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Cover: Abbot Paul Gunter (l) and Abbot Geoffrey Scott.

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Ave!

The Right Reverend Paul Gunter OSB

11th Abbot of Douai

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Ad multos annos!

The first three articles which follow are papers delivered at the English Benedictine Congregation's annual History Symposium on 28 April 2022 at Douai Abbey.

Charles Walmesley OSB, DD, FRS (1722–1797): English Benedictine, Mathematician, and Astronomer

(*Much of this paper derives from an article in* The Downside Review, *401 (October 1997), 249-270, and its contents are republished here by kind permission of the editor.*)

The English Benedictine Charles Walmesley, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, died stone deaf on 25 November 1797, aged 75. Since 2022 marks the third centenary of his birth, this is a tribute to a monk who was a mathematician and astronomer of international renown, for many years the doyen of the English vicars apostolic, and the father of the American hierarchy, through his consecration of Bishop John Carroll in 1790. No comprehensive biography of Walmesley has ever been attempted, for aspiring biographers have been daunted by the assertion that whilst he was at Wardour Castle, all his library, archives and papers went up in flames when the mission chapel and house at Bath were fired by the mob during the Gordon Riots in 1780. Because of his major involvement in the conflict between the Catholic Committee and some of the vicars apostolic in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, his later career has received much attention from scholars. His contribution to that conflict will not, therefore, be addressed here. What follows is an attempt to compile what singed biographical fragments remain of those earlier and perhaps happier years of a man whom public opinion regarded in his mature years as the rising hope of stern unbending English Catholic conservatism.[1]

FAMILY

Charles Walmesley was born at Westwood House on the outskirts of Wigan, Lancashire, on 13 January 1722, the seventh son, and youngest but one, of twelve children, of the wealthy Lancashire Catholic squire

and Wigan alderman, John Walmesley and his wife, Mary Greaves. The Walmesleys of Westwood were a cadet branch of the Walmesleys of Showley Hall and had first settled at Bishopgate House in Wigan in the late seventeenth century. The Walmesley parents being zealous Catholics, and wealthy, determined their sons should have a liberal education. Thus, Charles and his elder brother Richard (later Dom Peter Walmesley of the English Benedictine community of Saint Gregory) were educated at Saint Gregory's, which was then in Douai. The Walmesley cousinage was thick on the ground in the Benedictine houses throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Charles himself showed great affection for a niece of his, Teresa Joseph Walmesley (1739-94), a nun of Cambrai, who was to die in prison during the French Revolution. His elder brother Richard (1717-90) was professed at Saint Gregory's in 1736, taking the name Peter, and was prefect or headmaster at the monastery school in Douai for nearly 50 years.

In later years, Charles sometimes returned to Lancashire to spend a few weeks annually at the Westwood estate with his family to whom he was devoted, declaring these vacations to be "some of the happiest hours of his life." "It is not a little remarkable that a man of his character and acquirements should have been so passionately fond of angling with the rod and line. He would spend any leisure time allowed himself while at Westwood in this amusement, with the greatest patience, amply repaid, if he returned home with a few perch or tench." In a reference to his future astronomical interests, a writer, who knew him personally, tells us that "when the night was serene, he would observe the stars, a study he was very partial to."[2]

The Walmesleys were related to some of the country's leading Catholics. Charles, for instance, had cousins among the Petres of Essex through a Petre who had married a Walmesley of Dunkenhalgh, and in the 1790s, in the heat of the Cisalpine controversy, Lord Petre, Walmesley's "noble relation," was to deprive the by-then bishop, his kinsman, of his allowance in a bid to get Walmesley to soften his hard anti-Cisalpine line. The Walmesleys of Westwood also shared a chantry chapel—still in use—in Wigan's parish church with their Catholic relatives and neighbours, the Gerards of Ince; Lady Gerard was to share Bishop Walmesley's hostility to the Cisalpines.[3] The study of physical and natural science, which was to be Charles Walmesley's ruling

passion, had for long been associated with the family, for in the previous century, Walmesleys were to be found in a circle of Lancashire Catholic gentry studying topical scientific questions.[4]

MONASTIC LIFE

After a classical education at Saint Gregory's in Douai, Charles became a monk of Saint Edmund's in Paris, being clothed with two others at Paris on 20 September 1738, and was professed the following year. He studied at the Sorbonne, taking his master's degree in 1742, and a licentiate in theology, with distinction, followed in 1750. One of his teachers was the distinguished M. Deloré, as yet untraced. Walmesley attained the accolade of a Sorbonne doctorate in divinity, after having pursued one of the most arduous courses of study at that time. He was, therefore, one of only two Sorbonne doctors produced by the English monks in the eighteenth century, the other being Dom Bede Brewer, who received his Sorbonne bonnet in 1774. As a Sorbonne graduate, Walmesley was entitled to take a benefice, receiving the Cluniac priory of Saint-Marcel, near Châlons-sur-Marne, the mense (or income) for which was drawn by Saint Edmund's.[5]

The years of intensive study have left little evidence of Walmesley's early monastic life, although his talents must have been recognised early, for at the visitation of 1748, he was holding the officer of zelator, or assistant, to the novice master, and was a community depositarius in 1749.[6] He was also at this time in charge of the studies of the young monks at Saint Edmund's, two of his pupils going on to defend their theses to public applause, and he was recognised as a teacher by the Parlement of Paris. On the completion of his doctorate, he was appointed prior in 1749, thus becoming, aged 27, superior of the community. He immediately began an attempt to heighten awareness of, and enthusiasm for, the new learning of the Paris Enlightenment among the monks by helping to found the Society of Saint Edmund, a debating society at which monks and their lay friends delivered learned papers. Walmesley presided as rector of the Society and guided the debates; his contribution will be discussed below.[7]

Charles Walmesley was to spend 15 years in Paris, from 1738 to 1753. As prior, in his last four years in the French capital, he supported his community's traditional affiliation to the Jacobite cause, receiving a

foundation for Masses from the family of the Jacobite Fitz-James Stuart, third Duke of Berwick (1718-85). Through the acceptance of other legacies he provided for the education of youths destined to join the community in Paris. The most illuminating survey of his life in Paris comes from a comprehensive reference sent to the congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome in April 1756, during its search for a coadjutor for the ailing Benedictine, Bishop Lawrence York (1687-1770) of the Western District. Walmesley obtained flawless references from the superiors of the French Maurist and Cluniac Benedictines, who noted that he had managed his French benefice well. They declared that in their opinion he was orthodox, and that following the attainment of a distinction in the licentiate in theology, he had become a distinguished mathematician, thus providing a model for other English Catholics to follow. However, the reference continued, he had not been an unqualified success as prior, since he had become obsessed with his mathematical studies and neglected his obligations to the community. Furthermore, he had been reproached by the archbishop of Paris for not exercising enough vigilance over the monastic officials, and especially for not having been sufficiently firm with the procurator, or bursar, of Saint Edmund's, whose behaviour had caused widespread scandal in Paris.

There is one other tantalising hint of Walmesley's low standing with the authorities during his priorship. Writing to Christopher Stonor, the secular clergy's agent in Rome, in November 1753, Joseph Holden, rector of Saint Gregory's College, the English secular clergy's house of studies in Paris, mentioned that Walmesley and his procurator had an even worse standing in the eyes of the archbishop of Paris than did Holden himself. Holden was reputed to hold Jansenist opinions and had amassed heavy debts by ill-considered investment in property he had purchased for the college.[8]

At the English Benedictine General Chapter of 1753, Walmesley declined to stand for re-election as prior in Paris, presumably because of the criticisms levelled against him. However, his intellectual qualities were recognised by the chapter, and he was elected Magister of Theology and a censor.[9] After the chapter, he did not return to Paris, but went instead to La Celle, Saint Edmund's country estate near Meaux in Brie. That he continued to be loved and respected by at least some of the community in Paris is vouched for in three poems in his honour

written in 1753 by the young monk John Barnes (1731-75). The first, written in August, coincided with his return from general chapter and expressed the author's anxiety that Walmesley might be transferred from Saint Edmund's in Paris to the English mission. The second two poems, penned in November 1753, continued to address him as "prior," perhaps a reference to the benefice he continued to hold after his retirement from the priorship in Paris. These two poems were compiled for his feast day, and congratulated him on coming to La Celle.[10]

To the R.F.D. Charles Walmesley, at his Return from Chapter, the Year 1753. When he refused the Priorship, and it was thought he would go Upon the Mission very soon. Poem.

All hail, dear Charles! All hail, thy safe Return
Shall glad thy friends, and cause thy foes to mourn.
Thy foes to mourn: may sorrow be their fate,
Who all that's learned scorn, that's virtuous hate!
Once more all hail! Clad in thy native Worth,
Titles to Thee are needless to shine forth.
The self bright Sun needs not to give the Day,
The spurious Blaze of a reflected Ray;
Whilst gloomy planets wrapt in home-born night
Their glittering borrow from a foreign Light.

Whether Superior o'er us you preside,
(So mild, you please then even when you chide,)
Or subject humble thee again we view
Still virtue's Paths with equal heat pursue…

'Tis now four summers since we 'gan to share
The genial fruits of thy paternal Care;
'Tis now four summers since on all you strove
To spread the sweets of an impartial love.
Still on thy House thy gen'rous Care bestow;
With equal heat may still thy Bosom glow;
Thy House's welfare willing yet attend;

The Father now no more, but still the Friend…

Hear, gracious Heav'n! Our Vows propitious hear!
Never, oh, Never may that Day appear,
From Fate's black Records blot the joyless Day,
When fatal Orders from Superior sway,
Shall from our Bosom tear our Charles away!
Or if his Talents, hitherto confin'd,
Must now blaze forth, the Pride of all Mankind.

PROCURATOR IN CURIA, ROME 1754-1756

Any hopes of more quiet fishing beside the flowing and abundant streams of the Grand Morin at La Celle were dashed, for in 1754 Walmesley was appointed procurator in curia, the Roman agent of the English monks, an office which had lain vacant for some years. He travelled to Rome that December, his main objective being to secure favourable conditions at Propaganda Fide for the monks who were still smarting from the recent victory of the vicars apostolic with the papal brief *Apostolicum ministerium* of May 1753, which had granted the bishops partial jurisdiction over monks on the English mission. Walmesley was soon popular in Roman ecclesiastical circles and secured the rescinding of the impractical sexennium rule, which required missioner monks to return to their monasteries every six years for a three-month period so as to preserve their monastic spirit.[11]

His mathematical mind took easily to coping with the administration of procuratorial business. Dom Placid Waters, who succeeded to the post of procurator at the end of the century (1777-1808), and who was the executor of Bonnie Prince Charlie's daughter, the Duchess of Albany, congratulated Walmesley on "the notes of his agency" being "in much better order than any of your successors." It is probable that Walmesley's portrait hanging today in the English College in Rome, and which appears to depict him in an English Benedictine habit, was painted during his time as procurator. Walmesley was enthusiastic about Rome because, as we shall see later, it allowed him entry to those Roman scientific circles which sought answers to the same questions as he himself was pursuing. Meanwhile, he continued as rector in absentia and a corresponding member of the Society of Saint Edmund, which

was still meeting in Paris.[12] Given the traditional adherence of the Benedictines and his own family to the Stuarts, it was inevitable that Walmesley would feel at home in Roman Jacobite circles, and he would visit the Stuart court at the Palazzo Muti. He was granted James III's protection immediately on his arrival in the city, and the pretender's patronage was to be instrumental later in Walmesley being appointed vicar apostolic for the Western District in England in 1756. Walmesley acknowledged on one occasion the "constant civilities" he had received from the Jacobite court by dispatching a rack of half a dozen bottles and as many of rum.[13]

COADJUTOR IN THE WESTERN DISTRICT

In the spring of 1756, Walmesley, by now well-known in Roman society, was appointed coadjutor to the Benedictine Lawrence York, vicar apostolic of the Western District in England, who was then aged 69, and who had recommended him for the office. The report to Propaganda indicates that he was the first choice as candidate. He had managed his benefice well, was "of sound doctrine," a distinguished mathematician, and had studied canon law at Rome, presumably a reference to his work as procurator. Walmesley was consecrated bishop privately in the Sodality Chapel of the English College in Rome by Cardinal Lanti on 21 December 1756, and took the see of Rama *in partibus infidelium*. The following summer, he wrote to the English Benedictines assembled at the general chapter assembled in London, expressing his wish to continue his attachment to the congregation as bishop, and was consequently granted a seat in the chapter. Thus, Walmesley attended the general chapters held from 1761 until 1785, when Bishop Gregory Sharrock succeeded him as vicar apostolic. Although the chapter felt it could not support him financially on his becoming vicar apostolic in 1756, an annuity of £5 was granted him by both the northern and southern provinces of the English Benedictine mission, and by the English Benedictine monasteries in Europe: Dieulouard, Douai, and Paris. The 1761 chapter of the South Province directed the Benedictine missioner at Bath to provide for Walmesley's maintenance there.[14]

Once Bishop Walmesley had arrived in England and settled at Bell Tree House, the home of the Benedictine mission in Bath, he can be glimpsed carrying out his episcopal mandate. Thus, in his report on his

district to Propaganda Fide in the spring of 1759, he noted the distress caused by the brief *Apostolicum ministerium* among the regular clergy in the western district. This brief ordered regular clergy on the English mission, such as the Benedictines, to submit to the authority of the vicars apostolic. From 1761, he was in the habit of delivering new year addresses to the Catholics of his district. Not surprisingly, he seems to have had less time to address scientific questions directly. Nevertheless, in November 1761, Walmesley wrote to Dr Thomas Birch (1705-1766), the secretary of the Royal Society, an Anglican clergyman and Whig historian, asking him to accept a copy of his book written "some years ago as an illustration of Newton's Theory of the Moon," which a friend in Italy had had published after Walmesley left Italy. The bishop admitted its imperfections, but hoped Birch, whom he had met in London the previous year, would accept it as a testimony of Walmesley's high regard for Birch's learning and merit. Birch was one of a number of lay and clerical friends whose company Walmesley continued to enjoy at Bath, where he also extended hospitality to ailing monks desirous of taking the waters.[15]

By 1763, Bishop York was eager to retire, and in May he recommended that Walmesley succeed him. Thus, at the beginning of 1764, Walmesley became acting vicar apostolic of the western district, the poorest of the four districts, and the one traditionally governed by a monk. He succeeded fully to the vicariate on the death of York in 1770. He marked his promotion by his first pastoral letter, in Latin. The Old Pretender, James Edward Stuart, had died in Rome in 1766, after the longest reign—64 years—hitherto in English history, but the pope refused to recognise the succession of his son, Charles Edward, to the English throne. Nevertheless, Walmesley in Bath, aware of his earlier intimate connections in Rome with the Jacobite court, professed loyalty to Bonnie Prince Charlie at the beginning of 1767. However, he cautioned Dom Placid Naylor, the English Benedictines' president general, against writing "an extremist letter" to the new king in December 1767: "Walmesley is in town and complains about the Oaths, but tells me the Benedictines will not petition because of fear."

As coadjutor from 1756, and then vicar apostolic from 1764, Walmesley seems to have continued to be actively involved in the English Benedictine Congregation during these years. A course of studies for the monks from the 1760s bears his name, although

Walmesley may well have compiled the course while he was either prior in Paris in the 1750s or, more probably, when he became Magister of Theology in 1753. It recommends the teaching of Newtonian philosophy, "as now given in the schools."[16]

During the 1770s Walmesley settled into his role as vicar apostolic, keeping a particular eye on monks working in his district, and making preparations for another monk to become his coadjutor in the future. He continued to attend the monks' general chapters and the provincial chapters of the south province, providing many of the secular clergy further proof of his predictable bias towards members of his own order. Walmesley saw a modest expansion of Catholicism in his district, which was reflected in an increase in the number of clergy and in his consecration of the Arundel chapel in 1776. His correspondence with Cardinal Corsini, the Protector of the English College, and with the Benedictine procurator in curia, Dom Placid Waters (procurator, 1777-1808), continued to demonstrate his easy familiarity with curial affairs. He dutifully implemented in his district the papal bull which ordered the suppression of the Jesuits, and through his 1777 pastoral letter explained to his flock why the Holy See had permitted the suppression of certain feasts.[17]

In 1770, he published his major theological book, *The General History of the Christian Church by Sig.Pastorini*, a commentary on the Book of Revelation, as one who saw the world through the eyes of a Newtonian scientist, and had sufficient regard to political events to be uneasy at the current state of affairs. The book, frequently translated and edited, was avidly read by those oppressed in France during the Revolution, and in Ireland during the pre-emancipation troubles. Its message was later paraphrased in a shorter work, *Ezekiel's Vision Explained* (London, 1778). Both books were written to record Walmesley's anxiety that there was a "terrible rejection of God at present," and that divine retribution was just around the corner. Apart from the eccentricity of their contents, the two books reveal for the first time the onset of that dark pessimism which haunted and overpowered him throughout the entire Cisalpine controversy. This crusade on behalf of the truth, and the embattled Church besieged on all sides by the forces of darkness and rationalism, made Walmesley determined to have his apocalyptic jeremiads translated into all major European languages, to warn against impending disaster. Given this frame of mind, it is not surprising that he

greeted the first Relief Act for Catholics, passed by the British parliament in 1778, with caution. He instructed his flock to pray daily for the royal family, but to avoid all disputes and anything that might give offence.[18]

By the autumn of 1778, Walmesley, aged only 56, was so oppressed by deafness that he asked for a coadjutor. Insistent that he be given a fellow Benedictine, he tabled the names of Dom Gregory Cowley (prior of Saint Edmund's in Paris, 1773-89) and Dom Gregory Sharrock (prior of Saint Gregory's in Douai, 1775-81) as possible candidates. Initially he preferred Cowley but later swung to supporting Sharrock, and at the beginning of 1780 he gave Sharrock some fatherly advice, although he admitted his own "stock is short and my abilities very narrow."[19] Sharrock was eventually appointed as Walmesley's coadjutor in 1781, after the catastrophe of the Gordon Riots the previous year. The rioters, as has already been mentioned, torched the new Catholic chapel in Bath, and the missioner, Dom Bede Brewer (1742-1822), the other English monk with a Sorbonne doctorate, only narrowly escaped with his life. Walmesley himself sadly admitted that all his scientific papers and vicarial documents were destroyed in the flames, which explains the abundance of archival material relating to him after this time in comparison to what survives from before 1780. The appreciable number of his surviving books, however, which bear his unmistakable signature, originally at the family home of Westwood House in Wigan, then later at Inglewood in Berkshire, and finally at Woolhampton and Downside, and elsewhere, suggest that at least part of his library survived the destruction.[20]

WALMESLEY'S CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE

Walmesley's contribution to science has long deserved specialist research. What follows is largely my summary of the comments on Walmesley by the historian of celestial mechanics, Dr Curtis Wilson (1921-2012) of Saint John's College in Annapolis, Maryland.

> From the two pieces by Walmesley that I have read, I have concluded that he is one of the Newtonian loyalists, Britons almost all, who believed that Newton had the right key to every problem he dealt with in the *Principia*. Newton indeed unlocked many of these problems; but he did not have the right key either for the problem of the motion of the Moon's apse or for the derivation of the precession of the equinoxes and nutation. So a number among his followers, Walmesley among them, invested time and thought in endeavors [sic] that would prove not to be helpful to the advance of the subject…At the same time it is clear that Walmesley is intelligent, and skilled in algebra and the calculus…Walmesley is in communication with mathematical astronomers who are in the mainstream of the 18th-century development, but I don't think he is one of them. Euler and d'Alembert and Lagrange and Laplace do not cite his results.[21]

By the 1740s Walmesley had achieved some distinction among European scientists, although his fame had not yet reached England. In 1747, he had delivered a paper on comets to the Paris Academy of Sciences (the French equivalent of the Royal Society), and in the same year had entered into the contemporary debate in Paris between the encyclopaedist Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-1783), the mathematical analyst Léonhard Euler (1707-83), and the mathematician and astronomer Alexis-Claude Clairaut (1713-65) over "the problem of the Three Bodies—the disturbance caused by the continual attraction of a third body on the motion of one body revolving around another." Parisian scientific circles of the time were busy applying Newton's gravitational principles to theoretical astronomy, and were working in particular on the question of perturbations in the orbit of the moon.[22]

The 1740s also saw the rise to prominence in scientific circles of the future Scots bishop, George Hay, another Catholic priest determined to demonstrate how Newtonianism might be extended to the moral sciences and natural philosophy. Both Hay and Walmesley were disciples of the Scottish Newtonian philosopher, Colin MacLaurin (1698-1745), whose mathematical work on Newton's theory of fluxions Walmesley used. Both Hay and Walmesley were to be found in Rome in the 1750s when the philosopher pope, Benedict XIV, was encouraging Newtonian science in ecclesiastical circles.[23]

Walmesley's passion for science and for mathematical astronomy is revealed in his papers to the Society of Saint Edmund, which was modelled on the Royal Society and had its own library and science museum within the monastery. Walmesley became a founding member and rector in 1749, the year he published his first book. In comparison with the junior monks' scientific fantasies and tentative experiments, Walmesley's papers stand out by reason of their very considerable

measure of expertise and rigour. In them, he demonstrated his acquaintance with contemporary mathematicians and Newtonian scientists such as the astronomer royal, James Bradley (1693-1762), Jacques Cassini (1677-1756), Matthew Stewart (1717-85) and John Machin (1686-1751). In the Society's minutes Walmesley can be seen encouraging the efforts of the younger and less academic members of his community.

The early appearance and sophistication of Walmesley's scientific studies presume that he had been attracted to questions relating to mathematics, astronomy and Newtonian science quite early in his career, perhaps even before he was attached to the Sorbonne. In November 1747 Alexis-Claude Clairaut (1713-65) announced to the Paris Académie des Sciences that Newton's inverse-square law implied only about half the observed motion of the moon's apse (the apse being the fiducial point of the orbit from which the monthly inequality in motion is measured; in the moon's case, it is close to but not steadily identical with the orbital point farthest from the earth). In December 1748 Walmesley attempted to persuade Clairaut that the source of the discrepancy was Clairaut's use of a uniformly rotating ellipse as a first-order approximation. Failing to persuade Clairaut, he proceeded to write his first book, *Théorie du mouvement des apsides en général, et en particulier des apsides de l'orbite de la lune* (Paris, 1749; in English, London, 1754), giving three different derivations of the motion of the moon's apse.

The first derivation was based on Newton's Proposition 39 of Book I of the *Principia*, the second on Proposition 40, and the third on a theorem enunciated by John Machin, together with calculated values of the diurnal motion of the moon's apse in the syzygies and quadratures as given by Newton in the first edition of the *Principia*. In all three derivations Walmesley arrived at values for the apsidal motion in good agreement with the observed value. On 21 August 1748, d'Alembert, co-editor of the *Encyclopedie* and a member of the Royal Society since 1748, reported to the Royal Society in London on a paper of Walmesley's referred to as "Reduction des integrales aux logarithmes et arcs de cercles."[23a] D'Alembert mentioned Walmesley's membership of the monks' Society of Saint Edmund which indicates that on the eve of the foundation of the Society of Saint Edmund, Walmesley was known among the highest circle of Parisian scientists.

Walmesley's manuscript was published in 1749 and was a translation from English into French of Roger Cotes's *Harmonia Mensurarum* (1722), together with a preface and commentary. It was published under Walmesley's name as *Analyse des Mesures, des Rapports, et des Angles: ou Reduction des Integrales aux Logarithmes, et aux Arcs de Cercle* (Paris, 1749). It is dedicated to Walmesley's patron, the Comte d'Argenson. A second edition appeared in 1753. The chief importance of the translation is that it transmitted to mathematicians on the Continent a set of rules, first formulated by Newton and by James Gregory, then given by Cotes, for carrying out numerical integrations. Numerical integrations are resorted to in the case of functions not formally integrable; they are at best approximate, and the rules show how to reduce the inevitable inaccuracies to a minimum.

The first proposal to use these rules in physical astronomy was made by the distinguished Slavic astronomer, the Jesuit Roger Joseph Boscovich (1711-87), in the essay he submitted to the Paris Academy's contest of 1752 concerning the mutual perturbations of Jupiter and Saturn. His essay won the *proxime accessit*, and Boscovich published it at his own expense in Rome in 1756. Boscovich, however, did not carry out any actual numerical integrations. Apparently the first large-scale numerical integration ever performed was that involved in the determination, by Clairaut and two fellow calculators, Jérôme le Français Lalande and Mme Nicole-Reine Etable de Labrière Lepaute, of the return of Halley's Comet in 1759. The very sizeable perturbations of Halley's Comet by the planet Jupiter could have been determined in no other way than by numerical integration. The rules supplied by Cotes were thus instrumental in the successful prediction of the comet's close approach to the sun. Clairaut undoubtedly read Boscovich's essay, which cites Walmesley's book as the source of the rules. This suggests that Walmesley and Boscovich had collaborated with each other during the years that Walmesley had been in Rome as the English Benedictines' procurator (1754-56).

Unfortunately, Walmesley's derivations involved some mistaken or questionable assumptions. The third derivation can be accorded little weight, because the applicability of Machin's theorem is hypothetical, and the route by which Newton arrived at his calculated values is unknown. In the first two derivations, Walmesley articulates Newton's propositions in Leibnizian differential notation, and shows skill in

integrating. But he assumed that the transverse component of the perturbing force (at right angles to the radius vector from earth to moon) contributed nothing to the apsidal motion, and this, as Clairaut had discovered by 1749, is incorrect. Walmesley followed John Machin, another Newtonian loyalist, in assuming that a general derivation of the apsidal motion is possible without entering into a detailed accounting for perturbational effects by successive approximations. The assumption was not obviously wrong; it took the later development of celestial mechanics to show that the more arduous, detailed account was necessary.

Walmesley's defence of Sir Isaac Newton's theory of fluxions "was received with universal applause" in Europe following the book's publication. Walmesley was awarded the Diploma of Frederick II of Prussia, and in February 1750 he became a fellow of the Royal Society of Berlin, where Euler's influence was strong. On 1 November 1750, Walmesley was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London. He was listed as a foreign fellow, on the "high recommendation" of d'Alembert, the astronomer Pierre Charles Lemonnier, and the biologist, the Comte de Buffon. Included also was the signature of the English secular priest and biologist, John Turberville Needham (1713-81). There had been a rapid growth of such scientific societies like those in Berlin and London by the mid-eighteenth century, and it was common for membership of one to become a sign of acceptability in another. Many members of these societies during the eighteenth century were amateur scientists, and for these candidates election was not a difficulty.[23b] In most of these Republics of Science, talk on religious and political affairs was banned.

In a letter to of 3 December 1755 to James Bradley (1693-1762), Fellow of the Royal Society and Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, Walmesley enclosed two of his works, the first being "Precession of equinox and nutation" and the second, "Annual motion of the earth as affected by Jupiter and Saturn." He wrote from Bath on 21 November to Charles Morton, secretary of the Royal Society, attaching his manuscript of his theory of the planetary motions which was entitled "De Inequalitatibus quas inmotis Planetarium generant ipsorum in re invicem actiones." This was published in English in London in 1758 in volume 50 of the *Philosophical Transactions*, with a covering letter to Bradley, dated at Bath on 21 October, 1758, and which mentioned

Walmesley as a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, and of the Institute of Bologna. It was an attempt to use mathematics to determine the inequalities in the motion of the planets.[23c] The *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London provided a forum in which Walmesley could discuss his theories in a series of papers he published between 1756 and 1761. It seems that Walmesley was also contributing to the discussions regarding Britain's adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1751, although the degree of his contribution is not known with any certainty; it seems to have been along the lines of informal consultation with other members of the Royal Society such as Lord Macclesfield and its president, the astronomer royal, James Bradley.

During the 1750s we find Walmesley attempting, like another English scientist, Thomas Simpson, to derive the precession of the equinoxes (i.e. the earlier occurrence of the equinoxes in each successive sidereal year) and the nutation (i.e. the oscillation of the earth's axis making the motion of the pole of the equator round the pole of the ecliptic wavy) through the use of Newtonian-style, geometrical procedures. Both Walmesley and Simpson failed, as had Newton himself, because they lacked a worked-out dynamics of rotational motion, such as d'Alembert successfully put forward as early as 1749.

Walmesley's brief two-year residence in Rome from 1754 to 1756 brought him recognition in Roman scientific circles, and allowed him to introduce them to the fruits of contemporary English science. His time in Rome coincided with the residence there of Boscovich, and the Englishman Christopher Maire (1697-1767), another Jesuit mathematician and astronomer. Walmesley, given this shared interest in mathematics and astronomy, must certainly have met them in Rome. It must have been in Rome, too, that Walmesley compiled the book, *De inaequalitatibus motuum lunarium*, which was published in Florence in 1758, after he had returned to England and become vicar apostolic. This was the book presented to Thomas Birch in 1761, mentioned above, "written as an illustration of Newton's Theory of the Moon," which Walmesley had given to a friend who had published it after his departure from Italy.

In Rome, Walmesley's importance can be gauged by the distinguished circle in which he moved. Among his associates was the

Barnabite Newtonian scientist, Paolo Frisi, (1697-1767) a member of the École de Milan, friend of Pietro Verri (1728-97), the philosopher and economist, and d'Alembert, and he was involved in the publication of the militant journal *Il Caffè* ("The Coffee House"). Like Walmesley, Frisi belonged to the Royal Society, and its equivalents in Berlin and Paris, and his patronage may well have been behind the publication of Walmesley's *De inaequalitatibus* in 1758. The Minim friar, François Jacquier (1711-88), a Newtonian mathematician and physicist prominent in Rome, who held the chair of experimental physics at the Roman college Sapienza during Walmesley's time in Rome, was also a good friend of Walmesley.[24]

Walmesley's visit to Mount Etna, mentioned in an early nineteenth-century biographical note, can only have taken place when he was resident in Rome. He is said to have visited it "once or twice, and made many observations." Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803) only arrived in Naples in 1764 as Extraordinary Envoy to the Court of Naples, after Walmesley had left for England, and only then commenced his thorough research into vulcanism and began gathering his collection of archaeological exhibits. If Walmesley had left before the advent of Hamilton, he nevertheless kept pace with Hamilton's findings regarding volcanoes and earthquakes. Writing from Woollas Hall, Pershore, in the autumn of 1797, to his close friend Lord Arundell, he commented in the light of his "Pastorini," "I am sorry to see my old acquaintance, Mount Vesuvius, grow so angry. Let Naples be aware if it's warnings." Walmesley's two successors as procurator in Rome, Dom Augustine Walker (1757-77) and Dom Placid Waters (1777-1808) knew Hamilton personally.[25]

Walmesley's appointment as coadjutor vicar apostolic and his return to England in 1756 gave him less time for his science, and at one point during his long episcopate must have occurred the wilful rejection of scientific investigation famously described later by Charles Butler. Finding himself unconsciously inscribing geometric diagrams with the paten on the corporal during Mass one morning, Walmesley was so appalled that he vowed to have nothing to do with science again. "When his dereliction of mathematics was mentioned to d'Alembert, the philosopher expressed great concern at the loss." There is an echo here of the famous story from the Dominican, Roger Bacon, of another English bishop, Saint Edmund of Abingdon, whose pious mother

appeared to him in a dream and chided him for his consuming enthusiasm for mathematics. She seized his right hand, painted three circles within it, in each of which she wrote the names of the Trinity, and told him to concentrate on these alone. Edmund immediately transferred to the study of theology. A Benedictine source suggests alternatively that Walmesley's rejection of science occurred after the destruction of his papers in the Gordon Riots of 1780, which he took to be the judgement of God on his attachment to science.

It was not an easy vow for Walmesley to keep, however, for Butler goes on to tell us that "if a mathematical subject chanced to be mentioned, his countenance would brighten, and reveal his suppressed affection for mathematic lore." Despite this vow, Walmesley continued his friendship with scientists of all colours. He corresponded, for instance, with Peter Canvane (1720-1786), the American physician who introduced castor oil into England, and who was a neighbour of Walmesley in Bath, and Thomas Birch, as mentioned above. It was in his early years as vicar apostolic that his papers on the irregularities in the motion of satellites, mentioned earlier, were published in P*hilosophical Transactions*, and complimentary copies of his most popular work, the quasi-scientific *The General History of the Christian Church…by Signor Pastorini* (London, 1771), were sent to the Italian Newtonian, Paolo Frisi in 1781. As bishop, he was still reading in the 1770s the latest works on motion and attraction in astronomy, works like the Bishop Hugh Hamilton's (1729-1805) *Four Introductory Lectures in Natural Philosophy* (London 1774). A copy of this work bears Walmesley's signature, passing to his grandnephew and namesake by 1802.[26]

It seems that the bishop continued to remain fascinated with astronomy during his later years. In 1789, Walmesley drew up a short paper on "Elements of the Orbit of the Comet of 1789." While air balloons, about which he was fully informed, were the fashionable topic of the day and perhaps then the nearest thing to space probes, his sights were still set on the stars. It is said that in Bath he "encouraged and assisted" his neighbour, the distinguished astronomer, Sir William Herschel, another member of the Royal Society, a telescope builder and the discoverer of the planet Uranus in 1780, who read papers on astronomy to the Bath Philosophical Society during 1781. As Walmesley approached seventy, he was invited by his fellow monk, Dom Benet Pembridge, to accompany him to see Herschel's famous telescope at

Windsor in 1790. Pembridge, the editor of the 1797 edition of Signor Pastorini, was one of the bishop's stoutest supporters in his long-drawn-out clashes with the Cisalpines which were to absorb his last years. Politics had by then, it seems, overtaken science.[27]

GEOFFREY SCOTT OSB

NOTES

1. Surveys of Walmesley's life will be found in Ampleforth MSS, Allanson, Biographies, II, 1-21; Lille, Archives du Nord, 18 H 2; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xx, 614-16; *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXVII, December 1797, 107; J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, London, n.d., vol. v, 569-70; *Andrews' Weekly Orthodox Journal*, 2 August 1834, 65-9; M. Picot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire écclesiastique pendant le dix-huitiéme siècle*, Paris, 1857, vii, 339; A. Le Glay, *Notice sur Charles Walmesle*, (Lille, 1858); G. Scott, "Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century English Benedictine Portraits: a first listing," in *English Benedictine History Symposium*, 13, 1995, 66-127 (for a description of the many portraits of Walmesley). As Vicar apostolic, see M. Bradbury, "Bishop Walmesley's Correspondence: Glimpses of his Character and Concerns," in A. Bellenger, ed., *Fathers in Faith. The Western District 1688-1988* (Bath, 1991), 31-40, and Gary L. Nelson, "Charles Walmesley and the Episcopal Opposition to English Catholic Cisalpinism, 1782-1797," PhD dissertation (Tulane University USA, 1977).

2. *Orthodox Journal*, February 1819, 65-66. Charles Walmesley's elder brother John became a mercer of Wigan, Berkshire Record Office, D/Ebt F26, Notebook of Bryan Barrett, 1752-53. The Walmesleys left Westwood in the 1890s and moved to Inglewood near Kintbury, Berks, bringing their chapel stone by stone with them. *Wigan Observer*, 12 February 1960, for a photograph of Westwood House and chapel. The house was demolished at the beginning of this century, although estate cottages, a heated garden wall and many flashes and lakes remain on the estate. E. Twycross, *Mansions of England and Wales* (1847), vol. 3. The Westwood library, containing many recusant books was dispersed in 1929, the catalogue and many of the books finding a home at Douai Abbey, the successor community of Charles Walmesley's own monastery of Saint Edmund in Paris.

