year finishes, as it should, with the ordination to the diaconate. Bishop Hollis ordains Andrew Cole, Robert Murphy, Joe Silver, Andrew Stringfellow and Richard Whinder.

The new deacons remain to enjoy Palazzola with their families. The Revv. Tomas Creagh-Fuller, Tom Saunders, Richard Walker and Stephen Wright return to England to prepare for their priestly ordinations over the summer. The rest of us head off for pastoral placements and a well-earned break.

Sunday, 23 September: A rather reduced College re-assemble on the roof of St. Joe's for the annual *Ben Tornado* party to welcome the First Year. There is only one so far, Bruno Witchalls of Arundel & Brighton, but we have the promise of a Maronite on the way, and then there are new student priests and the two Anglican exchange students. We learn that Kevin Colfer has left formation to teach in Germany and that Fr Paul Rowan has returned to the Archdiocese of Liverpool..

Monday, 24 September: Back to business; the week's pastoral courses begin.

In the evening Fr Rector announces that he will have to return to England shortly for surgery in respect of prostate cancer. The College prays for a successful operation and a speedy recovery.

Friday, 29 September: Troubles never arrive singly. The Rector announces that two Old Romans are in Hospital with suspected Legionnaires' disease following their visit last week.

On a more cheerful note, we celebrate the 150th anniversary of the restoration of the hierarchy of England & Wales and Delia Gallagher's presence amongst us for the last couple of years on the Administration team. Fr. Rector tells us that there are aspects of the relationship between Delia and himself we cannot even guess at – and we thought that he was returning home for surgery! Everyone wishes Delia well on her move to Paris.

Saturday, 30 September: Pastoral classes finish and the House prepares to go on retreat: the candidates-to-be (again) to the Passionists at Monte Argentario; everyone else to Palazzola tomorrow.

Monday, 9 October: Canon Harry Parker (Leeds), a former member of staff, becomes the second Old Roman to die. Fr Tony Foulkes (Lancaster) died during last week's retreat. RIP.

Fr Rector returns to England for his surgery with the prayers of the College for a successful operation and a swift recovery.

Friday, 13 October: A strange article appears in *The Daily Telegraph* saying that the decision to meet the Queen during next week's royal visit in lay dress at the Anglican Centre rather than in the Vatican is the result of the staff of the British seminaries not wanting their students to wear cassocks.

Sunday, 15 October: We bid farewell to Sr Madeleine with a festal lunch as she returns to England. Having come to embody Villa life and shown great kindness to so many seminarians over a total of ten years, she will be greatly missed.

Monday, 16 October: After Mass the Vice-Rector announces the evacuation of the College for the first time since 1940. With "hyper-chlorination" taking place tomorrow, the entire water system and the kitchen will be out of action for at least ten days. Seminarians are to be billeted with the Scots, Irish and the Beda. The Bulldog spirit quickly takes over and there is a plucky cheerfulness in the face of adversity. The Ref. buzzes with excitement over supper as we try to decide whether

a fortnight of veal and chips outweighs the disadvantage of the distance of the Scots College from the city centre.

Tuesday, 17 October: A handful goes off to see the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh at the Anglican Centre.

The main preoccupation, however, is with evacuating the College. We go our separate ways, wondering when we will next return to our own rooms. We are extremely grateful to our hosts, not least for the first hot shower in six days. Vespers are particularly poignant: “O how could we sing the song of the Lord on alien soil?”

Wednesday, 18 October: The exiles meet up at the Greg and the Ang to compare notes. The optimists believe that “it will all be over by Christmas.” Wits at the Irish College, however, point out that the last time the English visited, they stayed for 800 years. David Parmiter asks how long our bishops will tolerate us spread over three sites with no formation. Paul Simmons wonders how much this differs from us being on the one site.

Monday, 23-Tuesday, 24 October: We visit a designated hospital to give details of our movements and medical history through July and August. This involves only the doctor writing out onto a clean form the answers to a twelve-page questionnaire that we had already completed on another. Andy Cole defies any Euro-enthusiast to submit himself to the experience.

Wednesday, 25 October: We gather in the Greg Chapel as Fr John Rafferty says the Mass of the Forty Martyrs of England & Wales.

Friday, 27 October: Just when we thought it couldn’t get any worse... We are informed of the official sequestration of the College buildings by order of the local magistrate. It is obviously going to be a long haul.

Stephen Maughan suggests that the delay in re-opening the College is motivated by the staff’s desire to have telephones, Internet facilities and decent bathrooms laid on for our return.

Sunday, 29 October: The final nail in the coffin of the English College pantomime: Adrian Tomlinson announces that he will be leaving Rome to do a pastoral year in the Diocese of Hallam. The College will be a much quieter, but a much poorer, place for his absence. *Ci vediamo, Adriano.*

Tuesday, 31 October: The latest in a long series of VEC sporting injuries. Nick Schofield is unable to attend lectures due to spraining a muscle while stretching in bed.

Sunday, 5 November: The Pope proclaims St Thomas More Patron of politicians at a Mass in the presence of various members of the English hierarchy and sundry politicians. The College serve the Mass.

Back in the UK the BBC broadcast the Panorama programme “Power of Abuse” relating to the recent conviction of Joe Jordan in the Archdiocese of Cardiff.

Monday, 6 November: There is consternation amongst those arriving in the Irish College Chapel at 6.40 a.m. to discover that the red Mass booklets on their seats

are not the language of Holy Mother Church, but Gaelic. Richard Whinder just hopes that *Pax tecum* is the same in both languages.

Tuesday, 7 November: Some good news for the Church in England & Wales: two new bishops. The Holy See appoints Malcolm McMahon OP to Nottingham and Mark Jabale OSB as an auxiliary bishop in Menevia. Congratulations to their Lordships and to their seminarians in the College.

Wednesday, 8 November: We gather at Tosca's in the evening to bid farewell to Adrian Tomlinson. He reveals the highlight of his seminary career was, whilst dressed in taffeta, sequins and mascara as the Pink Fairy, effecting emergency repairs with needle and thread, on a lady's skirt.

Sunday, 12 November, Remembrance Sunday: The College remembers the British and Commonwealth war dead as the Vice-Rector presides at the Mass at S. Silvestro.

Wednesday, 15 November: Light at the end of the tunnel? The sequestration order is lifted, at least allowing us back into the College to collect overcoats and Advent breviaries. However, further demands of the health authorities, including the replacement of all taps and showerheads, means that we are unlikely to be back before December.

Friday, 17 November: In town for their Jubilee, the military chaplains throw a party at the Ambassador's Residence at Villa Wolkonsky to which we, the Scots and the Beda are invited. The chaplains subsequently take the seminarians of their dioceses out to supper. Given their lavish hospitality, few mind the recruiting pitches.

Wednesday, 22 November: Donna Orsuto hosts the English College at the Lay Centre in the Piazza Navona. Bishop Mullins of Menevia presides at Mass, which is followed by lunch.

Saturday, 25 November: Reagan O'Callaghan reveals that during the selection procedure for the exchange programme, he was asked whether "he felt confirmed in his Anglican identity." Responding that he wasn't certain what that was, the interviewing panel realised that they had no difficulties on that score.

Those recently living with the Scots move back into Rome, giving up their rooms for guests attending the 400th anniversary celebrations of the Scots College. The twelve VEC seminarians find a new home at the North American College. A warm welcome is extended by Mgr Dolan, who tells them to stay as long as they like. However, office and the American breviary soon reveal the truth of the old dictum, "Two nations separated by the same language."

Sunday, 26 November, Christ the King: We are on home ground at Palazzola as we celebrate the Solemnity with the College Trustees, with Archbishop Nichols saying Mass. He thanks everyone for the way in which they have responded to the crisis, but warns that we may not be back before Christmas.

Discussing the mismatch of European and Anglo-Saxon attitudes subsequently, Richard Whinder declares that it was his experience as Greg delegate that finally turned him against the European Community. Are we to assume that his Spanish biretta is a hangover from more Europhile days?

Friday, 1 December, Martyrs' Day: The circumstances are extraordinary: the first time the Feast is celebrated away from the College since 1945. Fr Nick Hudson,

presiding at Mass at Palazzola in the place of Fr Rector, who is still recovering from surgery back in England, gives a deeply moving homily on the zeal of the Martyrs and their association with St Philip Neri. It is different keeping the Feast away from the Via di Monserrato, but the Mass is particularly poignant and beautiful and Palazzola provide a lunch every bit as splendid and large for the College and our guests. Having sung the *Te Deum*, we return to Rome.

Saturday, 2 December: The England-Scotland football match. This is serious; no time for reflecting on the hospitality so recently extended to us or the fact that the Scots are celebrating their fourth centenary. In the spirit of Culloden, we give them a jolly good thrashing: 7-4.

Friday, 8 December: The Universal Church keeps the Solemnity of the Immaculate Conception. At Palazzola the English College mark the Feast of Hollycam.

Sunday, 10 December: The College seminarians at the NAC share their celebrations of Acolytate, whilst others of us assist at the Irish College Advent Service. The Irish College Spiritual Director goes to great lengths to make us feel at home, preaching a long homily on the theme of darkness. The difference? He has a solution: "If the darkness gets too much, give up and go to sleep."

Tuesday, 12 December: Nick Schofield celebrates his quarter century treating himself to the uncharacteristic luxury of a lie in. Four malevolent spirits, however, greet him after Morning Prayer with a rousing chorus of "Happy Birthday."

Wednesday, 13 December: A surreal evening's entertainment at the Residence of the British Ambassador to the Holy See begins with the Ambassador's wife introducing Richard Whinder and Andrew Cole to her "very good friends, four Russian folk musicians." The talented Slav quartet in question? Andrew Stringfellow, Justin White, Gregers Maersk-Kristensen and Marcus Holden.

Sunday, 17 December: Stringo demonstrates his versatility by switching from Russian folk music to doing a turn for the Beda Christmas revue as Cardinal Ratzinger. He turns his icy Teutonic analysis upon his host College and its headmaster. The more traditionally minded climb the Janiculum for the NAC Service of Lessons and Carols, replete with *ferverino* from Mgr Dolan.

Wednesday, 20 December: Bishop Michael Fitzgerald admits Joe Gee, Chris Ginns, David Gnosill, Simon Hall, David Parmiter, Paul Simmons, Nicholas Schofield, Peter Vellacott and Mark Vickers as Candidates for Holy Orders. Not quite the normal venue of Palazzola, but rather the NAC Chapel, where Mgr Dolan invites us to feel at home. Bishop Fitzgerald preaches on the 3 "Rs," or, rather, the 3 "Aaghs."

Tuesday, 21 December: And so back to England for Christmas...

Thursday, 4 January 2001: Graham Platt is ordained deacon at the Church of St Gregory the Great, Northampton. Although Graham attempts to avoid the promise of obedience, Bishop McCartie is having none of it. It is good to see the Rector for the first time in three months, looking well and hoping to be back in Rome with us shortly.

Sunday, 7 January, the Epiphany: Back to Rome - and to our host Colleges.

Tuesday, 9 January: It is the turn of the Beda to hit the road. Their seminarians are asked to leave for twelve hours as their water system is chlorinated. The cynics who advise them to take a large suitcase are confounded.

Wednesday, 10 January: The College come together for the first time in the New Year for Mass at the Greg and lunch afterwards.

Friday, 12 January: The closure order is lifted. Only a few technicalities and BIBOS to be notified, and we shall be back in Via di Monserrato in no time at all...

Sunday, 14 January: The appearance of yet another barking mad entry in *The Catholic Herald* gossip column has Sr Amadeus sniffing a mole. She goes into Miss Marple mode determined to discover the identity of the perpetrator.

Tuesday, 16 January: Things slowly return to normal. Fr Rector returns to Italy and goes up to Palazzola initially.

Wednesday, 17 January: Full normality is restored: Sr Antonia confirms that Fr Rector did indeed arrive at Palazzola yesterday but that no one has seen him since or has a clue where he might be.

Saturday, 20 January: A rather subdued soccer team after a 3-2 defeat at the hands of the Americans. Rolling substitution might be permissible in American football, but it is just not cricket.

Sunday, 21 January: Congratulations to our former Rector, Archbishop Cormac Murphy-O'Connor of Westminster. The Holy Father announces that he is amongst the 37 new cardinals to be created at next month's Consistory.

Friday, 26 January: Southwark is the latest English Diocese to receive a new bishop. Old Roman, John Hine, will become an auxiliary there.

Monday, 29 January: There is universal delight at the news that Mgr Tony Philpot will be moving down the hill to take up the post of House Spiritual Director from September. Fr Liam Kelly of the Diocese of Nottingham will be taking his place at Palazzola.

Tuesday, 30 January: "*Nuntio vobis gaudium magnum*" reads the Rector's note. The Exile is over - or, at least, will be when the College re-opens next Monday. (Being exam-tide a week's flexibility is allowed for individuals to decide when exactly they wish to return.) Seminarians will be taking back with them varied reactions from a momentous few months: for some a time of considerable difficulty and disruption, for many a period of great happiness, opportunity and new friends.

Monday, 5 February: The College is open again for the first time in almost four months. Given that some are still in the midst of exams whilst others are now away on the mid-semester break, it is more a question of a gradual drift back to the Via di Monserrato than a stampede.

Friday, 9 February: Justin White, one of the Anglican exchange students, looks very perplexed when Sr Amadeus asks him over the dinner table if he is a "serious punter." He is only reassured on realising that the question is asked in the context of Cambridge.

Sunday, 11 February: The first Sunday Mass back in College. Those of our Sunday congregation who have heard news of the re-opening on the grapevine assemble to grapple with the mind-boggling image offered in the homily: Fr Martin “making whoopee.”

The two Anglican students, Reagan O’Callaghan and Justin White, mark the end of their exchange programme with the Irish and Beda Colleges. To reflect “the diversity of the Anglican tradition,” they throw a party of pickled fancies and Antipodean punch.

Sunday, 18 February: Archbishop Cormac Murphy-O’Connor arrives with the first of his guests at the beginning of a week’s celebrations to mark the honour of his being raised to the College of Cardinals.

Monday, 19 February: With the Greg students joining their colleagues already back at the other universities for the start of the second semester, the full House re-assembles at Morning Prayer for the first time in four months. It is obvious that normality has returned when we wait 20 minutes for bread to arrive at breakfast and communication with the outside world proves virtually impossible.

We celebrate the return in the evening: Fr Rector presides at Mass, which is followed by a festal supper.

Another upset for the pundits: Jonathan Jones of the Archdiocese of Liverpool is elected as the next Senior Student.

Tuesday, 20 February: Andrew Downie of Hexham & Newcastle is to be the next Deputy Senior Student.

Wednesday, 21 February: A happy day for the Church in England & Wales and for the College. Archbishop Cormac Murphy-O’Connor becomes the fourth former Rector of the College to be raised to the sacred purple at the Consistory that is held at St. Peter’s in the morning. Everyone is left wondering how he has managed to swing it to come away from the Consistory with the best titular church on offer, S. Maria sopra Minerva. It is a great joy that the new Cardinal is able to entertain his guests to lunch in the College refectory. A heart-felt *Ad multos annos* is sung before many of those present make their way back to the Vatican for the *visita di cortesia* to the forty-four new princes of the Church.