3. Lille, Archives du Nord, 18 H, 64, 29 April 1791, Walmesley to Augustine Walker; Clifton, 1791 vol., 1791 10 July, 2 Nov, Walker to Walmesley; 1772-88 vol., 1786 30 Nov., Walmesley to G. Sharrock. 1783 18 Dec., B. Brewer to Walmesley; 1792 vol, 1792 2 & 6 March, Walmesley to Lady Gerard. 1792 14 May, Walker to Walmesley. 1793 vol., 1793 12 April, John Douglass to Walmesley.

4. C. Webster, "Richard Towneley (1629-1707) and the Towneley Group," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 118, 1967, 51-76.

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fondi Latini*, 9159, fo.16, (information from Professor Laurence Brockliss). Walmesley's official portrait now at Downside, probably painted soon after he was made vicar apostolic in 1756, shows the Sorbonne doctor's stole on his left shoulder.

6. Douai Abbey. Visitation Book of Saint Edmund's, Paris.

7. Athanasius Allanson, "History," II, 184, 1749 General Chapter. Walmesley was elected prior following the refusal of Wilfrid Constable. The volumes containing the proceedings of the Society of Saint Edmund are at Douai Abbey, VII. A. 1. I. F.P.C (Frederick Paulinus Cunningham), "The Society of Saint Edmund," Douai Magazine, XIX, 1, Spring 1956, 3-10. G. Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone. English Monks and the Enlightenment* (Bath 1992), 155-9.

8. Rome, Propaganda Fide, SOCG, 765. Douai Abbey, Saint Edmund's Mass Obligation Book, 1767: entries for 1752. Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster (AAW) Ep. Var. XIII, 5 November 1753, Holden to Stonor. See letter of Green, 1753 8 November, for suspicions of Holden's Jansenism.

9. Allanson MSS, "History," II, 191. Lille, Archives du Nord, 18 H 18 October 1753, Augustine Walker's speech on succeeding Walmesley as prior in Paris. He described the scandalous state into which the monastery had fallen, but called Walmesley an "able and good man."

10. Douai Abbey, VII.A.3. "Barnes," August 1753, Poems by Dom John Barnes. Barnes was also a member of the Society of Saint Edmund, Walmesley having approved of his paper "On Fire as fluid invironing earth as a atmosphere," in February 1750. He was secretary of the Society from 1751 to 1752, and taught humanities at La Celle, 1753-4. The poems dedicated to Walmesley are: 110-113, "To the R.F.D. Charles Walmesley, at his Return from the Chapter, the Year 1753. When he had refused the Priorship, and it was thought he would go Upon the Mission very soon. Poem," "To the Same when Prior, on his Feast Day 1753, Novber. 4," 164-66, "Ad R.D. Carolum Walmesley. De adventu ad Cellas, Gratulatio."

11. Allanson MSS, "History" II, p. 200. Scott, *Gothic Rage*, 74.

12. Clifton Diocesan Archives, 1792 vol., 19 May 1792, Waters to Walmesley. Walmesley's papers read in Paris whilst he was in Rome were: "De Praecessione Aequinoxium et Axis Terrae Nutatione" (28 May 1755) and "De Inaequalitatibus Motum Terrae" (27 June 1755), both published later in *Philosophical Transactions*.

13. Stuart Papers, Windsor Castle, RA/SP 350/193, 1754 29 Sept., 365/59,1756 28 September, John Placid Howard OSB to James III; 380/134, 1758 16 April, Howard to Edgar; 353/63, 1755 6 Jan., 362/96, 1756 3 May, 367/164, 1757 3 Jan., James III to Howard; 363/101, 1756 5 July, Lawrence York OSB to James III; 363/115, 1756 10 July, 365/163, 1756 13 Oct., Walmesley to Edgar. The Walmesleys were traditionally Jacobite in sympathy, cf. Preston, Lancashire R.O., Eileen M. Hearn, "Catherine Walmesley. An English Jacobite and Catholic at the time of the '15" (dissertation of April 1967).

14. Rome, Propaganda Fide, SOCG 765/9, Acta 126/9 ff. 101-07, 1756 6 April, 1756 6 April. B. Hemphill, *The Early Vicars Apostolic in England* (London 1954), 145. Windsor, Stuart Papers, RA/SP, 362/96, 363/101, 363/115, 365/59, 367/164, 380/134, 1756 3 May, James III to Howard, 5 July, Lawrence York to James III, 10 July, Walmesley to Edgar, 28 Sept, Howard to James III, 1757 3 Jan, James III to Howard; 1758 16 April, Howard to Edgar. Lille 18 H 18, 1756 Sept, Howard to Walker. Lille 18 H 60, 1756 6 July, Spinelli to Howard. J. C. Fowler, *The Benedictines in Bath during a Thousand Years* (Yeovil, 1895), 79. Allanson, "History," II, 211-12, 1757 General Chapter. Allanson, "Appendix," 504, the 1781 General chapter cancelled the Bath mission's duty to provide Walmesley's maintenance. Woolhampton, I/A/1, "Accounts of Saint Edmund's Paris," shows that monastery paying 675 livres for Walmesley's annuity in 1759; and Saint Edmund's, Paris, "Mass Obligation Book," an insertion in Augustine Kellet's hand, indicates that Saint Edmund's was paying Walmesley's annuity until the outbreak of the French Revolution. Allanson, "Records," 230. "Declaration of Saint Edmund's Property" indicates that the annuity was £30 in c.1792. Downside, North Province, Account Book no. 3, the property of Benedict Steare, Provincial of York, 99, shows a "quota" of £5 being paid to Walmesley in 1774.

15. Rome, Propaganda Fide, SC, 1741-60, Anglia 4, ff.433-37, 1759 8 March, Walmesley to Propaganda. J.A. Williams, *Bath and Rome* (Bath, 1963), 49 notes his visits to Ugbrooke, the seat of the Cliffords in Devon. in 1759 and 1763. Wigan Archives, RM 1549, for Walmesley's new year addresses, given in 1761, 1763, 1766, 1772, 1776, 1779, 1783, 1785. British Library, Add. MSS 4320 f.93, 1761 21 Nov, Walmesley to Birch. Douai Abbey Archives, Scott Box, 1766 16 April, Walmesley to Howard. For bibliography of Walmesley's published works as vicar apostolic, see F. Blom, J. Blom, F. Korsten, G. Scott, *English Catholic Books 1701-1800. A Bibliography* (Aldershot, 1996), nos. 2862-2900.

16. Rome, Propaganda Fide. Anglia. Acta 133/9, 10. *Catholic Record Society*, vol. 56 (London, 1964), 196, for Walmesley's confirmations at the Benedictine mission of Marlborough in 1765. AAW, Ware Series 6. 3 shelf 43, 41, 1764 Pastoral on Indulgences. Nancy, Meurthe, H 77, 1767, 14 Dec, 1769 6 Feb, CW to Naylor. AAW 1765 c.May, Challoner to Stonor. "Walmesley is in town and complains about the Oaths, but tells me the Benedictines will not petition because of fear." RA SP 438/162, 1767 14 Feb, CW to Charles Edward. H. Aveling, "The Education of Eighteenth-Century English Monks," *Downside Review*, Spring 1961, vol. 255, 140-52. The Ampleforth copy, used by Aveling, (A.261-4) is dated 15 April 1764, and belonged to Dom Ambrose Kaye, prior of Dieulouard in that year. The Douai Abbey copy (C/III/R) from Paris, gives Charles Walmesley as the author. G. Scott, *Gothic Rage*, 167-68.

17. Nancy, Meurthe, H 77, 1770 2 May, CW to Naylor & 1777 6 Mar, CW to Naylor. Rome, English College Archives, 1777 9 Oct., CW to Waters, and nos. 50: 3,3.9,4.1,6.13,7,7.7,8.2,8.14,9.3,12.7. AAW Main Series, XLI/136. J. Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1909), 243. Williams, *Bath and Rome*, 42, 49, 50.

18. Lille 18 H 64, 1778 18 Mar, 22 May, 4 Oct, 1779 7 April, 14 Oct, 1780 30 April, Walmesley to Walker. Clifton 1772-80 vol., 1778 3 July, Walmesley to clergy of Western District. G. Scott, "'The Times are Fast Approaching': Bishop Charles Walmesley O.S.B. (1722-1797) as Prophet," in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36, 4, Oct. 1985, 590-604.

19. Lille 18 H 64, 1778 4 Oct., 6 Dec., 1779 14 Oct., 1780 30 April, Walmesley to Walker. Clifton 1772-88 vol, 1779 24 Nov., Walmesley to Sharrock. Rome, English College, 50.8.14, 50.9.6. 1780 2 Jan., Walmesley to Sharrock.

20. Williams, *Bath and Rome*, 50-51, "my papers...and other things burnt by rioters in Bath, June 9th 1780"; see 54, 97-8, for list of his books and effects, dated 10 January 1781. Clifton, 1772-88 vol., 1780 12 June, Walmesley's Pastoral Letter, recommending prayers in "the alarms of the present time." Allanson, "History" II, 264. Douai Abbey Archives, BE/VII/A/3/b/iii/1, Westwood House library catalogue, 1870 lists Walmesley's Analyse des mesures, (1749).

21. Letter of C. Wilson to G. Scott, 12 May 1997.

22. C. Walmesley, *Analyse de Mesures, des Rapports et des Angles; ou Reduction des Integrales aux Logarithmes et aux Arx de Cercle* (Paris, 1749). DNB, vol. xviii, 1223, for Stewart and Walmesley. Douai Abbey, for bound MS volumes of papers given to the Society of Saint Edmund. Walmesley's contributions were, "On the Propagation of Light," 17 June 1749; "On the Rising of Vapours," 2 Dec. 1749; "De Motu Corporum ad centrum duplex gravitantium," 10 March, 10 &16 June 1750; "On the Nodes of the Moon's Orbit," 14 July, 22 Sept. 1750; "On the Inclination of the Moon's sphere towards the plane of an Eclipse," 29 July 1750; "Regarding other inequalities in the Moon's Orbit," 1 Dec. 1750; "Regarding the Equation of the Middle Movement of the Moon," 15 Dec. 1750. 9 March 1751; "Dissertation upon the Principle of Action in Beasts," 25 May 1751; "Methodus Investigandi Logathrithmos Numeri or On Finding the Logarithms of any number," 25 April 1752; "De Lineis Tertii Ordinis," 1 August 1752; "De Methodo Differentiarum et De Summatione Serierum; De Praecessione Aequinoxium et Axis Terrae Nutatione," 28 May 1755; "De Inaequalitatibus Motum Terrae," 27 June 1755. Douai Abbey c. Nov. 1791, "Catalogue of the Library of the Society of Saint Edmund." Parker Papers, c. Nov. 1792, "Declaration of Saint Edmund's Property,"

for description of the Society's library, which contained copies of Walmesley's published works. A. Bellenger, "'Superstitious enemies of the flesh'? The Variety of Benedictine Responses to the Enlightenment," in Nigel Aston (ed.), *Religious Change in Europe 1650-1914. Essays for John McManners* (Oxford 1997), 155-8; and Scott, *Gothic Rage*, 156-8.

23. See Nelson supra, "Charles Walmesley," 37-42, 49-51, for the most recent account of Walmesley's scientific interests and his contribution to the introduction of the Calendar. For Hay, see M. Goldie, "The Scottish Catholic Enlightenment," *Journal of British Studies*, xxx, 1991, 20-62, and his "Common Sense philosophy and Catholic theology in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, cccii, 1992, 281-320. Walmesley is not mentioned in the journals which report on the Parliamentary Committee on the reform of the calendar, and DNB's reference that he was "consulted by the British Government" clearly suggests something quite informal. Ushaw College Archives, Brooms' Diary of Fr T. Smith (1778-1811), *The Newcastle Courant* quoted as stating Walmesley was "the last survivor of the eminent mathematicians who were consulted and calculated the alteration from the old to the new style." Downside, Birt Box 6, A 334, for Walmesley's Berlin Diploma (5 February 1750), although Butler (*Memoirs*, iv, 434) says that he modestly declined the honour. For scientific societies, see J. E. McClellan III, *Science Reorganized: Scientific societies in the eighteenth-century* (New York, 1985). In *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 49, Part II, 700-758, 1756, are to be found in Latin, "Essay on the precession of the equinoxes and the nutation of the earth's axis," dedicated to James Bradley, and "Of the irregularities that may be occasioned in the annual motion of the earth by the actions of Jupiter and Saturn," vol. 50, 809ff., 1758, "Of the irregularities of the motion of a satellite arising from the spheroidical figure of its primary planet," and vol. 52, 275ff, 1761, "Of the irregularities in the planetary motions, caused by the mutual attraction of the planets." The archives of the Royal Society hold the manuscripts of these.

23a. Royal Society of London archives, MM/10/13. L & P/2/116.

23b. Royal Society of London archives, L & P/3/188.

23c. Royal Society of London archives: JBO/25/26, Walmesley's paper was read on 10 December 1761. Royal Society of London archives:

MM/10/13, 21 August 1748, report on a paper entitled "Reduction des integrales aux logarithmes et arcs de cercles," of Walmesley, by Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1713-83), Paris mathematician and co-editor of the *Encyclopédie*. This paper was given by Walmesley to the English Benedictines' Society of Saint Edmund, Royal Society of London archives: L & P/2/116, 26 April 1750, Count de Buffon (1707-88), specialist in natural history to Martin Folkes, (1690-1754), antiquary, "A letter recommending Mr Charles Walmesley for election to the Royal Society," Royal Society of London archives: EC/1750/08. November 1750, Certificate of Walmesley's election to the Royal Society. Proposed by M. Folkes, Cromli Mortimer, Anthony Askew, on the recommendation of de Buffon de la Condamine, d'Alembert, de Jussieu, de Fouchy, Sallier, le Monnier, Needham and Cantwell. Needham was John Turberville Needham (1713-81) secular priest and scientist interested in natural history. He was tutor to Philip Howard of Corby (1730-1810) who became a member of the English Benedictines' Society of Saint Edmund. In 1749. His certificate of admission signed by the rector, Charles Walmesley. Royal Society of London archives: L & P/3/196, 1756, Report by Matthew Raper, "An account of two essays by Charles Walmesley," Royal Society of London archives: L & P/3/188, 3 December 1755, Letter of Walmesley to James Bradley (1697-1762), astronomer who was involved with George Parker, second Earl of Macclesfield in the reform of the Julian calendar, enclosing "Two astronomical essays. I. Precession of equinox and nutation; II. Annual motio of the earth as affected by Jupiter and Saturn." Both these papers were published in the *Philosophical Transactions* as "Two essays addressed to the Rev. James Bradley D.D. and Astronom. Reg. by Mr. Charles Walmesley F. R.S." Royal Society of London archives: L & P/3/341, 1758, Letter from Charles Walmesley to James Bradley, "Of the irregularities in the motion of a satellite arising from the spherical figure of its primary." Royal Society of London archives: JB0/25/26, 10 December 1761 Minute Book of the Royal Society, included a letter from Walmesley in Bath to Charles Morton, and his manuscript, "De Inequalitatibus quas inmotis Planetarium geneanti isporum in re invicem actiones" was read.

24. Cambridge U.L. copy of The theory of the motion contains copious MS additions by W. Smith of Irthlingborough. D. Carpanetto and G. Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason* (London, 1987), 132, 262. E.W. Cochrane, *Tradition and Enlightenment in the Tuscan Academies 1690-180* (Chicago, 1961). H. Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1990), 242, 256. Clifton, 1772-88 vol.,1788 12 July, Waters to Walmesley, "your friend Jerequiner (i.e. Jacquier) is dead and buried at his convent on Trinity Hill"; 1789-90 vol., 1789 19 Dec, "your friend is Jacquier long dead." Nelson, "Charles Walmesley," 42.

25. *Orthodox Journal*, February 1819, 65-66. Clifton 1772-88 vol., 1784 13 March, Waters to Walmesley, "I am glad you have seen Sir William Hamilton's Acts of Calabria. I thought you would them curious…The Acct. of an earthquake at Douay seems so triffling when compared with these." (This must have been Hamilton's, *An Account of the Earthquakes in Calabria, Sicily* (Colchester, 1783); Clifton 1772-88 vol., 1786 2, 16 Dec., (description of eruption of Vesuvius). Wiltshire Record Office, 2667/25/2/10 undated (1797, Autumn), Pershore, C. Walmesley to Lord Arundell. For Hamilton, see I. Jenkins and K. Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes. Sir William Hamilton and His Collection* (London, 1996).

26. C. Butler, *Historical Memoirs*, iv, 434-5. Fowler, *The Benedictines in Bath*, 79. Clifton, 1772-88 vol., 1784 28 Sept., Walmesley to Canvane. Douai Abbey, Saint Edmund's, Paris: Accounts, entry for 24 April 1781 (Frisi). Walmesley's books by Hamilton are at Douai Abbey.

27. Clifton, 1772-88 vol., 1788 12 July, Waters to Walmesley, regarding Lunard's balloon; 1789-90 vol., 1790 27 March, Pembridge to Walmesley. This telescope was the subject of the print by J.N. Richards, depicting Herschel showing George III the telescope at Windsor in 1782 (Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 782.0.14.di.). For Herschel, see Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *The Manuscript Papers of British Scientists 1600-1940* (London, 1982), 44.; E.C. Davey, *Notable Catholics who lived and died at Bath between 1678 and 1823* (London, n.d.). *Downside Review*, vol. vi, 1887, 131, for the paper on the comet.

APPENDIX 1

To the R.F.D. Charles Walmesley, at his Return from Chapter, the Year 1753. When he refused the Priorship, and it was thought he would go Upon the Mission very soon. Poem.

All hail, dear Charles! All hail, they safe Return
Shall glad thy friends, and cause thy foes to mourn.
Thy foes to mourn: may sorrow be their fate,
Who all that's learned scorn, that's virtuous hate!
Once more all hail! Clad in thy native Worth,
Titles to Thee are needless to shine forth.
The self bright Sun needs not to give the Day,
The spurious Blaze of a reflected Ray;
Whilst gloomy planets wrapt in home-born night
Their glittering borrow from a foreign Light.

Whether Superior o'er us you preside,
(So mild, you please then even when you chide,)
Or subject humble thee again we view
Still virtue's Paths with equal heat pursue;
Constant, unalter'd our regard shall prove;
'Tis not that Titles, 'tis thyself we love.
Let worthless souls in stolen Lustre glow,
The bastard glaring of vain Pomp and Show:
Swelled with vain Honours on their Betters frown,
And scornful pride in Glories not their own.
Thou, on whom Nature has bestow'd a mind
Where t'useful Learning solid Virtue's join'd;
Dost well all outward Pageantry to slight,
It may make others, but not Thee more bright.

'Tis now four summers since we 'gan to share
The genial fruits of thy paternal Care;
'Tis now four summers since on all you strove
To spread the sweets of an impartial love.
Still on thy House thy gen'rous Care bestow;
With equal heat may still thy Bosom glow;
Thy House's welfare willing yet attend;
The Father now no more, but still the Friend.

Oh! Might we hope with thee long to be bless'd!
What Scenes of Joy would rise in ev'ry Breast!
But much we fear, oh! may we fear in vain!
Such worth among us will not Long remain.

Hear, gracious Heav'n! Our Vows propitious hear!
Never, oh, Never may that Day appear,
From Fate's black Records blot the joyless Day,
When fatal Orders from Superior sway,
Shall from our Bosom tear our Charles away!
Or if his Talents, hitherto confin'd,
Must now blaze forth, the Pride of all Mankind.
If such thy will, oh God, such thy Command,
Suspend a while they yet relenting Hand!
Yet let his Friends the godlike Man enjoy,
When public Cares his Life no more annoy;
When from the Load of Pow'r unwelcome free.
His own true self we shall more open see;
Whilst the pure fame that from his Vertue flows
Strikes dumb the slander of his envious Foes.

(Dom John Barnes, "Poems," 110-113.)

APPENDIX 2

WRITINGS AND PUBLICATIONS OF CHARLES WALMESLEY

-"Reduction des integrales aux logarithmes et arcs de cercles," 1748. (manuscript)

-"Remarks upon the Propagation of light," 1749. (manuscript)

-Analyse des Mesures, des Rapports, et des Angles: ou Reduction des Integrales aux Logarithmes, et aux Arcs de Cercle (Paris, 1749)

-"Examination of the Memoir of D. Augustine Walker concerning the parallel between the effects of thunder and lightning and those of electricity," 1749. (manuscript, by Charles Walmesley and Placid Naylor)

-"Some observations upon the rise of Vapours." 1749. (manuscript)

-“Examination of an essay upon fire considered as a fluid invironing the earth in the way of an atmosphere by J. Barnes,” 1750 (manuscript, by Charles Walmesley and Augustine Walker)

-“De Motu corporum a centrum duplex gravitantium,” 1750. (manuscript)

-“Theoriae de motu corporum ad centrum duplex gravitantium continuatio,” 1750. (manuscript)

-“De inclinatio orbis lunaris ad planum eclipticae,” 1750. (manuscript)

-“De inaequalitatibus motus lunaris,” 1750. (manuscript)

-“De aequatione medii motus Lunaris quae pendet a vario situ nodorum Lunae,” 1750. (manuscript)

-“De aequatione medii motus lunaris quae pendet a situ Apogaei Lunae,” 1751. (manuscript)

-“A dissertation on the principle of action in Beasts,” 1751. (manuscript)

-“Methodus investigandi Logarithmos Numeri cujusvis positivi, negativi,” 1752. (manuscript)

-“De lineis tertii ordinis,” 1752. (manuscript)

-“De methodo differentiarum et De summatione serietum,” 1752. (manuscript)

-*Analyse des Mesures, des Rapports, et des Angles: ou Reduction des Integrales aux Logarithmes, et aux Arcs de Cercle* (Paris, 1753, second edition).

-*Théorie du mouvement des apsides en général, et en particulier des apsides de l’orbite de la lune* (Paris, 1749; in English, London, 1754).

-*The Theory of the motion of the Apsides in general and of Apsides of the Moon’s Orbit in particular. Written in French by D. C. W. ...and now... translated into English* (*by J. Brown*) (London, 1754).

-“De praecessione aequinoxium et axis terrae nutatione,” 1755. (manuscript)

-“De inaequalitatibus motuum Terrae,” ?1755. (manuscript)

-“Annual motion of the earth as affected by Jupiter and Saturn,” 1755. (manuscript) Published as “Of the irregularities in the motion of a satellite arising from the spheroidical figure of its primary planet: In a letter to the Rev. James Bradley D. D. Astronomer Royal, F. R. S. and Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris; by Mr. Charles Walmesley, F. R. S. and Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, and of the Institute of Bologna,” *Philosophical Transaction*s, vol. L, 1 January 1757. Read 14 December 1758, 809-835

-*De inaequalitatibus motuum lunarium* (Florence, 1758).

-“De Inequalitatibus quas inmotis Planetarium generant ipsorum in re invicem actiones,” 1761. (manuscript)

-“A Course of Studies to be followed by the English Monks, 15th April 1764,” and “A Method of Studies adapted to the Professed of the Engl. Ben. Congregation by the R. Rev. Ch. Walmesley,” 1764. (manuscript)

-*Carolus Dei & apostolicae sedis gratiâ Episcopus Ramatensis in districtu occidentali vicarius apostolicus* (1764).

-*Carolus Dei & apostolicae sedis gratiâ Episcopus Ramatensis in districtu occidentali vicarius apostolicus; omnibus missionariis sacerdotibus tam secularibus quam regularibus* (1764).

-*Instructions, regulations and prayers, for the indulgences in the western district* (?London, 1764).

-*Exhortations to be used in the administration of the sacraments, etc. in the western district* (Bath, 1769).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (London, 1771).

-*Carolus Ramaten in district occidentali vicarius apostolicus; omnibus missionariis sacerdotibus tam secularibus quam regularibus, salute et benedictionem* (1777).

-*Ezechiel’s Vision Explained: or the explication of the vision exhibited to Ezechiel the prophet, and described in the first chapter of his prophecy, By Sig. Pastorini* (London, 1778).

-*To the Catholic clergy, secular and regular residing in the western district of England* (London, 1778).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Rouen, 1777). (in French)

-*Sequentes orationes pro fructibus terrae dicantur quotidie* (1780s).

-*To all the Catholic clergy residing in the western district of England* (1780).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Wigan, 1782).

-(Encyclical letter) *On account of the general decline of religion in these times* (1788).

-*Answer to a letter, written by the Committee of English Catholics, Nov. 25 1789, to the four apostolic vicars, and signed by the following persons. Char. Berington* (*and six others*) (?Bath, 1789).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful, clergy and laity, in the western district. Our pastoral solicitude for the flock* (?Bath, 1789).

-"Elements of the Orbit of the Comet of 1789," 1789. (manuscript)

-*Encyclical letter addressed to all the faithful, both clergy and laity, in the four districts of England, by the four vicars apostolic, Charles Ramaten, James Birthan, Thomas Acon, and Matthew Comanen* (London, 1789).

-*Encyclical letter addressed to all the faithful, both clergy and laity, in the four districts of England, by the four vicars apostolic, Charles Ramaten, James Birthan, Thomas Acon, and Matthew Comanen* (London, 1789).

-*Encyclical letter Charles, Bishop of Roma, vicar apostolic of the western district; William Bishop of Acanthos...and John, Bishop of Centuria...to all the faithful, clergy and laity...We think it necessary* (London, 1789).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Dublin, 1790).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Saint-Malo, 1790). (in French)

-*To the honorable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled: the humble petition of Charles Walmesley, William Gibson, and John Douglass, for and on behalf of themselves* (?London, ?1790).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful, clergy and laity, in the western district On the present occasion we hasten to congratulate you* (?Bath, 1791).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful, clergy and laity, in the western district. Dear brethren, the present deplorable state of the refugees from France calls aloud* (?Bath, 1792).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful, clergy and laity, in the western district. Grateful to our august and gracious sovereign and the legislature of his kingdom* (?Bath, 1793).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful of the western district* (?Bath, 1793).

-*A pastoral letter from Charles, Bishop of Rama, William, Bishop of Acantos, and John Bishop of Centuriae, vicars apostolic, to all the faithful...of the western, northern and London districts* (London, 1793).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful, in the western district* (?Bath, 1794).

-*The unhappy events which have taken place in a neighbouring country* (London, 1794).

-*The unhappy events which have taken place in a neighbouring country* (London, 1794). (different pagination)

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Dublin, 1794).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful of the western district. Dear brethren, on the genera view of the present state of this and the neighbouring nations* (Bath, 1795).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful of the western district. Dear brethren, we call on you attention* (Bath, 1796).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Dublin, 1797).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the faithful of the western district. Dear brethren, we appeal to you to say, whether in the present state of Europe* (Bath, 1797).

-*Charles Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic to all the clergy of the western district. Dear brethren, St Paul by his words, attendate vobis* (Bath, 1797).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by SignorPastorini...the sixth edition, with additions and some remarks and elucidations by the author Sig. Pastorini, ed. B. Pembridge* (Dublin, 1797).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (London, 1798). In his book catalogue, the London Catholic publisher, J. P. Coghlan, describes this as the "third edition of fine wove paper, corrected and enlarged."

-*Storia generale della Chiesa Cristiana dalla sua nascita all'ultimo stato di trionfo nel cielo, tratta principalmente dall'Apocalisse di S. Giovanni Apostolo, opera di Mr. Pastorini Trasportata da un Monaco Benedettino della Congregazione di S. Mauro dall'idioma inglese al francese, e resaora per la prima volta all'italiana favella* (Rome, 1798).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Sig. Pastorini* (Dublin, 1800).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Dublin, 1805).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Dublin, 1806).

-*Histoire générale de l'église chrétienne depuis sa naissance jusqu'à son dernier état triomphant dans le ciel* (Saint-Malo, 1807).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Dublin, 1812).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Dublin, 1815).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini* (Belfast, 1816).

-*Histoire abrégée de la naissance, des progrès, de la décadence et de la dissolution prochaine de la réforme de Luther, tirée de l'Apocalypse de l'apôtre saint Jean et des monumens historiques ; ouvrage traduit de l'anglais de Mgr Charles Walmesley...qui le publia...sous le nom de Pastorini.—Nouvelle édition/augmentée de notes, d'une préface et des réflexions de l'abbé Baudrand sur le tolérantisme* (1819).

-*The General History of the Christian Church from her birth to her triumphant state in heaven, chiefly deducted from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle by Signor Pastorini...the sixth edition, with additions and some remarks and elucidations by the author Sig. Pastorini* (Cork, 1820).

-*Catechism for First Communicants* (London, 1829).

-*The General History of the Christian Church...chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John...By Sig. Pastorini* (New York, 1846).

-*The General history of the Christian church, from her birth to her final triumphant state in heaven; chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John, the apostle and evangelist. By Sig. Pastorini* (New York, 1834).

-*The General history of the Christian church, from her birth to her final triumphant state in heaven: chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John, the apostle and evangelist/By Sig. Pastorini* (New York, Boston [etc.], 1865).

Charles Walmesley and the Cisalpine Stirs

Charles Walmesley is a figure who has fascinated me for some time. While not an especially well-known figure outside of specialist circles, his intellectual and ecclesiastical career continues to interest scholars for a variety of reasons. In addition to Walmesley's obvious relevance for local Catholic history, the history of the English Benedictines, and the Benedictine order more widely, Walmesley has gained the attention of historians and theologians interested in Catholicism and the Enlightenment, as well as the history of Christian apocalypticism and the intersection of such writings with political and cultural history.

Walmesley is one of the most interesting and important English-speaking Catholics of the entire eighteenth century. Explaining why I think this is the case will, I hope, serve as a good introduction to my essay. I first encountered Walmesley's name in connection with his episcopal consecration of John Carroll in 1790, at a liturgy which took place in Thomas Weld's Lulworth Castle in Dorset. Carroll, an American ex-Jesuit of Anglo-Irish stock, became the first bishop of Baltimore and thus the first bishop of the new American Republic. Conventionally, the name of Carroll is synonymous with an early period of "enlightened Catholicism" in the American colonies and then the United States. This is why I was researching Carroll. I soon learned that Walmesley is also often enlisted in a "Catholic Enlightenment," especially in view of his scientific and other intellectual achievements which have been illuminated by the work of Geoffrey Scott and others. Carroll was close friends with the English ex-Jesuit Charles Plowden of Shropshire, a confidante of Walmesley. Bishop Carroll corresponded at length with Plowden, who was a staunch enemy of the enlightened "Cisalpines," a correspondence of great benefit to historians today.

The last 50 years have seen a far-reaching re-evaluation of the relationship between religion, Enlightenment, and modernity. Studies now generally take for granted the existence of a "Catholic Enlightenment" or something called "enlightened Catholicism," though the contours and duration of such phenomena are by no means

universally agreed upon. Nevertheless, at least since the American Franciscan Joseph Chinnici's book, *The English Catholic Enlightenment*, was published in 1980, the "Cisalpine" network of progressive English Catholics has been seen as more or less synonymous with Catholic Enlightenment in England. Walmesley was, for a variety of reasons, opposed to the goals of the Cisalpines. It is fair to say he was bitterly opposed to some of their intellectual and clerical leaders, like his fellow Benedictine Joseph Cuthbert Wilks and the prolific writer Joseph Berington, a secular priest. Was Walmesley, then, "anti-Enlightenment" or "counter-Enlightenment"? In a certain sense, he obviously was. Should we, then, cease identifying him with Catholic Enlightenment? I will try to answer these and related questions in what follows.

Walmesley's career sheds light on so much of consequence in the English Catholic world, and the English-speaking Catholic world more widely. But he also serves as an interesting test case for a certain kind of intellectual and ecclesiastical Catholic leader in the age of Enlightenment and revolution. In what follows I will examine three tightly-interconnected phenomena that I think can help us better understand Walmesley. In turn, his career helps us make sense of and better define these three phenomena as well.

The first is Catholic Enlightenment. I will argue that we can and should affirm a seemingly paradoxical situation: Walmesley was both an enlightened Catholic and an enemy of Catholic Enlightenment as it concretely manifested itself in the British Isles. The second phenomenon is Cisalpinism, the aforementioned concrete manifestation. Third, and finally, is the phenomenon of "Reform Catholicism," an Erastian (that is, favouring state assertion of ecclesiastical control of the church), philo-Jansenist, anti-Jesuit, and anti-ultramontane movement that reached a high-water mark in the 1780s. In examining these three phenomena, and proceeding roughly chronologically from the 1750s to the end of the century, I hope to show that, while Walmesley is certainly a figure of local and national importance, he sheds light on the story of European and transatlantic Catholicism in the tumultuous age of Enlightenment and revolution. Consequently, Walmesley's career must be interpreted in this broader context.

WALMESLEY AND CATHOLIC ENLIGHTENMENT

The term Catholic Enlightenment refers to pluriform, transnational phenomena. It describes varieties of positive engagement with the values and methodologies of the Enlightenment in the realms of philosophy, science, politics, and theology. Catholic Enlightenment thinkers shared aims and goals with other religious enlighteners and sometimes with anticlerical, secular, or anti-Christian *philosophes*, while attempting the harmonization of Catholic culture, society, and faith with the new learning. Intellectual orientations and values shared by enlightened Catholics included an openness to the new science and philosophy (in Locke, Descartes, Newton, and others), a vision for the holistic reform of society (by means of anything from republicanism or democracy to enlightened despotism), and a concern with "reasonable" theology or "rational" devotion which often took shape in efforts to rid the Catholic faith of bigotry and "superstition." An overriding preoccupation both in Britain and in Ireland was proving to these Protestant-dominated societies that Catholicism was not inherently bigoted, superstitious, or treasonous, and that Catholics therefore should be integrated into the political and cultural mainstream. For this reason, Britain and Ireland are particularly fertile terrain for the study of Catholic Enlightenment because Catholics in these kingdoms had such strong vested interests in publicly portraying themselves as rational, useful, and tolerant people worthy of the blessings of the British constitution. This contrasts strongly with almost every other Catholic Enlightenment milieu; on the continent, "enlightened" ideas and policies were often promoted or even imposed by Catholic kings, bishops, or governments.

Before 1746 we can locate a number of important precursors to later enlightened Catholic thought, some contours of which have recently been illuminated by Gabriel Glickman.[1] Many generative impulses came from Catholic engagement on the continent with French thought, from Archbishop Fénelon and moderate Enlightenment thinkers, to more radical theological and political ideas associated with Quietism, Freemasonry, and Jansenism. Much of this new energy and experimental thought was centred on the Jacobite networks of exiles.[2]

British and Irish intellectuals contributed to early Enlightenment thought and to many of the most significant debates on the European

scene.[3] While the Jacobite networks were fertile incubators of Enlightenment thinking, especially regarding the politics of pluralistic states and religious toleration, Jacobite identity became less and less relevant after Culloden. The Jacobite experience and its aftermath gave added impetus to enlightened Catholic attempts "to reframe the defence of the recusant community, and promote a rational, humanist form of Catholicism, made fit to participate in English civil society."[4]

In his younger years Walmesley made impressive scientific contributions which reflected the enlightened bent of many Benedictine communities.[5] What Walmesley's career teaches us is that "conservative" or "reactionary" ideology and theology did not necessarily mean opposition to enlightened scholarship. But what then is the use of the term "Catholic Enlightenment" if it can include Jesuits and Jansenists, American republicans and French absolutists, English conciliarists and Italian ultramontanes—why not just say "early modern humanist" or "interesting Catholic intellectual"? That's an important question, and this general definitional problem hangs over scholarship of the Enlightenment in general, and not just religious or Catholic Enlightenment. I do, however, think we can make sense of this confusing picture by distinguishing three "streams" of Catholic Enlightenment. Only by making careful distinctions between goals and groups within the Church can we avoid overly narrow definitions while also preserving the integrity of a capacious application of the term.