Thursday, 22 February, The Feast of the Chair of Peter: The really determined are back at St Peter’s Square for the Consistory Mass at which the Holy Father invests the new Cardinals with their rings.

Those arriving back in the late afternoon are met by dozens of little men in white coats. We discover, however, that the College has not been rumbled; they are BIBOS waiters for the Cardinal’s reception for which most of English-speaking Rome and the visiting pilgrims are present.

Friday, 23 February: Various members of the College serve Mass for the Cardinal at S. Clemente. This is followed by yet another reception, given by the Irish Dominicans.

Saturday, 24 February: It is the time of year when the staff has the opportunity to show that they do have a sense of humour as the new list of House jobs is revealed.

For the first known occasion in the history of the Church, all the British and Irish seminaries in Rome come together to celebrate the liturgy: Solemn Vespers at

S. Gregorio with Cardinals Murphy-O'Connor, Connell and Winning. Then back to the Irish College for a little *qualcosa*.

Sunday, 25 February: Mass, College photograph and lunch: then the new Cardinal is off back to Westminster - replete with red biretta and socks presented by Andrew Cole on behalf of the student body.

In the evening the ceremonial shoebox is handed over and power is transferred to Messrs Jones and Downie as SS and DSS - *Auguri*. Jonathan assures that the days of the SS presenting a soft, fluffy image are over; no more slippers and cardigans.

Friday, 2 March: Whilst the rest of the College keep the normal discipline of a Friday in Lent, the Rector and the Archdiocese of Birmingham live it up under the excuse of the Feast of St Chad.

Sunday, 4 March: Joe and Marjorie Coughlan announce the birth of their second son. We all join in sending congratulations to Benjamin and his parents.

Tuesday, 6 March: Our Lenten Faith Reflection Groups begin as we are asked to reflect upon our experience in exile.

Wednesday, 7 March: Sr Amadeus' mystery tour graces take on an unexpected twist in the Ref. this evening: "We pray for the food. Eternal rest grant unto it, O Lord..."

Friday, 9 March: We are introduced to Sr Mary Joseph OSB, the new College librarian.

Saturday, 10 March: In putting on a fancy dress supper party for his year, Andrew Stringfellow seeks, successfully, to recreate the high decadence of the age of the Austro-Hungarian parties. He himself arrives as Yasser Arafat, Andrew Cole as the Viceroy of Sherwin House, Patrick Mileham as the Wandering Aramean, Chris Thomas as a very convincing Cardinal Wolsey, Richard Whinder as the young John Henry Newman (not much change there) and Robert Murphy as Louis XIV (although perhaps looking a little more like the Tom Saunders of English College pantomime than the Sun King of Versailles). The *hoi polloi* are invited to be spectators at the banquet and to join in the consumption of *liquori*.

Tuesday, 13 March: The second of our Faith Reflection Groups. Andrew Downie reveals that the task for the next session will be to choose a tree that best describes our experience in exile.

Wednesday, 14 March: The College begins the process of returning, in small measure, the hospitality experienced during the Exile. The Scots join us in the evening for Mass and a festal supper. The opportunity is taken to extract revenge for all those ghastly television broadcasts from North of the Border transmitted on News Years Eves over the decades by wheeling on Nick Schofield and his bagpipes.

16 March: In the Rector's Cup soccer tournament at the NAC the English College beat the Scots 3-2. According to Tony Curren, the score in no way does justice to the magnitude of the defeat inflicted upon them.

Saturday, 17 March: The College goes down a respectable 2-1 to the Mexicans, who go on to win the tournament.

Wednesday, 21 March: The Beda come to Mass and supper as a token of our thanks for the hospitality shown to us during the months of exile. Proposing the vote of thanks, Robert Murphy reminds us of the close connections of the two Colleges, the Beda being founded for convert clergy and student priests for whom “the discipline, etc.” of the English College was all too much.

Thursday, 22 March: The College feels strangely empty as a third of the House disappear up to Palazzola on the Acolytes-to-be retreat.

Saturday, 24 March: There is a constant queue all day outside the door of Archbishop Nichols of those offering their views on the current state of the College.

Tuesday, 27 March: Sr Eileen Plunkett gives us a Spiritual Conference in the evening aimed to help us come to terms with the trauma of the Exile. We are offered images of aboriginal youths wearing white body paint and bearing the scars of circumcision; of “primal non-time and non-space;” of beginnings that are the start of the middle of the end; of coat hangers and the laundry that follows the Great Enlightenment. In the middle of the Conference we are asked to swap seats as a symbol of the dislocation suffered during that time. Asked in the subsequent Faith Reflection Group what he most identifies with from what we have been offered, Dominic Howarth has no problem in naming the bottles of alcohol sat on the table before him. The rest of the group heartily agree.

Wednesday, 28 March: It is the turn of the North American College to come over to the Via Monserrato for Mass and supper in thanks for hospitality received during the Exile. In his speech in the Refectory, Chris Thomas waxes lyrical on the delights of life and formation on the Janiculum.

Thursday, 29 March: Another appointment to the English hierarchy, another VEC alumnus. Our congratulations go out to Mgr Kevin McDonald, Rector of Oscott, and now Bishop of Northampton.

Monday, 2 April: The Wiseman Society continues its series of occasional lectures on themes of pressing contemporary relevance: “The Theology of the *Credo* of the B Minor Mass of J. S. Bach.” This is given by the visiting McCarthy lecturer, Professor Oliver O’Donovan of Christ Church, Oxford, illustrated by his son on the keyboard. His pedagogy compares well with that of certain Roman universities.

Wednesday, 4 April: The reception of the Irish College completes the series of evenings aimed at thanking those so generous to us in our Exile. As with the other three, the evening is a huge success and enormously enjoyable. For those who had not already guessed, Richard Whinder shows his true colours, giving us a homily on his hero, the Pope-King Gregory XVI, in comparison to whom *Beato Pio Nono* was “a trendy liberal.”

Friday, 6 April: The College goes very quiet as that long-awaited publication, our collected thoughts on our seminary formation, arrives in our pigeonholes. The submissions show a remarkable degree of unanimity of approach concerning appropriate attitudes and behaviour, the role of the staff, the infrastructure and timetabling issues. Over to the staff for their response...

The first confirmed case of foot in mouth in the College: Chris Ginns tells the Vice-Rector that he found the Faith Zone at the Greenwich Millennium Dome particularly weak. Fr Nick reveals that, in fact, he was the Catholic adviser for the project.

Palm Sunday, 8 April: We begin our liturgical celebration of Holy Week, as usual, up at Palazzola. The community then go into silence for the retreat given by Fr “Dixie” Taylor of the Salford Diocese. Both in style and content, his reflections are a rich source of meditation.

Maundy Thursday, 12 April: Bishops abound. As Alex Redman points out, it is a great day for the Church in Numidia *ipi*, which receives two new episcopal appointments: our congratulations are due to Mgr Arthur Roche, former College Spiritual Director, and Mgr George Stack. Both will serve as auxiliaries in Westminster.

With family and friends present, we commence our celebration of the *Triduum* in the evening with the Mass of the Lord’s Supper.

Friday, 13 April, Good Friday: The liturgical celebration of Our Lord’s Passion in the College Church in the afternoon is one of the most prayerful and beautifully sung of recent years.

The Catholic Herald is at it again. This time a full spread article suggesting that the College is run by a “flower power” regime intent upon persecuting orthodox seminarians.

Good news: *The Times* reveals that at least two thirds of Church of England bishops believe in the Resurrection.

Sunday, 15 April, The Resurrection of Our Lord: Although there are fewer of us, the Solemnity is kept with great reverence. A post-Vigil party in the Garden Room, a short night and then off to St Peter’s for those who sing in the choir or sit in the Square for the Papal Mass. Lunch, then the *gita* period begins.

Sunday, 22 April: The House returns from *gite* to far-flung destinations, including a significant number to the mother country. We return to bad news: Graham Platt is seriously ill in hospital, having been mugged and badly beaten; Dominic Howarth is back in England with his HCPT group after one of their number was killed in a road accident in Lourdes. Our prayers are with all those affected.

Wednesday, 25 April: The Rector publishes the new, provisional timetable, taking into account recent comments and providing for a regular morning Mass. Also immediately, a spoof goes up on the notice board signed by Abbot Kilgarriff of St. Osburg’s: Office seven times a day, the reintroduction of the *camerata*, and silent meals with readings, and the abolition of summers back in England.

Friday, 27 April: Sr Amadeus gives an uplifting Spiritual Conference on Easter joy. Those who left the legal profession to come to seminary wonder, however, which translation of the Bible contains the injunction of Our Lord, “Be not solicitors.”

Saturday, 5 May: We are well represented at “the Anglo-Irish College,” where Eamon Duffy gives two outstanding lectures on the Catholicism of Seamus Heaney and then on the English Reformation.

Sunday, 6 May: Founders’ Day gives the opportunity to express our gratitude once more to all those who have helped us in so many ways during our *annus horribilis*.

In the evening we get to see Channel 4’s programme on homosexuality in the priesthood and seminaries. The contribution of Chris Higgins and Dennis Caulfield means that the English College comes under the spotlight. The general

opinion, however, is that the programme is not of a particularly serious nature, focusing on the sensational. The robust defence of the Church's teaching by Bishop Peter Smith is much appreciated.

Tuesday, 8 May: The announcement of Mgr Kieran Conry as the next Bishop of Arundel & Brighton brings the English hierarchy almost up to a full complement. Only Lancaster still awaits news.

Wednesday, 9 May: The staff are seen keeping rather better company than normal: St Joseph makes one of his occasional outings from his corridor to join their breakfast table in the Ref.

Thursday, 10 May: Sr Amadeus, Andrew Cole and Andrew Stringfellow represent the College at the consecration of Bishops Arthur Roche and George Stack as auxiliaries for Westminster.

Tuesday, 15 May: Fr Lucas Lucas of the Legionaries of Christ and the Greg. Philosophy Faculty comes into the College in the evening at the invitation of the seminarians to give an introductory talk on the terminology and the anthropology underlying the various life issues facing the Church and society.

Thursday, 17 May: The College *Gita* goes on pilgrimage to Sutri, the former diocese of Pope St Pius V, followed by a lakeside lunch at the Lago di Vico.

Tuesday, 22 May: Bishop Arthur Roche says Mass for the College in the evening which is followed by a festal supper. Very much a family celebration.

Wednesday, 23 May: Fr Gerardo Fabrizio and his team prepare a wonderful dinner for the entire College, eaten in the corridor outside the Common Room. Paul Simmons sets the tone with a toast to the staff: "Why were they born so beautiful...?" As the Vice-Rector's *telefonino* keeps going off during the meal, Tony Currer tells him to remind the Rector that the College is "the big door at No. 45." Supper is followed by entertainments in which the staff take their usual hammering, this time at the hands of Archbishop Pittau of the Congregation for Catholic Education (Andrew Stringfellow) and the late Bishop Brewer (Chris Thomas). The mood of the evening swings wildly between high jinks and rebelliousness.

Saturday, 26 May, Feast of St Philip Neri: Despite the Rector declaring it not to be an obligatory House function, a sufficient number still go to the *Chiesa Nuova* to provide deacons, servers and the *Schola* for the Mass celebrated by Cardinal Silvestrini. Cardinal Clancy is also in attendance.

Monday, 28 May: An Anglican visitor asks why the Forty-Four Corridor is known as "the Council Estate." A resident proffers an explanation: like so much else in the Church, it was built in a fit of optimism forty years ago and has been falling down ever since.

The appointment of the next Theology Tutor is announced: Fr Robert Esdaile from A&B. He is known to most of the College only from his regular correspondence with the Press and from his *Venerabile* obituary, which describes him as an eco-warrior.

Sunday, 3 June, Pentecost: The Mass of the Solemnity is said by Archbishop Pittau of the Congregation for Catholic Education and Seminaries. Afterwards he

addresses the House to express his support and encouragement at the end of an extremely difficult year for the College. The Archbishop addresses the subjects of vocation and celibacy in the context of what constitutes true freedom and happiness. Above all, he reminds us to be faithful to the tradition of our Martyrs.

At this point the Diarist lays down his pen, wishing his successor a rather less eventful term of office!

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“A Thousand Welcomes”: Exile at the Irish College

DOMINIC HOWARTH

The clock at the English College behaves strangely when it is not wound. It seems forlorn and confused, striking odd hours at odd moments, with uncertain, drawn out pauses between beats. On October 18th, we left the English College and fifteen of us were accommodated at the Irish College. In those early days we too felt forlorn. The familiar patterns of our life and surroundings had been disrupted and we were disorientated, struggling to accommodate ourselves to a new rhythm.

To be required to leave home, at short notice, uncertain about when it would be possible to return, and with relatively few possessions, is an experience I will never forget. It has made me appreciate all that I have at the English College, above all the people with whom I live. It has been a privileged situation in that we had rooms offered to us unhesitatingly by the Irish College: my situation has not been that of refugees fleeing wars or floods. Some of the psychology has been the same, though: the disorientation, the dependence on others, the feeling of helplessness and lack of control over significant aspects of one's own life.

Training for Priesthood, these experiences have, with reflection, been immensely strengthening. If everything familiar is suddenly cut away, all that is left is oneself, and Christ. I have a radical new appreciation, now, of quite how few material possessions I need in order to live, and I have been able to re-evaluate my priorities. People have always been central for me: those close to me now have a renewed place in my life and heart.

It is difficult for me to express how I feel about the Irish College community. Difficult because there are insufficient words to evoke the strength, constancy and generosity of their support. At the moment we arrived, Fr Liam Bergin came to the door to meet us, and show us to our rooms. Subsequently he and the Rector, Mgr Fleming, have been deeply concerned for us all. There has always been a friendly word and a smile, and nothing has been too much trouble. Set in the context of the feelings I have described above, their welcome and kindness has been an immense source of strength.

The welcome from the students has also been unparalleled in its generosity and selflessness. The community we entered accepted us unquestioningly and openly. There has been so much genuine concern for us, and it is certain that the relationship between the English and Irish Colleges will be deepened for many decades to come.

I was delighted to be asked to be part of the Irish College five-a-side team for the John Lateran championships. Regrettably, since the Spiritual Director is part of the team, the actual results must remain within the internal forum. I can only say

that the team play together in a way that is consistently friendly and affirming, one of another. It was a real pleasure to be part of the team.

A particularly fond memory was the evocative use of light and music for the Advent service. I listened enraptured as Fr John Flaherty simply and beautifully created the image of a childhood Christmas in Dublin. There was a moment when one could almost see the breath clouding in front of the child as he stood in the mystical silence of the Dublin streets after midnight Mass.

At the time of writing, we do not yet know when the English College will re-open. I know that when it does we will create a party for the Irish that will celebrate all that they have done for us. What will live on, though, past the food and drink, even past the gifts, will be the spirit that has been created here in the Irish College in the autumn of the Jubilee. A spirit of fraternity and welcome that will never be erased from the hearts of the English College students who arrived as exiles from our own house, and who have been welcomed as part of the Irish College family. Thank you.