I have proposed three "streams" of Catholic Enlightenment, with a view to applying the term broadly while avoiding its reduction to a meaningless moniker for any learned Catholic who lived in the age of Enlightenment.[6] As I go I will explain how Walmesley does or does not fit.[7] The first stream, which admits the largest and most diverse set of actors, is participation in enlightened scholarly activity. This is the broadest possible use of the term Catholic Enlightenment. Jeffrey Burson, in an important anthology he co-edited with Ulrich Lehner, after suitably recognizing both the risks and the usefulness of such a "relatively minimalist" definition, characterizes an enlightened Catholic as "any author (lay or cleric), statesmen, monk, secular clergy, philosopher, or apologist from within Catholic Europe who participated in the burgeoning networks of publication and eighteenth-century sociability with a view toward integrating eighteenth-century science, philosophy, philology, or political thought into their understanding of

Catholic teaching, and the reform of church and society."[8] This stream is thus intentionally inclusive of Jesuits and Jansenists, ultramontanes and "reform Catholics."[9] While it is primarily an intellectual, scholarly orientation, it is ordered to an emerging public sphere and to the improvement of peoples' lives through the reform of church, state, and society.

I would place Walmesley in this first, broadest stream of Catholic Enlightenment. When he or his work is referred to as "enlightened" I take this kind of definition or one similar to it to be operative. So the first stream is scholarly Catholic Enlightenment.

A second stream can be perceived in "enlightened" theological and devotional reform efforts. This second stream includes a set of attitudes and reform *desiderata*, informed by critical historical research, in the realms of liturgy, devotions and piety, ecclesiastical history, biblical scholarship, and even ideas concerning sainthood, mysticism, and religious art. Often, but not always, such ideas were couched in the language of Augustinianism, anti-scholasticism, and positive theology. This stream of Catholic Enlightenment was associated with figures like Lodovico Muratori (1672–1750), and classic texts like his widely diffused and translated *Della regolata devozione dei cristiani* of 1747 ("The Regulated Devotion of a Christian"). In identifying this stream, I do not assert the existence of any particular theological school (like Thomism) or discernible "movement" (like "Josephinism").[10] This second stream of Catholic Enlightenment was in many ways an application of the first in the realms of theology, piety, and devotion. Following the "stream" analogy, it was thus a kind of "tributary" of the first stream, especially since critical historical scholarship was a central justification for proposed reform. Nevertheless, the protagonists in this stream do not overlap completely with those in the first.[11]

A case in point: I do not place Walmesley in this stream. He held some typical eighteenth-century beliefs for an English Catholic—including having no problem with vernacular translations of scripture (his famous *General History of the Christian Church* is a commentary on the book of Revelation that includes the biblical text in English). This kind of ease with vernacular scripture would have been considered reformist in other contexts (like Spain or Italy). But from within the context of the English Catholic community, as far as I can tell, he never

advocated for devotional or theological reform. He was at least hesitant and at most hostile to the kind of vision the Cisalpines had for devotions and piety.

The third and final stream of Catholic Enlightenment that I identify is ecclesio-political (that is, it was political and both ecclesiastical and ecclesiological). This is the only stream of Catholic Enlightenment that was a movement as such—or rather, it was a series of ideologically cross-pollinating movements. In the Habsburg lands, "Josephinism" was an iteration of this stream of Catholic Enlightenment; examples in Italy include the "late Jansenism" typified by the Synod of Pistoia (1786) and the reform agenda of the enlightened Grand Duke of Tuscany, Peter Leopold (1747–92); in France, the revolutionary "Constitutional Church" championed by figures like Henri Grégoire (1750–1831). The eighteenth-century popes, needless to say, uniformly opposed this third stream, correctly perceiving in it a dire threat to the office of the papacy and the Catholic faith as they understood it. When scholars cast the papacy as the antithesis not only of Enlightenment but of Catholic Enlightenment, that is justifiable only if this third stream is in view.

So there are people who when they talk about "Catholic Enlightenment" are talking about this stream, they are talking about a movement, one that could be quite radical. This leads to confusion when someone like Walmesley is also called an enlightened Catholic; or Cardinal Migazzi, archbishop of Vienna, who fought Josephinism; or a Jesuit, like the scientist Ruggiero Boscovich.

This three-fold schemata that I use for thinking about Catholicism and Enlightenment helps us make more sense of a figure like Walmesley. At home, intellectually, in mid-century Paris and in the Rome of Lambertini (Pope Benedict XIV), Walmesley was not only open to moderate enlightened intellectual culture, he was positively enthusiastic about it as a burgeoning young scientist. His coolness or suspicion towards the more thoroughgoing attempts to reform theology and devotion, which often looked to Muratori for inspiration, are at least partly explicable given his intense hostility towards Protestantism. Enlightened intellectual commitments (which I group in my first stream), a reformist orientation in theology and devotion (which I consider a second stream), and the more totalizing or even radical ecclesial and political agendas in the third stream were united and

naturally flowed together for figures like the Cisalpines. But for Walmesley these were separate questions, or at the least, separable questions.

Walmesley was certainly not alone in his participation in enlightened scholarly endeavours and his rejection of most or all of the reform agenda of the second and third streams of Catholic Enlightenment. The Louvain historian Dries Vanysacker's monograph on the cardinal and papal nuncio Giuseppe Garampi (1725–92), characterizes that prominent eighteenth-century churchman as an "enlightened ultramontane." Garampi was a frequenter of enlightened scholarly circles during the pontificate of Benedict XIV (including, at times, the philo-Jansenist *Archetto* circle). While Garampi retained his enlightened approach to scholarship, he hardened strongly against all manifestations of enlightened ecclesio-political reform. Examples like Walmesley and Garampi illustrate not so much a dissolution of Catholic Enlightenment in the second half of the century as a bifurcation of it. The ecclesio-political forces which I call the third stream of Catholic Enlightenment were set on an inevitable collision course with conservatives including the "enlightened ultramontanists" typified by many Jesuits and by some influential scholar-prelates like cardinals Garampi and Hyacinth Gerdil (1718–1802).[12] It is in this "enlightened ultramontane" camp that we can place Walmesley. The ecclesio-political movement that he reacted against in England is our next subject.

WALMESLEY AND THE CISALPINES

Much of the scholarship on Catholic Enlightenment in Britain and Ireland focuses on the latter half of the eighteenth-century, and the final quarter especially. In Britain, after an "age of Challoner,"[13] often depicted as relatively quiet and insular, the "Cisalpine" network came to prominence in the late 1770s. Cisalpinism was a progressive ideology expressed concretely in social and political groups dedicated to legal emancipation (the English Catholic Committee and, from 1792, the Cisalpine Club). As the name suggests, Cisalpines ("this side of the Alps") self-consciously contrasted themselves with "transalpine" or "ultramontane" conceptions of Catholicism with which they disagreed theologically (and they used these terms—one could argue

"ultramontanism" was not a movement until the nineteenth century, but the term "Ultramontane" was certainly in use in the eighteenth century to describe an ideological position that was also called "transalpine" or "papist"). More to the point, however, the Cisalpines believed these "foreign" ideas impeded the cultural and political status of Catholics in Britain and Ireland. Cisalpine leaders like the lawyer Charles Butler, the priest Joseph Berington, and the aristocrats Robert, the ninth Baron Petre, and Sir John Courtenay Throckmorton were thoroughly men of the Enlightenment as well as committed Catholics. Much of the scholarship on the English Catholic Enlightenment focuses on the Cisalpines and their opponents, including fundamental studies by Chinnici and Eamon Duffy.[14] While some women connected to Cisalpinism have been studied, much more work remains to be done on that front.[15] Scholarship on the Scottish Catholic Enlightenment likewise focuses on the later eighteenth century, and on a significantly smaller community of scholars and clerics than in England. The work of Mark Goldie in particular has illuminated the contributions of figures like the vicars apostolic George Hay and John Geddes, as well as the latter's better-known cousin, the radical priest-scholar Alexander Geddes.[16]

"A PISTOIAN INFECTION" IN ENGLAND? WALMESLEY AND "REFORM CATHOLICISM"

The debates between the Cisalpines and their opponents were certainly in-house, English Catholic feuds. There were several local dynamics at play: from the long history of secular-regular rivalry to contrasting understandings of the prudence or even licitness of ideological and theological compromise in the context of negotiation with the establishment, especially in the forms of oaths. The simmering tension between some clergy, especially the vicars apostolic, and certain powerful lay patrons backed by their chaplains, was palpable. These laymen controlled not only the purse strings of the English Catholic community but were often the ones with the real cultural clout. This is not to mention the kind of *de facto* right of nomination they enjoyed, and their seemingly irreplaceable patronage of houses of education and worship. The unpleasant John Milner, always good for a stinging one-liner, summed up the anti-Cisalpine position when he quipped that

episcopal nomination should rest with the successor of Peter, not Lord Petre.

And yet, what struck me when I first began researching these conflicts in England was how much they aligned with the Europe-wide rifts in the Catholic Church that I was studying in my doctoral work on the late-eighteenth century. In this final section I will introduce a third concept, closely related to Catholic Enlightenment and Cisalpinism, but not identical with them. This is "Reform Catholicism"—a term which has been used in a number of contexts. I am here following Dale Van Kley's reappropriation of the term in his recent monograph *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe*. Van Kley is using this old term, best known from the German context (*Reformkatholizismus*) to describe the variety of ideological, political, and ecclesial forces that coalesced from about 1760 with the aim of destroying the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits, of course, were by far the most able defenders of ultramontanism, inveterate opponents of Jansenism (which they defined with exceptional creativity), and they also tended to act as checks on Erastianism (that is, churches ecclesiastically controlled by the state—what the Germans call *Staatskirchentum*). Reform Catholic networks took root from Portugal to Austria, especially in the courts of sovereigns. They continued their activities well beyond Pope Clement XIV's suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, which they saw as one stage—albeit a decisive one—in a broader plan to reorder church and society. Catholic Enlightenment is one ingredient in this ideological cocktail, as are Gallican-conciliarist ecclesiologies, and Jansenist or Augustinian political and theological commitments. In this final section, I will argue that examining this phenomenon helps us to better understand Walmesley, especially his opposition to the Cisalpines and his ambivalent relationship to Catholic Enlightenment.

My first book is about the late-Jansenist movement in Tuscany, which reached a high-water mark with the Synod of Pistoia in 1786. That diocesan synod was the furthest thing from a merely provincial affair. It was, as it was intended to be, a major event in the life of European Catholicism. The Synod was watched intensely by Catholic friends and foes, and sometimes by bemused or sympathetic Protestants. It was a kind of Gallican-Jansenist test run for a synodal reform of the entire church, one that was to be driven by zealous and rigorist bishops,

theologians, and canonists under the protection of "enlightened" sovereigns or prince-bishops (and they would use this term, *illuminato*, *aufgeklärte*). In the case of the Synod of Pistoia this was the Habsburg Grand Duke of Tuscany, Peter Leopold, son of Maria Theresia and younger brother of Emperor Joseph II. His right-hand man was Bishop Scipione de' Ricci, an incredibly intelligent, wealthy, industrious man, though exceedingly arrogant and tone-deaf.

In addition to the Synod of Pistoia, which is the most famous event of this kind, Catholic clergy and statesmen attempted similar kinds of reform in Mainz and Naples in the 1780s, at the Imperial Congress of Ems in 1786, decades prior in Utrecht in the Netherlands (though they were formally schismatic), and under the Constitutional Clergy in France, at councils in 1797 and 1801. Arguably the most significant, Pistoia was connected very directly with the Josephinist movement which emanated from Vienna, and was reshaping the Catholic Church in the Habsburg territories, and in a more indirect way in the German-speaking Catholic world, and in some cases beyond (Lombardy, Tuscany, et al.). The Synod of Pistoia was sometimes cast later on by detractors as a kind of eccentric one-off thing, merely the perfect storm of a crazy Jansenist bishop and an overconfident prince who pushed his authority too far. But those who minimized the synod were, I think, guilty of protesting too much. The evidence certainly shows that the Pistoians were "living rent-free" in the heads of their opponents, as my American students would say. This is because Catholicism in the 1780s was in a deeply unstable situation, and there was a tangible sense that multiple futures were possible and achievable. One of these possible futures—one filled with persecution, violence, and bloodshed—was sketched by Walmesley in his *General History of the Christian Church*, a work I have categorized as "ultramontane apocalypticism." Reform Catholics, on the other hand, felt that dramatic, profound change was within their grasp. What probably no one envisioned, from the most optimistic Josephinist in Vienna to the most pessimistic ultramontanist in Rome, was the profoundly cataclysmic upheavals in the wake of the 1789. Though I should probably add that in Walmesley's updated edition of the *General History*, one certainly detects a veiled "I told you so" surrounding the French Revolution (the first edition was printed 1771, the second in 1798).

Walmesley's profoundly negative view of Protestantism undergirded his opposition to reform, especially the kind of irenic or even proto-ecumenical reforms proposed by the Cisalpines. Walmesley's apocalyptic scheme in the *General History* cast Protestantism as the root evil of the age he lived in, and this conviction dominated his actions and his interpretation of current events. In the 1780s and 1790s, Walmesley saw Protestantism and its principle of "Private Judgment" behind reform and revolution abroad: not only the catastrophe of the French Revolution, which was a revolt against God's appointed spiritual and temporal leaders, but reform attempts within the Catholic Church itself, like the ones I have highlighted in Austria and Tuscany. Just as Protestant Reformers had attacked monastic orders and their venerable disciplines of obedience and chastity, so too did enlightened Catholic figures like Joseph II and Bishop Ricci of Pistoia.[17]

This is why Walmesley and his circle feared a "Pistoian infection" in the English Church. They correctly saw the similar trajectory of ideas proliferated by the Cisalpines, who preferred the secular clergy, de-emphasized the papacy, and advocated for religious liberty, salvation outside the Church, and a vernacular Mass. For example, the Benedictine provincial John Warmoll warned Walmesley of such a danger in December 1794. Warmoll highlighted the similarity between Cisalpine thought and the "Pistoian propositions," which he called "curious novelties," a view with which Walmesley certainly concurred. Warmoll saw "the infection spread[ing] almost into every Family." He singled out "John Throckmorton and his associates" (the Cisalpines) and speculated they must be in league with "proud Philosophers who reason upon false principles [that is, Enlightenment philosophy]."[18]

It is noteworthy that all of these movements—the French Constitutional Church, late Jansenist "Pistoianism," and Josephinism—were influenced by the Enlightenment, politically progressive (at least in the Erastian manner of enlightened despotism), and persecuted the religious orders. Even before the Revolution, Walmesley had sorrowfully predicted the persecution of religious would increase at the end of the Fifth Age, in keeping with an era dominated by Protestant error.[19] The fact that none of these movements were in any real sense Protestant was unimportant to Walmesley—to attack the Church under the banner of Reason (or even Catholic reform) was merely to capitulate to Protestant-inspired error. In his mind, some central Cisalpine tenets

had clearly done this. Illustrating the depth of this ideological chasm were different responses to religious liberty. The Cisalpines toasted to religious liberty in support of persecuted French Huguenots, while Walmesley bemoaned the tolerant Edict of Nantes as a terrible necessity.[20]

A connection between the Cisalpines and the Pistoians seems, *prima facie*, quite clear, since this connection was noted by the Cisalpines themselves in the 1780s and 1790s, as well as by their opponents.[21] John Kirk, an important Cisalpine priest, corresponded directly with some of the players in these European controversies. Kirk, interestingly, had briefly been a student of Pier Francesco Foggini at the English College. Foggini, a friend of Scipione de' Ricci, was a rigorist and philo-Jansenist who supported the Pistoians. He had been appointed by Cardinal Corsini, a philo-Jansenist and leader of the enlightened *Archetto.*[22] During and after the synod, Kirk was also in touch with Andrea Bottieri, an influential divine at Pistoia. Kirk also corresponded amicably with Antonio Salvaggi (1746–1812), who was sympathetic to the synod and was able to keep Kirk informed from his position at the English College in Rome.[23]

Additionally, the journeys of Joseph Berington and Sir John Throckmorton to the Continent, including Italy and the Habsburg lands, clearly influenced Cisalpinism's predilection for Josephinist-style reform, as they themselves admitted.[24] Berington in particular was accused of Pistoianism several times, sometimes for specific reasons and sometimes as one item in a litany of abuse by association (these litanies of abuse sometimes included recent figures like the Jansenist Pasquier Quesnel—the target of the bull *Unigenitus*—but could also feature the far-fetched, such as Luther, or even the bizarre, such as Nestorius).[25]

Walmesley and Warmoll saw proof in their accusations of a Pistoian infection in Cisalpine texts. The *Third Blue Book* seemed to contain a very close paraphrase from the Acts of Pistoia in its argument for religious liberty, and the remonstrance of the Staffordshire Clergy was also alleged to paraphrase certain Pistoian ecclesiological ideas. The most striking link, I think, was in the former. In a passage in the appendix to the *Third Blue Book* (1792), possibly penned by Charles Butler, the Catholic Committee unanimously affirmed the following: in the hope of removing "every difficulty attaching to the spiritual jurisdiction" (referring to the pope) they all pledged:

> In as much as the only spiritual authority which I acknowledge is that which I conscientiously believe to have been transmitted by Jesus Christ to his Church, not to regulate by any outward coaction, civil and temporal concerns of subjects and citizens, but to direct souls by persuasion in the concerns of everlasting salvation…[26]

This stark denial of the Church's coercive power was also a bold declaration of religious liberty—of the rights of the individuals ("subjects and citizens"), rather than a pragmatic statement of toleration. This rejection of the official teaching of the Church—or at least a predominant version of it—was correctly recognized as revolutionary by Walmesley and some other English Catholic leaders. This thesis was alleged to be a mere paraphrase of a passage from the Acts of Pistoia, which was condemned as heretical two years later in articles four and five of Pope Pius VI's bull *Auctorem fidei*.[27, 28]

Walmesley noted these similarities between Cisalpine and Pistoian texts in a 1796 letter to Bishop John Douglass (1743–1812), the vicar apostolic of the London District. In response to a recent adoption of "the censurable proposition" (the above passage from the *Third Blue Book*) by a meeting of the Staffordshire clergy, Walmesley recounted an exchange he had with Charles Butler six years previously. Butler was the secretary of the Catholic Committee and a principal author of the *Blue Books*. Walmesley reinforced the traditional Catholic and certainly the ultramontanist teaching on the coercive power of the Church, and he saw his view vindicated four years later in *Auctorem fidei*, which Walmesley noted with satisfaction.[29]

Walmesley then recommended the work of the Jesuit Robert Plowden (1740–1823), brother of Charles Plowden, and, like him, a fierce enemy of the Cisalpines.[30] When coupled with calls for emancipation for all Dissenting groups, the modern error of the Cisalpines really amounted to no less than a recognition of *de iure* religious liberty. This error was serious enough in the mind of Walmesley to bar anyone who subscribed to it from "any Ecclesiastical Functions whatever" in his District.[31] Such an ecclesiastical censure was a drastic step indeed. Joseph Berington referred to it, bitterly, as "Mr. Walmesley's Interdict."[32]

Walmesley was not just concerned with perceived errors regarding religious liberty. The vicar apostolic saw many other Pistoian doctrinal errors in principal Cisalpine works. In another letter to Douglass, Walmesley returned Douglass' copy of Pius VI's bull *Auctorem fidei*, after carefully noting the propositions "more or less analogous to the Throckmorton and the Staffordshire Clergy's doctrine."[33] Walmesley highlighted thirteen propositions, condemned in articles 2-12 and 77 of the bull. Quoting Walmesley: "The four first seem to relate principally to and coincide with our condemnation."[34] This correspondence between the vicars apostolic is particularly illuminating. Written immediately after the first time Walmesley read *Auctorem fidei*, a document he obviously had eagerly anticipated, the Western District's vicar apostolic outlined the precise Pistoian doctrines he saw as infecting Cisalpine thought. "The four first" articles Walmesley highlighted condemned ecclesiological propositions, and I use the term inclusive of the question of religious liberty and the coercive authority of the Church.

A wider discussion of Cisalpinism in relation to Pistoia and *Auctorem fidei* was occurring amongst the clerical leaders of English Catholicism. Walmesley referenced to Douglass the position of another colleague, William Coombes (1743–1822), the grand-vicar of the Western District, on which articles of the condemnation "chiefly regard us." Charles Plowden had also asserted dependence of the Cisalpines on the Pistoians; these rebellious laymen and their unsound chaplains had, Plowden alleged, "exactly copied" the Italian Jansenists regarding religious liberty.[35] In the case of the *Third Blue Book*, textual similarities lend at least a *prima facie* probability for this. When combined with the evidence of direct Cisalpine correspondence with Pistoians, and the journeys of Throckmorton and Berington to the Continent, such influence moves from the realm of the probable to the realm of the highly likely.

The Staffordshire clergy, in their *Appeal to the Catholics of England*, raised alarm by calling the pope's supreme authority in church discipline "an ecclesiastical institution"[36]—clearly implying it was (perhaps pragmatically) conceded to him by the Church rather than, as according to *Auctorem fidei*, received directly "from Christ in the person of blessed Peter"—which would make such jurisdictional supremacy *de iure divino* and thus make the rights attached to it irrevocable.

Also critical to Cisalpine ecclesiology were theses on the rights of the episcopacy, condemned in articles 6-8 of *Auctorem fidei*. Behind the Cisalpine desire for bishops-in-ordinary was not just a pining for normalization of English ecclesial life, or an aspiration to curb the authority of Propaganda Fide, the curial department which oversaw England as it was a "mission" country. The Cisalpines, quite clearly, desired a certain independence from Rome. They went further than classic Gallicanism or conciliarism, however, when they expressed democratizing and republican principles. Arguing that bishops ought to be elected, the Cisalpines pointed to the practice of the primitive church, as in Sir John Throckmorton's 1790 work *A letter addressed to the Catholic clergy of England, on the appointment of bishops; By a layman.*[37] Walmesley's list concludes with articles 9–12 and 77 of *Auctorem fidei*, which all concern the power of the local church to regulate itself and, taken together, present a more diffuse and localized conception of religious authority and decision-making.

Although Walmesley and his supporters were unable to secure any formal condemnation of Cisalpinism from Rome, they put enormous pressure on the Cisalpines to recant positions they saw as dangerous or erroneous. Further evidence for the interconnection of Cisalpinism and Pistoianism lies in the repeated practice of vicars apostolic attempting to get Cisalpines to affirm *Auctorem fidei* as proof of their orthodoxy. Bishop William Gibson of the Northern District suggested this policy to Bishop Douglass of the London District. Gibson hoped the Staffordshire clergy, as well as the prominent lay Cisalpine Lord Petre and others would retract—by which Gibson meant subscribe to a condemnation of Pistoia![38] Joseph Berington refused, for a number of reasons. He concluded his letter to Douglass refusing to sign *Auctorem fidei* with "a final reflection…as far as Mr. Walmesley's Interdict goes, I am connected with the gentlemen of Staffordshire, from whom, in this instance, I wish not to separate myself." Berington did, eventually, submit to episcopal authority. Eamon Duffy notes the "symbolic value" of Berington's publication in 1799 of his final, and ill-fated, missives against the vicars apostolic in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. That same year, Chateaubriand began his book *The Genius of Christianity* in London. Perhaps nothing could more aptly symbolize the sudden death of radical Catholic Enlightenment, and the birth of the Romantic Catholicism of the nineteenth century. Walmesley had been dead for several years, I

presume confident in his predictions that antichrist was not far off. In John Milner's elevation to vicar apostolic of the Midland District, Walmesley's hard line anti-Cisalpine agenda had a worthily zealous successor.

DR SHAUN BLANCHARD

NOTES

1. Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge, 2009).

2. Anna Battigelli, "Fénelonian Reform, Catholic Jacobites and Jane Barker's Enlightenment Dramas of Conscience," in Ulrich Lehner (ed.), *Women, Enlightenment and Catholicism: A Transnational Biographical History* (New York, 2018), 203–215. On a fascinating (and very radical) enlightened Scottish Catholic see Gabriel Glickman, "Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743): Catholic Freethinking and Enlightened Mysticism," in Lehner and Burson (eds.), *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe*, 391–410; Glickman, "Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686–1743), the Jacobite Court and the English Catholic Enlightenment," *Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 3 (2007), 293–329.

3. For a particularly important example see Thomas O'Connor, *An Irish Theologian in Enlightenment France: Luke Joseph Hooke, 1714–1796* (Dublin, 1995).

4. Gabriel Glickman, "Gothic History and Catholic Enlightenment in the Works of Charles Dodd (1672–1743)," *Historical Journal*, 54 (2011), 359.

5. Geoffrey Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone: English Monks and the Age of Enlightenment* (Bath, 1992). On the contributions of Scottish Benedictines to the Enlightenment, see Thomas McInally, *A Saltire in the German Lands: Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany 1575–1862* (Aberdeen, 2016); on Walmesley, see also Gary Lee Nelson, "Charles Walmesley and the Episcopal Opposition to English Catholic Cisalpinism, 1782–1797," (Tulane University, PhD thesis, 1977), 33–57; Geoffrey Scott, "The Early Career of Bishop Charles Walmesley O.S.B., D.D., F.R.S., 1722–1797," *Downside Review*, 115 (1997), 249–70.

6. I attempt such a task vis-à-vis the most important enlightened American Catholic in, "Was John Carroll an 'Enlightened' Catholic? Resituating the Archbishop of Baltimore as a 'Third Party' Prelate," in Jürgen Overhoff and Andreas Oberdorf, eds., *Katholische Aufklärung in Europa und Nordamerika* (Göttingen, 2019), 165–182.

7. I propose these three streams also in "This Side of the Alps: The Catholic Enlightenment in Great Britain and Ireland," in Liam Chambers, ed., *Oxford History of British and Irish Catholicism vol. 3* (*1746–1829*) (Oxford, forthcoming).

8. Burson, "Introduction: Catholicism and Enlightenment, Past, Present, and Future," in Ulrich Lehner and Burson, eds., *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe: A Transnational History* (Notre Dame, 2014), 1–37, at 14. Burson adds that Catholic Enlightenment encompasses "any eighteenth-century writer whose work considered the moral vitality of a reformed Catholic Church to be fundamental to the Enlightenment pursuit of happiness and social justice." See also Lehner, *Enlightened Monks: The German Benedictines 1740–1803* (Oxford, 2011); Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (Oxford, 2016).

9. On the nexus between Jesuit-Jansenist conflict and Catholic Enlightenment see Dale Van Kley, "Piety and Politics in the Century of Lights," in Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler, eds., *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2006), 119–145; Jeffrey Burson, "The Papal Bull Unigenitus and the Forging of Enlightened Catholicism, 1713–1764," *History Compass* 12/8 (2014), 672–684.

10. Appolis, *Le tiers parti Catholique: Entre Janséniste et zelanti* (Paris, 1966). See my discussion in Blanchard, *The Synod of Pistoia and Vatican II: Jansenism and the Struggle for Catholic Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 83–100.

11. Some Catholics, for example many Jesuits, contributed to enlightened scholarship (stream one) but opposed many enlightened theological and devotional tendencies (stream two),

since they saw them as threatening church tradition, subversive, or potentially harmful to the faith of the laity.

12. For "enlightened ultramontanism" see Dries Vanysacker, "Giacinto Sigismondo Cardinal Gerdil (1718–1802): Enlightenment as Cultural and Religious Achievement," in ibid., 89–106; Vanysacker, *Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi (1752–1792): An Enlightened Ultramontane* (Brussels, 1995). Dale Van Kley picks up the concept in his discussion of the "Ultramontanist International"—the pro-Jesuit, pro-papal, anti-Reform Catholic network that Garampi did so much to construct. See *Reform Catholicism*, 263–272.

13. See Eamon Duffy (ed.), *Challoner and His Church: A Catholic Bishop in Georgian England* (London, 1981).

14. Chinnici, *English Catholic Enlightenment*; J.A. Hilton, "The Cisalpines," in idem (ed.), *A Catholic of the Enlightenment: Essays on Lingard's Work and Times* (Wigan, 1999), 10–20; Eamon Duffy, "Joseph Berington and the English Catholic Cisalpine Movement, 1772–1803" (Cambridge University, PhD thesis, 1973). Still useful is Bernard Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781–1803*, 2 vols. (London, 1909).

15. Michael Tomko, "Between Revolutionary Jacobins and English Catholic Cisalpines: The roles of Elizabeth Inchbald (1753–1821) in the Age of Enlightenment," in Lehner and Burson (eds.), *Women, Enlightenment and Catholicism*, 189–201. See also Cormac Begadon, "A Lived Enlightenment: The Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre and the Making of a Modern and Cosmopolitan Community at Liege, c.1740–94," a paper presented at the Catholic Record Society conference on 20 July 2021. A monograph on the canonesses is under preparation.

16. See, *inter alia*, Mark Goldie, "The Scottish Catholic Enlightenment," *Journal of British Studies*, 30 (1991), 20–62; Glickman, "The 'Secret Reformation' and the Origins of the Scottish Catholic Enlightenment," in Justin Champion, John Coffey, Tim Harris, and John Marshall (eds), *Politics, Religion and Ideas in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Mark Goldie* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), 257–279 (258).

17. See Blanchard, *The Synod of Pistoia*.

18. See Warmoll to Walmesley, 22 Dec. 1794, CDA.

19. See Walmesley to Thomas Weld, 6 Jan. 1782, CDA.

20. See Chinnici, *English Catholic Enlightenment*, 41; Walmesley, *General History*, 237.

21. "The prospect of parallels [between the Cisalpines and the Pistoians] is attractive. During the 1790s, many contemporaries from both camps [Cisalpine and ultramontane] saw them." See Gary Lee Nelson, "Episcopal Opposition," 310.

22. Duffy, "Cisalpine Movement," 192. https://venerabile.riffly.net/Venerabile%2016-02%20MAY%201953.pdf

23. For Kirk's correspondence with Bottieri, see Bottieri to Kirk, 23 June 1788, AAB, C928; Bottieri to Kirk, 9 November 1789, AAB, C951; Bottieri to Kirk, 25 October 1792, AAB, C1229. For Salvaggi-Kirk correspondence, see Salvaggi to Kirk, 6 January 1789, AAB, C939; Salvaggi to Kirk, 7 April 1790, AAB, C974; Salvaggi to Kirk, 4 December 1790, AAB, C986; Salvaggi to Kirk, 20 November 1792, AAB, C1232.

24. See Duffy, "Cisalpine Movement," 133-134, 192-194, 240-241. In Duffy's analysis of Berington's *Reflections Addressed to the Rev. John Hawkins*, he comments: "The developed scheme of Reflections mirrored the reforms in progress in the Austrian Empire too closely to be coincidental, and Berington actually singled Joseph out for particular praise: 'the Emperor, it is sometimes said, has himself no religion…it would be well for mankind, if other princes has as little.'" This sarcastic comment of Berington is on page 82 of *Reflections Addressed to the Rev. John Hawkins: To Which Is Added, an Exposition of Roman Catholic Principles, in Reference to God and the Country* (Birmingham: M. Swinney, 1785). For the influence of Sir John Throckmorton's travels, see also Geoffrey Scott, "The Throckmortons at Home and Abroad, 1680-1800," 207–208.

25. See, for example, the letter of Robert Bannister to Douglass 18 Nov 1797, AAW 47/97. "Robert Bannister, Gibson's Grand Vicar, wrote a stern letter of rebuke to Douglass, comparing Berington to the Nestorians, Calvin, Luther, and the Bishop of Pistoia and he demanded Berington's excommunication." See Duffy, "Cisalpine Movement," 267.

26. Catholic Committee, Appendix to the *Third Blue Book* (London: J.P. Coghlan, 1792), 46. AAB, C1236.

27. Nelson calls the passage in question "little more than an amplified translation of Pistoian Propositions Four and Five." See "Episcopal Opposition," 314.

28. *Auctorem fidei* 4 in Denzinger, 2604. Article 4 of the Bull reads: "The proposition affirming, 'that it would be a misuse of the authority of the Church, when she transfers that authority beyond the limits of doctrine and of morals and extends it to exterior matters and demands by force that which depends on persuasion and the heart'; and then also, 'that it pertains to her much less to demand by force exterior obedience to her decrees'; insofar as by those undefined words, 'extends to exterior matters,' the proposition censures as an abuse of the authority of the Church the use of her power received from God, which the apostles themselves used in establishing and sanctioning exterior discipline, (is) heretical." Article 5 reads: "In that part in which the proposition insinuates that the Church does not have authority to demand obedience to her decrees otherwise than by means that depend on persuasion; insofar as it intends that the Church 'has not conferred on her by God the power, not only of directing by counsel and persuasion, but also of ordering by laws and of constraining and forcing the inconstant and stubborn by exterior judgment and salutary punishments,' leads toward a system condemned elsewhere as heretical."

29. Walmesley to Douglass, 15 August 1796. AAW 46/235. "In my answer I condemned it, telling him that the Church had not only Authority to direct people by persuasion, but also to make Laws, strictly binding her Members, and to enforce the observance of those Laws by Ecclesiastical Censures. You see the same Proposition condemned by the present Pope [Pius VI] in the 4th and 5th articles among the Pistoian Propositions, and condemned as heretical, or inducing to heresy."

30. Ibid. "You have a full and clear discussion of the same by Mr. Robt. Plowden in his late publication on Theological Inaccuracy, in which he shows that such Proposition, confining the Church's Authority to bare persuasion is in its nature heretical." The work is *A Letter to a Roman Catholic Clergyman upon Theological Inaccuracy* (London: J.P. Coglhan, 1795).

31. Ibid. "Such then being the case, I have now fixed my determination, not to allow any of those Priests to exercise any Ecclesiastical Functions whatever in my District, unless I be assured they sincerely retract the assent they had given to that proposition— Lately I had permitted one of them to exercise Faculties in my District upon one occasion or two, before I had settled my mind; hereafter I shall not recede from the above determination."

32. Berington to Douglass, 10 April 1798. AAW 47, 157.

33. Walmesley to Douglass, 2 March 1795. AAW 46, 28.

34. Ibid.

35. Leeds. C. Plowden to Bp Gibson, 16 Feb 1791.

36. [The Catholic Clergy of the County of Stafford], *An Appeal to the Catholics of England* (London: Thomas Booker, 1792), 22.

37. John Throckmorton's *A letter addressed to the Catholic clergy of England, on the appointment of bishops. By a layman* (London: Coghlan, 1790).

38. Gibson to Douglass, 27 Feb 1798. AAW 47, 142. "To ask each individually whether they do not believe and hold that the Church & pope has other powers besides that of persuasion, & whether they do not admit of the condemnation of the proposition relating, or on that subject, as in such a proposition, referring to a proposition of the Synod of Pistoia, and whether they did not believe all that the Catholic Church believed in this regard, and in all others, as I am persuaded they would."

Left—Walmesley in Rome before leaving for England.

Below—Walmesley as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District

The Reception of Charles Walmesley's *General History of the Christian Church* in Early-19th Century Ireland

INTRODUCTION: THE BOOK OPENED

In 1771, a volume entitled, in part, *A General History of the Christian Church*, was published, its author, Charles Walmesley, writing under the pseudonym, "Pastorini." Though based on an exegesis of the Book of Revelation, this was a relatively innocuous title. But the book contained within its pages a prophecy that, when repurposed, was explosive, for it predicted the destruction of Protestantism in 1825.