This article, written at Christmas 2000, first appeared in the Irish College magazine.



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Consistory Week, February 2001

GERARD SKINNER

The record breaking Consistory of 21 February 2001 occurred the first week the College returned home after the great exile. It was the first week of a new semester and our house-jobs were changing. Meanwhile Archbishop Cormac, Cardinal-elect, was preparing to somewhat change his role in the life of the Church. His new position entailed a change of dress - the bail of scarlet with his name attached had been spotted some weeks earlier in an ecclesiastical tailors suitably near his new titular church. The Gregorian University, suitably proud of her *alumni*, had posted a notice declaring the names of a number of former students, Cardinal Murphy-O'Connor being amongst them. Meanwhile at number 48 via di Monserrato the final touches were being added by our own ecclesiastical king of arms, Mgr Scicluna, to the new Cardinal's coat of arms, now to be seen hanging at the foot of the stairs in the College. All was in readiness for a week of joyful celebrations.

The Cardinal-elect arrived in Rome with his family the weekend before the Consistory, in time for the opening *fiesta* of the week celebrating the reopening of the College. Tuesday saw the arrival of many more guests, family and friends and a goodly number of Westminster clergy including Bishops Guazelli and



Three Cardinals in the 'cortile' of San Gregorio Magno: (left to right) Cardinal Cormac Murphy O'Connor of Westminster, the late Cardinal Thomas Winning of Glasgow and Cardinal Desmond Connell of Dublin.



Cardinal Cormac was delighted by the red biretta presented to him by the students at a celebratory lunch.

O'Donoghue and the Administrator of the Archbishop's Cathedral, Mgr George Stack. The retiring General Secretary of the Bishops' Conference, Mgr Arthur Roche, was also in attendance. Archbishop Maurice Couve de Murville - at the time happily filling episcopal roles in the still vacant diocese of Arundel and Brighton - arrived to find himself eagerly assisted by a secretarial team of three students for the Consistory and for the Mass the following day.

The day itself arrived - a glorious February day - the largest Consistory in history gathering beneath a perfect blue sky. To the music of Charpentier's prelude to the *Te Deum* the Cardinals-elect processed through St Peter's Square accompanied by their secretaries. The College of Cardinals awaited them, seated to the left of the Papal Throne. The Cardinals-elect represented twenty-seven nations and were about to bring to one hundred and sixty the number of Cardinals created by Pope John Paul II.

After having sworn fidelity to the Holy Father, each new Cardinal approached the Papal Throne to receive his red hat - the three-finned scarlet biretta, "It is red" the Holy Father said to each in Latin, "the sign of a Cardinal's dignity, which means that you must be prepared to conduct yourself with fortitude, to the spilling of blood, for the growth of the Christian faith, peace, and tranquillity of the People of God, and the liberty and diffusion of the Holy Roman Church."

Again and again over the three days of Papal events the Holy Father, with evident profound emotion, exhorted the new Cardinals to heroic witness to Christ: "The Church is based on the consistent witness given of him by the apostles, the martyrs and confessors of faith": "It is a witness that can even exact the heroism of the total giving of oneself to God and one's brothers"; "Every Christian knows that he is called to faithfulness without compromise, which can also exact the supreme sacrifice."

After the ceremony the new Cardinal returned to the English College to be greeted by an enthusiastic cheer from both guests and students. A festal lunch was followed by his return to the Vatican for the *visite di cortesia*. It was an occasion for the Cardinals to greet each other and for visitors to be introduced. Cardinal Cormac, along with most of the English speaking Cardinals newly created, was residing in the Paul VI Audience Hall. Others were in the Apostolic Palace. It was,

as one *Angelicum* professor put it (gazing at a class rather less well attended than usual), a great time for “Cardinal Watching”, although those in the Apostolic Palace seemed to be joined by a number of art historians eager for easy access to many venerable and artistic treasures (the frescoes, that is).

The following day, Feast of the Chair of Peter, the new Cardinals received their Cardinalatial rings, symbols of their steadfast communion with the See of Peter. Powerfully the Pope recalled Christ’s words, “I have prayed for you,” during his homily. The new Cardinals concelebrated Mass with the Holy Father, Great Britain’s newest Cardinal literally head and shoulders above the rest of his brothers.

Early Thursday evening Cardinal Murphy-O’Connor hosted a reception at the English College. Amongst family, friends and other invited guests were Fr Timothy Radcliffe, Master General of the Dominicans) and Cardinals Law and Baum - the latter exuding College tradition as he greeted Nicholas Schofield with the words *Salvete flores martyrum* as he left the College.

Friday morning, and the new Cardinals and their families gathered once more around the Holy Father for an audience. That evening the Archdiocese of Westminster came together at the Church of San Clemente to celebrate Mass with their tenth Cardinal Archbishop. All were given a warm welcome by Fr Luke Dempsey and the Irish Dominican Community.

On Saturday morning the new Cardinal celebrated Mass and had lunch at the Beda College before travelling back into the centre of Rome to San Gregorio to preach at vespers along with Cardinal Connell of Dublin, the late Cardinal Winning presiding. This was the newly created Cardinals of the British Isles opportunity to pray together with the students from the Beda, the Irish, the Scots and the Venerable English College. Our *Schola* Master, Fr Philip Whitmore, had carefully organized the celebration. It was followed by typically generous Irish hospitality at the Irish College.

A week of celebration concluded with the fourth former rector of the English College to be made a Cardinal celebrating Mass and once more joining his old Venerabile family for a celebratory lunch. In his speech he reminisced of his College days as student and rector and celebrated the importance of good friends, two of whom were with us - Mgr Chris Lightbound and our former rector Mgr Jack Kennedy. With a speech from the Rector the Cardinal was presented with a fine print of his titular church - Santa Maria sopra Minerva - from the time of its last English Cardinal, the Dominican, Philip Howard. A speech from our outgoing Senior Student, Richard Whinder, and his Deputy, Andrew Cole presented the Cardinal with the students’ gift a pair of red socks and another red biretta.

It was a great week for the College, the like of which could not have been seen for many years. In October, during the Synod of Bishops, Cardinal Murphy-O’Connor will take possession of his titular church. From amongst the departing Cardinalatial *entourage* a voice of cheerful anticipation and perhaps capricious understatement; “That’ll be a big do!” he said.

Your Eminence, *Ad multos annos!*

Gerard Skinner is a sixth year student for the Archdiocese of Westminster, currently studying for an STL in Dogma, and was ordained a deacon at Palazzola on 15 July 2001. Before entering the College, he was the Organ Scholar at Westminster Cathedral.

Schola notes: 2000-2001

PHILIP WHITMORE

Some six months after my return to Rome, to work in the Curia as an Official in the Congregation for Bishops, I was asked whether I would consider taking on a job in my spare time. It was a job I had done before, when I was a student in the College in the early 1990's - the job of *Schola* Master. I'd enjoyed it then, and didn't need long to make up my mind this time. Living in one of the College flats just next door, I'd already been attending many of the liturgical functions. I was glad of the opportunity to become more closely involved.

As I remembered from my earlier term of office (1990-1992), the first task of an incoming *Schola* Master is to prepare for Holy Week and Easter. Fortunately Easter was late in 2000 (23 April), so we had plenty of time. But where were we to rehearse? The common room upstairs was now the place where people relaxed and read newspapers - it really would test fraternal charity to the limit if we rehearsed in there. The only other piano in College had just been moved from the *Salotto* to the Garden Room. So there we settled. Care had to be taken when arranging the seats to leave an escape route for residents of Sherwin House, this room being their only means of access or egress. It seemed to work, and the Byrd *Passion* was duly relearned, much to the astonishment of the ladies in the kitchen, not to mention the passers-by.

It was strangely reassuring to discover that arrangements for our participation in the Holy Father's Easter Sunday Mass were almost unchanged. The Pontiff's physical decline, however, has meant that he no longer incenses the altar at the Offertory - so our few opportunities to sing during the liturgy itself have become even fewer. Undaunted, a *Schola* duly enlarged by the participation of some willing "extras" prepared music to sing before the start of Mass, and for me it was a great joy to be present once again at this great celebration.

The disadvantage of a late Easter is that it leaves so little time for learning new music in the remainder of the year. Faure's *Ave verum corpus* and Mendelssohn's *Lift thine eyes* were more than enough to keep us busy. We sang the Faure at the Lectorate ceremony and the Diaconate ordination - and then dispersed for the summer (or rather, everyone except the *Schola* Master did!)

Eager to get the new year off to a good start, I prepared a little *ferverino*, to encourage new members, rekindle enthusiasm, and promise lots of fun. It was duly delivered at the end of a Choir Practice on Friday 13 October (an auspicious date). Disaster struck. The following Tuesday the closure order was made, and on Wednesday, the day scheduled for our first rehearsal, the students all dispersed to their various host colleges. Undaunted by even this adversity, we were determined to do something for Martyrs' Day, held, in the event, at Palazzola. A couple of rehearsals were arranged in the *Schola* Master's flat (mercifully unaffected by the closure order), and we duly sang Costantini's *Confitemini Domino* at the Villa.

It must have been all right, because we were asked to do it again three weeks later, this time at the North American College for the Admission to Candidacy. I always say there's nothing like a few international engagements to build up morale, especially during a period of exile.

When the great *rientro* finally came, in early February, the students were busy with exams, so it seemed as if the *Schola* would be in abeyance a little longer. Far from it. News of the Consistory was quickly followed by a proposal for a celebration of Vespers with the Cardinals from England, Ireland, and Scotland and their respective communities. Could the *Schola* contribute? Once again, Costantini's *Confitemini Domino* came to the rescue. (Another international engagement for the *Schola*!) When the scarlet dust had settled, it seemed at last that 'business as usual' could resume. Thereby hangs - next year's tale.

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Leavers' Notes



JOHN RAFFERTY

If the college was in need of a spiritual director with a pastoral heart, firmly rooted in diocesan priestly ministry, then it certainly found one in John. You would be right in thinking that John's 26 years, spent faithfully committed to parish work in the diocese of Shrewsbury, would alone have made him an eminently suitable choice for spiritual director. Yet John's role during this time, as chairman of the council of priests as well as director of ministry to priests, meant his CV for the job was most impressive indeed.

When John came to the College in 1996 it was no surprise then that we soon discovered in him a gracious person with many gifts who had a great love for the priestly life. Adrian Toffolo could once more be well pleased with his choice of a new member of staff – although having known John from his student days meant that there wasn't too much doubt in the rector's mind as to his ability to fulfil such a role.

We have not been disappointed. During his time with us in the College John has shared many of the fruits of his experience as a diocesan priest. A good measure of a spiritual director is the way in which he encourages all in the house through his regular spiritual conferences. In this area John will be remembered for the sincere, kind and gentle manner in which he described his belief. His sensitive and uplifting talks on prayer, formation and the community will continue to be a rich source of wisdom for many a student. John also guided students during retreats and this small group work he particularly enjoyed and the seminarians greatly appreciated.

John revealed himself to be a person who has a great respect for the mystery of God. As a most caring and considerate priest, there is also a lighter side to John expressed not just by his devotion to pale grey clerical shirts. His good sense of humour and ability to tease people makes his company valuable. 'Rafferty's Tea Room' – a possible alternative name for John's office – despite its deep red coloured furniture (symbolic of a 'return to the womb' type experience?) - proved to be a popular place to visit for students seeking a consoling momentary distraction and a friendly chat. John has a good listening ear whenever it is needed.

John knew how to make guests welcome and he made many friends in Rome. He was a regular member of the meeting of the larger family of seminary spiritual directors in Rome which he appreciated greatly. He did not lose sight of his commitment to ecumenism expressed through his regular attendance at the fraternal in the city. He also enjoyed Italy and its culture to the full, heading for the mountains and hills whenever an opportunity arose. *Vongole verace* and a good glass of *Grappa* were among his favourites when it came to Italian cuisine. Yet,

despite his love of Italian food and drink, he somehow managed to retain his slender healthy look although he did prefer a slower walking pace - perhaps accepting that he was beginning to be chronologically and not just follicularly challenged. He was always a person of great humility and humanity and never a man to promote his self-importance – although even he might admit that his impression of Dr. Spock in the 1999 pantomime was worthy of an Oscar nomination – who could distinguish John from the real thing!

As a man of great integrity and goodness he played an important caring and supportive role among the team of staff. For this his colleagues will miss him. On his own admission his time here has been an enriching experience. It has also been enriching for both students and staff and we wish him well in his new role as he moves on to become the Episcopal Vicar for clergy in his diocese.



MARTIN STEMPCZYK

The first senior student on whom the new rector, Adrian Toffolo, had to practise his negotiating skills and who was to introduce him to the intricacies of student life and relationships at the VEC was Martin Stempczyk. So impressed must he have been that three years later he asked the bishop of Hexham and Newcastle if Martin could be released from pastoral duties to become the Theology Tutor. He should have known better. Martin was so relishing his first taste of diocesan pastoral ministry

that he was not going to be enticed away so easily. The hand had been put to the plough and, true to form, Martin held on, with characteristic stubbornness and singleness of purpose, until he felt he had fulfilled his responsibilities to the people of his parish, and at the same time had sufficient experience as a priest in a parish to confirm his own vocation and to enthuse seminarians for the same vocation.

It was, then, in 1996 that he arrived in Rome complete with boxes and boxes of meticulously ordered notes, a library of books, the latest gear for his various sporting activities, a twinkle in his eye, and a smile on his face.

When, eventually, he got his room to his liking, it was only too obvious what was his purpose in the college. He built himself the largest desk the college had ever seen and was inevitably to be found imprisoned behind it preparing his next seminar with a most impressive thoroughness, anxious always to give to the students only his best. In first year theology he taught a propaedeutic seminar to introduce the students to the subject and enable them to gain as much benefit as possible from their university lectures and then, in third year, a synthetic seminar to help them gather together their thoughts and reflections for their STB.

Martin, as a man of prayer and a priest, never forgot that all true theologians were mystics as well and that theology is not just an academic subject. He was keen for the students not to pursue his subject as a science in itself, but to bring it into the silence of their prayer and to reflect upon it in the light of the continually unfolding teaching of the Church. He was satisfied only if he felt that his teaching was bringing the students to a deeper knowledge and love of God so that they might become all the more effective bearers of the Good News.

But his seminars became popular not only because of their content and the thoroughness with which they were prepared, but also because the tea and cakes at the interval, and the disarming charm of the tutor, won the heart of many an Indian nun.

Thursdays could see Martin transfigured into a dashing white figure on tennis or squash court, or an athletic, Rohan-clad mountain-climber, or a skier in his latest, colour co-ordinated ski-suit, ready to show his prowess, but always generous and patient when it came to assisting those who had neither the same youthful energy nor expertise as himself. But despite his desire to at all times appear to be neat and tidy, what hair he has left, after the ravages of time and the drastic clippers of Rocco, he was ready to let down and appear in the Pantomimes as anything from Godfather's henchman to a Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle.