Walmesley was a figure of the eighteenth-century Catholic Enlightenment, with its focus on historical criticism, Newtonian science, and Lockean epistemology.[1] Walmesley's *General History*, as a response to the atheism of the Enlightenment and appearing as it did prior to the French Revolution, had a contemporary point of reference, for it was written at Bath during a time of increased hostility towards Catholics, which he saw as part of the persecution of the Church evident in Revelation.[2] Initially, its chief audience was the English Catholic minority community much maligned by the Protestant majority, but also an audience on the Continent where the Church was under attack due to Enlightenment rationalism. Increasingly Walmesley found developments in English Catholic life, from the excesses of anti-Catholicism in the 1780s to the increasing propensity of clergy to accommodate themselves to the intellectual currents of the age, as evidence that the divine wrath predicted in his *General History* was imminent.[3] The advent of the French Revolution confirmed him in his belief that humanity was living in the period of trauma predicted in the fifth age.

In the 1790s the work was used as an anti-revolutionary text in the aftermath of the French Revolution. In was seized upon by reactionary forces including those in Ireland anxious to buttress the position of the status quo in the face of insurgency forces. The first Irish edition

appeared in 1790, its appearance being encouraged by the British government with the support of the Catholic bishops.[4] It was utilised in Ireland by conservative elements to counter revolutionary fervour.[5] Irish editions of the work in the 1790s and later were encouraged if not engineered by the British government as a means of representing revolutionary France as a satanic entity and as subversive and hostile to Catholicism, as were those in Ireland supportive of France, the United Irishmen.[6] A second edition of the work, with Walmesley's prior sanction, appeared posthumously in 1798, the year after his death.[7] During the war years of 1793-1815 the work proved useful as a validation of papal power against the forces of evil epitomised by Napoleon.[8]

REVELATION REPURPOSED

In origin, Pastorini's prophecy of the destruction of Protestantism derived from his interpretation of the Book of Revelation. As a particular genre of apocalyptic literature, Revelation lent itself to the selection of particular passages which, in the Irish context, allowed the sectarian dimension to predominate as its defining message.

Walmesley divided the Christian era into seven periods corresponding to the seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven vials of Revelation. For Walmesley, these elements represented seven ages in the history of the Christian Church. The fifth age began when Martin Luther inaugurated the Protestant Reformation, which in Walmesley's estimation began "about the year 1520 or 1525."[9] It was the fifth age that was to be most critical for contemporaries, for in Walmesley's judgement it was the present age, which was to last 300 years, of which period 250 years had elapsed at the time he was writing (1771). When the 50 years remaining had passed, the sixth age of the Church, its last on earth, would begin. The last age of the Church Militant on earth—still in the future—was to be characterized by heightened persecution, apostasy, moral decay, immersion in worldly pleasures, and the greedy pursuit of private interests. The work predicted that the fifth vial of God's wrath would be poured out to punish heretics—meaning Protestants—about fifty years after 1771, ushering in the sixth age of Christ's Church, the last before the Second Coming. Walmesley was unsure when precisely the sixth age would begin. By his calculation it should be either 1821 or 1825. Despite this lack of precision, he was

certain that it would be a time of great destruction and turbulence, with more irregular seasons, "more dearth and distress," all of which were a prelude to a general disaster.[10]

The essential point was that the fifth age inaugurated by the Protestant Reformation was the one in which the Catholic Church was currently in and enduring its challenges. The fifth age was key to revealing Pastorini's calculations as to when the end of Protestantism would occur. The seal, trumpet, and vial of the fifth age were explicated in three key passages in Revelation: chapters 6, 9, and 16. Selected passages from these three chapters were the ones identified for inclusion in the extracted version of the *General History* which in broadsheet format was widely distributed in Ireland.

BROADSHEET EXTRACTS

Revelation 6 recounts the breaking of the seals. In his interpretation of this passage, Pastorini suggested that the souls under the altar (v.9) were the "precious spiritual remains of those whose bodies had been slain and sacrificed in the fire of persecution." They were victims of the slaughter and destruction unleashed by the Reformation, an event he identified as marking the beginning of a long persecution of Catholics. He assigned a date to when such trauma was initiated as at the "commencement of the fifth age of the Church at the year 1525 or at the rise of Luther's Reformation about the year 1520."[11] These were not conventional dates to mark the beginning of the Reformation, an event usually dated to 1517 when Luther posted the 95 theses.

The verses chosen in the second extract from Revelation 9, describe at the sounding of the fifth trumpet, demonic forces in the form of locusts, being unleashed from the underworld. Pastorini equated the locusts with the Protestant reformers and their descendants.[12] By divine permission, they were given the power to torment but not hurt Catholics for a defined period.[13] In this way they confiscated the revenues of the Church and imposed harsh laws.[14] Thus, God allowed Protestants to have some power over Catholics, though this was limited, and God aided the Catholic powers to resist the Protestant advance.[15]

On the basis that one day was equivalent to one year, Pastorini calculated that the five months Protestants were allowed to persecute

Catholics was equal to 150 years. By his calculation, if the Reformation began in 1525, then this period of temporary persecution would continue until 1675.[16] According to Pastorini, based on an interpretation of verse 10, a second period of five months, equivalent to 150 years, began in 1675. Because Pastorini viewed the two five-month periods as sequential rather than concurrent, he calculated that this second period of 150 years would end in 1825.

The third and final extract included in the broadsheet, Revelation 16, interpreted verses 10-11 as implicitly and ominously applying to a punishment to be inflicted on Protestants. The centrepiece of this passage as interpreted and applied was twofold. First, it presented the inevitability of an unspecified punishment of Protestants, the severity of which was to be revealed as events unfolded. Secondly, if Protestants wished to avoid annihilation, Walmesley recommended that they re-join the Catholic Church.

In summary, the passages regarding the three chapters of Revelation were chosen and extracted from the larger *General History* for inclusion in the broadsheet for wider distribution. They emphasised central aspects of Pastorini's prophecy. They established a firm system of dating for the persecution of Catholics by Protestants; that persecution was temporary and would end in 1825; and that Protestants were counselled to re-join the Catholic Church to avoid destruction. The identification of Protestants as heretics was highly significant for the disposition of circumstances in the 1820s. It cautioned Protestants to consider that their persecution of Catholics was about to expire. It warned them of their imminent destruction if they did not re-join the Catholic Church. These elements, in their different ways, were to prove highly potent in the circumstances of Ireland in the 1820s.

What is surprising is the choice of passages chosen to be extracted and distributed in broadsheet format. Tellingly, there were other, more relevant chapters in Revelation that suited the context of Ireland in the 1820s, but these were seemingly ignored by those intent on promoting a more sectarian, apocalyptic agenda. The three beasts of Revelation 13 and 18, representing political, economic, and religious threats, which might have been relevant to the issues of the 1820s, were not deployed or utilized as relevant. Rather, it was those selective passages drawn from Revelation 6, 9, and 16 that were embraced. This was because they

provided the opportunity to construct a specific identification and dating structure that predicted the destruction of Protestantism in Ireland in 1825.

In its exegesis of the Book of Revelation, the *General History* established three key elements that influenced the course of events and attitudes in the 1820s. First, it identified Protestants as a heretical sect and therefore as subject to the punishments prescribed for heretics. Secondly, drawing on a set of mutually-reinforcing images, it delineated Protestants as the persecutors of Catholics. Thirdly, it established a timeframe when this persecution would end with the overthrow of Protestantism. The common interpretation was that Protestantism was to end either fifty years after the publication of the *General History*, i.e., 1821, or 300 years after 1525 or 150 years after 1675, i.e., in 1825.[17]

RECEPTION

Having outlined the distinctive features of the prophecy, the question must now be posed as to its reception in Ireland. Contrary to what some scholars have asserted in the past regarding the absence of apocalypticism as a factor in Ireland before the famine, the fact is that apocalypticism existed and indeed experienced an intensification in the period from the 1790s to the early 1830s.[18] More recently, one scholar commenting on the general presence of prophecy in Irish culture in the period, maintained that "[p]rophecy was not only a literary mode, it was a central and ubiquitous element in popular culture."[19] Pastorini encountered a culture that already possessed a high level of receptivity to, immersion in, and familiarity with the intervention of the divine not merely in the mundane events of daily life but also the more transcendent dimensions of the prophetic and the apocalyptic.

Four examples will illustrate this heightened predisposition and receptivity to the prophetic. On the broad religious front, there was a strong belief in the presence of the supernatural in everyday life, one that could be resorted to in combination with reliance on the ministrations of the institutional Church. Subscription to a sacral universe was manifested in popular, folk religion with its array of beliefs and practices. These beliefs embraced semi-pagan elements such as wakes, patterns, holy wells, calendar customs, and a variety of rituals designed to invoke supernatural powers to ensure the fertility of the

land and of animals, and the good fortune of people generally.[20] Recourse to such magical practices and the invocation of the supernatural to cope with the demands of daily life, fulfilled psychological needs and had a social utility for rural people that the institutional Church did not provide. Whereas traditional folk religion was subject to the fickleness and unreliability of supernatural intervention, Pastorini provided an all-embracing certitude because it had a specific date that grounded its predictions.

Secondly, the prophetic was also evident in poetry. While much traditional poetry followed convention and lacked an awareness of political reality, at its base was a fundamental aspiration for deliverance. Associated in the eighteenth century with the desire of Gaelic Ireland for the restoration of the Stuarts to the British crown, after 1745 with the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie, the genre became more formalized but nevertheless retained its aspiration for individual and communal liberation.[21] Not only did aspiration centred on the Stuarts reflect a longing for political restoration, it was also accompanied by a renewal of religious freedom, the return of confiscated lands, and the re-establishment of Gaelic culture. All but the latter lent themselves to adoption into the expectations of the Pastorini prophecy. Additionally, there was a growing number of references in the poetry to the heretical progeny of Luther and Calvin. Poems speak of "I am intoxicated by Luther's breed," and "the bloody breed of Calvin are holding the sway."[22] Another vilifies Luther and Calvin's malevolent influence:

> Do not believe and yield and do not understand from anyone,
> that life may stand for them but for a while
> To the descendants of Luther, the liar, and Calvin, crooked,
> voracious for the closely tied poor Irishmen in locks.[23]

Pastorini gained currency in the themes of Gaelic poetry in the early nineteenth century, not just in direct reference to the prophecy itself and its fulfilment, but also the subsidiary themes that derived from it, notably the destruction of the followers of Luther and Calvin. Their future destruction aligned with the aspirations of Pastorini's prophecy as expressed in the broadsheet version. Similar aspirations were evident in ballads and songs in English.

Thirdly, Pastorini became popular and potent not just because of the appeal of its message, but because more traditional prophecies like

those of Colmcille were proving inadequate. Pastorini pre-empted other localized prophecies which were found wanting in the more volatile decade of the 1820s, when a high degree of expectancy for exponential change emerged in the Irish Catholic polity. In terms of prophecy, the 1820s was a time of transition between previous prophecies associated with such as Colmcille and the political aspirations of the poetry, and what came next. Traditional prophecies were now replaced by the more radical prophecy of Pastorini, which provided the script for the end times and the timetable for its achievement. In contrast to the nebulous and aspirational nature of traditional prophecies, Pastorini established a specific date that acted as a benchmark to work towards, in the process giving it inevitability.

Lastly, the credit given by Catholics to a series of miracles in the summer of 1823—one involving the recovery of speech, another recovery from paralysis—validated the potential for the prophecy to be fulfilled. What made the miracles so astounding was that they were achieved at a distance in Bamberg, Germany, through the intercession of Alexander Emmerich, Prince of Hohenlohe (1794-1849). He was a German Catholic priest who, following ordination in 1815, gained a reputation for his ability to perform cures at a distance. These miracles heightened expectations that the overthrow of the Protestant establishment predicted by Pastorini was more than a possibility. They made divine intervention seem more likely, and hence by association validated the likelihood that the Pastorini prophecy would happen. They were a tangible sign of divine favour, hence validating expectations of prophecy fulfilment. Moreover, the miracles received episcopal approval, one bishop seeing them as providential for a renewed Church and as a means of attracting non-Catholics back to the fold. All this aligned with the expectations of the broadsheet version of the prophecy.

Subsistence in a sacral universe, the traditional prophecies, the expectations in the poetry and ballads, and the miracles all bore witness to the predisposition of the Irish to prophecy. The different elements were mutually reinforcing and cumulative, and served to elevate expectations of fulfilment for Pastorini's prophecy. In the view of one official, it seemed that everything that happened was of significance in terms of achievement of the prophecy. In May 1824 Major George Warburton, a chief inspector of constables, commented that "scarcely

any thing has occurred that seems to give countenance to their views, which they do not say, is part of the fulfilment."[24]

DISSEMINATION

Receptivity towards apocalyptic ideas in Irish society was reflected in the wide dissemination of the prophecy of Pastorini. The evidence indicates that knowledge of the prophecy was widespread by means of the eleven editions and impressions of the *General History* in Ireland between 1790 and 1825. Such editions enjoyed particular circulation among the upper, literate classes. There were 274 subscribers to the 1790 edition and about 500 to that of 1816. For those who were not subscribers, copies were available in roadside inns for travellers to consult.

However, it was the select extracts assembled in the broadsheet format intended for mass distribution that disseminated the prophecy more broadly. So famous did the broadsheet production of Pastorini printed by the house of Robert Conolly in Dublin become that it became known generically as "a Conolly."[25] The general assumption is that the broadsheet had a wide circulation. What made it so appealing was that it was cheaper and more easily portable than the folio editions which had hundreds of pages. It could be easily conveyed by hawkers, ballad singers, and others for dissemination at communal gatherings such as fairs, markets, and chapels. Copies of the prophecy were present in schools and schoolmasters communicated it. The broadsheet prophecy could be read by its recipients, or its contents communicated orally.

Through print or oral transmission, or a combination of both, knowledge of the prophecy was disseminated to the literate and illiterate alike, becoming the topic of regular conversation. In May 1824 Major George Warburton, referring specifically to Clare, of which he had knowledge, said: "I do not think there is an instance to be found amongst the lower class of people who do not speak of it in their common conversation, at their work, and on other occasions, when they are assembled together; they do not speak of it in any secret way, but as a thing known."[26]

Dissemination was assisted by a discernible improvement in biblical literacy in the early-nineteenth century. Such an improvement can be ascribed to the efforts of the different bible societies and their ancillary educational institutions which were active in Ireland at this time, as well as initiatives of the Catholic Church itself. This allowed for an understanding of the text upon which the prophecy was based. The effect was to assist understanding and adoption of Pastorini's prophecy.

AGRARIAN APPROPRIATION

Writers of the period recognized the detrimental impact prophecies had on the lower class in terms of the maintenance of law and order in the country. For the contemporary Irish novelist William Carleton, such prophecies tended "to prepare them for some great change in their favour, arising from the discomfiture of heresy, the overthrow of their enemies, and the exaltation of themselves and their religion."[27] Though knowledge of the prophecy was widespread, evidence indicates that it was particularly well known in Cork and Limerick, areas in which the rural unrest in the early 1820s associated with the Rockites and its eponymous leader Captain Rock was concentrated.

In the Irish context it can readily be seen how economic issues, particularly the contentious matter of tithes, of their nature could easily have a sectarian dimension. The government recognized by 1823 that economic hardship, proselytizing efforts by bible societies, and the excesses of the Orangemen, were contributing to a "great upsurge of millenarianism and anti-Protestant feeling," that emanated in overt sectarian outrages.[28] Religion was central to this, one peasant in 1824 reportedly saying that "they are oppressed by those who profess the religion of the established church and that there is likely to be soon a great change on that subject."[29]

What differentiated the Rockites from previous agrarian movements was, first, the overtly sectarian rhetoric used to justify their actions, and secondly, the use of Pastorini's prophecy to give unity, cohesion, and purpose to the movement. Apocalyptic fervour filtered down and became interwoven into local issues through the Rockites, whose agenda was inspired by Pastorini's prophecy which was already in circulation in the region from at least 1817. What distinguished the Rockite movement was how it transitioned from embracing an array of

traditional grievances to validating the same through a sectarian and prophetic dimension. The movement drew inspiration from Pastorini's prophecy, and in turn helped to actualize its claims. From initial declarations of a sectarian purpose, the association with Pastorini propelled a nascent agrarian movement into one with apocalyptic purpose.

The convergence of the prophecy with the agrarian movement of the 1820s, with its catalogue of grievances against the establishment in church and state, was ominous. Through this association, the expectation that economic injustices would be reversed, historic wrongs righted, and the land settlement undone, came to have a currency that grounded the agrarian movement. Such a formulation was buttressed by lower-class Catholic suspicion that sections of the armed forces were compromised because of their infiltration by Orange sympathizers, its continuing hostility towards payment of tithes, and its antagonism towards the representatives of Protestant missionary and educational societies sent out to evangelize Catholics. These elements formed the foundation upon which apocalyptic expectation was erected.

Expressions of sectarianism went beyond mere rhetoric. Rural grievances were overlaid with sectarianism in the lead up to the ominous year of 1825. Official sources made a specific connection between the spread of rural unrest, the appearance of the Pastorini prophecy, and declarations on the annihilation of Protestants.

Pastorini's prophecy as disseminated was potent, specific, and a spur to action. It held out the potential and accommodated aspirations for radical social change. The prospect of a complete overturn of the social and political order implicitly unified different sections of the Catholic polity in varying degrees in support of Rockite aims, with the prospect that all would benefit from the cataclysm.

When the Rockite threat subsided by mid-1824 through the effective implementation of the Insurrection Act, in tandem with new or revamped police forces, adhesion to the prophecy which the movement had adopted as an intrinsic part of its program of grievances remained, and propelled itself forward in its own right without reference to the agrarian issues.

1825: THE OMINOUS YEAR

Pastorini's prophecy predicted that the destruction of Protestantism would occur in 1825. It was not apparent when in 1825 it would occur, whether the process would be a one-off conflagration or a continuous evisceration throughout the year, whether the event would occur in the transition between 1824 and 1825, or whether it was to be expected in the change from 1825 to 1826. This uncertainty added to Protestant apprehensions. On the other hand, the cessation of widespread rural unrest by the early summer of 1824 gave cause for optimism, but tellingly allegiance to the prophecy continued even when it was detached from its association with rural disorder, thereby revealing the overarching appeal of the prophecy in its own right.

While that unrest was still at its height, an influential Catholic bishop, James Doyle, advanced a proposal for a union of the churches. While later historians have viewed the proposal favourably as an early exercise in ecumenism, it was inconsistent with his simultaneous and strident promotion of Tridentine Catholicism and was rejected from within and without the Church. Protestants viewed it as an attempt to absorb them into the Catholic Church, an exercise advocated by the prophecy and as implicitly affirming the declared aim of the Rockites to replace the established church with the Catholic.

The foundation of the Catholic Association in May 1823 revived the drive for full Catholic emancipation, and replaced the violent agrarian movement. Reflective of its class bias, the association's leadership was mistakenly dismissive of the validity, currency, and broad embrace of the prophecy. The association gained greater popularity with the broadening of its membership from January 1824 to any who paid the 1d. per month, known as the Catholic rent. The association and the rent gained the official support of the Catholic Church, the rent showing its sharpest increase in the last months of 1824 and into early 1825, coinciding with expectations as regards fulfilment of the prophecy. Evidence of clerical evasiveness as to the use to which the rent was being put, only led to speculation among contributors that it was intended to support achievement of the prophecy.

The Dublin administration was hopeful that the potentially traumatic year would arrive without incident. Yet in the countryside

expectations prior to the arrival of 1825 remained high, and Protestants were fearful of a conflagration because of a convergence of elements embracing residual rural unrest, miracles, and the increasingly assertive and well-funded Catholic Association, all under the umbrella of Pastorini's prophecy.

It was in the transition from December 1824 to January 1825, when expectations were heightened, that the stance of Daniel O'Connell, leader of the Catholic cause, changed to one where he became associated with achieving the prophecy's outcomes. Once agrarian violence decreased by mid-1824, O'Connell replaced Captain Rock as the focus of expectations, thereby assuming a messianic role. O'Connell, aware of how successful the association was in uniting Catholics, and of the necessity of weaning lower-class elements away from unrest, commented in 1829, "we took them from Capt. Rock by our agitation."[30] In his ability to join local grievances to national political aspirations, O'Connell was able to articulate the potential for deliverance from all grievances and thereby unify all sectors of Catholic society around the cause.[31]

O'Connell's transformation of status was subsequently buttressed by his redating of the prophecy. At a point in the spring of 1825, when the Catholic cause was at a low point, O'Connell conducted a recalculation of the dating of Pastorini's prophecy. Neither a historian nor a theologian, but a lawyer, he proposed that there was a misprint in Walmesley's dating. His redating was derived from the fact that the term "Protestant" arose from the formal protest by the German princes against the decision of the Holy Roman Emperor at the Diet of Speyer in April 1529. On this basis, O'Connell argued, Pastorini took 1528 as the beginning point from which the 300 years should be calculated, at the conclusion of which, i.e. in 1829, the destruction of Protestantism would occur. But, according to O'Connell, in the original edition a misprint made 1528 into 1525.[32]

The details of O'Connell's recalculation were widely reported in the Dublin and Belfast press in early April 1825.[33] Making 1828-29 rather than 1825 the ominous year when Protestantism would expire accorded well with O'Connell's campaign for Catholic emancipation and implicitly assisted in its achievement. As matters transpired the redated prediction was close enough, for the Catholic Relief Act (10 Geo. IV, c.7) received the royal assent on 13 April 1829, thus lending retrospective legitimacy to O'Connell's prediction and raising his stature further in public estimation thereafter. In practical terms, it meant that the potential trauma for Irish Protestants was now extended from its original point of initiation in 1825 for another three or four years.

In the interim, the proclamation of a jubilee by Rome added to Protestant concerns. The pope announced a jubilee on 24 May 1824, to begin in December 1824 and continue into 1825, the year Pastorini's predicted the prophecy would be fulfilled. The jubilee was an institution of ancient Israel ordained to be kept following every seventh sabbath year. Its distinctive features were the reversion of all lands to their original owners, the freeing of slaves, the cancelling of debts, and abstaining from sowing and harvesting. Its origins go back to a prescription in the Book of Leviticus (25:8-55).

In the medieval period, popes came to apply the levitical customs spiritually, decreeing a holy year or jubilee, beginning and ending with special holy ceremonies intended to improve the religious lives of the faithful.[34] When a holy year was proclaimed a special indulgence was available to Catholics who visited Rome and fulfilled certain conditions by visiting the holy places there.

However, at Bishop Doyle's request the papal decree announcing the jubilee year was not published in Ireland for fear both of exacerbating sectarian tensions and of reinforcing the prophecy of Pastorini, the fulfilment of which in 1825 would coincide with the jubilee year.[35] This turned out to be merely a delay, for by further papal decree in December 1825, the jubilee of 1825 was extended to 1826, and on this occasion the Irish bishops had no hesitation in publishing it in Ireland.[36]

Despite the cancellation of Irish participation in the jubilee for 1825, knowledge of the event was current in Ireland. In particular, the restoration of land to its original owners as an intrinsic jubilee element had a potent apocalyptic relevance given the land transfers of the seventeenth century which formed the basis of Protestant title. Protestants who were already concerned about Pastorini's prophecy, the miracles of summer 1823, the activities of the Catholic Association, and O'Connell's redating exercise, now had to contend with the jubilee year. For Protestants it was not merely the existence of these individual threats but rather their coalescence that was most worrying. The

revived campaign of O'Connell could not but benefit from these collective Protestant insecurities.

EMANCIPATION

O'Connell also benefited from the demise of the agrarian movement by mid-1824. Catholics of middle and upper classes downplayed the accusation that the Rockites were actuated by sectarian motives associated with the Pastorini's prophecy. They did so because they found the prophecy to be an embarrassment at a time when they were lobbying for Catholic relief. Yet once the threat of Rockite violence passed, those who supported Catholic emancipation were willing to use the association with Pastorini to effect in gaining success for that campaign. The prophetic element and its ancillary attributes were utilized in the efforts leading up to the achievement of emancipation in 1829, and left a legacy used in subsequent political campaigns and social movements.

After 1825 O'Connell united different sectors of the Catholic polity, lay and clerical, in a common quest for the cause of emancipation, by appropriating and utilizing the mantle of expectations that had been created by Pastorini's prophecy. His exercise in redating extended expectations beyond 1825. Certainly, there was uncertainty as to whether it would be realized within the revised prophecy timeline. But in the interim the prophecy was politicized in the cause of Catholic emancipation and ultimately informed O'Connell's politics of brinkmanship.

The new style of popular politics that characterized the Catholic Association led by O'Connell in its quest for full emancipation for Catholics, even though he was motivated by a real desire to have liberal Protestants support the cause, turned out to be overtly sectarian by its nature. While on the surface the movement articulated ideals based on liberalism, civic equality, and religious toleration, at popular level it drew on more visceral resentments that earlier had been expressed in rural violence, sectarian attacks on schools, ostracism, and Pastorini's prophecy. Following electoral successes in Waterford in 1826 and Clare in 1828, apocalyptic fervour was translated into political brinkmanship in the quest for Catholic relief.

O'Connell's political alliance with the Catholic clergy and his recourse to a sectarian rhetoric meant that, for the future, popular politics in Ireland would be defined along religious lines. He bears responsibility for extending use of the prophetic dimension in Irish political life in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s. The long-term consequences of the closer association established between Catholicism and nationalism in the emancipation campaign, have been ably expressed by one historian:

> O'Connell had erected an Irish national movement on a sectarian base. The result was to link Irish nationalism with Catholicism into a most powerful and effective political force. But it was also to confirm the sectarian hostility of the time so profoundly as to nullify later attempts by Irish nationalists to bridge the sectarian chasm O'Connell's movement had opened up.[37]

In the attainment of this outcome, O'Connell made much use of the Pastorini prophecy, thereby ensuring its perpetuation in Protestant consciousness.

CATHOLIC RESPONSES

How did all this figure with the state of the Irish Catholic Church by this point? By the 1820s, the Catholic Church in Ireland had an over-riding sense of having emerged from the eighteenth century tattered but with rising expectations, even to the extent of success being divinely sanctioned, as seen with the miracles. Advance was evident in the Church's material fabric with hundreds of new churches erected, and its personnel, with new religious congregations and scores of new priests coming out of Maynooth and other seminaries. Such improvements accommodated a desire to impose a more rigorous pastoral discipline on Catholics based on Tridentine prescriptions. Part of that process was to confront the pervasive reliance on an array of superstitious beliefs (including prophecies like that of Pastorini) by large sections of the faithful.

On the other hand, while disavowal of the prophecy was consistent with a more rigorous pastoral discipline, the end result of the prophecy's fulfilment, the elimination of Protestantism and the consequent emergence of the Catholic Church as triumphant, could not but appeal to and unify the different sectors of the Catholic polity,

and to an institution and a people seeking full civil and political rights. How did the Catholic Church negotiate these simultaneous challenges?

Leading Catholic bishops like Doyle were familiar with the contents of the prophecy, and some of them condemned it publicly. Based on this familiarity, they sought to assume control and direct apocalyptic expectations through the diversion of popular adherence to the prophecy, and by highlighting the difficulty of interpreting the Book of Revelation. However, Doyle's attempt to defuse the potency of the prophecy by proposing that it applied only to Lutherans lacked credibility and did not deter those seeking the destruction of all Protestants.[38] In reality, episcopal condemnation only served to emphasize the general ineffectiveness of bishops' pastoral statements on rural agitators and their embrace of the prophecy.

The efficacy of bishops' pastorals largely depended on the degree to which priests in their parishes promoted them with conviction. Overall, it is evident that Catholic priests condemned the rural violence and questioned the veracity of Pastorini. But just as with the bishops, acceptance of priestly authority in such matters was not automatic. To some degree, priests themselves may have been ambivalent given the less deferential calibre of clergyman emerging from Maynooth at this time. Recognizing this new calibre of priest, Major Richard Wilcocks, who was inspector of constables and police in Munster, with a specific knowledge of Limerick, commented in early 1824:

> I have met with priests in the county of Limerick, young priests, that I am confident meant to deceive me by the propositions that they made to me, or other authorities, as to obtaining the surrender of arms, but they afterwards did not perform their promise. I think some of the young priests, who have lately been called into the orders of that church, are not so anxious about the tranquillization of the country as I would wish them to be, and I am therefore inclined to believe that some of them have not conducted themselves for the peace of the country.[39]

Catholics of the middle and upper classes were dismissive of the prophecy and its claims. At a time when they were seeking additional relief, they were anxious to downplay the prophecy's currency among lower-class elements. Such fissures in the Catholic polity dissipated once the ominous year of 1825 passed and all classes united around the emancipation cause.

In the 1820s the doctrine of deference to temporal authority, hitherto a hallmark of the Catholic authorities in Ireland, was abandoned successively in preference to the causes of popular agitation, Catholic emancipation, and abolition of tithes.[40] The emergence of the Catholic Association provided priests with enhanced influence over their flocks, particularly with the collection of the Catholic rent. To the articulation of outstanding Catholic grievances in the first two decades of the century was added, in the 1820s, a popular Catholic nationalism, embracing all elements in the Catholic polity to varying degrees. In 1825, responding to the claim of William Magee, archbishop of Dublin, that among Catholics religion had become politics and politics religion, Bishop Doyle acknowledged his agreement and elaborated: "Not only politics, but education and every right or franchise we possess or claim, is resolved into or connected with our religion; and this religion being the apparent cause and the distinctive mark whereby we are separated from our fellow-subjects, it is found blended with all our privations and all our wrongs."[41]

In many ways, what was envisaged as an outcome was a role reversal. The combination of the Catholic Association, the quest for emancipation, and the Catholic rent constituted, in embryo, the organizational elements of a society alternative to that currently established.[42] This was recognized by the government in a memorandum of September 1827 which acknowledged that the association "has usurped so many of the functions of legitimate government, that the co-existence of such conflicting authorities, would appear to be almost incompatible."[43] The *status quo* in church and state would be overthrown and replaced by those who had previously been subjected and excluded. The assertiveness of the Catholic polity was subversive of the Protestant state, with the Catholic Association presenting an alternative society in embryonic form, having absorbed the other alternative in the form of the agrarian movement and the prophetic element that directed its objectives. All this was consistent with the outcomes of Pastorini's prophecy.

PROTESTANT RESPONSES

What then of the Irish Protestant response to Pastorini? To answer this question, it is necessary to delineate the context of the period. In the

late-eighteenth century, the French Revolution, the war between Britain and France (1793-1815), the granting of significant concessions to Catholics by legislation in 1792 and 1793, and the 1798 rebellion, created a sense of foreboding among Irish Protestants. On the one hand, these events cumulatively engendered a sense of fear about their future as a vulnerable minority on the island; on the other hand, they signified that a new age of opportunity was dawning, one in which their minority status might be reversed through an active evangelism of the majority population.

The effect of the French Revolution was to nurture fears among Irish Protestants of their own vulnerability, something that led to an active interest in biblical prophecy. Significantly, the majority of early-nineteenth-century writers on biblical prophecy were members of the Church of Ireland. Already, there was a long history of interest in biblical chronology, prophecy, and apocalypticism in the Church of Ireland going back to Archbishop James Ussher in the seventeenth century and earlier.[44] Such an interest gained new impetus in the wake of the French Revolution. Many Protestants saw the Revolution as the coming of the end times given that the overthrow of the French monarchy and absolutism could easily be viewed as the defeat of the Antichrist predicted in the Book of Revelation. On the other hand, abrupt political change evident in events in Europe seemed to presage an end to the established order of church and state in Ireland. Prophecies circulated in Ireland in the 1790s associated with the Defenders and United Irishmen and reinforced expectations of the overthrow of the *status quo*. There was a prevalent view that the privileged world of Irish Protestantism was under serious threat. As the 1790s unfolded, there were increasing concerns at the prospect of Catholic political violence, emergent democratic demands, and an attack on the established order. Fearful that events in France would be repeated in Ireland, apocalyptic fervour among Irish Protestants grew sharply.

The circulation among both Catholics and Protestants of political prophecies added further to the sense of impending crisis in the years before the rebellion of 1798. Those familiar with the Bible, particularly the Book of Revelation, felt confident that a new age was dawning for Christianity, one in which civil and religious liberties would spread, and papal power would experience a demise. Initially they surmised that

the Revolution was God's instrument, but this view altered when it became more radical, replacing Christianity in France with institutional deism. Now France was the beast depicted in Revelation, and when war ensued between France and Britain in 1793, Britain was depicted as God's instrument in the destruction of the beast. In consequence, in the words of one historian, "if anti-Christ was soon to fall in France and the Protestant religion was eventually to replace it, there was good reason to believe that Christianity would be brought to the heathen and the Jew and that the evangelicals themselves would be God's chosen agents in making millennial prophecy a reality."[45] This realization informed the actions of evangelicals in Ireland in the early-nineteenth century, for it meant that their generation was either to be the last of this world or the first of the latter days.[46]

Paralleling the experience of the Catholic Church, improvements in the physical fabric and pastoral provision of the established Church of Ireland augured well for its promotion of an evangelical advance and simultaneous reversal of its minority status on the island. As matters transpired, despite the robustness of the resources brought to bear, actual conversions in the 1820s were modest—certainly prior to the prophetic year of 1825—and more likely dwarfed the numbers converting from Protestantism to Catholicism.

Given the rise of interest in prophecy among Irish Protestants, what was their reaction to Pastorini's prediction of their destruction in 1825? Pastorini's prophecy evoked varying responses from Protestants. There was a perception among Protestants that Catholic priests were promoting not just Pastorini but anti-Protestant literature. There was also concern that the miracles of 1823 were to be used by Catholic clergy to strengthen the position of the Catholic Church and as a means of inducing Protestants to convert, a process encouraged by the prophecy. Protestants discerned a clear connection between the miracles and wider Catholic claims to precedence in Ireland. The prospect of their elimination predicted in the prophecy evoked memories among Protestants of previous acts of terror against their religion in 1641, 1798, and 1803.

To contribute to the reduction of widespread Protestant fears, an array of published responses challenged the accuracy of the prophetic claims. Based on a rigorous exegetical sifting of the relevant passages in

Revelation, Walmesley's use of evidence, methodology, and conclusions were shown to be defective, resulting in errors and inconsistencies. In particular, his use of Revelation as an interpretative tool for understanding history was demonstrated to be deficient, and his identification of Protestants with the locusts was refuted.

The charge that Orangemen were responsible for disseminating Pastorini's prophecy was an additional cause of anxiety for Protestants. The Catholic Association wanted to assign some culpability for the prophecy to Orangemen, a charge articulated most intensely in 1825 when the association's prospects and O'Connell's reputation were at a nadir. The evidence as to whether Orangemen deliberately provoked Catholics to acts of unrest in fulfilment of the aims of the prophecy is ambiguous. There is no unambiguous evidence that the Orange Order or yeomanry participated in spreading the prophecy. Though there was considerable evasion and defiance, Orangeism was dormant organizationally after mid-1824 and effectively after the Unlawful Societies Act of 1825 came into force. It was to remain so until the expiry of that act in 1828. While it might be argued that, given its proscription, the Orange Order sought other means of self-justification like orchestrating rural unrest, it is unlikely that Orangemen would have risked the consequences of deliberately disseminating Pastorini`s prophecy among the peasantry, the discovery of which would further alienate them from government favour. Ultimately, the Orangemen were unlikely to promote a prophecy that advocated the destruction of its members by Catholics.

Overall, Protestant responses to Pastorini ranged from ascribing responsibility to Catholic clergy for its dissemination and promotion, to dismissal, to forthright critique based on exegetical rigour. In addition to the latter, Protestant reaction manifested itself in the establishment of defensive associations like the Brunswick Clubs and the formation of a colonization society.