The team spirit and the mutual support of the staff has always been one of the strengths of the VEC, and Martin was convinced of the importance of good collaborative leadership. His colleagues have always appreciated his loyal and generous help, his perceptive and balanced views, and his gentle and courteous manner. They have also appreciated his engaging blushes in response to their merciless and relentless teasing.

As the time came for Martin to look to his return to the diocese, it was typical of him that he decided to prepare himself for pastoral ministry once again. His four years in a parish, and his ongoing theological reflections as tutor in the college, led him to desire a deepening of his own spirituality, so that he would have more to give to those whom he would soon be serving again as priest. Never flagging in his commitment to the students, he followed successfully an M.A. course in Spirituality at the *Angelicum*. His love affair with Julian of Norwich, though at times causing concern with his fellow members of staff, gave birth to a dissertation on the courtesy of God. Perhaps this attribute of God discovered by Julian is one we have all seen reflected in Martin in the gentle but determined way in which he has fulfilled his role as theology tutor

Martin possesses a humble simplicity which at times might hide a wisdom which his reticence prevented him from sharing, but he did share so much, including his enthusiasm for Christ, for the Church, and for the priesthood, that we know we have been well blessed. The balance he has achieved between prayer and apostolic activity has led him to become a happy young priest and a good model for the seminarians of the last five years.

We wish him well as he returns to his beloved diocese and know they will be only too pleased to have him back.

ANDREW COLE

It is difficult to write a leaver's note for Andrew Cole. A summary of such an enormous character will always be hard. Nevertheless we must try to slim him down to a few essential points that will give us the bones upon which to imagine the flesh. Think big!

Andrew was born in the western most part of Wales. Pembrokeshire. He is quick to tell those who say "Oh, you're Welsh then?", "I'm British - and I'm more English than Welsh." Not that Andrew has ever sought to deny his Welsh identity - rather that he is keen to make it clear that he is a loyal subject of the Queen.

Andrew is a true blue, who not only knows politics inside out, he loves them. Like all good Conservatives, Andrew loves to make long, dogmatic speeches that don't really mean very much. These characteristics though are part of why he has grown so much in our affection since coming to Rome from Birmingham University in 1995, where he studied Theology and worked for a year in the Catholic Chaplaincy.

Andrew has always tried to be heavily involved in all aspects of College life, bringing touches of class to his house jobs and pantomime roles. As Mrs Crachet in *Scrooge*, Andrew became fully immersed in his role as a suffering housewife. Offstage, during a break one student was traumatised at the sight of Andrew, so convincing was his make up and dress, "My God" said the student, "It looks like something off Yorkshire Street in Oldham on a Friday night, before you've had ten pints."

It could never be said of Andrew that he lacks confidence. His exam stories are legendary, while others slave away in their rooms for weeks studying the ins and outs of Fundamental Theology, Andrew leisurely reads his *Daily Telegraph*. So intimidating is the sight of Andrew walking through the exam hall door, right hand raised in Caesar-like salute, neck braced in starched linen collar, that Greg profs have no qualms about allowing Andrew to make his three points on the relationship between faith and Conservative party culture.

It was in his role as Deputy Senior Student that Andrew really shone. His personalised writing paper bearing his name, title and a picture of his favourite pop group *Steps*, would often be seen filling up the notice board. Andrew worked tirelessly to ensure the smooth running of the refectory and all things domestic. His relationship with the kitchen and cleaning staff was second to no DSS before him. Andrew always made sure that things got done. During his reign... I mean term of office... Andrew's organisational skills were tested to the full and never found wanting. While the College was in exile, the relationship of the DSS and Vice-Rector was very important; the two were able to work well together and never left a meeting without smiles and nods of agreement. During the consistory that saw Archbishop Murphy-O'Connor receive a red hat, the College put on a number of receptions and dinners that Andrew was instrumental in organising and executing. Andrew was never far from a beckoning bishop or a summoning secretary that week. He did a great job as DSS that would be difficult to follow for the simple fact that Andrew gave of himself perhaps more than he should have done. However in the days of minimalism and individualism it is no bad thing to see someone go that extra mile.

Perhaps Andrew will be remembered as an organiser, a mover and a shaker, but to those who know him better he will be remembered as a sensitive, trustworthy and loyal friend. Of the three qualities mentioned I would highlight loyal: loyal to his family, his Church, his friends and yes to his beloved Wales where he now returns to the mission of Menevia. May his youth and enthusiasm bring hope and inspiration to the Catholics and those not of that fold in his Diocese for many years.

SEAN CONNOLLY

Sean Connolly returned to the College in September 2000 after five years on the mission in Great Yarmouth, to begin his studies for a doctorate in theology at the *Angelicum*. It was not long before we became aware of his expertise in the field

of the writings of C.S. Lewis; mealtimes brought in–depth discussion of symbolism in *The Narnia Chronicles*, the parallels between the figure of Aslan and our Lord, and the hidden meanings of Turkish Delight in the *già e non ancora* of Lewisine Eschatology. But despite these particularly interesting ejaculations at table, we thought no less of him.

Then came the Exile, and Sean was dispatched to the Via Cassia and the Scots College...well we thought he was going there, but what had been prepared for him looked somewhat like a cell in the *gulag*. In the “lower ground floor” area, rooms had been prepared for him and a fellow student. Having examined the wardrobe and seen there was no way through to a dreamland, he made strong petition to the staff, and he and his fellow captive (who was suffering with a chest complaint) were moved to the more tranquil surroundings of the Lateran Hill and the Irish College. Sean buckled down to his reading there, which was punctuated by short periods of daytime TV.

Sean had hidden, in some cases, even clandestine talents, which few people know about. Reliable sources in the College noted that when the hot water supply had ceased just before the college was evacuated, Sean quietly ascended the stairs to the tower room where he enjoyed the comforts of hot showers (it having its own separate boiler!) whilst we mere mortals were screaming as icy water impinged the nerve endings. Of his secret find, Sean said nothing. His singing voice was a well-kept secret, but when he offered a Preface or Vespers on a Sunday, his fine tenor voice was revealed.

Sean will probably be remembered for three things in the college. Firstly, his preaching was amongst the best heard in the College for many years. His happy style and incisive vision, welding together the Sacred Scripture and its significance for daily life, provoked serious thought and reflection in his hearers. Secondly, Sean had a keen sense of justice, and would challenge all members of the community, staff and students, to improvement – both as individuals and as an institution. Thirdly, he was instrumental in the introduction of the new flowing French style albs which have been sported by the deacons this year – the debut of this style was in Lent, and we haven’t looked back since!

Sean has now left the College for Oxford, where he continues the quest for the deeper understanding of eschatology in Lewis’ writings. Being closer to the source will have benefits – warm beer, sandwiches, maybe a pipe and slippers, and a better quality of daytime TV. He will be missed in the College, but we wish him a fond farewell and every blessing in his work.

SHAUN HARPER

One’s first impression of Shaun Harper might well have been that of an “ATAC” bus. For one thing, he had a penchant for bright orange jumpers – a throwback, perhaps, to his creative, carefree days at art school. However, this similarity was not just visual. His method of greeting his friends in College was distinctly “ATAC”, involving low grunts, which would suddenly shift to a *falsetto* screech, and much movement as his orange-clad arms flapped about. It was indeed touching to see how Shaun, despite developing a remarkable command of the Queen’s English, kept in touch with his roots and slipped back unconsciously into the venerable calls of the Aboriginal peoples in the “outback”.

Shaun was the second Australian to study at the *Venerabile* in its long history. Though he made a point of keeping in close contact with his fellow colonials scattered across Rome, he became in our eyes “an honorary Englishman”, fully immersing himself both into the many house customs (especially *feste* and DBL’s) and into the peculiarly Anglo-centric experience of the “Old World” which the College provides. He had an enormous capacity for travelling around Rome, Italy and, indeed, most of Europe in his free time, though his tours went far beyond the carefully planned itineraries that he would enthusiastically wave around and dogmatically follow whilst “on *gita*”. Shaun always liked to throw himself into the deep end and get to know not only the natives but also their *lingo* – during his time here, he learnt Italian, French and German.

However, it was his enthusiasm with all things Latin that most impressed his contemporaries. A passionate Reggie Foster “groupie”, he spent many hours delving into his *deluxe* Latin dictionary (one of his most treasured possessions) just as a young child would happily while away an afternoon in a sandpit. But this knowledge of Latin, the language of the *Ecclesia Dei*, was never abstract for Shaun – those passing his room would often hear strains of Gregorian chant, which at first might sound like the monks of Solesmes or Fontgombault but on closer inspection was an impromptu performance by our resident antipodean. Such habits surprised no one, for Shaun’s love of the Roman liturgy was legendary. He had had wide experience as an MC before entering seminary, making him a member of that dying breed of classical rubricists, and as a College sacristan, delighted in educating the less liturgically aware. A favoured method was teaching a new word everyday, whilst holding up the relevant item – “amice”, “cincture”, “pall”, “bugia” and so on.

Shaun remained a true *artiste* during his Roman years: contributing to the music of the house as choirmaster, and painting a stunning design for the Paschal Candle of the Holy Year, in which the figure of the Risen Christ was fully vested in a set which even Signor Gammarelli would have been proud. His career on stage was equally impressive. Starting off as an all singing and dancing fish in *Pinocchio* and graduating onto the demanding role as one of a trio of bumble bees in *James and the Giant Peach*, his triumph was surely the character of Frank, Scrooge’s nephew in the production of that name. Here, Shaun was told to play himself. The result: a “flower power”-era artist, dressed in shades and grotesquely bright shirts, bursting with life and enthusiasm.

In 2000 Shaun returned home to the diocese of Sandhurst on an “extended pastoral placement”. During that time he decided to transfer to his home Archdiocese of Melbourne. Ever since leaving the Via di Monserrato the College has seemed a shade greyer – we are sure that he will bring much life and energy to the people of Australia, and we wish him well as he proceeds towards ordination. For them, the future is bright – the future is orange.

PATRICK MILEHAM

To sum up any human person in a single word is a difficult task, and in Patrick’s case it is, perhaps, impossible. If, however, we were forced to make the attempt, one might select the word “uncompromising”. For it is certain that his whole seminary existence was completely alien to any form of half-measures, dishonesty

or mediocrity. He was not always easy to live with, but he was certainly never dull to be around.

Generous in his friendships, it was Patrick's unhappy fate to see many of his closest friends leave the college before him. Indeed, at the end of his first year he was left as the sole occupant of his breakfast table, every other member of that table having left the seminary prematurely. But if his friendships were sometimes cut short unexpectedly, those friends who remained were able to enjoy his warmth and generosity all the more. His friendship once given was not easily lost, and, though not an undemanding companion, he always remained fiercely loyal to those close to him.

As a seminarian, Patrick's inability to pursue the *via media* was often evident, for he was a person of convinced and passionately held opinions, and was often only too eager to share those opinions with those around him. Occasionally, it must be said, he seemed happy to embrace entirely contradictory positions with equal gusto, such contradictions troubling him not at all but somehow being resolved in his own personality. In his political views, for example, he sometimes seemed to have stepped straight out of the Don Camillo stories – a dedicated Socialist, who for a short time displayed a hammer and sickle on his college walls and lost faith with the Labour party when Clause 4 was abandoned, he was no less fervently attached to that opiate of the people, Catholicism, and to the whole cultural apparatus of traditional Catholicism with which Italy is still rich and in which he delighted. Ecclesiastically, he was utterly committed to dialogue and open-ness within the Church, and enjoyed friendships with non-Catholics and non-believers alike. Yet he was also a fierce enemy to any dumbing down or greying over of his proudly professed Catholic faith, and no friend to any “lowest common denominator” form of ecumenism. As a student, Patrick attended the Gregorian with dedication, but was an outspoken critic of its less positive attributes. He would waste little time over courses whose relevance failed to impress him, but worked hard when the effort seemed worthwhile – and was particularly devoted to sacred scripture, which he loved. Many were the hours he spent mastering Greek and Hebrew in order to pursue a Licence at the *Biblicum*, a degree that he hopes to complete after taking some time out to minister to the good people of Birmingham diocese. As a final contradiction we might note that Patrick, who from his first days in seminary was a declared enemy of all fussy liturgy and complicated rituals, was eventually made MC – and did the job very well (mishaps with Paschal candlesticks notwithstanding).

On the other hand it must be said that there was very little ambiguity in Patrick's attitude to Rome – he threw himself in without reserve and enjoyed himself thoroughly. Like the good scripture scholar he was, in fact, he took delight in all of those things with which, according to Psalm 104, God chooses to delight the heart of man, and with which Italy abounds.

The sense of honesty we have already noted in Patrick was made clear to all his peers when he deferred his diaconate in the July of 2000. It was not an easy decision to make, but once again his commitment to doing the right thing prevailed, and his eventual ordination this last July is all the more significant for that. As he returns now for a time to England, we hope that he learns to compromise no more than he ever has, but responds to the new life of the parish with the same generosity he showed during his time at the VEC. If he does so, then his parishioners will be fortunate people.

ROBERT MURPHY

Robert came to the *Venerabile* for his final two years of priestly formation, following four years in a French seminary. After St. Catharine's College Cambridge, Robert had been sent by Archbishop Maurice Couve de Murville to the *Institut Catholique* in Paris and there studied a combined course of philosophy and First Cycle theology. Robert thus came to Rome well grounded in the disciplines and structures of a continental seminary. With its polished academic and pastoral traditions and integrated spiritual life, it was an experience that helped to enrich his contribution to the *Venerabile* community. As a gentle and open person, Robert was warmly and easily welcomed.

After cosmopolitan Paris and an *avant-garde* seminary, perhaps Robert thought life at the *Venerabile* a tiny bit inward-looking (heaven forbid!) and Rome as a city rather parochial, but this was never evidenced in the wholehearted way in which he contributed to the life of the College, and how he came to know some of the jewels of the Eternal City, particularly its restaurants. Well dressed, Robert certainly appreciated some of the finer things in life and we know this because he was always generous and hospitable. Knowing the importance of entertaining, he made a very good Head of Common Room Services in the House, and was much thanked for providing a constant supply of ice with the provision of a special freezer designated for this purpose alone. Robert mixed easily in the House and was well liked for his caring, approachable manner. His homilies were well prepared and similarly received, for he practised what he preached. And the liturgy was enhanced following the debut of the French free-flowing alb!

Robert enjoys his theology and was to go to the Greg where he followed quickly and competently a Fundamental Theology specialisation, taking a very nice Licence as he concluded his Second Cycle studies. Only very shortly after his arrival, Robert commanded impressive Italian, understanding assorted university professors and holding the attention of the Romans with an accent of smooth French undertone. Robert was very gracious to guests coming to visit him at the College from abroad and had a good circle of friends from the Greg. He was involved with a local parish, catechising the young adults - a witness to his great patience! Robert's spiritual life was naturally of paramount importance to him and he never neglected attention to prayer and all means available to help nourish it. Robert's discreet and capable presence will be much missed in the House. He enjoyed Rome and got the best experience making him fit and ready for ordination.

Robert was ordained priest by Archbishop Vincent Nichols in the Pugin splendour of St Chad's Cathedral and offered his First Mass in his home parish of St Augustine's, Solihull. Both were extremely graced and joyful occasions. Those at the latter will recall the moving words and gestures of love and gratitude at the end, with which Robert presented two bouquets of flowers - one to his mother, Sylvia, and the other at the feet of Our Blessed Lady, Mother of Priests. Robert begins his priestly ministry at St Austin's, Stafford, and we are confident that his service of God's people there and beyond will be richly blessed.

AIDAN PRESCOTT

Whether endorsing the value of Reggie Foster's infamous Latin Experiences, playing or singing for college liturgies, extolling the importance of a well maintained and accessible archive, or simply entertaining others with a subtle and sometimes outrageous repartee, Aidan was always a solid, reliable, and humorous character to have around. And around he was for whatever the occasion, Aidan – the kind of individual without whom community is impossible – would unfailingly be there to support whatever was going on, and in doing so reveal his fondness for the Order of Saint Benedict.

Fr Aidan joined the VEC community in September 1998, already something of a seminary connoisseur, having trained in both Valladolid and Oscott (little did he know his knowledge in this area would be increased so concretely during 3 years in Rome). Yet it was not this wide experience of formation but rather his four years in Christ the King Parish of Liverpool that enabled his notable contribution to a less formal but perhaps more crucial and substantial formation of us seminarians.

A 'woolly-back' by birth, a priest by calling, a mathematician (and more latterly historian and Latinist) by training, and a more than competent musician, it was unlikely Aidan would have failed to make a valuable impression on college life. His musical contribution is worthy of particular note for he was an organist, a member of the college *schola*, a cantor at Sunday Vespers and took the part of *Christus* for the last two Good Fridays. Often seen with either a book or camera in hand, he leaves behind a wonderful series of anecdotes and memories which cannot be included here, but a little song he composed this year – *Elephantem magnum semini* – will stand as a reminder to many!

It was all this, plus his friendliness and constant willingness to associate with us as fellow students, that ensured, during our months of exile, that with the absence of members of staff our group had a sound (and sane) priestly counsellor at hand. Indeed such was the value of Aidan's presence at the North American College that for many weeks he was mistaken there for our Vice-Rector!

His presence was felt not only in the Via di Monserrato, Scots and North American colleges, but also in two academic communities of which he was a member. Aidan attended the Gregorian University where he studied for a licence in Church History, and the *Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica*, where he began a two-year course in October 2000. We hope he will be back before too long to complete his studies.

A priest who clearly enjoyed his priesthood, valued it and invested his service of the Lord with integrity and dignity, Aidan is a man of true prayer and real devotion, especially when celebrating Mass in any of four languages. The people of St Clare's, Sefton Park, for whom he begins his ministry as parish priest, are blessed indeed, as is the college for having enjoyed the company of such a warm-hearted and generous friend.

NICHOLAS SCHOFIELD

One of the reasons for a *Venerabile* formation is the acquirement of *Romanitas*, a deep appreciation of the spirit of that city around which God's providence chose to centre His Church. Such, at least, was the belief of the greatest of our nineteenth century

alumni, Nicholas Wiseman, and such too has been the achievement of his twenty-first century namesake, Nicholas Schofield. When Nick arrived at the college in 1997, he came fresh from the dreaming spires of Oxford, where he had read for a degree in Modern History and achieved a certain prominence as President of the Newman Society, responsible for a wide range of events - social, academic and liturgical. But no nostalgia for those carefree days restrained him from embracing fully the opportunities offered by *felix Roma*, the Eternal City. Perhaps this love for the City was most evident in Nick's passion for its history. As Archivist for two years in succession, he not only organised exhibitions (helping to plan the college exhibition centre opened in the Jubilee year of 2000) but also helped to create a glossy new guidebook and a hagiography of our college martyrs, *The Forty Four*. He also contributed to (and finally edited) this *Venerabile* magazine, providing erudite but witty articles on such figures as Beatrice Cenci, the Cardinal Duke of York and St Ralph Sherwin, to name but a few. His historical discourses could even be heard on Vatican Radio, where he gave short talks on the crusades, the Inquisition and the English Reformation. Aptly, he was a re-founder of the college's "Wiseman Society", and brought to his discerning audience a wide range of fascinating speakers who discoursed on a whole host of cultural topics. A lover of culture himself, Nick frequently entertained the college both in word and song. On stage, he trod the boards portraying a wide selection of villainous characters – a strange contrast to his normally placid and affable personality. As Scary Spice in *Pinocchio*, a ghost named Dangerless in *A Christmas Carol* and, most frighteningly of all, Aunt Sponge in *James and the Giant Peach*, Nick regularly petrified the youthful audience of our college pantomimes. Yet he was also an organiser of the *bambini* group on Sunday mornings, a much-loved figure with his friendly smile, kindly laugh and two-inch Roman collar.

Continuing his love for all things cultural, Nick revived the spirit of the ancient Roman *pifferari*, for he actually played the Highland bagpipes. When he practiced this instrument in the Tribune, its distinctive sound could be heard throughout the entire Via Monserrato, delighting residents and visitors alike. The choice of such an unusual instrument perhaps betrayed a certain penchant for the eccentric and obscure, something also evident from his taste in furnishings. As any visitor to Nick's room could testify, he had managed to assemble an impressive collection of baroque bric-a-brac during his years in Rome. Much of this was acquired during various *gite* around Italy, for his tastes were by no means narrowly Roman, but extended as far afield as the silvery mists of Venice and the crumbling facades of Naples.

As he now returns to the greyer skies of Westminster, will his love of Rome hamper him from embracing these new pastoral challenges? Most certainly not! Rather, we feel confident that in this area too, Nick will follow the example of his famous mentor, Nicholas Wiseman, for whom the happy years in Rome were but the prelude to a devoted and energetic ministry back on English soil. As he takes up such ministry now, Nick's warmth, friendliness and patience will, we are sure, win him the hearts of parishioners just as they have of his fellow students. It is with much affection that we wish him *ad multos annos*.

ANDREW STRINGFELLOW

Fun-loving, generous, honest, a man of integrity, a practical joker, a poet, a person of prayer. "Pastoral work in Sicily," he wrote on a pastoral placement form, covering the time after his final exam. A staff member says "you just know what

he's up to. And he knows that you know. There's a slight naughtiness there. But it is very endearing."

A student who lived on St. Joe's corridor with "Stringo" reminisces: "Nothing makes me merrier than when I remember his pretence of having been shot when the midday cannon was fired. Even now I can hear that guttural groan echoing the bang and smoke, and I can't but smile."

For with the "endearing naughtiness" there is never maliciousness. "Stringo" brings a lightness of touch to life. This blends with a deep sense of justice, and a heart full of love and hope. It is a powerful combination. It would be easy to carry such gifts arrogantly, but in fact there is vulnerability in Andrew: the vulnerability of a heart which is prepared to stand up for what is true, and for what is right. In community, Andrew has done that – at times to great personal cost. He will continue to live this in a parish, and it will be deeply enriching to those whom he serves.

This obituary would not be complete without reference to some of the more practical ways in which "Stringo" has given himself to the College. Whenever there is a stage, he is on it: as Mgr Toffolo, Cardinal Ratzinger, Archbishop Pittau, or a transvestite nun called Kevin. In Pantomime, having starred as Peter Pan, he went on to co-write and direct *Cinderella*, and to direct *Scrooge*. He is a regular contributor to the Palazzola folk festival, and he has a superb singing voice.

"Stringo" has been a consistent force in the College football team, captaining the seven a side team to the semi-finals in the Inter-Seminary football competition at Ushaw in April, 2000 (green light, Fr. Rector?), and leading the full team to an historic victory in the first ever "St. Andrews Day Cup" match between the VEC and Scots College in November 2000. In cricket, "Stringo" completed an unbeaten run in seminary as he captained the North to victory over the South once again this year.

"Stringo" has been instrumental in ensuring that student facilities are improved. Putting in much of the planning and work himself, he has helped transform the gym, common room, and friends' room.

Lasting well beyond the improvements to the fabric of the VEC, however, and much more important, will be "Stringo's" enduring effect on those with whom he has studied, and who he has met in Rome. He has made deep friendships with several people who come to Mass in College. Within College, he has been a formator: he has undoubtedly shaped the Priesthood of many students through his friendship, his example and his words.

At the end of every email, Andrew quotes Cardinal Hume, who became a great friend and mentor to Andrew from his first weeks in College: "The choice is between the mystery and the absurd. To embrace the mystery is to discover the real."

It has been a privilege to study with "Stringo", and to know his honest friendship. With Christ's grace working through his own immense gifts, "Stringo" will undoubtedly be a Priest who sensitively yet firmly encourages many people to "embrace the mystery." Our prayers are with him as he begins his ministry in the Diocese of Salford.

CHRISTOPHER THOMAS

Chris arrived at the English College in the late summer of 1995. On his first evening in the building the rector announced, in ominous tones, "Some of you are going to have to share rooms". Instinctively Chris knew that he was about to be selected as

one of those so privileged – and so it transpired. On that first evening, sharing a small room with a chain-smoking fellow Welshman, Chris no doubt felt that a difficult (but rewarding) relationship with his new seminary was about to unfold.

Difficulties there have perhaps been, but as he leaves this college for the abundant pastoral opportunities of Nottingham diocese, let us stress all that was most rewarding in that mutual relationship. A doctor of Chemical Engineering, having trained at Nottingham University, Chris brought a wealth of practical skills to his new role as a seminarian. The house jobs he filled – on the library team, the services team, as car man, head choirmaster, head sacristan and finally as Vicariate Delegate – only touch the surface of his valuable contributions to the College. His skills with information technology made him the immediate resort of any student whose computer was having a bad day, while he was always ready – at less than the drop of a hat – to impart some of that hard earned knowledge of chemical engineering, whether the occasion in question was a pastoral class or a wine-tasting. In his last weeks here he earned the gratitude of all his fellow leavers by organising the transport of their belongings back to England – a task he responded to with enthusiasm. The same enthusiasm was evident in the many dramatic appearances Chris made at the *Venerabile*, which came thick and fast. A starring role as the wizard in *The Wizard of Oz* was followed by being vice-narrator of *Cinderella* and Mother Scrooge in *A Christmas Carol*. Twice he played babies, Baby Spice in *Pinocchio* and Baby Peach in *James and the Giant Peach*. In more serious vein he portrayed Cardinal Wolsey in *A Man for all Seasons* (and returned to the role, more fleetingly, for a certain Top Year dinner party during his final months). But the contribution Chris made to the College cannot be exhausted by reference to his role in various dramatic entertainments – far from it. A convert to the Catholic faith, he took that faith seriously and had a great desire to share it with others. It was this that motivated his Licence in Fundamental Theology, and, nearer to home, led him to run the adult faith-sharing group for those attending the college Mass on Sunday mornings. He has always retained a great desire to return quickly to his home diocese of Nottingham, to which he is much devoted. It was at Nottingham that he was ordained deacon in June 2000 (returning to Rome in time to assist the Holy Father as deacon for the Feast of SS Peter and Paul), and there he will be ordained Priest in the Cathedral on July 17th 2001. His time spent at the *Venerabile* over, a whole new existence is about to unfold. He deserves to have every success in it.

MARK VICKERS

Mark Vickers arrived at the *Venerabile* along with the *annus mirabilis* of 1997, and it would be fair to say that he began to make an impression on our college from his earliest days among us. This impression was due, in part, to his external manners and deportment. Though his vocation had led him to Italy, Mark always remained distinctively – one might even say defiantly – an Englishman. Whilst some students might venture to appear in public in t-shirts and jeans, Mark's personal code knew no such concessions. Winter's chill found him fortified in tweed, and he braved the summers heat in a linen jacket – until obedience to Canon Law led him to adopt the habitual Roman collar that soon became a trademark. Yet, while it was obvious in matters sartorial, Mark's Englishness was

far from being inflexible – as his evident appreciation of Italy’s gastronomic opportunities amply demonstrated. It was without doubt appropriate that one of the last events he should have helped to organise in the college was a sampling of some of the finer Italian wines – many of which he had already experienced on his extensive travels around Italy.

So much for the more ephemeral side of the man. His real gifts lay much deeper, and in the dedication he has shown in so many areas during the course of his formation he has provided lessons for us all. His attendance at the Gregorian was admirable – indeed legendary – and reflected the seriousness with which he took his academic studies. An historian by training, he provided several scholarly entries to our College martyrology, *The Forty Four*, and dedicated much time and effort to a short biography of St Eustace White, a college martyr from his home town in Lincolnshire, to whom he had a special devotion. In the same vein he contributed to this journal, *The Venerable*, and over the airwaves could be heard at various times on Vatican radio. His high academic standards were also evident in the Confirmation classes he helped to run from 1999 to 2001. Within the College too, Mark held a number of responsible jobs, as librarian, sacristan, guest-master and finally as head of the services team. He also organised the serving rota for the Bridgettine benediction and played a major part in the College’s “Covenant with the poor” signed for the year 2000. Having practiced for several years as a lawyer before entering seminary, Mark always brought an air of healthy professionalism to whatever he was called upon to do, but – as we have hinted above – he was never in danger of becoming dull. It was fitting that it should have been he who organised the stay in college for the Christmastide of the Great Jubilee – during which, by all accounts, a festive atmosphere reigned – and produced the college pantomime in 1999.

After such a wide range of experiences, it was perhaps a surprise to many of Mark’s friends that he did not continue to study for the Licence in Rome but returned to Westminster to work in the parish of Pimlico. But it would be entirely wrong to suggest that Mark leaves the college in any way unwillingly. On the contrary, the dedication he showed in seminary was always directed towards its final goal, that of pastoral ministry back in England, *veritatem facientes in caritate*. As he now returns to that valuable work our very best wishes go with him.



RICHARD WHINDER

If St Werburga has her goose, St Cuthman his wheelbarrow and St Juthwara her lumps of cream cheese, what symbol could we give Richard Whinder? On this moot iconographic question scholars are divided. Some suggest that his long black umbrella, which amazingly lasted his six years at the *Venerabile*, should represent him. This umbrella became his perennial companion, so that whenever locals saw his erect figure flit down the Via Monserrato clasping this trusty friend, they knew for sure that no dark clouds would threaten

Rome that day. As Greg Delegate Richard used to tap it on the booths of the *Segreteria*, miraculously producing at an instant that which he required from the dour-faced attendants, succeeding where his less stalwart predecessors had failed.

The arguments for the umbrella seem impressive, but another school suggest a pair of tatty brown slippers and a charcoal cardigan, which made him the quintessentially pastoral and accessible man that he was and is. The corridors will sound strangely silent without the characteristic Whinder quickstep (*flip-flop, flip-flop, flip-flop*).

Finally, those who knew him well might posit a pair of scissors and a child's packet of crayons as his enduring symbol. Often his chums would knock at his door, perhaps rather cautiously since they knew just how busy he was. On entering they would find him carefully cutting out a picture he had photocopied that morning or colouring in a coat of arms he had meticulously designed. It is a tragedy that Richard is too old to be awarded that decoration which has eluded even Fr Chappin - a Blue Peter badge.