While nothing came of the specific predictions of annihilation, Protestants feared that something apocalyptic was in the air and that their position was no longer secure. Their overriding, cumulative sense was of an apocalyptic portent, particularly after Catholic emancipation in 1829. In effect, emancipation was for Protestants the refracted realization of Pastorini's prophecy for 1825. As described by one

emigrant, conditions in Ireland had become "irksome, unprofitable, and insecure," while another held that, for Protestants, Ireland was "growing too hot."[47] An Irish peer addressing the House of Lords in 1827 referred to Protestants being "persecuted and proscribed in Ireland and would be forced out of the country or annihilated."[48] In 1832 a Catholic servant girl recorded that the fellow emigrants she observed on board ship, were "snug…Protestants, that found home growing too hot for them."[49] While some reports may appear alarmist and over-stated, nevertheless the perception of a threat to their safety was sufficient to cause Protestants to adopt extreme measures in the form of a mass exodus from Ireland.

EMIGRATION

It is not suggested here that Pastorini's prophecy *of itself* was the primary or explicit stimulant to Protestant emigration in the 1820s. But the fears that the prophecy generated contributed to making Protestants feel vulnerable before and after 1825, and hence was part of an array of motives that precipitated their exodus. Against the general background of their minority status, southern Protestants had to contend with the prospect of their predicted destruction in 1825 coupled with sectarian attacks on churches, clergy, and farmers as part of the Rockite movement, and extended into the sectarian animus contingent on the achievement of Catholic emancipation. The advance and ultimate success of Catholic claims to full emancipation accentuated Protestant fears. It led to Catholic ascendancy in those areas from which Protestants had departed. This was added to by the erosion of further bulwarks to the establishment, notably the 1831 Education Act, the 1833 Church Temporalities Act, and the tithe war of the early 1830s.

There are two characteristics to emigration from Ireland in the post-1815, pre-famine period: its British North American orientation, and its largely Protestant composition.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

There are various sets of figures available to compute the scale of emigration from Ireland in the pre-famine decades. The first set, based on returns for ports, shows Irish emigration from the United Kingdom

to North America in the period 1825 to 1845. Based on this source, total emigration from Ireland to North America for the period 1825-1845 was 876,715. This represented an annual average of 43,836 emigrants. Of the total about 402,619, less than half, went to the United States, with the majority going to British North America.[50] A second source, the evidence from passenger lists for the years 1815 to 1830, is deemed relevant to the conditions of the 1820s before the cholera epidemic of 1832 propelled greater outward movement. Based on this evidence, the total figure for the years 1825-1830 inclusive of emigration from Britain and Ireland to all areas was 177,111, with 80,522 going to the United States, 64,170 to Australia, and 90,172 to British North America. Of the total of 177,111, emigrants from Ireland made up 80,979 or about half. At 60,204, they comprised two thirds of the 90,172 who went to British North America.[51] The scale of emigration from Ireland to British North America alone is indicated in a third source, recording the numbers for five-year periods pre-dating the famine: 1825-29—53,463; 1830-34—185,952; 1835-39—73,245; 1840-44—134,956.[52]

The data for these five-year periods indicate that the average annual exodus in the late 1820s was over 10,000 following the auspicious year of 1825, that this average increased in the early 1830s to over 37,000, with a sharp decline to over 14,000 in the late 1830s, only to increase again in the early 1840s, to 26,000.[53] These multiple data sets indicate an overall trend in this period that most migrants from the United Kingdom to British North America (modern Canada) were Irish. This was of the order of 60% of all emigrants to North America who were Irish and the annual average of those Irish leaving in the 1820s to British North America alone was well over 10,000.

PROTESTANT CHARACTER

It has been estimated that up to half a million Protestants emigrated from Ireland in the pre-famine period.[54] The distinctly Protestant character of emigration in these years is attested to by newspaper reports, including one from Waterford in 1826:

> [W]here emigration has taken place from certain districts it was largely made up by the emigration of Protestants; and from universal, concurrent testimony, we apprehend there can be no doubt generally that the disposition to quit the country exists more strongly among Protestants than among Roman Catholics.[55]

It was recalled in 1868 that the emigration of Irish Protestants in the period 1825-1834 numbered 175,000, an average of 17,500 annually.[56] It was estimated in 1832 that 60,000 Protestants had emigrated since 1829, the year of Catholic emancipation, an annual average of 15,000.[57] While there were increasing numbers of Catholics emigrating, the overall Protestant character of Irish emigration in the 1820s is unmistakable.

Emigrants in the pre-famine period required some capital for the transatlantic journey, so typically they were not poverty-stricken but were drawn from the comfortable farming classes or those associated with them economically and socially, and only gradually were the poorer classes added.[58] Emigrants consisted of farmers, artisans, shopkeepers, tradesmen and professionals.[59] In its analysis of the phenomenon, one source in 1833 suggested that the exodus was not confined to those of landed status, for "the whole body is in motion—the great body of Protestant farmers, and mechanics, and manufacturers are in motion. They are all thinking on the subject and preparing to emigrate."[60] People of means increasingly chose to emigrate because of the sectarian atmosphere in Ireland. Major Warburton, who was familiar with the situation in Limerick from 1820, gave evidence that the prediction of their destruction in 1825 caused many Protestant farmers from the county of Limerick to emigrate.[61] It was the violence and intimidation against Protestants, with the fear the prophetic deadline of 1825 generated, that caused many Protestant farmers from Limerick to emigrate.[62]

The opportunity to emigrate to Canada appealed because the language of administration, politics, and the legal system was English, and thus familiar. There was a demand for farmers and an educated elite for the colony to succeed economically and administratively, and Ireland offered human resources in large numbers to fill these needs.[63] Several factors relating to the settlement and numerical pattern are significant. First, the denominational imbalance was reversed, putting Protestants in a majority. Secondly, the threat from Catholics in the Old World was reversed in the New. Early Irish Catholic settlers in Upper Canada were loyal subjects of the British Crown, its clerical leaders disavowing support for O'Connell. Thirdly, in contrast to Catholic settlement, Protestant communities in Canada quickly became organized and viable. The Orange Order, already well established in practically all parts of Protestant Ireland before the mass exodus, was

transplanted to Canada where it provided cohesion, solidarity, and opportunity as part of the settlement process. Protestant communities were replenished by continued accretions from Ireland. Fourthly, vibrant church communities quickly emerged. There was a shortage of priests to serve new, nascent Catholic settlements. In contrast, embryonic Anglican communities had a supply of Irish clergy, graduates of Trinity College Dublin. A distinct form of churchmanship, Low Church and evangelical, was contributed by the Irish to the emergent colonial church. In succeeding decades hundreds of new churches were built to serve vibrant communities. Fifthly, because of the heightened sectarianism in Ireland in the 1820s, sectarian prejudices were also exported with those Protestants who emigrated. It is not a surprise that the cumulative set of circumstances nurtured an anti-Catholic bias among Protestant emigrants, epitomized in the annual riots in Toronto and other centres on 17 March, Saint Patrick's Day, and 12 July, Orangemen's Day.

Sixthly, with the export of sectarian animosities from the Old World to the New, an apocalyptic strain was also exported to the New World. Following the first US edition of Pastorini's *General History* in New York in 1807, at least seven other impressions followed between 1807 and 1865 in New York, Boston, and Baltimore.[64] Pastorini became a staple of Catholic publishing houses in America, and manuscripts brought there included mention of Pastorini.[65] Significantly, a Canadian edition of Pastorini has not been identified.

In sum, for Protestants opportunities in the New World served to neutralize many of the insecurities of the Old World, for the denominational imbalance was reversed, the threat from Catholics was negated, and viable Protestant communities emerged. In contrast to this diaspora, the high proportion of Protestants among emigrants to British North America and elsewhere in the pre-famine decades acted to reduce significantly their representation in Irish society, with long-term political and social consequences.

CONCLUSION

The course of events in Ireland in the 1820s was profoundly influenced by one book and its derivatives, Pastorini's *General History of the Christian Church*, first published in 1771. Depicting Protestants as an heretical sect and as the persecutors of Catholics, Pastorini's prophecy foresaw 1825 as the year when persecution would end, with the overthrow of Protestantism.

In large part the claims of the prophecy propelled themselves relentlessly forward because of a atmosphere of receptivity to the prophetic that was ubiquitous in Irish society at the time. A series of astounding miracles in the summer of 1823 were viewed as a tangible sign of divine favour, hence authenticating expectations of prophetic fulfilment. The different elements were mutually reinforcing and cumulative, and served to elevate expectations of realization that became subsumed into the prophecy.

The prophecy of Pastorini derived its potency not merely from its inherent message and a contemporary receptivity to apocalyptic ideas in Irish society, but also because of its wide dissemination. Knowledge of the prophecy among the upper, literate classes became common by virtue of the multiple editions and impressions of the *General History*. However, it was the select extracts assembled in the cheap and portable broadsheet format which served to disseminate the prophecy more widely. Understanding of the contents of the prophecy was made possible by improvements in biblical literacy.

Though knowledge of the prophecy was widespread, the evidence indicates that it was particularly well-known in Limerick, Cork, and Clare, areas in which the Rockite agrarian disturbances of the early 1820s were concentrated. What differentiated the Rockites from earlier agrarian movements was the overtly sectarian rhetoric they used to justify their actions. When the Rockite threat subsided by mid-1824, allegiance to the prophecy endured.

Popular expectations became redirected to the aims of the emergent Catholic Association. O'Connell, who assumed a messianic role and articulated the potential for deliverance from all grievances, unified all sections of Catholic society around the cause. His enhanced status was subsequently buttressed by his cynical redating of the prophecy, which would coincide with the granting of emancipation. The redating, in addition to the papal jubilee, extended the potential for the undermining of Protestantism beyond 1825. In the event, Catholic emancipation did not heal the divisions in Irish society as O'Connell claimed it would, but exacerbated them.

The fears generated by the prophecy contributed to making Protestants feel vulnerable, and was one of an array of motives that precipitated their exodus. Emigration provided one option out of this sectarian implosion, one availed of by an average of at least 10,000 people annually in the 1820s and 1830s. Irish Protestantism in the post-emancipation world entered upon a period of decline that was to result in disestablishment in 1869, and continued population decline.

Ultimately, the outcomes of the prophecy were achieved, though not to the degree predicted. The Catholic Church triumphed, and Protestantism was reduced; Protestants emigrated in large numbers; although there was not a complete overthrow of the land settlement, the Protestant middle class was decimated; and though there was not a massive influx of Protestants into the Catholic Church, the number of conversions was still considerable. In the end, what the 1820s left was an instalment or accretion of change that was to be more fully realized over the succeeding decades. Irish democratic nationalism, as it emerged with the victory of Catholic emancipation in 1829, contained within itself a sharp sectarian edge that it had acquired in large part because of Pastorini's prophecy.

DR THOMAS POWER

NOTES

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A Commemorative Bust of Charles Walmesley at Douai

Recognizing that in 2022 would fall the 300th anniversary of the birth of Bishop Charles Walmesley, arguably the most eminent monk of Saint Edmund's, Father Hugh Somerville Knapman asked Mr Neil Weir KM—eminent surgeon, accomplished sculptor, and friend of the community—if he might sculpt a commemorative bust of Walmesley. Happily, Mr Weir accepted the commission. Father Hugh then obtained funding for the project from other friends of the community—Mr Graham Hutton, Mr Christopher Walters, and Dr Ralph Townsend—whose generous benefactions allowed this project to reach completion. On 28 April, to conclude the EBC History Symposium dedicated to Walmesley, Abbot Geoffrey Scott and Mr Weir unveiled the bust in the monastery library, its new home (*see over*). Neil has captured well Walmesley's noble nose, and portrayed him as the English monks' procurator in curia in Rome, a bishop-elect who has not yet shed his habit for ministry on the dangerous English Mission.

FROM THE SCULPTOR…

"I was commissioned on behalf of the community of Douai Abbey to create a portrait bust of Bishop Charles Walmesley in bronze resin to be permanently exhibited in the monastery library.

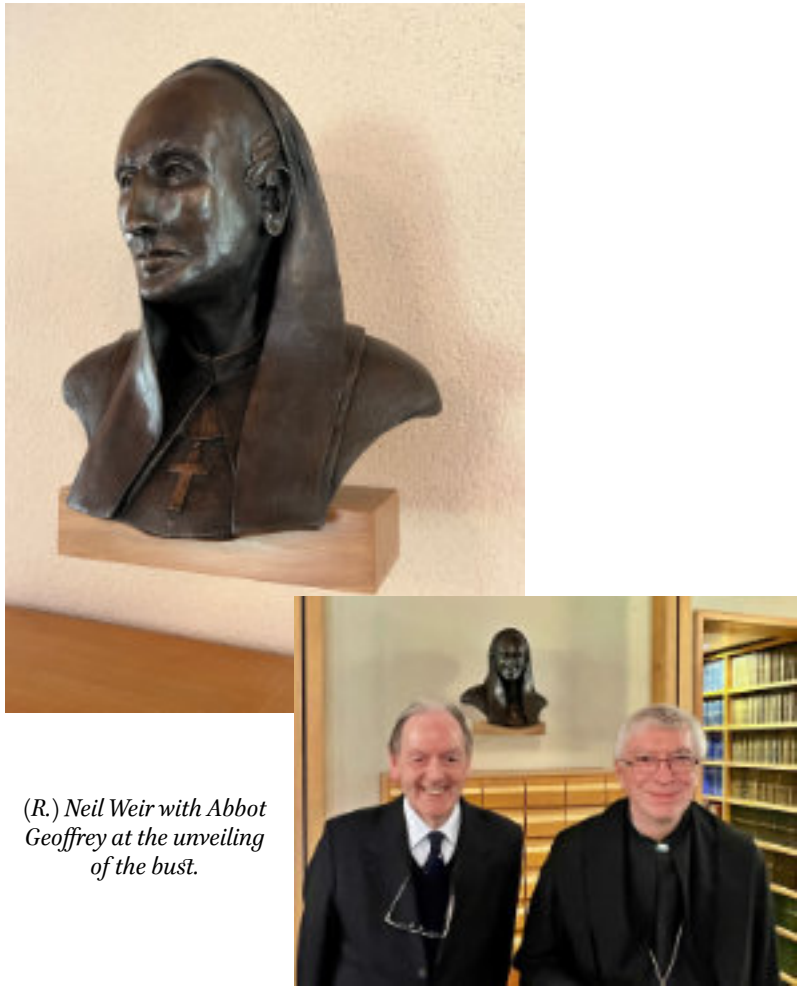
"This immediately raised two questions. First, where were previous images of Bishop Walmesley to be found? Fortunately, the archivists of the monasteries of Downside (Dr Simon Johnson) and Douai (Father Geoffrey Scott OSB) were able to supply several portraits: Dom Charles Walmesley in his habit and pectoral cross, at Downside; a later portrait of him as a bishop and wearing a periwig, at Douai; and a side view of Bishop Walmesley wearing his habit and a plain wig.

"The second question concerned the base for the bust. I took inspiration from the Croatian oak beams used in the vertical supports of the library shelving. When the library was being

constructed, I had by chance—or by Providence—been given some off-cuts to use, one day, as a sculpture base.

"The portrait bust was first modelled by me in clay, then silicon-moulded by Marcus Steel, and afterwards cast in bronze resin by Mark Swann MRSS. It was mounted on the oak base which is projected out of the wall by means of two stainless steel rods."

The monastic community is most grateful to the bust's benefactors and its sculptor—*agimus vobis gratias!*



(R.) Neil Weir with Abbot Geoffrey at the unveiling of the bust.

Debt, Deceit, and Defiance: the "hard dealings" between Thomas Horde and Ralph Sheldon

Early in his lengthy will, Ralph Sheldon of Beoley and Weston (1537-1613) presented his version of his relations with the man from whom he had borrowed substantial sums of money, Thomas Horde. Acknowledging he had owed £24,000, his bitterness that Horde, finally arrested as a recusant refusing payment of his fines, had forfeited all his possessions including Sheldon's debt, overflowed. Horde, said Sheldon, had turned on him and ruined him, and had always intended to do so.

Attorney-General Sir Edward Coke saw the situation differently. Prosecuting him in the Exchequer Court at Westminster in 1606, he described Horde as "a man of great wealth and substance in money…convicted of recusancy" intending to "defraud their Majesties of forfeitures and so to raise and keep unto himself a good yearly income by way of loans and interest and to keep his estate unknown…"[1] His words were scarcely flattering, but given the scale of Horde's achievement, they could be regarded as complimentary.

Horde himself barely spoke in court, even in his own defence against Sheldon's allegations. He maintained he had dealt honestly with Sheldon, who had already been seeking loans. He was as good a source as any other; his terms had been clear.

In the sequel to the Exchequer proceedings, a memorandum of Horde's cash assets showed that his debtors owed him a total of £55,420 (rather over £7 million today). The single most heavily indebted was Ralph Sheldon, but at least six others can be identified, most of them Catholic sympathizers if not committed Catholics. So, who was Thomas Horde, how did he operate, and with whom? How did his heirs regain so much of what Thomas forfeited?

His father, Alan, was born in Shropshire, enrolling to study law in the Middle Temple in 1514. Though retaining contact with his home county,

he established himself at Ewell, Surrey. He acquired various properties, the last being the manors and lands of Cote and Aston in west Oxfordshire. He wrote his will in January 1554, six months after Queen Mary Tudor came to the throne. Alan was clearly amongst those who regretted the dissolution of the monasteries and the dispersal of their lands and goods, perhaps not unnaturally since his deceased brother Edmund had been the last prior of Hinton Charterhouse in Somerset, having combined academic life as a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford with the role of advocate in the ecclesiastical Court of Arches. At his death sometime in 1553 he had entrusted Alan with money for prayers for his soul; the sum was not exhausted. Alan requested that the remaining £30 should be given "to any religious house of the order of Charterhouse shortly to be set up in England" together with a chalice, pyx and cross embedded with relics, all of silver gilt, and a coffer containing relics and a vestment with an alb of a rich brocade.

Alan's widow Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Roberts of Willesden, a former coroner of Middlesex, was to enjoy the Oxfordshire lands and to share the parsonage house at Ewell with her younger sons, Edmund and Alan. They were also assigned small estates scattered across several counties. Thomas inherited another house with land in Ewell. Dorothy became the second wife of Sir Lawrence Taylard of Diddington, Huntingdonshire, a Catholic ousted from his county position under the Protestant king Edward VI, re-instated under Queen Mary, and left in post under Queen Elizabeth. On his death in 1573, she returned to Ewell, dying there in May 1577. In the census requested by the Privy Council six months later, she was remembered and recorded as a recusant, having refused to attend services in a parish church. A brass (*right*) commemorated Dorothy and, though they were still living, her sons and daughters, named to her left and right. When it was moved, engraving on

the back showed that it was a re-used sheet, brought from the church in Ghent where her husband had been buried, presumably removed after the riots of 1576.

At this point we catch a first glimpse of her eldest and youngest sons, Thomas and Alan. Both chose to marry. Thomas married Dorothy, daughter of the Catholic Leonard Chamberlain of Shirburn, Oxfordshire. By 1578 he had received her dowry of 400 marks (£273/13/4), while the bequest of a gold ring each from his uncle Jerome suggests the family's acceptance. Alan married Barbara, daughter of Sir Thomas Pope-Blount of Tittenhanger, in Hertfordshire.

Both had presumably been living as gentlemen of modest means; both had reached the same conclusion, that there were likely to be higher returns on money lent at interest than from revenues from land encumbered by long leases at low rents. They sold, one by one, the lands inherited from their father, and redeployed the capital. In 1562 the Shropshire manor of Longden in Pontesbury was purchased by a Shrewsbury solicitor, Richard Prince. Further sales followed, in 1574 and after their brother Edmund's death in 1577. Finally in 1587 they disposed of their half-share in the manor of Ford, Shropshire, to John Talbot of Grafton, Bromsgrove, who already held the other part. Only Cote was retained, enjoyed by Thomas; he shared the rents with Alan, not as a fraternal gesture of generosity but as a means to conceal his annual income of around £120.[2]

By 1580, the year in which the Jesuit missionaries Robert Persons and Edmund Campion arrived, the brothers' plans for the future were already underway. Next year the laws against Catholics were tightened up. Fines increased dramatically, import of religious items and books was prohibited, and any talk which denigrated the Queen was penalized by fines, mutilation, and even death. Laws concerning trusts, and the conveyance of estates, property or income to trusted friends or family so that ownership could be denied but not lost, were also stiffened, largely to close loopholes because the practice could not be denied to Catholics using the same legal means to keep their lands.

Both laws might affect Thomas who stayed loyal to the "old" faith, though his brother Alan did not. If Thomas were to be apprehended and charged with non-attendance at his parish church services, he would have initially been liable for fines: £20 per calendar month, £260

annually. If he refused to pay, his estates were liable to forfeiture to the Crown until the arrears of his fines was cleared. The scheme that Thomas devised to protect the profits of his money lending bore a remarkable resemblance to the forbidden trusts which remained in use before and after he was flushed out as a recusant around 1588-89.

MONEYLENDING

The first direct evidence of Thomas' activities comes in 1576 when he offered Ralph Sheldon of Beoley and Weston a loan, first of £300, and later a second of £700. That Horde's ploy was often successful we learn from letters written to him by Thomas Gerard (†1601), father of John Gerard the Jesuit martyr, and William Cavendish, second son of Bess of Hardwick by her second husband. In 1597, both men complained of Horde's practices, which had led them so deeply into debt that their estates were now forfeit for non-payment of loans.[3] Horde was taking the estate revenues. His method of acquiring an income was simple; much of how Horde operated emerges from the long series of transactions with Ralph Sheldon.

Sheldon had first come to government attention in 1580, questioned by the bishop of London on behalf of the Privy Council soon after the arrival of the Jesuits. After a spell in the Marshalsea prison, followed by release into house arrest with the Dean of Westminster, he decided to conform, swearing loyalty to the Queen and agreeing to attend services in his parish church. Seven years later, in 1587, he was formally convicted as a recusant. By the end of 1590 he had ceased to pay fines, his conviction quashed. His name never appears on the Recusant Rolls. Released without penalties after questioning by the Privy Council in 1594 on a charge of plotting against the Queen's life, notes on his interrogations record that "he cometh to church." Just before polling day in the Worcestershire parliamentary election of 1601 Privy Councillors, anxious for the election of their own candidates rather than a representative of the Catholic-leaning faction which had triumphed at the previous session, warned him against any injudicious behaviour that might earn royal disapprobation.[4]

Owner of around 15,000 acres in four west-Midlands counties, he served once as MP (1563), once as sheriff (1576), and sometime JP until Mistress Sheldon's recusancy cost him the post, though surprisingly he

was still invited to sit on judicial commissions. The frequency of Ralph's attendance at church must remain an open question, but, whether or not a churchgoer, the pattern of his life was little disturbed. His expenses were heavy; he had nine daughters each of whom required a dowry, a son also to provide for, and four houses to maintain. In need of cash, conforming and thus living within the law, he could act as a "safe deposit" for Horde's gains. Indeed, he was the almost-perfect victim for the predatory moneylender who became, at least on the face of it, the provider of cash but in ways from which only Horde benefited.

Enticed, so Sheldon later claimed, by the promise that he would inherit the childless Horde's lands, Sheldon was persuaded, or entrapped, by Horde into putting his name to a series of perfectly legal documents over a period of eight years, from 1583 to 1591. Ralph was required to undertake to pay out an annuity or rent charge to named parties from a named estate, and to guarantee that payment he was required to acknowledge a recognizance (a bond) before a Chancery official. Eight such double agreements were made, all of them in the names of third parties, not Horde's.

Both instruments were in common use for commercial purposes but could be subverted to less honest ends. Both allowed the lender to foreclose with minimal formalities and within a very short period of time. In the recognizance the interest-bearing loan was usually half the sum acknowledged; the figure declared was the amount to be repaid in case of default. Repayment was usually due within six months, unless the loan was renewed by agreement at either the same or a higher rate of interest. In case of default, the lender had automatic power of recovery by means of distraint, which permitted the lender to take control of the estate pledged and enjoy its revenues until such time as the debt was cleared. The rent charge or annuity differed in that a share of the income from named lands was payable to a lender, though the owner retained control and the greater share of the income, but if unpaid it too was recoverable by distraint. Sheldon was thus trapped in a pincer movement. Each separate contract was actionable in law. Neither arrangement could be cancelled without repayment of each half, yet default on either would trigger forfeiture, temporary or permanent. It came close to making the transaction usurious since, together, bond and rent charge carried an interest rate of 18% when the legal maximum, established by Parliament, was 10%.

It seems, however, that the legal niceties were disregarded, and that Horde chose not only to excuse Sheldon payment of interest on the initial recognizances, but to encourage him to enter into fresh agreements with a widening circle. The effect was only to ensnare Sheldon more thoroughly when the moment to foreclose arrived. By the time Sheldon realized his danger he had acknowledged eight recognizances; their face value, the amount which had to be repaid, totalled £22,800.

Around 1598 relations soured; a quarrel, contrived or convenient, broke out and was not patched up. Its causes are no longer known but it is most likely to have exploded at the point when Horde judged the moment ripe either to foreclose or to insist on repayment. He might also have demanded an increase in the rent charges (as he later specified in his will) in return for continuing credit. By then, the total owed had already reached a figure almost certainly beyond Sheldon's means to raise, which meant that the recognizances were forfeit.

The situation dragged on for several years until attempts were made to formulate a repayment plan.[5] Each effort was initiated by the recognizance holders, whether concerned for their own interests, by Horde's behaviour, or to prevent Horde realizing his aim of enjoying, and even eventually possessing, Sheldon's lands. The second repayment plan, in March 1605, was instantly repudiated by Horde. It was replaced by one made in May between different parties, Sheldon and his son on one side, and on the other, Sir William Roper of Eltham in Kent, Sir Henry James of St John Street in Clerkenwell (Middlesex), and Valentine Saunders of Chancery Lane, probably a scrivener. Sheldon would secure to them lands to a clear annual value of £600, and a cash payment of £600 annually over seven years. Essentially this created a trust to ensure Horde received payment, while concealing Horde's direct involvement. The sum expected, £8,400, would clear the overdue interest but no more. In case of future difficulties, one Richard Godfrey, "indifferently chosen," was appointed as mediator.

Horde's acceptance of this plan probably came about because he saw the new parties as neutral. More than probably, he was acquainted with Roper and James, both, like Horde, resident in the parish of Saint Andrew, Holborn where all of them had been presented for recusancy. Roper and Sheldon were already bound in a recognizance of £6,000 to

guarantee the jointure settlement of Lady Tasborough, now Sheldon's second wife, and he was the brother-in-law of Sir Robert Dormer, a recognizance holder.[6] But these were desperate measures because the recognizances were already forfeit for non-payment.

As Ralph knew, Horde therefore had every right to take legal action to recover the money. His response was to sue Horde in Chancery, throwing in a charge of usury, before Horde sued him.[7] Had Sheldon been able to prove that allegation he would have been legally entitled to refuse repayment. The proceedings were nearing conclusion when they came to the notice of Sir Edward Coke who, as King James' attorney-general, brought a case against Horde, Sheldon, and all those still living who were named in the recognizances.

THE EXCHEQUER CASE

The case, Sir Edward Coke's last as attorney-general, began in late May 1606, exactly at the time when legislation imposing even more severe penalties on Catholics was passing through parliament in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot of November 1605. The atmosphere was one of increased suspicion of, and hostility towards, Catholics. Coke had only recently conducted the trials of the Gunpowder Plot plotters and of Father Garnet. This time too almost everyone involved was either a Catholic or a sympathizer. But only one, Horde, was a convicted recusant.

It was an opportune moment to prosecute those actions of some of the King's subjects which could be construed at best as disobedience, but even more as disloyalty and, at worst, as sinister. Against a background of terror, Coke's action could hardly have been avoided, but it was not without personal ulterior motives.

The charge against Horde was that he enjoyed a concealed income which might soon be increased by the addition of the revenues from Sheldon's lands. Coke considered that Horde, as a convicted recusant owing fines to the Crown, had no right to any of it. Coke's arguments were designed to extend the interpretation of the 1587 legislation against recusants by including recognizances amongst the moveable goods which could be forfeited to the Crown. If he were successful the

transactions between Horde and Sheldon could then be treated as a debt owed to the Crown.

Though he opened with a partial recital of Horde's conviction as a recusant in London in 1600, Coke curiously omitted any mention of the proceedings at Cote and the long records of refused payments recorded on the Recusant Rolls. Almost certainly Coke was stirred to action because the Crown was to be deprived of revenue by men of whom he had a low opinion. He was not simply firing shots across the bows of untrustworthy subjects whose allegiance to a foreign power might prove stronger than loyalty to their own sovereign. In his own eyes he was defending an institution. By enlarging the interpretation of existing legislation he attempted to establish a principle and set a precedent. As he observed, "the said matter was held to be of weight and consequence as well for the Kings Majesties as for such subjects as are or hereafter may be in the like case…" Coke's arguments, employed later in two subsequent trials, were intended to hold considerable resonance with a wider, Protestant public.

Coke's opinions, or his influence, carried the day, even though several of the arguments strike a strained, even specious, note. He sought the counsel of senior judges in other royal courts, presenting them and Horde's attorney, apparently in camera, with reasons why the recognizances should be deemed to be goods and thus forfeit to Crown. Coke summarized those reasons and the precedents he cited in his Reports, disguised from future historians because, when printed, Horde's name was read as Ford.[8]

The outcome was almost a foregone conclusion. Judgement fell on all the parties concerned. The forfeit recognizances were to be paid not to Horde or his heirs but to the Crown, by Ralph Sheldon. Those who had held the rent charges were to bring their documents to Chancery to be cancelled—the only concession to Sheldon's predicament. Uncancelled, the documents had an independent legal existence. That was the problem which troubled Ralph most, as well it might, since indeed he had much to fear if the holders pursued perfectly legal claims against him. This is why he still harped on the matter in his will, written in November 1612. Despite the court's injunction and despite an appeal to Queen Anne requesting her assistance to enforce the court's orders, only some of the holders obeyed.[9]

THE RECOGNIZANCE HOLDERS

Horde's own name had never appeared in the arrangements. All the paperwork was in the names of third parties, described by Sheldon as friends of Horde. In fact ties of kinship linked some to the others, and some to Horde and even to Sheldon, but none closely. While kinship may have eased Horde's initial approach to Sheldon, it makes Sheldon's denial of any acquaintance ring hollow.

Most came from Horde's family, where the tie seems to originate with a marriage in the previous generation. Only Robert Chamberlain of Shirburn and Roger Gifford, born in Steeple Claydon, came forward from Dorothy's relatives, perhaps because of the smell of distrust because Horde had behaved badly over her dowry. Among the Catholic sympathizers were two with considerable patronage and status themselves: Roger Gifford, one of Queen Elizabeth's physicians, and the Buckinghamshire JP, Sir Robert Dormer of Wing. Dormer's less influential cousin, Sir John Dormer of Ascott and Dorton in Buckinghamshire, was also involved. Both had long been known to Sheldon. Amongst the more overt Catholics, possibly already acquainted since all had attended the Inns of Court rather than the Universities—from which they were effectively excluded by the need to swear an oath of allegiance—are a number of younger sons: Richard Brooke, Edward Brooke, and Humfrey Gifford. Thomas Astley had only recently come into his inheritance, while the rather older Francis Biddulph may have been drawn in by ties to most of this group. Walter Gifford seems to be distant kin to Horde himself, which would explain the description of him as "cosen" in Horde's will. Philip Scudamore was related to Horde's wife.

Sometimes, however, the relationships were more than those of kinship. The nature of one emerges from the testimony of Philip Scudamore in February 1606.[10] He admitted that some 36 years previously, in 1570, when he was a student at Lincoln's Inn, he had been approached by Thomas Horde who had requested that Scudamore should put his name to a bond with a butcher indebted to Horde. Scudamore agreed, but soon afterwards the butcher went bankrupt leaving Scudamore liable for the whole debt. Horde's request had put Scudamore in a difficult position because he was distantly related to Horde's wife, Dorothy Chamberlain. Pleading the innocence of youth he

pointed out that he had not really been the guilty party and was sharp enough to request that the court force Horde into giving Dorothy, by then estranged, the means to a decent living. He even voiced the suspicion that Horde's financial transactions of that time might have been entered into to avoid having to pay over her dowry, a supposition consistent with their marriage sometime between 1574 and 1578. It seems possible that he was not the only one Horde chose who might have had previous dealings with him, and be in no position to refuse.

By the time the case came to hearing, six of the thirteen had died: Roger Gifford, (1597), John Brooke (1598), Francis Biddulph (1598), Alan Horde (1603) and, at unknown dates, Robert Chamberlain and Edward Brooke. The survivors were questioned. All said that they had not sealed the counterpart to Sheldon, and were largely unaware of the exact content of the document. Although it was repeatedly stated that the money lent had all been Horde's, and that Horde alone benefited from the rent charges, the two surviving documents brought for cancellation state that the money was to be enjoyed by those named, and by their heirs and assigns, a fact of which Sheldon cannot have been unaware. If Sheldon wished to cancel the arrangement—the condition of redemption—he had to repay the entire "loan" at "one whole payment," presumably losing whatever had already been repaid. Sheldon himself claimed that he had not understood this. Because he had not himself sealed the counterpart, he was debarred in law from cancelling it, partly the reason he became so insistent, even when writing his will five years later, that the Exchequer's decision to annul the documents should be enforced. He had had no legal remedy to annul Horde's arrangements or avoid the consequences.

Nevertheless, only three of the survivors obeyed the court's injunction to cancel the agreements: the Dormers, and Walter Gifford—presumably with the consent of his partner's heir. Rough justice pursued three others. By January 1608, the benefit of the recusancy of Richard Brooke of Lapley had been given to Henry Myn, Queen Anne's coachman, followed in July 1608 by grants of those of Walter Giffard of Hyon, and of Richard, heir of Francis Biddulph. Humfrey Gifford alone appears to have sidestepped further consequences; accused of recusancy in Staffordshire, he received a certificate of acquittal in July 1608.

Exactly what advantage these men had expected or why any of them would have agreed to become parties remains unclear. They stated in court that the money lent had all been Horde's and that it was Horde alone who benefited from the rent charges.

THE SEQUEL FOR HORDE

By contrast, for Horde's heirs, his brother Alan's children, the immediate consequences of the Exchequer's decision had little effect. Almost immediately after Thomas died late in 1607 his nephew, with the help of his lawyer uncle by marriage, Robert Hobart, and perhaps of his executor Hendry, petitioned for the return of the lands at Cote and Aston. This they were entitled to do, not themselves being Catholics, let alone recusants. By this time the family had acquired a well-placed ally in the person of John Hobart, once the Marquis of Winchester's man of business and now second husband of Alan's widow Barbara. It must have been his influence—and his own interest—with his cousin Henry Hobart, by then attorney-general in Coke's place, which enabled the return of Cote to Alan's heirs and executrix Barbara to move so quickly. Indirectly, the move would benefit both him and his stepchildren. One last piece of Horde's petty-mindedness, the increase in the rent charges made in his will, was ignored. They had become irrelevant.

Finally, even his wife Dorothy, estranged for twenty years, benefited. Thomas had left her an annuity of £50. He ignored the obligation in the marriage settlement to provide an additional lump sum of £400, claiming that he had never received full payment of her dowry. He did not think, therefore, that he was "in conscience or in law bound to perform the rest," particularly as "the whole world doth know that she hath not shown herself a wife in her usage toward me especially in her going away from me against my will…" She was enjoined to accept "this act of charity" without further molestation or troubling.

Dorothy, however, challenged the will, claiming the right to some provision for their son, described as a minor. She was partly successful. Though she was required to give up claims to Horde's Cote lands, the annuity was increased from £50 to £66/13/4. Her will of 1617 makes it clear that she had accepted the revised annuity, though she may never have received the higher sum. She lived with relatives in Woodstock, but left only charitable bequests; presumably her son was already dead.[11]

Some loose ends still remained. Horde had not only been concealing lands. He had also concealed money, jewels and massing garments—all goods which would have been forfeit—with one Richard Carey, a manoeuvre which only came to light after Horde's death. According to the letter-writer, John Chamberlain Carey was "clapt in prison" on 11 February 1609, and was examined at intervals during the next month about concealment of property. In March search was made of the lodgings he occupied with Thomas Wilford, described as a "wise, faithful stowte catholicke," almost certainly the father-in-law of John Throckmorton of Coughton, son of Sheldon's stepsister. These finds, all of which were confiscated, were recorded as: £400 in silver parcel of Mr Horde's estate left him for pious uses; some little remains of £100 more parcel of Horde's estate; certain Bonds of debt to the value of £500 or £600 taken in the names of other men supposed to be parcel of Mr Horde's estate; £20 in silver to be employed for his suit in law; and £6/13/4 for his commons and diet.

There was one final twist. Horde's associates were under investigation. A memo to Sir Robert Cecil as Lord Treasurer adds even more names to the list of Horde's debtors. It reckoned Horde's estate (without the plate, furnishings and household goods) at £55,420—£14,420 over and above payments due from Sheldon. Though by far the most heavily committed, Sheldon was not alone. Lord Cavendish (William Cavendish) owed £1,000; Lord Saye of Broughton in Oxfordshire, £600; the Lord Chief Baron (probably Sir Lawrence Tanfield), £140; and two smaller debtors owed £160 between them. Sir John Hobart (Hubbert), stepfather of Horde's heirs, received £1,500 from the rent charges. Horde's will bequeathed to his executor the amounts due from Sir Henry Lee, formerly Queen Elizabeth's Champion. An offer had been made for the lease of Cote, valuing it at £4,000, though, as was noted, "it could not be sold." It was eventually inherited by Thomas Horde's great-nephew and namesake.

THE SEQUEL FOR SHELDON

The heaviest consequences of Coke's judgement fell on Sheldon. Not only was he required to pay to the Crown the sums he had owed Horde, but he was thwarted, in three court hearings, in achieving the cancellation of the rent charges by the machinations of Horde's lawyer.

He could do nothing to prevent temporary forfeiture of his lands. The order to take them into the Crown's hands was given on 6 August 1606; along with the control of the recognizances, they were later awarded to Queen Anne, to whom the benefit of both Horde's and Sheldon's recusancy was also briefly given. A later schedule of his debts was penned for Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury and Lord Treasurer. Undated, but drawn up sometime late in 1608, it noted the forfeited recognizances as totalling (incorrectly) £24,000, together with the still outstanding sums of £7,000 in unpaid penalties for late payment and £10,000 in unpaid interest. Sheldon's total debt to Horde was therefore recorded as £41,000.

The complex arrangements for repayment involved the transfer of the bonds to third parties, mostly Scottish favourites in the Queen's household, and for six years Ralph lost a large portion of the revenues of his lands. Eventually, late in 1611, it was agreed to accelerate repayments so that Ralph's debt could be cancelled. His lands were transferred from the Crown to a trust of family members, including the Earl of Worcester, whose grand-daughter, Elizabeth Petre, Sheldon's grandson was soon to marry. Together with a payment of £2,600 this achieved the return of the lands to Sheldon and his son, which was first proclaimed publicly on 8 November 1612, barely five months before his death. He had at least avoided the loss of his estates, which in turn obviated any threat that his heir would have to take an oath of loyalty to the Sovereign.

CONCLUSION

To a greater or lesser extent all of those involved became victims, manipulated first by Horde and then by Coke. Horde's scheme had never been going to endanger the state or embroil the country in war, nor were its participants engaged in treasonable activities. Coke's interpretation served an ulterior motive. By shifting the emphasis and laying a different construction on an arrangement, so that Horde's design initially to increase his income was seen as one which did in fact conceal it, Coke was able to impute disturbing motives to an originally innocent if deceptive scheme. He was able to "uncover" an ingenious application of existing laws, and a sizeable group of men willing to disobey them, an uncomfortable sidelight on the inability of largely

local authorities to enforce acts of Parliament. A more joined-up system of administration might have caught up with Horde more quickly; Exchequer clerks were addressing demands for payment to him at Weston as early as 1592. They, and probably a wide circle of nearby residents, knew that Sheldon was sheltering him, in disregard of the requirement in the proclamation of October 1591 to report suspected or known Catholics to local officials, a further comment on the difficulties the state experienced in trying to gain acceptance for the new Protestant church, barely 40 years old.

DR HILARY TURNER

NOTES

1. The documents detailing the transactions between Horde and Sheldon are at http://yourarchives.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php?title=Sheldon#Ralph_Sheldon_.281537-1613.29_and_Thomas_Horde_.281533-1607.29> They were not known to either Vincent Burke, "The Economic consequences of recusancy in Elizabethan Worcestershire," *Recusant History* 14 (1977-78), 71-77; or to John La Rocca, "James I and his Catholic Subjects, 1606-12: some financial implications," *Recusant History* 18, 3 (May 1987), 251-262.

2. Oxfordshire History Centre (OHC), E 241/43/D/1

3. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms Tanner 286, f.89, 91, 93; Ms Tanner 283, f.5-6; Ms Tanner 283, f.9.

4. Hilary L. Turner, "Ralph Sheldon (1537–1613) of Beoley and Weston: cloaked in conformity?" *British Catholic History*, 34, 4 (2019), 562–586. © Trustees of the Catholic Record Society 2019. doi:10.1017/bch.2019.25; also available at: http://tapestriescalledsheldon.info/pdfs/ralph_sheldon_15371613_of_beoley_and_weston_cloaked_in_conformity.pdf

5. Repayment plans at Birmingham Archives and Heritage, MS 3061/1/755 and MS 3061/1/497, 1605.

6. The National Archives (TNA), C 3/291/89 recites the marriage articles.

7. TNA C 2/Jas1/S22/51.

8. S. Sheppard (ed.), *The Selected Writings and Speeches of Sir Edward Coke* vol I (Indianapolis, 2003), 419-423. W. H. Bryson (ed.), *Cases concerning Equity and the Courts of Equity 1550-1660* (Selden Society 117 & 118, 2000-2002), 345-46.

9. British Library London, Additional Ms 36583, f.3, undated.

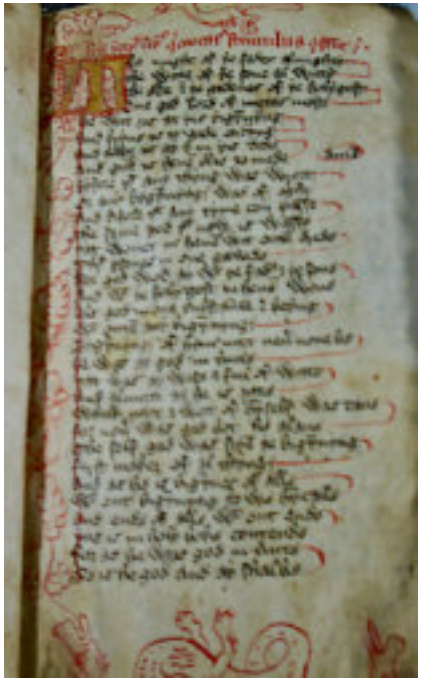
10. TNA C 2/Chas1/S132/118.

11. OHC E 241/7/D/9, dated 15 November 1608; her will is on findmypast.co.uk, Dorothy Hoorde.

The Prick of Conscience: a Middle English Manuscript at Douai Abbey

DOUAI ABBEY'S one manuscript in medieval English is a copy of *The Prick of Conscience*, a verse treatise of some 9,600 lines. Its declared intent is to bring man through meekness and dread to love of God and the amending of his life, and to a yearning for the bliss of heaven. If manuscript survival be any guide, it was by far the most widely copied verse text in Middle English. The Douai manuscript is one of 105 more or less complete copies, none of which is a direct copy of any other, added to which are at least six fragments and more than a dozen extracts, one in the stained glass of All Saints' parish church in North Street, York. The work is anonymous. Its ascription to the Yorkshire hermit Richard Rolle (†1349) has long been discredited, but it belongs to his era, probably after 1330 and certainly before 1360, and it was composed by a writer of northern English. Recent analysis of his rhymes and vocabulary points to the northern borders of the Howardian Hills, so perhaps within ten miles of the place of Rolle's birth and upbringing at Thornton-le-Dale.[1]

The Douai copy is datable, by its handwriting, to about 1400. Unlike most manuscripts of the period, it survives in its original binding, plain red leather on oak boards, now in fine refurbished state. The book, stout but portable, measures about 4¾ by 6⅞ inches (113 by 175 mm), and contains 152 folios of membrane (vellum and parchment are not



easily distinguished).[2] The membrane is generally good, but a few folios were irregular from the start. Folio 131 is notably bad, with a large hole interrupting the lower third of the text. On the recto, one line has its terminal "has" marooned to the right (131r23), after which verse-lines are split in half and squeezed between the hole and inner margin, with some ruthless abbreviation. On the verso, the same treatment applies, but with crudely decorative lines in rubric filling the space between the hole and the outer margin. The decoration is crude not only here but throughout the manuscript, and except for the gold-painted initial capital, is confined to plain red. This is used for section capitals, some elaborated with floral or (once) geometric design, for the freehand braces connecting each verse couplet, for freehand underlinings and enclosure of Latin citations, and for a vertical stroke through the first letter of each line. Rubric also are outline drawings of a dragon (?) in the top margin of the opening page, and in the lower a double-headed dragon on its back. The handwriting is a workaday book-hand (*Anglicana currens*), well formed but varying from thin and pointed towards blunted and thick; the ink varies between sepia and black. The manuscript's analogue in modern reprint is what the book trade would perhaps call a "reading copy"; as will be apparent, it is a local product made for local use.

The book is divided into seven parts, treating in turn: the wretchedness of mankind; the conditions of this unstable world; death and why it is to be dreaded; purgatory; Domesday and the fifteen signs of judgement; the pains of hell; and the joys of heaven. It tells man of his place in creation, what he is, what he was, and what he shall be, and whether his deeds make him worthy of heaven or of hell. No man can know God unless he first know himself, and since without knowledge he cannot even be in dread, his means to salvation is understanding. Those who possess it have a duty to teach others. The book is therefore a compendium of "diverse matters" in theology and cosmology, brought into English for unlearned men ignorant of Latin, in the hope that whoever reads it or hears it read, will be stirred to righteousness and good living, and so come to a good end. Much Latin is quoted, from named authorities and followed always by translation. Prominent among the many biblical sources are Job, the Psalms, Matthew, Saint Paul, and Revelation; among the many non-biblical sources may be noted Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Bernard and pseudo-Bernard, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Hugh Ripelin of Strasbourg, Honorius of Regensburg, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and Innocent III. The beneficiaries can hardly have been confined to seculars; deficiency in Latin among the lower clergy was commonplace, and for some of them the book must have been a godsend—as witness its many quotations in vernacular sermons. Moreover, the author's own Latin reading may have been less than he would have it appear. He acknowledges no French, but much of his book is enlarged from the Anglo-Norman *Les Peines de Purgatorie*, which the most recent editors think likely to be his "basic core and inspiration," and *Les Peines* rests on its own Latin authorities.[3] Inevitably, therefore, Latin learning informs *The Prick of Conscience* far beyond explicit citation, and much of that may be at second-hand. Known surely at first-hand, however, but likewise unacknowledged, are two verse compositions in English, northern like *The Prick of Conscience*, namely *Cursor Mundi*, and *The Northern Homily Collection*.

The modern publishing history of *The Prick of Conscience* stands in stark contrast to its medieval circulation. Its first scholarly editor was Richard Morris, whose edition of 1863 was not replaced or even reprinted until Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood re-issued it in revised and amplified form in 2013—commendable work indeed, but still not a text founded on the manuscripts now recognised as closest to the original.[4] The reasons are not far to seek. The study of Middle English is mainly in the hands of literary scholars, in departments of English or of medieval literature, and *The Prick of Conscience* is not "literature." So, for example, in Professor Pearsall's re-reading, cited by Wood and Hanna in their

acknowledgements (p. vi), it is "excruciatingly boring, relentless in its micro-organisation and repetitiousness," but though doubtless not by intention, his judgement calls the value of mere literary study into serious question. *The Prick of Conscience* was designed not for entertainment, but for reading aloud, necessarily in several sittings, to an uneducated audience whose salvation might depend upon it. At issue is understanding, as the author insisted, and as Derek Britton, a philologist steeped in the poem, clearly understood: "It is my impression that the prolixity and repetitiousness of *The Prick of Conscience* are due to the author's mastery of the art of instruction rather than his ineptitude as a poet."[5]

For the study of medieval "literature," however defined, that author's instruction is necessary more than ever—unless, of course, some justification can be produced for studying "literature" in a cultural vacuum. To the great majority of today's anglophone students, the Christian teaching that was common ground even in the mid-twentieth century is largely unknown, and that was but a pale and partial reflexion of what had been before. If they are to make sense of the literary works of an earlier age, they need to understand its world picture, and for the age of Chaucer and Langland and Gower, *The Prick of Conscience* would supply in plain English much of what they need.[6] It is a compendium, but organised thematically and as discourse, an "Oxford Guide" as opposed to *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* or *Britannica*. One can only marvel at a reader who finds it "excruciatingly boring." Consider, for example, its conception of the cosmos, central to its teaching and so different from ours. Those who would go to heaven must know the way, so the structure and motions of the heavens must be explained. This calls on learning from beyond Christendom. One named authority is "Raby Moses" (?1138–1204), the Jewish scholar Maimonides. Born in Cordoba, long resident in Fez, and living his last days in Fustat ("Old Cairo"), he was one of the most learned men of all time. On his reckoning, it is said, at 40 miles a day it would take a man 500 years to walk to the moon (so 6,800,000 miles), and to Saturn, the highest planet, it would take him 7,300 years (so 99,280,000 miles); the year is given as 340 days. (The distance to the moon is over 27 times too great, to Saturn between seven-and-a-half and ten times too little.) Another authority is the Book of Sydrak, a Christian conveyor of Greek and Hebrew learning composed in French between 1270 and 1300. This is

cited for a distance greater yet: to fall from the highest heaven to Earth, a stone needing 100 men to lift it would take 1,000 years, though angels can cross that space in the twinkling of an eye. We may smile, with a nod to Newton and Galileo, but not with certainty that for later centuries some of our own conceptions will be less amusing.

My own concerns with the book, however, have been mainly philological, connected with the making of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*,[7] as pre-eminently, and from long before my own involvement, were Angus McIntosh's. Some 90 copyists of *The Prick of Conscience* have converted its forms of English into self-consistent local varieties, each one of which, in default of evidence to the contrary, is presumptively the copyist's own. The conversion may be deliberate—one or two scribes even refer to "translation"—but more often it seems to be unconscious, the product of a scribe who writes to his own dictation, the mind's ear mediating the mind's eye. Commonly, such translations are dialectally mixed at the start but, as the scribe gets used to his text, settle down to a single *état de langue*. That is not to say that his spelling becomes consistent by Latin or modern English standards: typically, a writer of Middle English spells very many words in more than one way. This, as McIntosh insisted, need have nothing to do with copying or dialect mixture.[8] To his arguments it may be added that sustained variation is commonplace in original drafts and compositions, most of which, however, are legal or administrative writings, and hence even now unconsidered by most Anglicists.

Literary copies in self-consistent language have proved indispensable to the making of the *Atlas*, largely for want of better sources. The deficiency of the Middle English record at large is here twofold. First, as with *The Prick of Conscience*, most literary works are of unknown authorship and unknown place of origin, and precious few of whatever sort survive as authors' originals. Secondly, though a mass of local legal and administrative documents survives straight from the pens of their composers, most such texts are short, their subject matter is confined, and they lack a good deal of everyday vocabulary—preferring, for example, "the said (personal name)" to SHE, a word which happens to be of unusual philological interest. Thus, the great bulk of the linguistic record for Middle English consists of copies of literary texts, and for those that are dialectally unmixed, the fact that they are unlocalised is the only bar to incorporating them in a linguistic atlas.

This impediment has been largely overcome by the application of McIntosh's "fit"-technique.[9] The procedure depends on a series of maps, one for each word or grammatical element, showing the distribution of their variant forms as they are attested in the localised material, the "anchors." An unlocalised scribal dialect—a "floater"—can be fitted into this matrix by crossing out, map by map, those parts where the floater's variants for these items are not attested; then, such remaining blank space as is shared by all of the maps is where the floater's particular combination of variants must belong. Once "fitted," the floater can be used as a source, and its information added to the maps. From a corpus of floaters thus localised, maps can be produced for items not attested in the anchors. The process is self-refining: as new floaters are interpolated, the configuration calls for continual adjustment, but eventually it becomes stable, consolidated but seldom disrupted by new localisations. By the time the Douai Abbey manuscript came to notice, late in the compilation of the *Atlas*, its scribal dialect could be assessed with the aid of over a hundred maps, including one for SHE.

A local dialect, scribal or otherwise, consists mainly of features that individually are widely distributed, but which in combination define a relatively small sector of the dialect continuum. Placings thus established are reliable in so far as they depend on solidly attested distributions for a large number of separate and independent components, variant forms of commonplace vocabulary. For example, Douai's *sho* SHE is well and widely recorded. It allows origins almost anywhere in southern Scotland and most of England north of a line from the Mersey to The Wash, parts of the West Midlands, and a few scattered places to the south. Douai's *mich* MUCH is even more widespread, and its distribution overlaps that of *sho*, but only in part: for the origins of Douai's *sho*, it cuts out anywhere north of a line from Morecambe Bay to the Humber, and nearly all of the eastern *sho* area to the south. The dialect of the Douai scribe belongs somewhere in the overlap of these domains, and that somewhere can be narrowed down by the overlaps of this overlap with the domains of his other spellings. A strongly north-west Midland character soon emerges (parentheses enclose variants): *hom* THEM, *yair* (*hor*) THEIR, *sich* (*swilk*) SUCH, *quich* (*quilk*) WHICH, *iche* (*ilk*) EACH, *mon* MAN, *mich* (*mycul*) MUCH, *ar* (*ben*) ARE, *is* (*es*) IS, *til* TO [prep.], *imong* AMONG, *onsuar* and *vnswar* ANSWER,

kirk (*chirch*) CHURCH, *four* (*faur*) FOUR, *gar* MAKE, *~s* in the 3rd sg. pres. indic. and *~n* in the pl., *~et* for verbal ~ED, *~ande* in the present participle. The list could be much extended, and indicates origins in south-east Lancashire, somewhere about Oldham and Rochdale. The ascription is stable insofar as it is the intersection of many separate distributions; although the removal of any one of them from consideration would enlarge the area of uncertainty, it would not do so by very much.

By contrast, rare forms are no secure basis for localisation, just because they are rare: their distributions are statistically unreliable. That is not to say that they are of no interest. It so happens that one such emerges from the Douai *Prick of Conscience*. The *Atlas* presents a fairly full record of its usage (LP 583), but as for almost any text of this length, the underlying analysis was not exhaustive. Among its omissions is the word GROW, for which seven occurrences are now noted. The first three are as the present participle *growand*(*e*), twice in rhyme but on only its second syllable; the other Group II manuscripts have the same unremarkable *grow*(*~*) or *grou~* throughout. But the remaining instances in Douai are noteworthy, infinitive *gro3e* and inflected *gro3es* "grows," each twice and independent of rhyme. The consonant answering to this *3*, a sound like either the *ach*-laut or the *g* in German *sagen*, in grow was a late intrusion; the Anglo-Saxon base is *grow*. The *Atlas* records GROW with *3* from only one source, a medical manuscript independent of *The Prick of Conscience*, and whose dialect (LP 314) is entered in Derbyshire some twenty miles to the south-east of the Douai placing; it is there written beside *groghe*, predictable as a spelling variant but in *Atlas* not otherwise recorded. (The Ann Arbor *Middle English Dictionary* records neither *3* nor *gh* in this word.) *Gro3e*(*s*) in the Douai manuscript might therefore encourage belief that the *Atlas* placing of its dialect is not far wrong, but rather it should be a reminder that local consolidation can be expected from more extensive analysis of the *Atlas*'s sources, and that geographical distributions reflect different stages of historical development. With *gro3e* and *groghe* is to be taken the *grof*-type, most likely their phonological descendant, and for which *Atlas* reports a scattering of six northern and north midland sources, three in range of the *gro3e*-district. They seem to have left no trace in the modern dialects, but OED notes seventeenth-century *grough* beside Scots and northern English forms with *f.* On one view, the

Douai spelling is a minor curiosity, but though this is not the place to pursue the matter, it also suggests a coherent phonological history for some hitherto unexplained forms established in northern English, modern as well as medieval.

Dialectal analysis may both inform and be informed by textual criticism. The readings of the Douai manuscript place it firmly in the company of four other copies, the five constituting Lewis & McIntosh's "Group II": Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS 18 ("M"); Trinity College, Dublin, MS 158 ("T"); Chetham's Library, Manchester, MS 8008 ("C"); and Saint John's College, Oxford, MS 57 ("J"). In their rhymes, all bear the dialectal stigmata of a close common ancestor. Rhymes in translated texts are analogous to an archaeological or fossil layer: insofar as they are not freely convertible between dialects, even consistent translators tend to leave them alone. Relicts of an authorial dialect are hence commonplace, but the Group II copyists preserve relicts of an intervening exemplar as well, the work of an unusually determined translator. These are identifiable as forms vanishingly rare in the body of the poem, but well attested in rhyme-words whose forms are not those of the original. Here, the most striking examples are the *o*-forms for THERE and WHERE (*þor, whor,* etc.) in place of the author's original *a*-forms (*þar, whar,* etc.), whereas the in-line forms always, or nearly always, have *a* or *e*. The *a*- and *e*-forms are widespread in northern as in southern England, but the distribution of the *o*-forms is very restricted: they are well recorded in a belt running from Morecambe Bay to The Wash, but elsewhere hardly at all.[10] This seems to reflect the pre-Conquest adaptation of native English forms to Scandinavian *þar* and *hvar*, in that part of England where *ā* much later became a rounded vowel, *ǭ*; by the time the Group II manuscripts were produced, this area included almost everywhere south of a line from Morecambe Bay to the Humber. It remains to be seen what other deviant rhymes these copies share; in principle, a much smaller area of likely origin could be determined for the dialect of their peculiar common ancestor.

The dialects of the Group II copyists themselves are regionally coherent, except for that of J, which (as in some of its readings) is an outlier. This is the work of the "Beryn scribe," so named from the unique copy of Chaucer's *Tale of Beryn*; his handwriting is known from other manuscripts as well. Dialectally J differs somewhat from *Beryn*, which *Atlas* places in Essex, but in spite of some more northerly-looking

features, its language is still substantially south-eastern.[11] The hands of the other Group II scribes have so far been recognised only in these copies of *The Prick of Conscience*. The scribal dialect of T, like that of Douai, belongs to Lancashire, but further north, to the area about Nelson and Colne. The dialects of C and M belong to Ireland opposite Lancashire, probably to Louth and Meath respectively, whose connections with Lancashire derived not only from the feudal settlements beginning in the late twelfth century, but from commercial enterprise continuing throughout the middle ages. Inside the counties of the northern Pale, the dialectal ascriptions of C and M are necessarily tentative, because localised sources of any quality—anchors—are hardly to be found. With this in mind, a brief digression to consider a third copy of *The Prick of Conscience* in Irish English may be of interest, even though it does not belong to the same textual tradition. At issue is a textual variant that is peculiar and perhaps unique.

The relevant passage (6606–6614) is near the beginning of Book VI, the pains of hell, and for the text as it appears in other copies, Douai (f. 105r) will serve as representative (italics mark letters expanded from scribal abbreviations):

> for helle shal neu*er* ende haue
> þe fir*e* is so hote þ*a*t þ*er* bre*n*nus
> at 3if al þe wat*er* þ*a*t stond*us* or renn*us*
> On erth & al þe sees w*ith* out
> þat enclose*n* þe erth al about
> 3if it shuld ren into þat fir*e* so hate
> hit mich it not quenche ne abate
> No more þe*n* adrop of wat*er* schyr*e*
> 3if all*e* london brend mi3t wench þ*a*t fyr*e*

> ["For hell shall never have end, the fire that burns there is so hot that if all the water that stands or runs on earth, and all the seas outside that enclose the earth all around—if it should run into that fire so hot, it could not quench or abate it any more than a drop of shining water, if all London burned, could quench that fire." Note: three lines up, *hit mich* in error for *3it mi3t*; the last line's *wench* is a common northern variant for QUENCH, beside *quenche* as two lines above.]

In the author's version, the burning city was Rome, but in many and perhaps most copies, as in the Group II manuscripts, it is London. In

Trinity College, Dublin's MS 156, however, the text (f. 99v) is adapted to other interest: "3if al deuelyn brent" names the burning city as Dublin, for which *Deuelyn* in one of the commonest late medieval spellings. The alteration remained unnoticed until long after the Irish character of the scribe's English had been recognised,[12] and after later research had assigned it to Dublin. After those long labours, the confirmation comes as a gift: "Das gibt's nur einmal, das kommt nicht wieder"—but the corresponding text in all the other copies of *The Prick of Conscience* ought still to be examined.

Though evidence for the local origins of the Group II manuscripts is no more than dialectal, for one of them the medieval circulation can in part be traced. T may or may not have been written in Lancashire—scribes sometimes left home—but in the late-fifteenth century it was in Ireland, where it came together with a paper booklet of that period begun as a series of medical recipes. Some of the remaining space was filled by diverse memoranda relating to Killeen in Co. Meath, a substantial manorial village about 20 miles north-west of Dublin; the booklet can hardly have been far from Killeen when these were written. On other pages, likewise by hands of the late-fifteenth century, liturgical extracts and two hymns suggest its chantry, a "college" of secular canons, and likely enough the booklet's origin. Notable among many other writings and scribbles are lines from *The Prick of Conscience*, taken from the account of Domesday in Book V. These are first written in an untidy hand which follows by letter and abbreviation the text of T, even so far as reproducing T's northern English *y* for the letter "þ" in face of nearly all Hiberno-English practice; the one deviation from T is *þair'* copied as *þayr*. It is hence not credible that the extract was copied from any other manuscript. By the time that these lines were written, some thrice repeated by a second and coeval script on the same page (f. 88v), T must therefore have been at Killeen or nearby, whether or not it was bound with the paper booklet. The extract, which is from the account of Domesday in Book V, is as follows:[13]

> and all*e* þe elementis þ*a*t hus gouernes
> all*e* þe warlde sall*e* be þer*e* redy
> to acuse þe synfull*e* man opunly
> For all*e* creaturs hate hym sall*e*
> Wen he ys wroth þ*a*t made all*e*
> also Fyndes sall acuse ham þor
> off þayr synnes les & mor
> and namely þo synnes þai sall*e* ha*m* say
> to whilk þai eggyde ha*m* nyght & day

> ["And all the elements that control us, all the world shall there be eager to accuse the sinful man openly. Because all creatures shall hate him when He who made all things is moved to wrath. Also, fiends shall there accuse them of their sins lesser and greater, and especially they shall name the sins to which they urged them night and day."]

On another page (f. 93v) the second script copies closely, but not exactly, three lines from another part of Book V, these on the Fifteen Signs of Judgement (f. 58v, 4758–60): "þe Fyrst day off Fyftyn days þe se sall*e* rys . saynt Jerom says . a-boue þe heght off ilk*e* moyntain" ["The first day of fifteen days the sea shall rise, Saint Jerome says, above the height of every mountain"]. In T itself, a marginal scribble of the same period, seemingly a pen-trial, invites recognition as Plunket, lord of Killeen, or Plunkett of neighbouring Dunsany, "M*emoran*d*um* that y plunky3et."[14] Lady Preston, named in the memoranda as recipient for an unspecified payment of ten shillings (f. 89v), is a reminder of other links with Lancashire. The family whose name she bore was founded by a merchant of Preston in Lancashire, who took his name from that town on settling in Drogheda in 1307. In 1363 his knighted descendant, Sir Robert Preston, bought the manor of Gormanston, on the Meath coast, sixteen miles from Killeen; by 1389 he was created Lord Gormanston; by 1475, Preston of Gormanston was a viscount. Daughters of the house married into Killeen and Dunsany. It is very likely that T found its way into Ireland by the same route as the family's founder.

That the study of the text and its manuscripts should sometimes lead into local historical and genealogical minutiae is to be expected; notable is Derek Britton's investigation of William Wymondham and the priory of Kirkby Bellars.[15] Less predictable was its part in the development of computational technique. During the Second World War, McIntosh had been at Bletchley, and was among the first to see the possibilities that computers could open up for research in the humanities. In 1949, he became Forbes Professor of English Language and General Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh, which would develop into one of the largest computing centres in Europe. There, in

1970, his attempts to work out the relationships between the manuscript copies of *The Prick of Conscience* led him into collaboration with two mathematicians, Peter Buneman, newly arrived as a research fellow at the School of Artificial Intelligence, and Neil Mitchison, then an undergraduate at Cambridge. In Buneman's words, "The problem of inferring an evolutionary tree from a set of measurements is one that crops up in various fields, such as biology, palaeography, and archaeology…A similar situation occurs when one has a set of manuscripts all directly or indirectly copied from a common original."[16] (For the manuscripts, the measurements were based on the numbers of textual dissimilarities between each pair.) The computational procedure Buneman worked out was tested on comparable data whose taxonomy was already known, and these came from cell biology; it so happened that Mitchison's father was the distinguished zoologist Murdoch Mitchison, author of *The Cell Cycle* and Professor of Zoology at Edinburgh.

Thirty years later, a plenary lecture at a large international linguistics conference was devoted to the classification of Germanic among the Indo-European languages. A problem in the humanities was now to be illuminated, if not resolved, by the ground-breaking application of computational techniques brought in from biology and medical science.[17] I was probably the only person present who knew that the traffic had once been the other way. His nomination as a Fellow of the Royal Society records that Buneman's "early work on mathematical phylogeny underlies most modern phylogenetic reconstructions."

To conclude, a note on the re-edition of Morris's text seems appropriate. The editors acknowledge Angus McIntosh for the electronic text of that work, and no doubt assumed, as surely their readers will, that it was prepared as an aid to computational work on the textual relationships. Not so; that work was done on the basis of relatively short samples from throughout the text, and finished well before Morris's text was keyed to disc. The motive for doing that was otherwise: in 1978 or early 1979, the *Atlas*-project's flow of dialect analyses to the data preparation unit at the Edinburgh Regional Computing Centre was held up. Rather than leave funded capacity unused, the project sent other materials that promised to be useful in electronic form, among them Morris's *Prick of Conscience*. We did not envisage the sophisticated typesetting that is taken for granted today;

we wanted indexes and concordances, workshop tools, and that these were confined to ASCII characters was no impediment—then, letters in lower case had been available for only a few years. I recount this for two reasons. First, to reaffirm that the *Atlas*-project contributed more to the study of medieval English than just a linguistic atlas. Secondly, to put the conversion of the ASCII text for the re-edition into a perspective that the preface does not consider. The conversion is reported as difficult, whereas in the form that Edinburgh supplied the text, it should have been straightforward. (I have a copy, and know first-hand.) But let that pass. In computing, thirty years is a long time; it was by no means a foregone conclusion that a text encoded in 1979 would be readable in 2010, let alone amenable to processing. That is a very good reason for creating and storing electronic data in their least system-dependent form, as the makers of the Edinburgh linguistic atlases and the Middle English Local Documents corpus at the University of Stavanger continue to do.[18]

As to the finished product of their labours, the editors of Morris's text deserve thanks for their enterprise, for their presentation of the text, and for their weighty contributions to its study. *The Prick of Conscience* is readily accessible once more. May one hope that the scholars most in need of it, will now read it?

† *In memoriam, Derek Alan Britton* (*1941–2011*)

☞ I am indebted to the Librarian of Douai Abbey, Father Geoffrey Scott, for granting access to the manuscript, and for much-valued help during my visit. It is likewise a pleasure to thank Father Oliver Holt OSB for his good offices as Guestmaster. The dedication remembers a man who in a single short article on *The Prick of Conscience* contributed out of all proportion to an understanding of its textual history. He was a sound scholar and a staunch friend.

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NOTES

1. For details and further reference, see Robert E. Lewis & Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of The Prick of Conscience*, Medium Ævum Monographs New Series xii (Oxford, 1982); *Richard Morris's Prick of Conscience. A Corrected and Amplified Reading Text, prepared by Ralph Hanna & Sarah Wood*, Early English Text Society o.s. 342 (Oxford, 2013), with dialectal analysis on xxxviii–xlvii; and Michael Johnston, "Copying and Reading *The Prick of Conscience* in Late Medieval England," *Speculum* 95 (2020), 742–801.

2. For further details, see N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. II *Abbotsford–Keele* (Oxford, 1977), 416; Lewis & McIntosh, *Guide*, 50–51. The decoration and the holed membrane seem not to have been noticed until now.

3. Hanna and Wood, in *Richard Morris's Prick of Conscience*, lii–lv; on the sources generally, lii–lxi, and the index of quotations and allusions on 405–9. In this article, all line-references are to Morris's edition; those of the new edition differ slightly, but, as the editors say, not enough to cause difficulty.

4. Richard Morris, (ed.) *The Pricke of Conscience* (*Stimulus Conscientiæ*). *A Northumbrian Poem by Richard Rolle de Hampole* (Berlin, 1863).

5. Derek Britton, "Unnoticed Fragments of the 'Prick of Conscience'," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 80 (1979), 327–34 (at 328 n. 7, with succinct elaboration).

6. These observations are not of course new. For two classic expositions, see C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge, 1964), and Northrop Frye, *The Great Code* (New York, 1982).

7. Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels & Michael Benskin, with Margaret Laing & Keith Williamson, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediæval English* 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986). An electronic version is available as a free website, (search for "elalme" + "edinburgh").
https://www.amc.lel.ed.ac.uk/amc-projects-hub/project/elalme

8. "A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology," *English Studies* 44 (1963), 1–11.

9. McIntosh, "A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology," n. 8. Further, two papers in Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts* (Cambridge, 1991): Michael Benskin, "The 'Fit'-Technique Explained," 9–26; and Margaret Laing, "Anchor Texts and Literary Manuscripts in Early Middle English," 27–52.

10. See *Atlas*, n. 7, vol. I, maps 322 and 325.

11. See María José Carrillo-Linares & Keith Williamson, "A Reconsideration of the Dialectal Provenance of the Prick of Conscience in Oxford, St John's College, 57," *Anglia* 137 (2019), 303–50. Their procedures, however, can be delusive. Thus for three words (among, know, and one), the spellings in J which they imagine tell against origins in Essex do nothing of the sort. Their sole authority for Essex usage is *Atlas*, but Essex lies in the southern area of survey (sou), for which these words were not investigated at all. No matter how J spelled them, they would not appear in the *Atlas* lists for Essex, and so for these authors would count against an Essex origin for J. "If not in the *Atlas* record for Essex, therefore not in Essex" should have been an obviously false assumption; absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. The northern and southern contents of the survey are clearly stated in vols. I, xviii-xix, and IV, xvi–xvii.