Richard – variously known as “Tricky Dickey”, “Saxon Boy”, “Medieval Man” and “Beaker” (an obscure figure from *The Muppet Show*) – entered this Venerable English College in ‘95. As he rose up the house he became increasingly confused over whether this was 1795 or 1895. Indeed, if we had to sum up his time at the College with one apt phrase, surely this would be “the past”, without which man would remain for ever a child and akin to the tree apes. Within the College, he served as Archivist and was heavily involved in the production and writing of the guidebook and in the setting-up of the new “Jubilee” exhibition centre. Readers of this journal will have enjoyed his historical articles, ranging from Augustine of Canterbury through early virgin martyrs to the Papal Zouaves. Once he famously preached on the subject of his great hero, Pope Gregory XVI, pointing out to his congregation the “doubtful benefits” of electric lighting and those *chemins d'enfer*, the railways. Such figures had grown dear to him during his rambles around Rome, for he fully enjoyed the joys which the Eternal City had to offer – culturally, gastronomically, liturgically – especially during free weekends. Thursday would typically involve a “slug *gita*” into the *campagna*, perhaps to “dear old Monte Porzio”, where he would sit in a *cantina* and dream of bygone days.

A man of yesterday and yet, as is so often the case, a man of tomorrow as well. Richard's approachability, sincerity and fairness led to his election as Senior Student, much to his own surprise. It was a difficult time to be “S.S.”, with the prolonged “exile” of the College and the Rector's long absence, but Richard's reign was smooth, sure and benevolent, winning the respect and esteem of all. Pope Gregory XVI would indeed have been proud.

Having successfully completed his STL in Dogma, “Tricky” has now packed up his crayons and cardigan, his tatty brown slippers and miraculous umbrella, and returns to the local church of Southwark. We can be sure that here he will minister to the *humani generis* with tremendous *gaudium et spes*, leading them into the twenty-first century, with an eye firmly kept on the nineteenth. *Procede et prospere!*

ANTHONY WILD

“Whatever happens is God's will and that's good enough for me.” These words of Saint Thomas More reflect the prayerful and obedient approach Anthony took to his return to studies after several years of priestly ministry in the diocese of Shrewsbury. The prospect of living in Rome was new to Anthony after his priestly

training at Ushaw, but the opportunity to settle into college life never really came. As a result of the temporary departure from the English college this year, Anthony spent most of his time in Rome at the Irish college where he was well liked, especially amongst the large number of clergy who had returned for further studies themselves.

In a whirlwind of a year, Anthony could always be recognised by his friendly laughter and warmth towards others. His focus throughout the events of this year was his study of Canon Law, which he took seriously as the next stage of his priestly ministry. It was because of his desire to do well that he came to realise a change of university might avoid the language barriers and aid his studies.

As a testimony to his humour, the next stage of Anthony's time with us can be opened with the joke: "How do you make God laugh...tell Him what you will do in the future." It was during the Christmas holidays, after Anthony had decided to continue his studies at Ottawa, that he awoke one morning to find a trapped nerve in his back, which left him immobile for weeks and led to a delicate operation. Throughout this time his faith in God's will and sense of humour never left him. His desire to move on in his studies and settle down made this period a great test for his patience. But he prayerfully saw it through, made a brief return to college and has not been shaken from his plans to continue his studies in Canada where he will start in September. We wish Anthony all the best for the future and thank him for his example of deep faith and generosity.

Obituary

Canon Harold Parker

DAVID BULMER

A native of Leeds, Harold Parker was born in Old Farnley on 27 January 1927. His early schooling was at St Mary's, Horsforth, where the family had moved to live. Harold continued his education at St Michael's College, Leeds, where he became head boy. He went on to read English and other subjects at the University of Leeds, and was President of the Catholic Society there. On completion of his degree in 1948, he took the Diploma in Education, and then taught at St Bees in Cumbria, and at St Walburga's, Shipley.

Harold began his training for the priesthood at the College in 1955. Although he was older than was usual for students at that time, he entered wholeheartedly into the life of the college, and was characterised by his equanimity. He was meticulous as a producer of college plays and his artwork appeared in *Chi lo sa?* Having been elected Deputy Senior Student, Harold was ordained at Palazzola on 9 July 1961, together with Luke Dumbill, by George Patrick Dwyer, then bishop of Leeds.

On his return to the diocese, Harold spent a year at St Anne's Cathedral before teaching at St Bede's, Bradford from 1963 to 1968. A longer spell at the Cathedral followed, until Harold was appointed parish priest of St Mary's, Bradford in 1972. He remained there for thirteen years and won the regard and affection of those whom he served. Appointed to the cathedral chapter in 1982, he moved to St Mary's Selby three years later.

Celebrating his Silver Jubilee at the college with his year, Harold caught the attention of the then rector, Mgr Jack Kennedy, and was persuaded to return to Rome in the autumn of 1986 as Pastoral Director. During his three years there, Harry shared with the students his love for the priesthood and for the college, and his sense of humour. Impressive in stature, he was a person of kindness and sensitivity to others, and of quiet but solid spirituality.

He became known for his homilies, which invariably included props, entertaining some students, while exasperating others less tolerant of theatrical devices. His farewell Mass at Palazzola lived up to expectations, as he encouraged the students he was leaving behind. He had strung a washing line across the sanctuary adorned with six letter A's, and went on to suggest qualities necessary for the diocesan priesthood. Priests should be people who are "ardent, amiable, approachable, adaptable and appreciative". And the sixth 'A'? "Be 'appy'!"

Memorably described by John Cornwell as "the silver-haired Canon with cinematic good looks", Harold returned to his diocese as parish priest of St Wilfrid's, Ripon, where he saw the completion of restoration work on the roof and

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exterior of the building. His pastoral concern was evident for people of all kinds. His interests and involvement extended to education, ecumenism, and the local community. His sister, Catherine, came to live in the parish, and her support and companionship meant a great deal to him. He was at home in Ripon and became much loved by his parishioners over the years. Following a visit to Rome for the jubilee year, he died after a short illness on 9 October 2000.

Harold's year from College have always tried to meet together each year to renew their friendship and support, and he was in close contact with his fellow-diocesan, Gerry Creasey. In 1996 he was elected president of the Roman Association. At this May's AGM, priests from his year gathered together to celebrate their Ruby Jubilee of priesthood, and remembered Harry. May he rest in peace.

Fr David Bulmer is Parish Priest of St Joseph's, Moorthorpe, South Elmsall, and is Secretary of the Roman Association.



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Notes of Old Romans

ARUNDEL AND BRIGHTON

Two bits of news on the Old Romans front: Kieran Conry (1975) was ordained fourth Bishop of Arundel and Brighton on 9 June 2001 after eight years at the Catholic Media Office. Also, Stephen Dingley (1997) moved in September 2000 from being assistant priest in Haywards Heath to assistant in Bognor Regis. Other than that we're all in the same posts as last year and keeping in more or less good health.

Kevin Dring

CLIFTON

Mervyn Alexander, by ordaining the ninth Bishop of Clifton (Mgr Declan Lang, Vicar General of Portsmouth) in Clifton Cathedral on 28 March 2001 (co-consecrating bishops: Sam Hollis and Vincent Nichols), was able to "retire" – as parish priest of St Joseph's, Weston-super-Mare, with its tiny 1858 church, next to the parish of Our Lady of Lourdes from which he became a Bishop in 1972.

Thomas Athill

GIBRALTER

The Hon. Bernard Linares is still in Government as Minister for Education and Minister for Health. Fr Mark Miles has joined the Vatican Diplomatic Service and is currently studying at the *Accademia* in Rome. Fr John Pardo continues at the Cathedral but the Bishop has appointed him as curate also at St Paul's, where Mark Miles was. Finally, Fr Victor Ghio remains as Parish Priest at Sacred Heart and has taken over Fr Miles' chaplaincy at the Girls' Comprehensive School.

John Pardo

LEEDS

Since last year's edition, there have been a number of moves to pastures new. Gerry Creasey is now Parish Priest of St Michael's, Knottingley. Mgr Arthur Roche has been appointed as Bishop of *Rusticana* and Auxiliary in Westminster, following his term as General Secretary of the Bishops' Conference of England & Wales. He has been succeeded by another Leeds priest, Andrew Summersgill, hitherto the *doyen* of bishops' secretaries. Kevin Firth has returned from his five-year stint in the diocese of Aberdeen and is now Parish Priest of Our Lady of Victories, Keighley. David Bulmer has become Parish Priest of St Joseph's, Moorthorpe, South Elmsall, on the shimmering edge of the diocese. Paul Grogan has likewise been appointed Parish Priest of St John's, Bradford.

There is also news of those further afield. Colin Barker (1959-61) visited the diocese last year. He is now a priest of the diocese of Maitland, Australia (Oakhill College, Old Northern Road, Castle Hill, NSW 2153, Australia). Russell Wright has moved from Manchester to Mortain in Normandy (Coeurs de Jesus et Marie, Abbaye Blanche, 50140 Mortain, Normandie, France).

In the past year, three Old Romans here have been called to the Lord. Canon Harold Parker (1955-62) was Parish Priest of St Wilfrid's, Ripon, and formerly on the College staff (1986-89). Mgr Thomas McDonagh OBE (1935-42) concluded his ministry as Senior Naval Chaplain and died in retirement in Heathfield, Sussex. Most recently, the death was announced in Bradford of Mr John O'Hara (1944-51). May they rest in peace.

David Bulmer

MENEVIA

Mickie Burke is still at Briton Ferry and I have been at Tenby since July 1999. We were both very involved in our Diocesan Synod as Judicial Vicar (Mickie) and Secretary General of the Synod (myself). Apart from that, we are looking forward to Andrew Coles' ordination at the Cathedral in Swansea on 4 August 2001.

Clyde Johnson

MIDDLESBROUGH

Fr Anthony Storey is retired and living in Hull. Mgr Anthony Bickerstaffe is retired and living in Hornsea. Mgr David Hogan is still parish priest of St Bernadette's, Nunthorpe. He also does some work for the Birmingham Tribunal. He had a few health problems but fortunately now seems well again. Fr Alan Sheridan is parish priest of St Patrick's, Thornaby, as well as Judicial Vicar and Chancellor of the Diocese. Fr William Massie is parish priest of St Mary and St Joseph at Hedon. He combines that role with prison chaplaincy and the Faith movement. Fr John Paul Leonard is Assistant at St Mary's Cathedral, chaplain to the local secondary school and also the general hospital.

Alan Sheridan

NORTHAMPTON

We were very pleased that our new Bishop is an Old Roman! Mgr Kevin MacDonald was ordained eleventh Bishop of Northampton on 2 May 2001. He brings a wide experience to the diocese: Rector of Oscott; he has worked at the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity; he has been parish priest of English Martyrs, Sparkhill. We look forward to getting to know him and working with him. The only other change to report on is that Paul Donovan is spending two years with the Recruit Training Command of the US Navy. He will be based near Chicago and his new posting begins in June of this year.

Sean Healy

PLYMOUTH

Anthony Cornish is flourishing as P.P. at Barnstaple, North Devon, and Bede Davis is P.P. of Falmouth, Dean of Cornwall, as well as a Trustee and a member of the Chapter. Michael Downey is P.P. at Sherborne, Dorset, and is diocesan representative on the NCP, despite struggling a little with recurrent ill health. Mgr Robert Draper, P.P. of St Austell, Cornwall, is V.G. (with all that goes with it!) and is spear-heading the pastoral re-organisation of the Diocese. Mgr George Hay – at St Marychurch, Torquay – is Secretary of the Chapter and Director of on-going formation of Clergy.

Michael Koppel, P.P. at Okehampton, Devon, is also a Diocesan Trustee and responsible for student placements. Philip Pedrick is retired and lives in the family home near the Cathedral. Despite becoming rather frail, he attends everything at the Cathedral! Robert Plant is P.P. at Topsham, Devon, and steered the re-organisation of the Cathedral, while Kevin Rea, P.P. at Torpoint, Cornwall, is Chancellor and a retired Chapter Canon. Mark Skelton is P.P. at Truro, and Christopher Smith is P.P. at Dartmouth and Diocesan Archivist. Recently taking charge of Brixham, Devon, he edits the Diocesan Year Book. Mgr Adrian Toffolo is now P.P. at Bovey Tracey, Devon, and Episcopal Vicar for Formation, covering all areas of Religious Education in the Diocese.

Finally, our bishop, Christopher Budd, remains very energetic and active, in good health and good spirits.

Bede Davis

SALFORD

Our notes from Salford begin with warmest congratulations to William Hunt (1951). Bill celebrates his Golden Jubilee on 8 July this year – from all Salford Old Romans a hearty “*Ad Multos Annos*”. After recovering from his recent illness John O’Connor (1956) is investigating the mysteries of retirement, taking up residence in the leafy glades of Alkington Garden Village. Congratulations are also in order for Anthony Grimshaw (1961), parish priest of St Joseph, Todmorden, who this year celebrates 40 years of priesthood on 29 October.

John Allen (1962), parish priest at Our Lady of Grace, Prestwich, assumed the mantle of the late Michael Taylor in generously hosting the Martyrs’ Day Gathering for the North last year; many thanks to John for his hospitality. Robert Lasia (1979) has been appointed parish priest of Saint Mark, Pendlebury, while remaining Judicial Vicar for the Diocese. Geoffrey Marlor (1984) has been appointed parish priest at Holy Rosary, Fitton Hill, Oldham. Ian Farrell (1985) has moved from Rishton to become parish priest of Saint Anne’s, Stretford.

Our final bits of news concern Salford Romans across the Atlantic: Paul Daly (1990) is due to finish his year of studies in Pastoral Ministry and Religious education at Boston College, Massachusetts this September. He will return to scatter Americanisms around the Diocesan R.E. Centre. Also across the pond, Gerard Byrne (1998) is staying in Washington D.C., where he recently completed his Doctorate of Ministry, for a further year as a clinical therapist, before hopefully returning to bring a new dose of sanity to Salford.

Finally, the Salford Old Romans would like to congratulate Andrew Stringfellow on his ordination to the priesthood on 21 July this year. We look forward to welcoming him back to the Diocese.

James Manock

SHREWSBURY

In a re-shuffle of posts in diocesan administration, your correspondent ended his term of office as Vicar General in August 2000. Two of the five new Episcopal Vicars are Old Romans: Canon Peter Morgan taking charge of Education and Formation, and Fr John Rafferty (when he returns from Rome this summer) is named as Vicar for the Clergy. The ex-V.G. was allowed a three-month sabbatical last autumn, and spent the first month at the *Venerabile* (coinciding with the tragedy of the outbreak of Legionnaire's disease), the second at Palazzola and the third at the Beda, where he shared "the exile" of ten of the VEC students. On return to England he found he had been elected a member of the shadowy and historic Old Brotherhood of the English Secular Clergy!

Simon O'Connor has become Parish Priest of St Aidan's, Wythenshawe, and Nick Kern P.P. of St Clare's, Chester.

I record with sadness the deaths of two diocesan Old Romans: Bishop John Brewer, VEC from 1950 to 1959, later our Auxiliary Bishop 1971 to 1983, and then Bishop of Lancaster, whose qualities and friendships were widely appreciated; and Mgr Vincent Turnbull, the highly respected and talented P.P. of St Catherine's, Hoylake. May they rest in peace.

Christopher Lightbound

SOUTHWARK

Dominic Allain has moved from Balham to be Assistant Priest in the leafy suburbs of Bromley. Stephen Boyle is now Parish Priest of New Addington near Croydon Paul Connelly is Assistant Priest at the English Martyrs Parish in Strood in the Medway towns. Tim Finnigan continues as Parish Priest at Blackfen but also takes on the role of Dean for this area.

At the time of writing Tim Galligan is about to return from his position for the last few years in Rome and looks forward to undertaking a new post in his home diocese. Kevin Haggerty continues as Rector of St John's Seminary and has been made a Canon of the Diocese.

Paul Hendricks continues as Parish Priest at Peckham and is also a member of the Diocesan Finance Committee. Ronan Magner now lives in Bermondsey. Apart from his role as Parish Priest in Wimbledon South, Simon Peat also lectures in the Seminary. Paul Mason is to become Assistant Priest to the Cathedral parish with responsibility for the Hospital and the Chaplaincy at St Francis Xavier Sixth Form College.

As for myself, after fifteen years in Central London I have now been rusticated to the Kent Area of the Diocese as Area Bishop and consequently the next insert in *The Venerabile* about Old Romans from this Diocese will be contributed by Father Dominic Allain.

John Hine

WESTMINSTER

Our Archbishop (an old Roman *and* former rector to boot) has instituted major changes in the diocese of Westminster this year, with many changes of personnel among the Old Romans. Keith Barltrop moves from the Eastern Area, to take over the CMS. John Arnold moves at last from Enfield to become Vicar General, as a sort of *eminence grise* in the new Archbishop's Council, while your humble rep. moves back to the Cathedral as Administrator. Terry Phipps has finally come into his kingdom in the resplendent parish of St James, Spanish Place. Shaun Middleton is now very much at home in fashionable Notting Hill, Charis Patticchi has become parish priest of St Anselm and Cecilia, Kingsway, while Dominic Byrne returns from studies to Shepperton parish, with special responsibility for marriage support. He takes the place of Paschal Ryan, who wings his way to Heathrow Airport as Chaplain. Michael Booth has made a welcome re-appearance in the diocese, exchanging the manicured lawns of Florida for the leafy lanes of Kensington.

At the time of going to print, other Romans appear to be more permanent fixtures: David Barnes at Moorfields, and Anthony Conlon nearby at Bunhill Row, Mark Anwyll is at London Colney, Anthony Convery at Hounslow, John Formby at Hillingdon, Hugh MacKenzie at Harrow, Philip Miller at Enfield, Alex Sherbrooke at Twickenham, Stephen Wang at Dollis Hill, John Deehan at Teddington, Michael Tuck (remembered this year) at Heston, Jim Brand at Ashford, Peter Latham at Ruislip, Seamus O'Boyle at Whitton, Digby Samuels at Wapping, and Frank Wahle at Queensway,

Peter Newby tends to students in Oxford, John O'Leary assists at the London University Chaplaincy, Christopher Vipers keeps the Youth in order at London Colney, John Conneely keeps the rest of us in order at the Tribunal, and Philip Whitmore keeps an eye on the bishops in Rome.

Mark Langham

Members of the Council of the Roman Association

President: Mgr. Canon Brian Dazeley
Treasurer: Rev. Anthony Wilcox
Assistant Treasurer: Rev. Andrew Headon
Secretary: Rev. David Bulmer
Assistant Secretary: Rev. Paul Daly

The Council of the Association consists of the Officers of the Association; its Trustees: Rev. Peter Tierney; immediate Past Presidents: Rev. Anthony Grimshaw (until 2003), Rev. Michael Cooley (until 2004), the Rector: Rev. Mgr. Patrick Kilgarriff

and

the following elected for three years:

until 2002	until 2003	until 2004
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Rev. Kevin Firth	Rev. Stephen Coonan	Rev. Michael Koppel
Rev. Paul Grogan	Rev. William Massie	Rev. Adrian Towers

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Birmingham: Rev. Gerard Murray, Our Lady of the Wayside, 566 Stratford Road, Shirley, Solihull, West Midlands, B90 4AY.

Brentwood: Rev. Francis Coveney, St. Anne Line, 7 Grove Crescent, South Woodford, London, E18 2JR.

Cardiff: Rev. Robert Reardon, Pastoral Resources Centre, 910 Newport Road, Rumney, Cardiff, CF3 4LL.

Clifton: Rev. Thomas Atthill, 95 Exeter Street, Salisbury, Wilts., SP1 2SF.

East Anglia: Rev. Mark Hackeson, St Mary's Presbytery, 79 Regent Road, Great Yarmouth, NR30 2AJ.

Gibraltar: Rev. John Pardo, 32 Ross House, Red Sands Lane, Gibraltar.

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<i>Hallam:</i>	Rev. Kevan Grady, Cathedral House, Norfolk Street, Sheffield, S1 2JB.
<i>Hexham and Newcastle:</i>	Rev. Michael McCoy, Our Lady Queen of Peace, Penshaw, Tyne and Wear, DH4 7JZ.
<i>Lancaster:</i>	Vacant.
<i>Leeds:</i>	Rev. David Bulmer, St. Joseph's Presbytery, Barnsley Road, Moorthorpe, South Elmsall, Pontefract, WF9 2BP.
<i>Liverpool:</i>	Rev. Thomas Wood, Our Lady, Star of the Sea, 1 Crescent Road, Seaforth, Liverpool, L21 4LJ.
<i>Menevia:</i>	Mgr. Clyde Johnson, Holyrood and St. Teilo, St. Florence Parade, Tenby, Pembrokeshire, SA70 7DT.
<i>Middlesbrough:</i>	Rev. Alan Sheridan, St. Patrick's Rectory, 39 Westbury Street, Thornaby, Stockton-on-Tees, TS17 6NW.
<i>Northampton:</i>	Rev. Sean Healy, Our Lady of Peace, Lower Britwell Road, Burnham, Slough, Bucks., SL2 2NL.
<i>Nottingham:</i>	Rev. Peter Tierney, Our Lady of Lourdes, Station Road, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, LE6 5GL
<i>Plymouth:</i>	Canon Bede Davis, St. Mary's Presbytery, Killigrew Street, Falmouth, Cornwall, TR11 3PR.
<i>Portsmouth:</i>	Canon Brian Murphy-O'Connor, St. Anne's Presbytery, Rhinefield Road, Brockenhurst, Hants., SO42 7SR.
<i>Salford:</i>	Rev. James Manock, St. Mary's Presbytery, 129 Spring Lane, Radcliffe, Manchester, M26 9QX.
<i>Shrewsbury:</i>	Mgr. Christopher Lightbound, St. Mary of the Angels, Chester Road, Childer Thornton, Hooton, South Wirral, CH66 1QJ.
<i>Southwark:</i>	Rev. Dominic Allain, St Chad, 5 Whitchurch Rd, London SE25 6XN.
<i>Westminster:</i>	Rev. Mark Langham, Cathedral Clergy House, 42 Francis Street, London, SW1P 1QW.
<i>Wrexham:</i>	Rev. Anthony Jones, Our Lady Star of the Sea, 35 Lloyd Street, Llandudno, Conwy, LL30 2YA.
<i>VEC:</i>	The Rector.c/o The College.

THE MINUTES OF THE
132ND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION
OF THE VENERABLE COLLEGE OF SAINT THOMAS DE URBE,
(THE ROMAN ASSOCIATION).

HELD AT THE RAVEN HOTEL, DROITWICH,
TUESDAY 29 MAY, 2001

Thirty members of the Association gathered on 28 May at the Raven Hotel, Droitwich, for the Council Meeting which precedes the AGM. The Agenda for the General Meeting was finalised. The Council upheld the decision to meet at the Raven Hotel, Droitwich in 2002.

Members then celebrated Evening Prayer. Thirty-five members of the Association dined at the hotel.

Annual General Meeting, 29 May 2001

The Meeting began at 10.30am, with Michael Cooley, Association President, in the Chair.

The Meeting began with the Prayer to the Holy Spirit.

- 1) Apologies and best wishes were received from: The Archbishop of Birmingham and the following members of the Association, Maurice Abbott, Robert Abbott, Mervyn Alexander, Dominic Allain, John Allen, Peter Anglim, John Arnold, Thomas Atthill, Miss Jo Barnacle, Bruce Barnes, David Barnes, Anthony Barratt, Wilbur Boswell, Michael Bowen, Chris Brooks, Christopher Budd, Wilfrid Buxton, Dominic Byrne, Paul Chavasse, Adrian Chatterton, Bryan Chestle, Anthony Churchill, Peter Clarke, Ben Colangelo, Bernard Connelly, Peter Cookson, Stephen Coonan, David Corley, Tony Cornish, Anthony Cotter, Paul Daly, John Deehan, Tony Dearman, Kevin Dring, Michael Farrington, Patrick FitzPatrick, Peter Fleetwood, David Forrester, Brian Frost, Timothy Galligan, Jeremy Garratt, Philip Gillespie, Kevan Grady, Alan Griffiths, Kevin Haggerty, Jonathan Harfield, Michael Healy, Sean Healy, John Hine, David Hogan, Crispian Hollis, Philip Holroyd, Tim Hopkins, Nicholas Hudson, Peter Humfrey, Bernard Jackson, Michael Jackson, Edward Jarosz, Mark Jarmuz, Michael Keegan, Patrick Kelly, Michael Killeen, Michael Kirkham, Stephen Langridge, Chris Larkman, Peter Latham, Christopher Lightbound, Charles Lloyd, Michael McConnon, Reginald McCurdy, Peter McGuire, John McHugh, Thomas McKenna, David McLoughlin, John McLoughlin, Francis McManus, James Manock, Ray Matus, Tony Myers, Seamus O'Boyle, Michael O'Connor, Michael O'Dea, John O'Leary, John Osman, Jim Overton, Nicholas Paxton, Tony Philpot, Terence Phipps, Frank Pullen, Michael Quinlan, Robert Reardon, Paschal Ryan, Digby Samuels, Alan Sheridan, Stephen Shield, David Standley, Roderick Strange, Andrew Summersgill, Tim Swinglehurst, George Talbot,

David Tanner, Peter Tierney, Mervyn Tower, Michael Tuck, Michael Tully, Christopher Vipers, Thomas Wood and Mark Woods.

- 2) The Secretary drew attention to an amendment to the previous year's Minutes as published in last year's *Venerabile*. Under item 12, the dates of retirement of trustees should have read: Peter Tierney (2001), Peter O'Dowd (2002). Subject to this amendment, the Minutes of the 2000 AGM, having previously been circulated, were accepted.
- 3) Replying to a question relating to item 14 of last year's minutes, the Secretary explained that it had not proved feasible to arrange for members to stay on Sunday night for a possible golf day on Monday. The hotel was unable to extend favourable rates for the Sunday night. It was also pointed out that it was unlikely that there would be room for non-members at golf clubs on a bank holiday. There were no other matters arising.
- 4) The *De Profundis* was prayed for the repose of the souls of Peter Bourne, Tony Foulkes, Michael McKenna, Ronan Magner, Peter O'Dowd, John O'Hara, Harold Parker and Vincent Turnbull who had died since the previous meeting.
- 5) Bishop Alan Clark and Michael Jackson, being sick members of the Association, were prayed for.
- 6) Emergency College Appeal: Speaking as a trustee of the College, Tony Wilcox hoped that all members had received a letter inviting them to contribute to the appeal. Over £100,000 had been raised to date but the costs were expected to be well over £300,000. He asked members to let him know of anyone to whom the appeal letter might be sent.
- 7) The Secretary's Report: The Secretary, David Bulmer, began his Report by noting that attendance at this year's AGM was lower than the previous year. Sadly, five members present at the 2000 AGM at Stonyhurst, all of whom regularly attended Roman Association meetings, had died in the past year.

The Secretary informed the meeting that he had been in touch with some of those ordained in 2000. He hoped to contact all of them, and also those to be ordained this year, within the next few months. He asked all members to encourage recently ordained priests and other former students to consider joining the Association. It would also be good for members to extend personal invitations to them to attend local Martyrs' Day celebrations.

Martyrs' Day 2000 had seen gatherings at Tyburn & Bayswater, the Birmingham Oratory, Salisbury, and Prestwich, Manchester. The Association was grateful to the hosts and organisers. The host for the Tyburn & Bayswater event was Mark Langham and the celebrant was John Hine. Present were: Peter Anglim, Mark Anwyll, Richard Ashton, Chris Bergin, Stephen Boyle, Michael Butler, Anthony Coles, John Conneely, Michael Cooley, Francis Coveney, Stephen Dingley, Gerard Flynn, Paul Hendricks, Philip Miller, Leo Mooney, Terry Phipps, Graham Platt, Joe Silver, Digby Samuels, Alexander Sherbrooke, and Frank Wahle. Gerard Murray organised the Midlands event, which was hosted by Paul Chavasse. Present were: Miss Jo Barnacle, Peter Burke, Eddie Clare, Stephen Coonan, Mark Crisp, Petroc Howell, Kevin McDonald, Louis McRaye (guest), Timothy Menezes, Guy

Nicholls, David Quiligotti, Marcus Stock, Mervyn Tower, and Jim Ward. Tom Atthill was host at Salisbury. Present were: Bruce Barnes, Tony Harding, Crispian Hollis, Richard Incedon, Brian McEvoy, Brian Murphy-O'Connor, John Nelson, Michael Robertson, Brian Scantlebury, and Terry Walsh. John Allen was host and preacher at Prestwich and the celebrant was Jim Robinson. Present were: Leo Alston, David Bulmer, Peter Cookson, Gerry Creasey, Tom Deakin, Kevin Griffin (guest), Paul Grogan, Mark Harold, Peter Haverty (guest), Tim Hopkins, Nick Kern, Michael McConnon, Tom McKenna, James Manock, Denis Marmion, Frank Marsden, Brian Newns, John O'Connor, David Potter, David Quiligotti, Frank Rice, John Short, and Jim White.

The Secretary ended his report by thanking his predecessor, Paul Daly, for a smooth and efficient transfer of office.

The Secretary's Report was accepted by the Meeting.

- 8) The Treasurer's Report: Tony Wilcox, the Association Treasurer, presented the accounts of the Roman Association and the Roman Association Trust. He explained that the Trust fund had not been immune from recent market fluctuations. However, the most recent figures suggested that it was recovering well, standing at £978,000.

The Treasurer noted that it had been agreed that £40,000 a year would be given to the College annually from the Roman Association Trust fund. Grants had already been made for the development of the 'Queen Mary' and for the creation of a website for the College and a professional database for the College and the Association. The Council would be looking at suitable projects for the year 2002-2003, in consultation with the Rector, and he invited members to make suggestions known. One possibility raised at the AGM was the creation of a photographic archive for the college.