12. See Angus McIntosh & M. L. Samuels, "Prolegomena to a Study of Mediæval Anglo-Irish," *Medium Ævum* 37 (1968), 1–11. The alteration to Dublin is noted in *Atlas* (vol. I, 77a, whose *myþt* correct to *myȝt*), and in my "Texts from an English Township in Late Mediaeval Ireland," *Collegium Medievale* 10 (1997) 173–91 (at 94, whose *303t* correct to *þoȝt*, and *schir* to *shir*). Though this bears directly on manuscript provenance, it is overlooked in Johnston's account ("Copying and Reading *The Prick of Conscience*," 752–753 & 783; see n.1 above)—as also, and notwithstanding explicit reference to *Atlas*, by John Scattergood et al. in their *Trinity College Library Dublin. A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English and Some Old English* (Dublin, 2021), 78–82. The manuscript's early post-medieval connections with Dublin, which are suggestive but not evidence for its having been produced there, appear in its first binding leaf, cut from a Dublin deed of 1618 (f. 1), and in a neat partial copy in the margin of f. 77r of an undated post-Reformation writ of Henry VIII to the sheriff of Dublin, by a contemporary hand (repeated in part on ff. 97r, 99r, 125r, and 135r).

13. f. 88r, copied from the first lines of f. 68v (5475–84); as here printed, italics mark letters expanded from abbreviations. See further my "Texts from an English Township" (n.12 above), 103, 116–117, & 124), and "An English Township in Fifteenth-Century Ireland," *Collegium Medievale* 4 (1991) 57–83. Notwithstanding their references to the former article, John Scattergood et al. fail to recognise the source of these lines, but describe the text as a lyric (sic): see their lengthy and ostensibly authoritative account in *Trinity College Library Dublin* (n.12 above), 87–91, citing Linne Ruth Mooney et al. (ed.), *Digital Edition of the Index of Middle English Verse* (http://www.dimev.net), 388-1. Truly, *The Prick of Conscience* is known to few.

14. f. 25v top margin, the first *y* dubious but less implausible than the J reported in *Trinity College Library Dublin* (n.11 above), 90. The "did" there imagined to conclude the inscription is from a line above, and is three flourished letters "d" in a row. Plunket(t) is not named in the booklet, but cf. "my lord of kyllen(e)" on ff. 91v & 92v.

15. "Manuscripts Associated with Kirkby Bellars Priory," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6 (1976), 267-284.

16. Peter Buneman, "The Recovery of Trees from Measures of Dissimilarity," in F.R. Hodson, D.G. Kendall & P. Tautu (eds.), *Mathematics in the Archaeological and Historical Sciences* (Edinburgh, 1971), 387–395, at 387.

17. The Twelfth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, at the University of Glasgow, 2002. Published by April McMahon & Robert McMahon as "Finding Families: Quantitative Methods in Language Classification", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 101 (2003), 7–55.

18. MELD=A Corpus of Middle English Local Documents, version 2017.1, December 2020. Compiled by Merja Stenroos, Kjetil V. Thengs and Geir Bergstrøm, University of Stavanger.
http://www.uis.no/meld.

Ditchling at Douai: Joseph Cribb's Stations of the Cross

The stations of the cross made for Saint John's seminary at Wonersh in Surrey are now in Saint Mary's church at Douai Abbey. They were carved by Joseph Cribb and his assistant Kenneth Eager in Cribb's workshop at the Guild of Saint Joseph and Saint Dominic on Ditchling Common in 1963. The Guild was a community of Roman Catholic craftsmen founded in June 1920 by the sculptor Eric Gill, the printer Hilary Pepler, and the painter and engraver Desmond Chute. Within a couple of years Chute would leave to be ordained at Downside Abbey as a Catholic priest on his own patrimony, and would take up residence in Rapallo in Italy. There he became part of a literary and artistic circle that included Ezra Pound. Gill would leave in 1924 to work in the greater seclusion of the old monastery at Capel-y-ffin in Wales. Pepler, however, remained at Ditchling until his death in 1951, working first as a printer and then, after his retirement from the press, as a writer and journalist.

Joseph became a member of the Guild at its October meeting in 1920. By that date he had followed his confreres in to the Third Order of Saint Dominic which, in the early years, was one of the conditions for membership. The Guild was primarily a working community for people who made things with their hands. They took as their patrons Saint Joseph, who was a carpenter, and Saint Dominic, because it was in the Dominicans that the community had found their most engaged early teachers. Father Vincent McNabb was the primary Dominican influence at the time of the Guild's foundation.

The Guild was an experiment in working in mutual association; it was not an experiment in community living. Each family had their own house built around the perimeter of a farm with workshops built on another corner of the land. The workshops, at various times, housed stone carvers, carpenters, printers, a goldsmith, graphic artists, engravers, and weavers. It is the weavers' workshop that links myself to the Guild. The main weaver was my grandfather Valentine KilBride, and I would join the Guild as a calligrapher a few years before it finally closed its doors in 1989. The individual workshops came to form an

informal courtyard: on one side, was access to the road that ran between Burgess Hill and Ditchling Common; and on the other side, through an archway, there was a simple brick built chapel set in a small orchard. Here the Little Office of Our Lady was sung in Latin several times a day until the 1960s, when the office changed to English and was reduced in practice to Compline.

Joseph's workshop, where the Wonersh stations were carved, was in the southeast section of the courtyard "quad." It was a tall building with rafters and cross beams, and a little drawing office up a rickety staircase. The floor was made of brick engrained with white stone dust. The end wall held carvings and casts from various commissions. Under the office, by a large window, Joseph would carve with the work propped up against an old wooden trunk. He and his apprentices had a kind of workshop uniform of white lab coats and berets to keep the dust out their hair and clothing.

The purpose of the Guild explains something about the spirit in which the Wonersh stations of the cross were made. The founders believed that work was as important as any other aspect of life, and that life should be lived from an integrated and religious point of view. If work was a calling, a vocation, then one's life should be so ordered that the work could be chosen and executed to certain standards; work was not reduced to a necessary evil. There was a resulting necessity for working conditions that enabled one to have the time and materials needed to do the best job one could do, for both integrity as a craftsperson and as a service to the client. At times this might mean turning work down if a commission did not allow this freedom, either because of pressures of time or because one was not being left free as a craftsperson to design and execute a project to the best of one's ability.

The way the members of the Guild made this work economically was to live simple lives. In the case of my own family, the KilBrides, it meant living with as few overheads as possible. No car, no telephone, no goods bought on hire purchase, no electricity until the mid 1960s, and more in common with most other households of the time, no central heating. Cooking was done with calor gas, light came from candles or paraffin lamps. There was a simple exchange economy amongst the homes. If Joseph, a keen fisherman, caught a pike he shared it; if he and his wife, Agnes, had too many eggs she would make lemon curd and distribute it

among other Guild families. In the autumn damsons and blackberries were picked for jam. Everyone had large vegetable gardens and kept chickens.

Joseph Cribb was born on 16 January 1892. He moved to Ditchling at the age of sixteen following his master Eric Gill, to whom he had been apprenticed two years earlier in 1906. Christened Herbert Joseph Cribb, but known as Bonny within the family because of his strong head of hair, Joseph had grown up in Hammersmith and Twickenham. His father Herbert William (1863-1929) was a cartographer who worked for the printer Emery Walker (1851-1933). In the 1880s Walker had helped William Morris establish The Kelmscott Press. In 1900 he founded The Doves Press in partnership with his friend T.J. Cobden Sanderson. The sparse classical typography of the Doves Press, using just one size of typeface and careful layout, reshaped the imagination of British printers for much of the twentieth century. Walker was Joseph's godfather, and it was he who had suggested to Gill that he take the young boy on in his workshop, initially just as some extra help with labouring. This led to a formal apprenticeship, and Walker was one of the witnesses who signed the indenture.

On days off from the workshop Joseph and his siblings loved nothing better than to mess about in boats along the Thames and its tributaries, Joseph's father and all the boys in the family were keen fishermen. Yet when Gill decided to relocate from Hammersmith to the small Sussex village of Ditchling, Joseph took to his new life in the countryside with enthusiasm. As well as fishing Joseph had an interest in insects and lepidoptery, which now found new outlets on the slopes of the South Downs. He joined the cricket club, enjoyed picnics on the Downs and took the children kite flying. In later years he maintained a large vegetable garden. Quick and unpredictable in movement, with wiry hair and a moustache, he was a fount of anecdote and humour. His folksongs, usually with a humorous twist, became a staple at all Guild social gatherings. Although he had moved to Ditchling aged just sixteen, he remained there his whole life and became one of the stable pillars around which the life of the Guild was built.

Gill's move to the country had been in fulfilment of a long-term dream. Having lived in both Brighton and Chichester, his thoughts about country living naturally revolved around Sussex. With his

calligraphy teacher, Edward Johnston, he had fantasised about setting up a scriptorium in Chichester, a cathedral city, but the small village of Ditchling was the place that Gill was taken to for holidays when he was growing up. So, when he began to think about a new quality of life for his own children, Ditchling held a particular appeal. As it happened Johnston, too, would also move there just four years later, when his wife fell ill with tuberculosis and fresh country air became a necessity. Gill helped him find a house at short notice.

Today Johnston is famous for his design of the typeface for the London Underground but he was also responsible for a wider revival of calligraphy in the western world during the early twentieth century, largely through the influence of his book *Writing, Illuminating, and Lettering*. The book came out in 1906, the year Joseph joined Gill's workshop. Eric gave Joseph one of the first copies off the press. Johnston's teaching in this book accounts for the style of lettering along the lower margin of the Wonersh stations. The Roman upper-case letters derive from the forms Gill learned in his first class with Johnston. These were letters drawn from the 1524 manual of the Venetian renaissance writing master Giovanni Antonio Tagliente. This accounts for the beak topped serifs on M and N, though the pointed apex on A comes from the letters used on Trajan's column in Rome (circa 113AD).

Gill's first Ditchling workshop was at Sopers, an eighteenth-century house in the High Street. Cribb helped him relocate everything south from Hammersmith to their new base over a period of about six months. But in 1913 the workshop and family relocated again to a larger house to the north of the village, on the edge of Ditchling Common. This new property offered the prospect of a bigger workspace and some land for Mary Gill to use as a small holding. In May that year Joseph completed his apprenticeship and set up his own workshop next door to Eric's.

Joseph's first encounter with the significance of the stations of the cross came through Gill, who won the commission to make the new stations for Westminster Cathedral soon after the move to the new workshops. As a recent convert to Catholicism Gill was a prime candidate for the job and he took to it on with gusto. The work began just as the First World War was getting underway. He won an exemption from military service in order complete the nationally-important

commission. The first steps in the production process fell to Joseph, who was asked to mason out the great four-foot-wide panels for more detailed carving. Johnston would make visits to Gill to inspect progress and talk over the designs. Work on the stations stretched across four years.

As readers will probably know, the stations of the cross form an extended mediation on the passion and death of Jesus Christ, involving fourteen panels commemorating traditionally-agreed moments in Christ's passion, from his condemnation to his entombment. The practice of the stations of the cross most likely stems from the practice of early Christians prayerfully walking the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem.

It took Joseph, working off and on, from December 1914 to October 1915 to prepare all fourteen Westminster panels using Gill's favoured Hopton-Wood stone. This commission etched itself in Joseph's creative mind; all the many other sets that he would carve over his lifetime were developments of these panels to a greater or lesser degree. Gill's panels excited some controversy at the time because they were dispassionate presentations, whose power came from a kind of hieratic composition that relied on grouping figures as a tableaux, sometimes including additional Latin inscriptions. They were cut, as are the Wonersh stations, in shallow relief.

Joseph was called up for military service in late 1915, the year he married. He fought on the Somme, and towards the end of the war, because of his experience with masonry and with reading plans and drawings, he was assigned to the team laying out the National War Grave cemeteries in France and Belgium. He returned to Ditchling Common only in August 1919.

In 1924 Gill asked Joseph and his brother Laurie, who by now had also joined the workshop, to carve his drawings for a new set of stations for the Catholic church of Our Lady and Saint Peter in Leatherhead. Photographic records show that Joseph would go on to make at least another seventeen sets for different locations during his very productive working life.

In 1928–1929 he made a set for the Dominicans' novitiate at Hawksyard Priory, which were hand sawn from one huge block of stone. Much work followed the Second World War. A major undertaking in the 1950s was the set of stations for the renovated Catholic cathedral at

Plymouth, which were the largest he had undertaken since working on Gill's stations for Westminster Cathedral. They were completed in 1956. In the same period he worked on a set of stations for the Anglican Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield. By now Joseph had the help of two apprentice assistants, Noel Tabenor (apprenticed in 1933) and Kenneth Eager (apprenticed in 1945).

Studying the photographs in Ditchling Museum that were part of Joseph's original documentation of his work, one can see that of the other sets of stations Joseph made, the earliest were for a convent at Upminster in 1934. The figures seem out of proportion to the rather large heads. The panels are just 19 inches by 17 inches, and the lettering is in lowercase roman that sit a little awkwardly within the narrow bottom ledge. Joseph would later revert to the uppercase letters that he had worked on with Gill for the Westminster stations.

A number of sets from Cribb's workshops records are photographed but cannot at the moment be placed in terms of their final location. There is a set from 1953 with an arched top, a set from 1954 whose tablets have a triangular pediment, an arched-top set with a background

painted in blue, and an arched-top set with no moulding round the arch. There is a photograph of one station carved in lime wood with a plain arch from 1965, the most adventurous of Joseph's compositions with limbs projecting beyond the background. With only the single photograph of these stations available, it is possible that this was a trial work that never resulted in a full commission. There is also a set for the Catholic church in Gossops Green, with details painted in blue grey and made from beer stone; another set, undated, made for a church in Hersham; a set for Saint Clement's in Ewell made in 1961-2, and another set for the Ursuline convent in Brentwood in 1962. Joseph also made a set for a mission church in Nigeria for which we currently have no photographs. The stations in the Anglican church of Saint Matthew in Westminster are also by Joseph.

The Wonersh set is a unique hand-carved creation, and possibly only one of two sets he carved in wood. The frames are made from walnut and the panels from lime wood. Lime has been much favoured by carvers over the centuries because it is both soft and close grained. Joseph and his assistants would also carve in oak and sycamore at times; perhaps the best oak carving can be seen in the screens of the side chapel of Saint Margaret's Anglican church in Ditchling, where Cribb and his apprentices also carved the wooden chancel tablets of the ten commandments and the Lord's Prayer. Joseph's own photographic record of the Wonersh stations shows us that he singled out the sixth station—Veronica wiping the face of Jesus—for special photographic treatment. This station brings out the grain of the wood in a way that complements the composition. The grain falls vertically behind Jesus and rises in a sweep across the centre to echo the gesture of Veronica's offering (*see over*).

Every one of the sets of stations from Joseph's workshop was to an individual design; some face left, some right, figures kneel or stand, their gestures vary, their bodies are repositioned, the whole space being used up to the edge of the panel, with the result that one views the scene as through an archway or close up amongst the crowd.

The chapel at Ditchling never had its own physical set of stations. This might seem strange when so many sets were sent from here to other churches and cathedrals. However, what Ditchling did have illuminates the character of those sets that Joseph carved. From the

early days of the Guild, Hilary Pepler, who always had a dramatic leaning, created mimes of key Catholic devotions, including the mysteries of the rosary and the stations of the cross. His mime of the stations was perhaps his best-known creation. Having retired from the press at Ditchling, in 1933-4 he made a tour of the United States and enacted this mime and others in many places, using local parishioners and school children. He had bookings in Philadelphia, Chicago, New Rochelle, Pittsburgh, Omaha, Denver, and San Francisco. Directions for the mime are included in his book *Mimes: Sacred and Profane* (issued in three editions 1929, 1932, 1952 by Saint Dominic's Press and later the Ditchling Press).

Pepler wrote: "The art of mime consists in the doing of familiar actions formally, relying upon gesture and not on words to express the story to be told. Action, unaided by the spoken word, can be a complete mode of expression in itself." For the mime of the stations, all the props

could be found in a sacristy, from an alb to a jug and bowl; the only thing that had to be fashioned anew was a large cross. Mime relies on stylised gesture, rhythm of movement, and groupings of characters and, writes Pepler, "the secret of success, from a technical point of view, is that the action is reduced to the simplest and most significant movements performed without haste or confusion." So it is with all the stations from Joseph's workshop; they are tableaux evoking a familiar story with minimal means, using only bodily positions and gestures, the faces almost mask-like. They were not created to be judged by the standards of realism; rather they represent a liturgical re-enactment, a mode similar to that of mime. The pose of Jesus in the arms of his mother in the thirteenth station, and the faces shown as Jesus is laid in the tomb in the last station, are examples of this mime-like quality.

Pepler's stage directions for the twelfth station—Jesus dies on the cross—show how little it takes to convey a scene. Here the writing is framed with a similarly sparse quality:

> Mary Magdalene and Mary of Cleophas come to comfort Our Lady, they bend over her, but all look at the face of Jesus. A soldier with a sponge on the end of a spear offers our Lord a drink. Jesus looks at his mother, then to heaven; closing his eyes he gives up the ghost.
>
> Our Lady and the two Marys bow down, and all kneel except the soldier by the cross.
>
> A soldier puts a spear into the heart of Jesus.

These directions are paired in Pepler's manuscript with movements plotted against a numbered chequerboard of the stage. Actions are spare, means are minimal.

Joseph Cribb's workshop carried out many important commissions, from those he took on when collaborating with Gill, like the Westminster stations and inscriptions on Epstein's tomb for Oscar Wilde in Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, to the design of some of the regimental badges used by the War Graves Commission for the dead of the First and Second World Wars. Much of his work is ecclesiastical. The war memorial for the school at Downside is by Joseph, consisting of six panels of names headed by coats of arms, with a large commemorative panel in Latin and a carving of the crucifixion flanked by the Virgin and Saint John. His work on secular buildings included work for the BBC and many buildings in London and Brighton, most notably its Fire Station.

Joseph described himself on his notepaper as "sculptor, letter cutter and carver," and a number of famous names in the lettering world passed through his workshop in their early days. These included the Irish letter carver Michael Biggs, the type designer and letter carver Michael Harvey, and Gill's nephew, John Skelton, who finished off his own interrupted apprenticeship with Gill under Joseph after it was cut short by his uncle's death in 1940.

Joseph Cribb was a humble, unassuming workman who was lucky to find work he loved and who was able to do undertake it in a supportive community his whole life. He died in 1967, aged 75, on his way to work.

PROFESSOR EWAN CLAYTON
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The Abbatial Election and Blessing 2022: *Vale atque ave!*

On 11 May 2022, at the regular eight-yearly abbatial election, the monastic chapter of Douai Abbey elected Father Paul Gunter as its new abbot, the eleventh monk of the post-Reformation community of Saint Edmund's to hold that office. He succeeds Father Geoffrey Scott, who earlier in the year had announced his intention to retire at the end of his third term as abbot. Father Geoffrey has served faithfully as an exemplary abbot of Douai for 24 years.

His will be an active retirement. He has replaced Abbot Paul as parish priest of Alcester in Warwickshire, and continues to serve as the community's librarian and archivist. This means he is at Douai for a period most weeks. He will also be able to devote more time to his research interests in English Catholic history. Not long after his retirement, the English Benedictine Congregation (EBC) conferred on him the titular abbacy of Lindisfarne, a nod (among other things) to his heritage in north-eastern England. So the Douai community bids him *vale!* but only as abbot, not as an otherwise active member of the community.

The abbatial election in May was preceded by a nine-month period of preparatory discernment for the community, in which process it was deftly guided by Father David Smolira SJ. From the end of summer 2021, using both small groups and plenary gatherings, the community considered its current situation in the light of where both the world and the Church stand at this point in history. This more active and involved preparation for an abbatial election is an innovation that seems likely to become the norm in the EBC.

The *tractatus*—the formal process by which the monastic chapter names and discusses those brethren to be considered for election—was held on the afternoon of 10 May, under the direction of the EBC's abbot president, Father Christopher Jamison. On the morning of 11 May the conventual Mass, a votive Mass of the Holy Spirit, sought His inspiration and guidance in the election which was to begin after breakfast.

Thus it was that, in the late morning, after an electoral process supervised by the abbot president and that has a number of historically-conditioned safeguards against collusion and manipulation, the scrutators were able to determine that Father Paul had been elected. Father Paul's election was then canonically confirmed (*below*) by the

abbot president, after which Abbot Paul made the profession of faith in the presence of the chapter. The abbot president then directed the whole community to gather in the abbey church while its bell tolled the happy news across the Downs. The community chanted the *Te Deum* as they processed into the abbey church. Once the community had gathered in choir, the abbot president led Father Paul to the abbatial throne (*below*), from which he received the kiss of peace and welcome from each monk of the community, a ritual *ave!* to its new abbot.

Above: Fr Christopher Jamison, Abbot President, congratulates Abbot Paul after the election.

Below: Abbots Christopher Jamison, Paul Gunter, and Geoffrey Scott, after the election.

Once canonically confirmed, a new abbot immediately assumes the rights and duties of the abbacy. Nevertheless, there is also need for the new abbot to receive the abbatial blessing from the local bishop. By this liturgical act of ancient lineage, a new abbot is solemnly recognised by the wider Church, and receives from the bishop the pontifical insignia of ring, mitre, and pastoral staff. The pastoral staff, or crozier, given at the blessing was that of Archbishop Benedict Scarisbrick OSB (†1908), a monk of our community and bishop of Port Louis, Mauritius; the crozier was fresh from a restoration managed by Ormsby of Scarisbrick.

So it was that on 8 September 2022, the feast of Our Lady's Nativity, Abbot Paul received the abbatial blessing from Bishop Philip Egan of Portsmouth. Bishop Philip was accompanied by twelve bishops and archbishops, along with the abbot president and thirteen other abbots, as well as numerous clergy and laity. Leading the civil guests was the Deputy Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire, representing Her Majesty the Queen, and leading the ecumenical guests was the Anglican bishop of Reading.

The preacher at the Mass was Bishop Marcus Stock of Leeds, who highlighted the Rule of Saint Benedict as the immediate "spiritual foundation" for guiding the brethren; the abbatial ring as a sign of constancy in loving kindness; and the pastoral staff for the sacrificial love required of any shepherd of a Christian flock. (Bishop Marcus' homily follows this article.) When the Litany of the Saints was chanted, added to its traditional assembly of heavenly intercessors for the day were the the martyrs of China and Ukraine.

The Douai Abbey Singers sang splendidly for the occasion under the direction of Dr John Rowntree, using both Colin Mawby's *Douai Abbey Mass–de angelis* (2011) and John Sanders' *Missa Beata Maria Virgine* (2003), both of which had been composed for Douai Abbey. Composed for the Blessing itself was the responsorial psalm, by Julia Rowntree, and the Alleluia verse, by David Bednall. A small monastic schola led the chant elements of the liturgy. The Mass was professionally recorded on video and live-streamed by Stuart Hanlon and Peter Hearn; on Youtube can be found the Mass of Blessing as edited by Nick and Angela Goulden.

Abbot Paul has taken as his abbatial motto, *convertat ut benignitas*: "let him convert by kindness."

The photos above related to the election were taken by Father Hugh. The photos of the blessing which follow were taken by Marcin Mazur, whose kind permission to use them in *The Douai Magazine* is gratefully acknowledged.

HUGH SOMERVILLE KNAPMAN OSB

Above: Bishop Marcus Stock preaching.

Below: Abbot Paul prostrate for the Litany of the Saints.

Above: Bishop Philip confers the abbatial blessing.

Below: The Eucharistic Prayer.

Abbot Paul and Bishop Philip after the Mass of blessing.

HOMILY OF BISHOP MARCUS STOCK

THE RUBRICS in the *Pontifical* state that for this Rite for the Blessing of an Abbot, a "brief" homily is to be given. I will endeavour to comply!

All the elements we celebrate today in this sacred rite, articulate the principles of monastic leadership for the one who has been elected by their brothers to exercise it. Through the prayers which we offer, in the symbols of the rule and insignia which will be presented, and by the physical gestures performed, each liturgical action conveys and impresses upon us the role of an abbot in his monastic community.

In his Rule, Saint Benedict has much to teach regarding the virtues and qualities needed in the life of an abbot. This is because he understood the tremendous responsibility of the abbot's role in a monastic community. Nothing less than the spiritual health of the entire community is at stake. This significance is the impetus for the Rite of Blessing which we are about to celebrate and is the reason, Paul, that we are gathered around you in prayer today as you take up your new office.

I know that you will have a profound awareness of what you consider to be your own unworthiness in assuming the role of abbot. It is certainly not something which you sought! Most of us who are called to positions of leadership in the Church doubt our worthiness for the task we have been called to undertake. I urge you though, to place all your trust in Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who knows us better than we know ourselves.

If, in humility, you heed His word and seek to do His will, He will grant you the graces you need. For without doubt Paul, it is not so much your considerable talents, skills, and intellect—all of which the Lord has been pleased to give you (as many of us who know you realise)—which you will need to exercise good judgement in your ministry as an abbot, but rather the gift of Wisdom. It is not therefore the strength of your own efforts which will make you worthy of the task of governing this monastery, but only your loving and faithful adherence to Divine Wisdom, Jesus Christ, our dearest Lord and closest friend; it is He alone who is able to sustain you in your new commission.

In the second chapter of his Rule, Saint Benedict speaks of the virtues which an abbot must possess, and the qualities of leadership he must be

capable of exercising. The abbot, he says, holds the "the place of Christ in the monastery, since he is addressed by a title of Christ, as the Apostle indicates: You have received the spirit of adoption of sons by which we exclaim, abba, father."

This is why the Prayer of Blessing that Bishop Philip will use, speaks of the abbot as being a father to the monks. It says, "May his manner of life show clearly that he is what he is called, a father." As we know, the title of "abbot" comes to us from the Aramaic word *abba* (meaning "father"). It is as a father that you, Paul, are now called to lead the monks of this monastery. That is the unique relationship entrusted to you.

Paul, you will know and appreciate far better than I, that this why in Saint Benedict's teaching there is a repeated emphasis on the ability of the father of the community, the abbot, to listen. We are familiar enough with the opening words of the Prologue his Rule: "Listen [carefully], my son." We should remember though that is an allusion to the same words in the Old Testament Book of Proverbs (1:8, 4:10, 19:20, 23:19) and the exhortation to embrace Wisdom. This appeal requires that we listen attentively not only to the voice of God our Father and our spiritual fathers, but also to those in our care, whether they be young or old in years. It is a form of listening exercised not so much with a view to achieving a consensus but is the prerequisite for a common search, in humility and truth, for the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the gift of Wisdom.

The abbot must, of course, be one who leads and teaches. However, the real effectiveness of his leadership and teaching will be measured foremost through the witness given by his own life of faith. Saint Benedict describes this in his Rule as follows: "Anyone who receives the name of abbot, is to lead his disciples by a two-fold teaching: he must point out to them all that is good and holy more by example than by words."

The principal pastoral tools which you will use in the exercise of your abbatial office are symbolised by the presentations which will soon be made to you in this Rite of Blessing. The first is the Rule of your Holy Father, Saint Benedict; this must be the spiritual foundation which you will use to "guide and sustain" the brothers "whom God has placed in your care." The second, symbolised by the ring you will wear, is "constancy" in charity, in loving kindness; it is by this that you "will

maintain this monastic community in the body of brotherly love." The third, symbolised by your crozier or pastoral staff, is the sacrificial love and tender care which you must exercise faithfully to lead and help your monastic brothers.

Paul, on this Feast of the Birthday of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Seat of Holy Wisdom, I pray with all my heart that through her intercession and with her unfailing help, you will be always a wise father, a loving brother, and a tender friend to all the members of this monastic community whom you have been called to lead and serve. May the Lord bless you in His service. Amen.

ABBOT PAUL'S ADDRESS AT THE END OF THE BLESSING MASS

Whatever about the new Prime Minister dodging heavy rain to make her first speech, only a few weeks ago, I hadn't expected thunderstorms today!

Almost immediately, my mind went to Psalm 29, which explains the task of thunder in the unfolding of the mystery of God:

> The Lord's voice resounding on the waters,
> The Lord on the immensity of waters…
> The God of glory thunders:
> In his temple they all cry: "Glory!"

The "they" referred to, who cry "Glory!" identifies, of course, everyone here, engaged in the "work of the people," which Liturgy is! It is no small thing that we have spent this time in God's house praying for and with the community of Saint Edmund. Many have worked so hard in different ways for today. You all know who you are, and I can only express my deep appreciation. Ceremonies that have helped us to pray and music that has demonstrated the effect of beauty on the Liturgy, have characterised this Holy Mass.

That all things could be renewed in Christ has been embodied by Abbot Geoffrey over so many years, who, consistent with his motto, *multorum servire moribus*, served "the variety of temperaments," with unique patience, steadfastness, and personal sacrifice. We owe him a deep gratitude and wish him every peace and tranquillity in everything, nestled between the Elysian hills of Alcester.

In the first few days after his election, months before its more stylised inclusion within his Apostolic Exhortation, *Evangelii gaudium*, Pope Francis said something that struck me forcibly: "A self-referential Church is a sick Church." The Litany of Saints contained some remarkable and outward-facing ministers of the Gospel, and of every time and state of life, whether married, single, religious, monastic, priest, bishop, and, of course, for the heritage we have received in the Faith in our own land, many martyr saints. I would just like to draw your attention to a just a few of these, mindful, as we all are, that the world cries out for a peace the world cannot give, at a time where persecution of faith, financial crisis, and increasing material hardship are self-evident, that they should give us courage to be missionary. That is, to be effective witnesses in our time to the person and saving work of Jesus Christ, by reaching out conscientiously and effectively.

The Patriarchs and Prophets bring the struggles of the Holy Land and faith in the Middle East into sharp relief. Saint Edward the Confessor is the model of governance because its zenith was service and charity. The nineteenth-century Saint Augustine Zhao Rong and All Martyrs of China remind us of how much the Church is suffering in China. Also in the nineteenth century, Blessed Volodymyr, singled out among all the martyrs of Ukraine, a reality currently contextualised by war in Europe for the first time in decades, was a member of the lay faithful. He was a cantor, in fact, animating participation in the Liturgy, consistent with the witnessing to the Gospel by the shedding of his blood. The twentieth-century Blessed Cyprian Tansi was a Nigerian pastoral priest, who brought his zeal for souls to the service of his brethren in the monastery he later joined, so that his energetic apostolic zeal emanated as rays of light, from within the community and looking outwards.

It is a particular privilege and joy to receive the Abbatial Blessing on the Feast of the Nativity of Our Blessed Lady. There could be no more powerful a patronage and I entrust the community, and all we can give to the Church in the world of our time, to her maternal care and seat of wisdom. If you look at the prayer card that accompanies the Mass booklet, itself a welcome souvenir for you all, you will see the arms of Our Lady sustaining the Christ Child for the Paschal Mystery and the work of salvation, which will always have the eternal word over sin and even death itself. Conscious, that this day is not about me primarily, despite appearances, but about the community of Saint Edmund and all whom we serve, I chose a text to steer my ministry going forward which is to be found beneath the image. *Convertat ut benignitas*, which translates loosely as "that by kindness he may convert." It comes from the hymn for Lauds, sung in the Liturgy of the Hours during Lent, *Iam Christe, Sol Iustitiae*, probably composed around the sixth century, but about whose authorship we are not entirely sure. It is a reminder to us that no zeal for anything good will be effective unless we are kind. Kindness draws, and is a fruit of the Holy Spirit.

Saint Benedict wrote in chapter 49 of his Rule that a monk's life should be a continuous Lent, but also that he should look forward to Easter, in this world and in the next, with joy and eager longing.

May this day bring joy to all of us as we conclude this celebration in the solemn singing of the *Te Deum* and afterwards as we gather to share in the reception that follows. Please pray for me and for all the community. May God bless and reward you all.

The EBC General Chapter

Every four years the monks and nuns of the English Benedictine Congregation (EBC) hold a general chapter which is responsible, among other things, for formulating and changing our constitutions, electing the abbot president, and hearing reports about the different monasteries since the last chapter.

In 2022 the chapter was held at Buckfast Abbey in some of the hottest ten days of the year in mid-July. The abbot or abbess and an elected delegate from each monastery are members of the general chapter, and they were joined by the officials of the congregation responsible for finance, canon law and formation, together with our agent in Rome, Father Edmund Power of Douai. There were also secretaries and facilitators who helped the chapter to proceed efficiently.

Father Paul Gunter had been our elected delegate and had taken part in the extensive work of preparation together with the other superiors and delegates. However, when he was elected abbot in May he was no longer able to be the community's delegate. Immediately after the community photo taken in the abbey church after the abbatial election, the monastery chapter reconvened, and elected me as the new delegate.

Buckfast has superb facilities for an event like general chapter, from the standard of the rooms in Northgate, their very comfortable hotel, to the professional lay-out and facilities of the chapter hall and break-out rooms. It was inspiring and thought-provoking to spend time with monks and nuns from different countries and backgrounds. By chance I knew many of the participants through meetings and contacts over the years both at Douai and elsewhere.

One notable feature of this year's chapter was that 18 out of 22 of the abbots, abbesses and delegates had not attended a general chapter before, at least not in their current roles. This contrasted dramatically with what would have been the case 100 years ago when the congregation was smaller, and when larger communities tended to elect the same delegates year after year.

The gathering for general chapter was further boosted this year by the abbesses and delegates from three overseas communities of nuns

who had applied to join the EBC: Kylemore in Ireland, Mariavall in Sweden, and Jamberoo in Australia.

All the monasteries of the EBC had already taken a consultative vote on their applications, but the final decision rested with the general chapter. The representatives of the applicant communities had been present for all the other sessions, but they withdrew from the chapter hall for the vote. After the vote had gone in their favour, the nuns of the freshly-aggregated communities were welcomed back into the hall to warm applause. Given that the EBC already has three communities in the United States, one in Peru, and one in Zimbabwe, it is not surprising that there has been some talk of changing our name. For some, it seems, "English" Benedictine Congregation does not accurately describe us now.

The chapter dealt with various matters of routine business, including reports from the canonical visitations of all the monasteries, and a report on their finances. Individual monks and nuns may send petitions to be considered by general chapter, and sub-committees were appointed to draft replies to be submitted for approval by general chapter. Each day the minutes of the previous session were distributed and amended as necessary.

One of the most important topics was the subject of formation in our monasteries. The EBC's Consultor for Formation presented a paper entitled the *Ratio Institutionis* which provides the basis for the training of novices and juniors in EBC monasteries. Linked to this was the Vocations Director Handbook, which Father Alban of Douai had been involved in drafting.

Away from the world of draft reports, motions, and legislation was a day spent on safeguarding. For this we moved to another room to emphasise that we were in a different mode of listening and discussion. We heard presentations from the chief executive of the Religious Life Safeguarding Service, and from a professor leading a research project at Durham University. The day was thought provoking, and the members appreciated the opportunity for discussion and reflection on this vital subject.

The general chapter concluded with the election of the abbot president and the members of his council. Abbot Christopher Jamison was re-elected president, and Abbots Gregory Moorman of Portsmouth, Robert Igo of Ampleforth, and Nicholas Wetz of Saint Gregory's (formerly at Downside) were elected as his assistants.

Outside the work of the general chapter, its members had opportunities to relax and to talk informally with each other. We were invited to join the annual barbecue for Buckfast Abbey's staff, and we also were able to visit the community of Saint Gregory in their temporary home in Southgate, part of Buckfast's hospitality facilities.

I am grateful to the Douai community for electing me as their delegate for this general chapter, and for the opportunity to gain new insights into the life and work of the EBC.

OLIVER HOLT OSB

A Pastoral Placement at Douai

I AM BROTHER CASSIAN SHAYO, a monk of Ndanda Abbey in Tanzania, which belongs to the Saint Ottilien Benedictine Congregation. At present, I am a student in Rome at the Beda. In January 2022 I was thinking about where I might make my pastoral placement, a necessary part of my studies at the Beda. Therefore, I sought advice from my formators, and many others, as to where I might go to fulfil the requirement. By the end of March 2022, my search for a location was decided after I had been helped by Father Edmund Power, a monk of Douai, who is the Roman procurator for the English Benedictine Congregation, and who lives at Sant'Anselmo College in Rome. He recommended that I should go to his monastery, Douai Abbey.