He reminded the meeting of the new rules concerning Gift Aid. Once a member has signed a declaration, tax can be reclaimed on any gift to the Association or the Association Trust. The Secretary would furnish any interested member with the appropriate form.

It was resolved that the Association accounts be accepted. Proposed by James Ward and seconded by Tony Grimshaw. Passed *nem. con.* The accounts of the Roman Association Trust were noted by the meeting.

The Treasurer announced that, at the Council's request, he had agreed, subject to the approval of the meeting, to stand for re-election as Treasurer but that it was his intention to resign, after serving one year, at the 2002 AGM. This was to provide some continuity, given last year's change of Secretary and the election of a new Assistant Treasurer at this AGM.

The Treasurer informed the meeting of the Council's recommendation that Annual Subscriptions be raised to £25 with effect from 1 January 2002. This was passed *nem. con.* After some discussion, it was proposed that the Life Subscription be raised from £300 to £400 with effect from 1 September 2002. This was passed by a majority of those present.

The Treasurer's report was accepted by the meeting.

- 9) The Rector's Report: The Rector, Monsignor Pat Kilgarriff, spoke in some detail about the Holy Year Pilgrimage of the Roman Association and the death of Fr Anthony Foulkes and Canon Harold Parker. He told the meeting of the

closure of the college for four months, from the middle of October 2000. He described how the students were received by the Scots, Irish, Beda, French and North American Colleges, where they were made most welcome. He thanked the staff for their patience, during this period of uncertainty. They had received great support from the Bishops' Conference, the Holy See and the British Embassy. They eventually returned to the College by 12 February, 2001, just in time to welcome Cardinal Murphy-O'Connor to celebrate the consistory. A reception was held at the college and the Cardinal was welcomed for lunch after receiving the cardinalatial ring.

Mgr Kilgarriff also spoke of the recent adverse publicity on television and in the newspapers. He was able to put these issues into perspective and add some background.

He explained that the Gradwell Room, in the old Queen Mary area, was now completed and in use for seminars and catechetical classes. The Rector raised further possibilities for future projects to be funded by the Roman Association Trust: a visiting lectureship in post-reformation/recusant Catholic history; a feasibility study relating to future work on the College archives; better internet access.

The Rector told the meeting that there were 34 students at present, including one from Lebanon and one from Denmark. Three students were on pastoral placements and there were six priests.

He concluded by thanking Fr John Rafferty, the Spiritual Director and Fr Martin Stempczyk, the Theology Tutor. They are returning to their dioceses, Shrewsbury and Hexham & Newcastle. Their places are being taken by Mgr Anthony Philpot and Fr Robert Esdaile. Fr Liam Kelly has succeeded Mgr Philpot as director at Palazzola; the guest director there is Sr Gertrude, with Sr Antonia and Sr Agnella.

The Rector's report was accepted by the meeting and admiration was expressed at the way in which staff and students had coped with the unforeseen difficulties of the past year.

- 10) Andrew Hulse and Gregory Knowles were elected *nem. con.* as Life Members of the Roman Association. Dominic Allain was elected *nem. con.* as an Annual Member of the Roman Association.
- 11) Brian Dazeley was proposed by Tony Wilcox, seconded by David Bulmer and elected *nem. con.* as President of the Roman Association. Tony Wilcox was proposed by Gerry Creasey, seconded by Tony Grimshaw and elected *nem. con.* as Treasurer of the Roman Association. Andrew Headon was proposed by Tony Wilcox, seconded by Simon Thomson and elected *nem. con.* as Assistant Treasurer of the Roman Association. Paul Daly was proposed by David Bulmer, seconded by Tony Wilcox and elected *nem. con.* as Assistant Secretary of the Roman Association. The following were elected as Councillors for three years: Francis Coveney (proposed by Gerry Creasey and seconded by Paul Grogan), Michael Koppel (proposed by Simon Thomson and seconded by Adrian Toffolo) and Adrian Towers (proposed by Tony Grimshaw and seconded by Paul Grogan).
- 12) Election of Trustees: In order to fill the vacancy following the death of Peter O'Dowd, Brian Scantlebury was proposed by Tony Wilcox, seconded by Jim

Ward and elected *nem. con.* to serve as a Trustee of the Roman Association Trust until 2002. Michael Cooley was proposed by Brian Dazeley, seconded by Tony Pateman and elected *nem. con.* to serve as a Trustee of the Roman Association Trust until 2007, succeeding Peter Tierney whose term of office had expired.

- 13) 2002 AGM: It was agreed that the 133rd AGM would take place at the Raven Hotel, Droitwich, to coincide with the late May bank holiday 2002. After the meeting, it was discovered that next year's bank holiday had been moved to the Tuesday of the following week, after the Queen's Golden Jubilee holiday. The 2002 AGM will therefore be from Monday 3 June to Wednesday 5 June, with the main meeting taking place on Tuesday 4 June.
- 14) The 2001 Martyrs' Day celebrations.
Details of this year's gatherings will be forthcoming nearer the time.
- 15) The Secretary thanked Paul Grogan and Rob Esdaile for their assistance with the liturgy for Mass.

The members of the Association celebrated at Sacred Heart Church, Droitwich, presided over by Michael Cooley. Lunch followed. Father Cooley proposed the health of the College. Father David Bulmer proposed the health of this year's jubilarians: Thomas McKenna (60 years), Thomas Dakin, William Hunt and Peter Tierney (50 years), Gerald Creasey, Roger Daley, Brian Dazeley, Luke Dumbill, Anthony Grimshaw, David Papworth and John White (40 years), and Keith Barltrop, David Barnes, John Furnival, Michael Jackson, Dominic McIlhargey, Robert Plant and George Stokes (25 years). *Ad Multos Annos* was sung.

The following sat down to Lunch: Martin Boland, Arnold Browne, David Bulmer, Michael Burke, Michael Cooley, Francis Coveney, Gerald Creasey, Thomas Curtis Hayward, Thomas Dakin, Roger Daley, Brian Dazeley, Luke Dumbill, Rob Esdaile, Kevin Firth, John Formby, Anthony Grimshaw, Paul Grogan, John Guest, Peter Harvey, George Hay, Andrew Headon, Liam Hennessy, Petroc Howell, Andrew Hulse, Clyde Johnson, Patrick Kilgarriff, Gregory Knowles, Michael Koppel, Tony Laird, David Long, Christopher Lough, David Papworth, Tony Pateman, Philip Pedrick, Peter Purdue, James Robinson, Brian Scantlebury, William Steele, Simon Thomson, Adrian Toffolo, Adrian Towers, James Ward, John White, Anthony Wilcox, Michael Williams and William Young.

Report of the Friends of the Venerabile

JO BARNACLE

Our Event for the Jubilee Year: The Pilgrimage to Rome

It seems a long time ago now because so much has happened in the meantime but in September 2000 we had our second Friends pilgrimage to Rome. Firstly, we stayed in Rome at the Hotel Lancelot, which was so handy for a 'J' bus. There were over 50 of us, with some joining for the days in Rome. As well as being good fun everyone was so friendly and mixed so well. We had a great spiritual time too! There were Masses every day in a great range of churches, always with a tour of the church and an explanation of its significance.

Highlights of our time in Rome were of course our visit with the Roman Association at the College. We first had a tour of the College and it became a little embarrassing, as the students pointed out all the things the Friends had helped with over the last few years. We then had a memorable celebration of Mass with a Reception in the garden and a wonderful dinner. The College had pulled out all the stops. The Old Romans and the Friends were amazed at how well they got on together and all this was after we had been to a General Audience in St Peter's Square. The other event voted a highlight was the tour of St Peter's Basilica led by Fr Tom Wood. All on the pilgrimage were so grateful to Fr Wood, to Fr Liam Kelly and to students Joe, Dominic and Gerard for all their help.

The good weather continued for the stay at Palazzola. Everyone soon relaxed after a warm welcome from Mgr Tony Philpot, the Sisters and the helpers. We were all immersed in the peace and routine of Palazzola delighting in the daily Mass, the *Salve* and enjoying the pool, the gardens, the walking, reading, chatting and absorbing the atmosphere. Our thanks to Mgr Philpot and to the Rector, Mgr Kilgarriff, who contributed so much to the success of the pilgrimage.

Annual General Meeting, 14 October 2000

When we decided to go to Liverpool for our Annual Meeting in the year 2000 I had only a vague recollection of the Cathedral and had no idea of what awaited us when Mgr Peter Cookson offered us the Crypt in which to hold our day. Everything was so big so spacious it was overwhelming.

Our welcome was warm although the weather inclement. Mgr Cookson gave us a talk and then a short tour of the Cathedral assisted by Col. Bryson, who has had lifelong connections with the Cathedral. We were fortunate to have Mgr Pat Kilgarriff with us for his first AGM just before he went into hospital. 50 people attended the meeting with 124 apologies.

We heard from Fr Pat his concern over the small number of students at the College - how there was only one new student and several departures, there was a lack of new vocations nationally not just to the VEC. This was not a new thing in the history of the College and with the help of our prayers the College would be full once more. In spite of the low number of students and the many changes due to take place in the staff, there was a tremendous spirit in the house.

Fr Pat then spoke about the building works that had been done in the reception area and the plans for an exhibition centre, how the 'Queen Mary' had become the Gradwell Room and the work completed on upgrading the library.

The Rector then told us the sad news of the deaths Fr Anthony Foulkes and Canon Harry Parker from Legionnaires Disease picked up while with the Old Romans in Rome in September. He asked us to pray for the deceased priests, their families and for the College Community at this difficult time.

After an enjoyable lunch Fr David Potter a former student and now Assistant Priest to Mgr Jack Kennedy in Southport talked to us under the imposing heading 'Auxiliary Associations in the life of a Seminarian and Priest'. He spoke of his discovery of the importance to all priests of the prayers offered for them by the faithful. Until the end of his first year in Rome he envisaged priests as solitary figures shouldering the Church's burden through life, following the example of the Pope, the light of whose study could be seen shining out from a darkened Vatican. It was then at the Gregorian University that he met a young nun, an Oblate of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, who prayed constantly for the sanctification of seminarians and priests. The existence of such an Order, dedicated to supporting students like him in preparing for the priesthood made a lasting impression on him and helped him to a better understanding of his own ministry. Fr David commended the Friends' aim of supporting the staff and students at the College with "prayers and encouragement". With many calling for changes in the seminary system, it was no easy time to be a student. He had felt sustained by the prayers of the Friends, the Oblates and many others.

At the Annual Meeting the Chairman spoke of the Friends over the past year and the day at Harvington Hall. Our Treasurer Hamish Keith in his accounts showed how our income had dropped over the past year, partly due to the change in banking following the Friends registration as a separate Charity. A major effort was now under way to contact members whose subscriptions had lapsed.

Despite an appeal no new committee members were nominated but at our next committee meeting we 'head hunted' Yvonne Veale who despite a very busy schedule agreed to serve and will be a great asset. All the present Committee were re-elected: Chairman - Jo Barnacle; Secretary - John Broun; Treasurer - Hamish Keith; Members - Nicky Dillon, Jeremy Hudson, Ivan Kightley, Elizabeth Usherwood and Mark Woods.

Mass in the Crypt Chapel followed our meeting. Fr David Potter gave the Homily and was Chief Celebrant and was assisted by the Rector and Canon John Short. We were lucky to have a member of the Menezes family to play the organ for us.

Martyrs' Masses

A few weeks after our AGM, Friends attended the Martyrs' Masses here in England.

At Tyburn 20 Old Romans concelebrated and the Chief Celebrant, Canon John Hine, emphasised that the fidelity showed by the martyrs was as essential today. Joe Silver was the Deacon and the Readers were Friends, Stephen Usherwood and Mark Woods.

At the Oratory in Birmingham 18 Old Romans concelebrated Mass in the Chapel of St Philip Neri. Fr Guy Nichols reminded us in his homily of St Philip's associations with the College Students.

A Concert.

Up in Hazel Grove, Stockport, a Friend, Fred Ford, realised how many people held Fr John Rafferty in high esteem and felt that they would like to help the College whilst he was there. He organised a concert enlisting the help of local choirs aided by his wife Kath who sings in a choir, and students of the local school of Music. This Concert, held on 9 March, raised just short of £900. A really great achievement.

A Day of Recollection

On 31 March Mgr Adrian Toffolo held a Day of Recollection at the Catholic Chaplaincy in Exeter in preparation for Easter. The Chaplaincy held 25 and all places were taken by Friends from the South West. In his first session Fr Adrian concentrated on the happenings of Maundy Thursday with time for reflection and Mass. After lunch the afternoon was given to Easter and the Resurrection. The day came to a close with Evening Prayer. As I had picked up a bug from the plane returning from Rome a few days before so many helped with the catering and the washing up for which I am most grateful.

Jo Barnacle is Chairman of the Friends of the Venerable.

House List 2000-2001, (October)

Staff

Mgr Patrick Kilgarriff	Rector
Fr Nicholas Hudson	Vice-Rector
Fr John Rafferty	Spiritual Director
Sr Amadeus Bulger IBVM	Pastoral Director
Fr Martin Stempczyk	Theology Tutor

Third Cycle Theology

Fr Sean Connolly	East Anglia
Fr Joseph Mizzi	Malta

Second Cycle Philosophy and Theology

Fr Jimmy Bonnici	Malta
Fr Gerardo Fabrizio	Birmingham
Fr Aidan Prescott	Liverpool
Fr Zbigniew Przerwa	Lowisz
Fr Robert Sierpniak	Lowisz
Fr Anthony Wild	Shrewsbury
Rev Andrew Cole	Menevia
Patrick Mileham	Birmingham
Rev Robert Murphy	Birmingham
Rev Andrew Stringfellow	Salford
Rev Christopher Thomas	Nottingham
Rev Richard Whinder	Southwark
Anthony Curren	Hexham & Newcastle
Andrew Downie	Hexham & Newcastle
Dominic Howarth	Brentwood
Jonathan Jones	Liverpool
Gerard Skinner	Westminster
Adrian Tomlinson	Hallam

First Cycle Theology

Joseph Gee	Salford
Christopher Ginns	Lancaster
David Gnosill	Birmingham
Simon Hall	Arundel & Brighton
David Parmiter	Arundel & Brighton
Ivor Parrish	Northampton
Nicholas Schofield	Westminster

THE COLLEGE

Paul Simmons	Shrewsbury
Peter Vellacott	Nottingham
Mark Vickers	Westminster
Michael Docherty	Lancaster
Alex Redman	Clifton
Andrew Robinson	Liverpool
Matthew Habron	Leeds
Marcus Holden	Southwark
Gregers Maersk-Kristensen	Copenhagen
Stephen Maughan	Middlesbrough
Paul Moss	Birmingham
Andrew Pinsent	Arundel & Brighton
Anthony Wakim	Maronite Diocese of Beirut

First Cycle Philosophy

John Flynn	Salford
Simon Matthias	Brentwood
Bruno Witchalls	Arundel & Brighton

Anglican Exchange Students

Reagan O'Callaghan
Justin White

Other Residents

Mgr Brian Chestle	Arundel & Brighton
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