There are three reasons why I am grateful to have chosen Douai for my pastoral placement.

First, at the Beda, all students must do a pastoral placement covering two weeks although this can be stretched to four weeks. I was grateful to have been allowed the opportunity to experience life in contemporary England, especially at Ormskirk, a parish near Liverpool which belongs to Douai Abbey; to experience British culture, British weather, and the monastic life at Douai Abbey. I was struck to see in Ormskirk the depth of people's faith. I was able to meet different groups of Catholics, including students as well as parishioners. I was impressed by people's generosity and kindness. As a result, I felt very much at home at Douai Abbey and in Ormskirk.

Secondly, my time in England allowed me to practise speaking English since I am not fluent in this language. People were encouraging, and reassured me that my English was good, so I was not afraid to make mistakes, as I did many times. As a result, my English is much improved. This has been a great boost to my self-confidence.

Thirdly, in my community in Tanzania there are more than 75 monks, while at Douai Abbey there are fewer than 25. Although the community at Douai is smaller in number, there is a true devotion to the liturgy. The first day I arrived at Douai, I was worried about being the only African monk, and being in a new environment, but I received a warm welcome

from all the monks. Because of the community's hospitality, I soon felt welcome and happy to be at Douai.

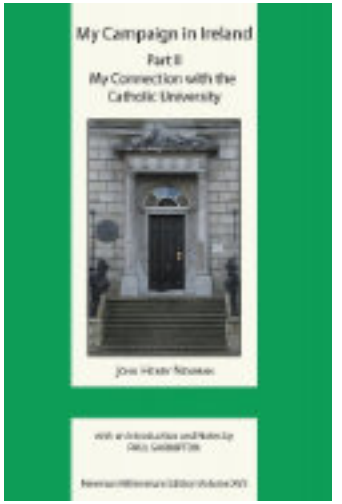
Since Brother Aidan and I were the youngest in the community at Douai, we spent much time together doing manual work and other activities. We also went to the cinema in Reading, and met up with other people. Brother Aidan and I, along with Father Oliver, went to Buckfast Abbey in Devon to be present at two ordinations to the priesthood. On the journey, we visited Stonehenge and Downside Abbey. One of the monks being ordained was Father John George, who belongs to the community of Saint Gregory, formerly at Downside but which is now living at Buckfast. Father John is currently at Sant'Anselmo, where I am also living while studying at the Beda.

I would very much like to thank Abbot Geoffrey Scott and Abbot Paul Gunter and all monks of Douai Abbey, especially Father Godric in Ormskirk and Father Edmund in Rome, for the opportunity for such an enjoyable time in England, which balanced community life with parish life, and spiritual life with social life. I returned to Rome on 30 September, full of happy memories of my stay in Douai.

CASSIAN SHAYO OSB

Book Reviews

John Henry Newman, *My Campaign in Ireland Part II: My Connection with the Catholic University.* Edited with an introduction and notes by Paul Shrimpton. Newman Millennium Edition Volume XVII, Gracewing, 2022. cxv+544 pp. H/B, £35. ISBN 978 085244 966 0.



MY CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND PART I documented J. H. Newman's educational principles and practical plans and structures for his Irish project. In this second volume of analysis of Newman's attempt to establish a Catholic university in Ireland, Paul Shrimpton demonstrates scholarship of a very high order. Analysis, even forensic analysis, is the right term. In his long editor's introduction to the two hitherto unpublished documents (called *Memorandum about my Connection with the Catholic University,* and *Extracts from Letters*) which Newman left as a record of his plans, aspirations, frustrations, and disappointments in respect of this failed project, Shrimpton patiently explains their origin and sets them in a historical context that allows a balancing voice to those unsympathetic to Newman's side of the story. Newman's critics of the time called him, among other things, incompetent, touchy, and stubborn. Shrimpton gives particular attention to Colin Barr's counterpoint account in *Paul Cullen, John Henry Newman and the Catholic University of Ireland 1845-1865* of 2003.

The drama that is the subject of this book centres on two central characters, Newman and the archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen. They were very different personalities with fundamentally different aims in respect of the proposed university, and Cullen came to regret his invitation to Newman to undertake the project. The conflict, grounded

in their different ambitions, is set as the foreground to a conflict on big issues: English vs. Irish, Irish national outlook vs. European outlook, seminary vs. university, utilitarians vs. ecclesiastics, Rome vs. Louvain, ultramontane vs. cisalpine, and above all, clerical vs. lay. One validation of this analysis is that some of these conflicts remain unresolved today. Shrimpton's assemblage of a wide critical perspective and his exhaustive and learned notes to the *Memorandum* and the *Extracts* elucidate new evidence and offer a fresh intimacy with Newman's character.

Shrimpton acknowledges that Cullen, as Rome's man, was managing a complex situation: an Ireland still ruled from Westminster, the social consequences of Catholic emancipation, the social disruption of the potato famine, Roman opposition to the new non-denominational Queen's Colleges in Ireland, division among the Irish bishops on the right educational programme for the Irish Church. Cullen conceived the university more as a seminary, whereas Newman took as his model the Catholic university at Louvain, which offered an intellectual, cultural, and moral education for the laity based in universal knowledge. Newman wanted to avoid Irish national and ecclesiastical politics; Cullen thought there was too much Oxford in Newman's plans, that Newman espoused too liberal a disciplinary scheme for Irish students, and (among other things) complained that Newman was too heavy on expenses. Cullen appointed a vice-rector of a stripe different from Newman's without even consulting him, having concluded that Irish affairs should be managed by Irishmen. The strain under which he worked caused Cullen to have a nervous breakdown in 1855.

Cullen, Shrimpton recognizes, achieved many positive things for the Irish Church, but his wily manipulation of committees and their resolutions ("adept at obstruction" as Shrimpton puts it), and his implacable distrust of any lay involvement in the governance of church affairs (including the university project), struck at one of Newman's fundamental principles. Shrimpton suggests that, ultimately, the failure of the project probably lies less in an apportionment of blame to either Cullen or Newman, than in the apathy of the educated Irish laity, who had the capacity to support Newman's plans more forcefully.

Nevertheless, in the *Memorandum* Newman is, as Shrimpton tells us in his introduction, frankly scathing of Cullen's conduct and mindset

(Newman's scrap summary of 1872 is set out on page xcvii of the Introduction). On page xcviii we find quoted the full force of Newman's frustration:

> Dr Cullen has no notion at all of treating me with any confidence. He grants me nothing; and I am resolute that I will have all I want, and more than I have yet asked for…he has never done anything but take my letters, crumple them up, put them into the fire and write no answer. And so with everything else…He is perfectly impracticable.

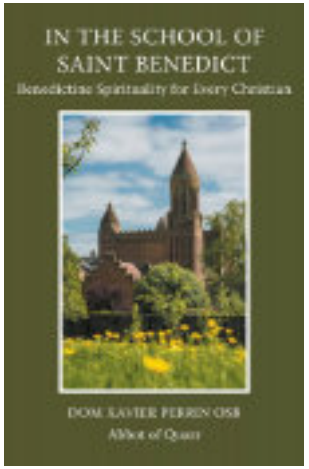
Cullen from the first treated him as a "scrub," and he writes: "…my Superiors, though they may claim my obedience, have no claim on my admiration, and offer nothing for my inward trust" (p.cix). Cullen's frustration of the pope's intention (communicated in congratulatory letters sent by Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop Manning, and Bishop Ullathorne) to make Newman a bishop at the inauguration of the project, is recorded in the *Memorandum* as a particular wound.

The table of contents to this volume sets out a clear organization of the disparate material out of which the story is told, and there is a comprehensive index at the end, locating the place of individuals and themes in the text. While the book is aimed at the reader with a serious academic interest in the significance of the Dublin university episode in Newman's life, it offers for the general reader with an interest in mid-nineteenth-century Catholic affairs and their place in the political activities of the Vatican and of the British government of the time access to original and hitherto unpublished biographical detail on its two principal protagonists. While its scholarly apparatus and footnotes are necessarily detailed and extensive, its base material (both the editor's and Newman's) is readable and stylish. This book is a valuable contribution to Newman studies.

DR RALPH D. TOWNSEND

Xavier Perrin OSB, *In the School of Saint Benedict: Benedictine Spirituality for Every Christian.* Gracewing, 2022. 101 pp. P/B, £9.99. ISBN 978 085244 985 1.

THIS BOOK, FIRST PUBLISHED in French back 2020, has now been translated into English by two writers associated with Quarr Abbey,



where Dom Xavier is abbot. It is intended as a straightforward, uncomplicated account aimed at a general audience of lay people.

The book is divided into three parts. Dom Xavier begins properly enough with a series of chapters recounting the life and vocation of Saint Benedict, and the creation of his original rule, helpfully presenting the foundations of the monastic life as four pillars: Mystery, Place, Path, and Time.

The next section narrates the history of the Benedictine family since the sixth century, which moves from the Venerable Bede through other notable figures down to the 1996 martyrs of the Atlas Mountains, the monks of Tibhirine. What strikes one in this section is the great variety of vocations encompassed by the Benedictine ideal.

However, these sections are preparatory to the third section, which represents the core of the book. Dom Xavier discusses how it is possible to follow the spirit of Saint Benedict while living in the world. He writes particularly eloquently about hospitality, which he interestingly includes in a section entitled "integral ecology." Hospitality is "a fundamental attitude for Benedictines" and "the most visible expression of their service of humanity" (p.85).

In his final section, Dom Xavier emphasises that "following Saint Benedict…is not so much about building a monastery as about initiating a process of conversion which has its source in the powerful graces of our baptism and its destination in our heavenly homeland" (p.97).

This is a book which will inspire both those already familiar with the teaching of Saint Benedict, and those who have yet to discover its riches.

ALBAN HOOD OSB

Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *Worship in Medieval England.* Arc Humanities Press, 2018. 92 pp. P/B, £15.95.
ISBN 978 164189 115 8.

Saint benedict wrote of the liturgy that to it "nothing is to be preferred." This short book belongs to a series, Past Imperfect, which "presents concise critical overviews of the latest research" in medieval studies. Here, M.C. Salisbury, of University and Worcester Colleges, Oxford, shows himself to be an established liturgical scholar. After an introduction, each of this book's chapters has an aim. Chapter 1 challenges the idea that English medieval Uses, local variants of the Roman liturgy, "were stable and unvarying in their details" (p.10). Chapter 2 challenges the idea that "pre-modern Christians were ignorant of the meaning and value of the rites at which they assisted faithfully" (p.10). Chapter 3 relates the opportunities for new English liturgical study following previous scholarship.

The first two chapters deserve thematic discussion. Because only 0.1% of medieval English liturgical manuscripts survive (p.21), evidence is bound to be sometimes sketchy. Salisbury, having provided a summary of English liturgical scholarship from the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (pp.26-31), describes the main reasons for the Sarum Use's wide adoption in medieval England. However, one should note that the Sarum diocese's figurative luminosity as related by its thirteenth-century bishop, Giles de Bridport (p.13), surely had less to do with the Use's adoption than with the notable quality of its books. (One point which Salisbury omits is that by the late Middle Ages there were copyists' shops in London and Oxbridge which produced Sarum missals to order.) Another reason was that those English dioceses which had cathedral-priories would be unable to employ their cathedrals' monastic books as too demanding for the secular clergy (p.16). Further, Salisbury notes the Use of Lincoln's demise, which would only have promoted Sarum's adoption. The Lincoln Use was not widely employed in the large diocese because its cathedral lacked influence in the diocese (p.31). Further, Edmund Bishop, a Benedictine confrater, whose work Salisbury praises (pp.29-32 & 67), has noted that this Use was probably "little more than a half-forgotten tradition" by the end of the fifteenth century.

As to the Mass in medieval England, Salisbury importantly discusses *The Lay Folks Mass Book*. In noting that the book's English version is in

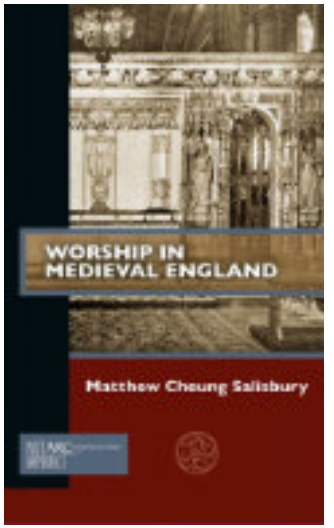
northern English, he omits that Dan Jeremy, its presumed editor, was archdeacon of Cleveland in north-eastern England in the late twelfth century. However, Salisbury points out very significantly that this book's individual user was meant to harmonize the book's devotions with the rites performed at the altar. While he believes that a congregation "quite likely would not interact with the clergy and choir" at a medieval Mass—or other service—with some solemnity, this cannot always have been so for the Mass, since people participated in it by two different means. While private prayer was one, the other was ritual action, as Eamon Duffy has noted. By the late Middle Ages, the main Mass in a parish church involved the congregation being aspersed with holy water, joining in the Bidding Prayers (in English), kissing the pax-brede after the clergy, and receiving blessed (not consecrated) bread after Mass, all of which showed congregational interaction with the clergy.

Regarding the Offices (also called the Hours), the psalter began the liturgical formation of at least the monastic clergy: the Rule of Saint Benedict states the importance of junior monks' learning the psalter and its performance. In describing the Office's structure, Salisbury has apparently worked simultaneously with Sherry L. Reames, whose 2021 book *Saints' Legends in Medieval Sarum Breviaries* magisterially discusses the developments in the Sarum Office's sanctoral section. Both he and Reames understand that English medieval calendars vary enormously.

In Chapter 3, Salisbury evidently comes into his own. He describes online medieval liturgical sources' advantages and limitations, especially since "it is also possible to set up bespoke databases and websites to record, compare and analyse the contents of manuscripts" (p.76). He then applies this information to musical analysis and comparison, for which such databases can be particularly suitable, and provides appropriate caveats. Salisbury's final section looks to the future of liturgical studies. He makes six points, of which two are, first, that one should not be uncritical when using earlier editions which do little more than provide a transcribed text—a mistake which online study can facilitate; and secondly, that the variations in texts of any one service help fragment the notion of liturgy as being "universal and unchanging" and engender greater awareness of it as being local and less fixed. For example, Procter & Wordsworth's edition of the Sarum Breviary, over-revered as a standard text, offers in places different texts than numerous other Sarum breviaries.

Pages 87 to 92 contain the adequate bibliography, usefully including new editions of several medieval liturgical commentaries. Furthermore, Salisbury rightly uses the term "Liturgiology." Liturgy is celebrated in church; liturgiology is the science of liturgy's theology, history, and practice. Thus, for example, that discerning stylist Evelyn Waugh wrote of the future Abbot Aelred Carlyle OSB that "he taught himself theology and liturgiology."

However, this book has its share of weaknesses. At the start, Salisbury boldly refers to medieval source material as requiring new study "in ways quite different from the summary treatment it often receives." Later, too, he makes the very large claim about much liturgical historiography from the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, that "previous scholarship is problematic and difficult to use, owing to misconceptions and outdated ideas" (p.65). Both statements convey an unnecessarily negative approach to much of the fair-sized corpus of editions and studies of medieval English liturgy which we have, despite the very small proportion of manuscripts that have survived. Again, Salisbury claims that some views have "become normative simply because no other possibility has seriously been considered" (p.1). That may have been the case up to the mid-twentieth century, but this reviewer is not convinced that it is so now, at least among scholars. Likewise, the view which Salisbury opposes on page 10, about the supposed fixity-in-form of English medieval Uses' details, is surely held less widely now. Although he particularly associates with the twentieth century the belief that pre-modern Christians did not know the rites' meaning and value, that opinion must be rare in scholarly, if not parochial, circles nowadays, remembering especially that the



clergy's preaching and other catechesis should have lessened such ignorance as far as possible.

While we are told a lot about the Sarum Use, we are not told much about the York Use, given the size of the area which practised it. More particularly, Salisbury does not discuss the Hereford Use beyond mere references and the briefest of quotations (pp.13, 22, 25, 88 & 91). While he may have been working at the same time as William Smith, whose important work on Hereford appeared in 2015, there should have been time for Salisbury at least to acknowledge it.

Another serious scholarly matter is Salisbury's incorrectness in stating that, while the Uses of, for example, Evreux and Burgos were very regional, the usage "of the Roman Curia" was "rather more widespread" (p.15). Here, "rather" should read "greatly." The work of Stephen J.P. van Dijk OFM and Joan Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, clarifies that the Mass-ordo known from its opening words as *Indutus Planeta*, closely modelled on the papal curial liturgy of the early thirteenth century, was given to the Franciscans in 1243 by their English minister-general, Haymo of Faversham. *Indutus* followed Saint Francis' insistence of 1223 that his order use the papal court's order of Mass and provided the form in which the expanding Franciscan order took this version of the Roman liturgy across Europe and into Asia Minor.

Unfortunately, some terms requiring definition are left unexplained, including *missa*, which Gregory Dix has illuminatingly translated as "dismissal" (p.3), *Ordines Romani* (p.49) and melisma (p.78, thrice). One oversight is that "the Roman Missal, for use by the worldwide Catholic Church" (p.17) should have "Roman" before "Catholic Church": the Catholic Church also contains the rites of the Catholic East and of the non-Roman West, as, for example, at Milan. Even so, Salisbury has produced an informative and thought-provoking, if sometimes uneven, little book which is worth reading and worth keeping.

FR NICHOLAS PAXTON
Priest of the Diocese of Salford

Katherine Rundell, *Super-Infinite: The Transformations of John Donne*. Faber & Faber, 2022. 352 pp. P/B, ISBN 978 057134 592 2, £10.99. H/B, ISBN 978 057134 591 5, £16.99.

JOHN DONNE WAS THE POET of love and death and is therefore of special attraction to Catholics. William Shakespeare's younger contemporary, he was brought up in a religious minority at a time of religious terror, "a darkly particular way to grow up." As a Catholic in Elizabethan England, he would see his relatives jailed and executed for their beliefs from childhood onwards. Metaphors of imprisonment plague his writing on illness and suicide: "whensoever any affliction assails me, me thinks I have the keys of my prison in mine own hand," he wrote in *Biathanatos*, "and no remedy presents itself so soon to my heart as mine own sword." His mother kept the old faith, and Donne looked after her until her death just before his own, housing her in his deanery at St Paul's Cathedral. His brother Henry was arrested in 1593 for harbouring the Catholic priest William Harrington, and died in Newgate Prison of bubonic plague. Rundell's account of it is gripping:

> There were rumours, at the time, that the Jesuits were in some way implicated in Henry's arrest. There were rifts between Jesuits and seminary priests—many Catholic priests saw the increasingly extreme positions of the Jesuits, who advocated various degrees of violence against the monarchy, from deposing to beheading, as over-much and ungodly. Harrington, the priest discovered in Henry's rooms, was one of those who had begun to feel doubts—he had written of his need to be "answerable to my father's estate," which required loyalty to queen and country and the system into which he had been born—and when the priest hunters came crashing through the door, whispers ran through London that Harrington had been betrayed because of his weakening stance. It is very possible that Donne felt the Jesuits were in part to blame for the death of his brother. (p.72)

Not everyone was cut out for martyrdom, John Donne included. When Henry died in 1593, Donne was still a Catholic; when he married in 1601, he was not. Even though prodigiously gifted and, by chance of patronage, highly educated as Donne was, social progress in Elizabethan and Jacobean society was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Catholics. Against all odds, and after much deft employment of his literary (persuasive) skills, for which from early manhood he was famous in a court that celebrated the high culture of music, poetry and learned preaching, he married into status and

comfortable money. He lived with Anne More distant from the court, and parented many children, six of whom ultimately survived, the last of whom was the cause of Anne's death in childbirth.

But it was only after many years of oleaginous importuning of court influence, and after Anne's death, that Donne was offered advancement by King James I, first in a diplomatic mission abroad (unsuccessful), and then as Dean of Saint Paul's, where the full range of his talents could coruscate. Congregations in those days were more like crowds; St Paul's Cross, the area beside the cathedral, could accommodate 2,000 hearers, with architectural acoustics allowing those among the front thousand to hear Donne's highly original and dramatic delivery, the rear thousand receiving a verbal summary passed down from the front.

The first preacher whom the new king, Charles I, called upon was Donne, such was his fame and prestige. It was an irony, then, that it was not long before he offended the king when, in an extensive metaphor about the church lacking perfection, he referred to kings whose wives may have "sucked in their infancy from another church." Charles's wife was Henrietta Maria, daughter of the king of France and an ardent Catholic! Bishop Laud had to act as midwife of an abject apology from Donne to the king.

Donne's modern fame resides in his genius as a poet and as a love poet in particular. His love poems are simultaneously complex and direct. "I wonder, by my troth, what thou and I / Did, till we loved?" he writes in "The Good Morrow." Rundell dubs him "an infinity poet," maestro of the knotted beauties of seventeenth-century English. But he is also the poet and essayist of death. In December 1623, when he thought he was dying, he went urgently from his sick bed to write the *Meditations*, in which he insists on human multiplicity: "Man consists of more pieces, more parts, than the world doth, nay, than the world is."

Those meditations contain Donne's famous argument that "no man is an island." His great prose work, *Biathanatos*, from 1608, is a dark treatise on suicide that he suppressed during his lifetime.

John Donne was prodigy, rake, soldier, poet, flatterer, prisoner, priest. He was born a child of persecuted Catholics and died as the most revered Protestant preacher in England. In this impressive book, which is both biography and apology, Katherine Rundell reminds us of his essential message, which is a profoundly Christian one. It is to pay attention. As he commanded in one of his sermons:

> Now was there ever any man seen to sleep in the cart between Newgate and Tyburn? Between the prison and the place of execution, does any man sleep? And we sleep all the way, from the womb to the grave we are never thoroughly awake.

Most of all, our attention is owed to one another, the demand for which is conveyed in an extended metaphor:

> No man is an island, entire in itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less...any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind...

DR RALPH D. TOWNSEND

Obituaries

DAME CATHERINE WYBOURNE OSB, 1954-2022

On the feast of Our Lady of Consolation, 5 July 2018, Dame Catherine Wybourne recalled, "Many years ago, before I became a nun, I was doing some research in Ourense, Galicia, where the canon-archivist was very keen to show the enigmatic *Inglesa* his pride and joy: a statue of Our Lady of Consolation that had been much beloved of English seamen. I had so far acculturated to Spanish ways that I actually dropped to my knees and prayed—for England, of course, but even more, with all the egocentricity of youth, for myself and [my] future path in life. I did not know that it would lead me to an English Benedictine monastery under the patronage of that self-same Lady of Consolation, nor that one of my kinswomen had been a member of the community back in the eighteenth century. But it did…"[1]

When she entered Stanbrook Abbey, dedicated to Our Lady of Consolation, she discovered she was a scion of the same Kent family as Dom Henry Wyburne, professed in 1723 at the monastery of Saint Edmund in Paris. That implied a link with two families of nuns in the community's eighteenth-century history:

> The Wybournes (or Wyburnes) were cousins of the Knight family who were cousins of the Anne family; so the connection is distant but enough to enable me to bear the annual outcry from those who have an equally distant connection with St Thomas More or St John Southworth. I usually point out that nearly every Englishman has a connection with Edward III, also, and it's where we're going that matters![2]

A third indicator that she was being drawn to her spiritual home was the date of her birthday, 5 April. At Stanbrook she found that three others in the community shared her birthday. Was it mere coincidence? 5 July is exactly nine months before 5 April, she pointed out. The links with Our Lady of Consolation were to help her at difficult times.

EDUCATION

Driana Enid Wybourne, born in 1954, was named after the place in Libya where her father, Albert Frederick Wybourne, was based on military service. The elder of two daughters, she bore the weight of the exacting

standards and expectations of her father and mother, Enid, née Mynheer, and attributed her managerial skills to their training.

Driana received a Catholic education at Boscombe Convent, the school in Bournemouth that Dame Werburg Welch of Stanbrook had attended 60 years earlier. After reading history at Girton College, Cambridge, she spent three years in northern Spain, researching medieval Cistercian history. Many of the manuscripts she hoped to consult had been destroyed by fire during the twentieth century, and she was unable to complete her doctorate. She turned to training in corporate banking, and at some point also gained a military driving licence.

A MONASTIC VOCATION

As background to her doctoral research, she had decided to read the complete writings of Saint Bernard in Latin. The first volume was sufficient to attract her to monastic life. Thoughts of a religious vocation now re-emerged. After three weeks' trial of monastic life at Stanbrook, then at Callow End, Worcester, she applied to return as a postulant. There was no reply till she made known her quandary to one of the community. Abbess Elizabeth Sumner intervened and on 2 May 1981 Driana entered with Robyn Reso.

Both received the Benedictine habit on 21 November, the *Dies Memorabilis* of the English Benedictine Congregation, together with their religious name. The new Sister Catherine was not sorry no longer to have to explain her name whenever she met someone. The novitiate training served its purpose. Cells were furnished with a prie-dieu, small cupboard, desk, chair and bed, plus a few books; a single heating-pipe ran along one wall. Each evening a can of hot water for washing was collected from the kitchen. The novitiate, in the Georgian Old House, was completely separate, and novices joined the community for recreation, for half an hour, only on Sunday afternoons. The austerity was part of the adventure, however, and was mitigated by companionship. She liked to add depth to a feast day by quoting Herrick or Vaughan to her companions, and for a Christmas entertainment would produce a new chapter of the Rule. Each week novices learnt a section of the Rule, however much could be managed, and at the end of two-year probation they were examined over their understanding of the

vows, liturgy and Gregorian chant. On 14 May 1984, she made her first profession. It had been delayed by six months; she used the extra time to learn the Rule of Saint Benedict by heart in Latin as well as English, and to begin to draft her own translation. Though Abbess Joanna Jamieson was absent for reasons of health, her solemn profession duly took place on 14 May 1987, when she became officially Dame Catherine.

LITERARY WORK

Immensely capable and disciplined, the "jill-of-all-trades," as she later described herself, quickly became mistress of them all, from poultry-keeper, cook and winemaker, to mistress of ceremonies, cellarer and printer. Her love of poetry inspired her to write hymns for the hours of the Divine Office in the vernacular. One of the earliest was penned for the feast of Saints John Fisher and Thomas More, great-great-grandfather of Dame Gertrude More, the community's principal foundress. Typically in common metre, the hymn begins:

> The King's good servant Thomas More
> Strode jesting to the block,
> His shield of faith about him clasped,
> Death's transient pow'r to mock.

She found herself inheriting the mantle of Dame Frideswide Sandeman. Chantress, novice mistress, and prioress at various times, Dame Frideswide composed several hymns for Vigils and Lauds, and was adept at writing jubilee songs. From the outset in 1973 she attended international congresses on the Rule, and was on the editorial board for the publication of the ensuing volumes of *Regulae Benedicti Studia*. She warmly encouraged the young nun to succeed her as the English representative on the international scene. Dame Catherine attended the triennial congresses held between 1990 and 1999 in Germany, Spain, Italy and England, and each time contributed a paper on a theme in the context of the Rule: Christian unity, the basis of community order, desiring life in the third millennium, and monastic writing tools. For this last topic, "Book, Tablet & Stylus" was presented at the 1999 congress, held at Belmont Abbey, in the form of a pamphlet about the Stanbrook Abbey Press.

She was becoming known internationally. Her translation of the Rule had been published in *Work and Prayer: the Rule of St Benedict for Lay*

People, a commentary by Father Columba Cary-Elwes of Ampleforth that has been reprinted several times since 1992. In September 1998 she was asked to address the International Symposium of Benedictine Women, held at Sant'Anselmo in Rome, on the theme, "Experience of God and the Benedictine approach to prayer." Her paper, "Seeing by the Light that Comes from God: Finding God in the sacred aspects of our life," was translated the following year into nine languages, and appeared in monastic journals such as *Erbe und Auftrag*.

In the 1990s her historical interests found new scope. She began to attend the English Benedictine History Symposium. For the second edition (1995) of *Benedict's Disciples*, first published in 1980, David Farmer decided more attention should be given to the history of the nuns, and asked her and Sister Margaret Truran to insert a chapter, "Benedictine Nuns in Medieval England." In preparation for the commemoration in 1997 of the arrival of the missionary monks sent by Pope Gregory the Great, Dom Daniel Rees of Downside asked them both to contribute articles on the pioneering work of nuns. Dame Catherine's, "Seafarers and Stay-at-Homes: Anglo-Saxon Nuns and Mission," duly appeared in the *Downside Review*. The research enabled her to supply a chapter, "Leoba: A Study in Humanity and Holiness," to *Medieval Women Monastics: Wisdom's Wellsprings*, ed. Miriam Schmitt OSB & Linda Kulzer OSB (1996). That, in turn, led to an essay on "Rumer Godden: Oblate Novelist" in *Benedict in the World: Portraits of Monastic Oblates*, ed. Linda Kulzer OSB & Roberta Bondi (2002). It was as an oblate of Stanbrook, with a panel of three nuns scrutinising her script, that Rumer wrote her best-selling novel, *In This House of Brede*.

The demanding literary commitments were, in terms of her daily life, an aside. Her parents were a constant source of concern. After her mother's death, her father's health began to fail. In 1998 he came to live in a bungalow a few yards from the abbey, and she saw to his needs for a year, at the same time as acting as co-cellarer and managing the Stanbrook Abbey Press.

STANBROOK ABBEY PRESS

She had gained initial experience of the printing room when she was appointed secretary to the Press after the first, canonical, year of her novitiate. Under Dame Hildelith Cumming, printer from 1955, letterpress work had reached the highest standards. From 1981, however, Dame Hildelith was no longer in good health, and though she remained in charge of the Press till her death in 1991, its output was limited. Her last book, published in 1990, was the catalogue for an *Exhibition of Fine Printing from Stanbrook Abbey Press 1956–1989* by John Dreyfus and Michael Messenger.

Circumstances had changed since the heyday of the Press in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The integration of the lay, or claustral, sisters into the work timetable for the community in 1965 brought major change to the printing room; no longer could a lay sister be relied on to keep the ink running on the rollers while the choir nuns were singing one of the Little Hours or Vespers. At the same time the renewal of monastic life and of the liturgy in the wake of Vatican Council II brought an era of experimentation on all fronts. The change to the vernacular in the liturgy, except at Vespers, and the revised order of psalmody, required the production of endless provisional texts and music. The labour of letterpress printing was impractical. Instead, Dame Anne Field and Dame Maria Boulding shouldered the work on a typewriter, and duplicated copies on bander paper until the introduction of photocopying in the 1970s. Technological developments in the 1980s rang the death knell for ordinary letterpress work. Word processors and personal computers replaced typewriters and duplicators, and made possible desktop printing and publishing. The arrival of new professional tools coincided with a feeling in the community that experimenting had to come to a close; stability was needed instead of transience.

Work began on the revision of liturgical settings in the vernacular, with the final production entrusted to Dame Anne. *The Office of Compline* was created on a word processor in 1985. The capitals and underlinings were still reminiscent of typewriter presentation, and the music handwritten. For the office of Lauds, she rose to the challenge of acquiring expertise in music notation software by adopting Ventura, the first popular desktop publishing software for personal computers on the DOS operating system. Designed to interface with word processors, it worked well with the WordPerfect application.[3] Meanwhile Dame Catherine and Dame Benedicta White, who had been second printer for the Press from 1981 to 1984, began to investigate offset lithography. The 1989 edition of the *Monastic Ritual* for the English Benedictine

Congregation emerged from the new Lithography department, as also the *Oratory School Prayerbook*.

The exposure to chemicals had an adverse effect on Sister Catherine that was probably responsible for the later diagnosis of sarcoidosis. Following Dame Anne's lead, she taught herself computer technology in the early 1990s, became adept at using WordPerfect, and engaged in fundraising for computer equipment. By now fully in charge of the Press, she balanced the revival of some old skills, such as printing on handmade or recycled paper, with the introduction of electronic technology. Looking for a niche market, she developed a line in wedding stationery, including orders of service.

Like Dame Hildelith, she refused to acknowledge an item as the work of the Stanbrook Abbey Press unless the presswork reached a high standard. *The Catalogue of Monks & Nuns, Definitions of General Chapter: English Congregation of Black Monks of Saint Benedict*, issued after the General Chapter of 1989, carried the imprint "Stanbrook Abbey Publications"; the editions of 1993 and 1997, "Stanbrook Abbey." The same imprint appeared in *To a Wren* (1992), poems by Patrick Taylor issued in support of the Stanbrook Abbey Church Trust, and in two items printed in 1994, *The Statutes for the Government of the English Benedictine Congregation*, and *The Declarations for the Nuns of the English Benedictine Congregation*, a booklet that consigned to history its unwieldy predecessor, duplicated pages and floating pieces of paper indicating subsequent modifications, all loosely placed in a holder.

In 1997 she launched a Millennium appeal to raise the money for "hi-tech" computer work, including eBooks, and a Heidelberg GTO lithographic press. The change in quality of printing was immediately evident in a revised edition of Dame Eanswythe Edwards' *Home at Last: a talk given on 26 June 1988 to commemorate 150 years at Stanbrook*, first printed at Stanbrook in 1989; the colophon, geometric in design, records that 500 copies were printed at the "Stanbrook Abbey Press" in 1999. Henceforth all production, except jobbing, carried that imprint.

2001 was a year of technological innovations. *The Catalogue of Monks and Nuns…of the English Benedictine Congregation* was printed for the first time in electronic form as well as hard copy. The Press began to offer typesetting and design services in full colour; the finished product was sent from the computer to the customer's local printer. The first

book to be typeset was *Maiden and Mother: Prayers, Hymns, Songs and Devotions to honour the Blessed Mother Virgin Mary throughout the year*, selected and arranged by M.M. Miles, and published jointly by Burns & Oates and Ignatius Press. In "an attempt to make available at low cost what otherwise would have proved prohibitively expensive," the Press began the production of eBooks. *Bible Beasts: Wood Engravings* appeared to mark the 80th birthday of Sister Margaret Tournour RSCJ.[4]

Another eBook, representing three years of work, was in preparation. *Magnificat: The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary as told in the Chapter House paintings of D. Werburg Welch, Stanbrook Abbey*, displays the murals painted by Dame Werburg between 1926 and 1931. The book opens with the words: *Ex Libris electronice editis apud Abbatiam B.M.V de Stanbrook MMII*. The main text includes a diagram of where the paintings were situated in the Chapter House at Stanbrook. Opposite each photo is a commentary. The colophon gives details of the typeface, software, digital camera, and the use of Photoshop to create the virtual binding (grained leather) and handmade deckled paper.

The crowning achievement was *Woolhampton 1903-2003: A Centenary History*, general editor Geoffrey Scott OSB. The history of the monks of Saint Edmund, King and Martyr, was finished in time for the celebrations on 21 June 2003 to mark the centenary of their arrival in Woolhampton. Dame Catherine was responsible for the design, typesetting, copy-editing, indexing and printing of 200 pages with 44 illustrations, as well as the CD-ROM in the back jacket that carries detailed lists of monks and missions. The clarity and quality of the work won praise.

HOLY TRINITY MONASTERY

The last book printed by the Stanbrook Abbey Press was *Just a Grain of Sand* by Ian Morris of Worcester; the 54 pages in hardcover were completed on 31 January 2004. A few months later Abbess Joanna Jamieson gave permission for Dame Catherine with two other nuns to Stanbrook to transfer to a new foundation established in the diocese of Portsmouth by Bishop Crispian Hollis. Holy Trinity Monastery, East Hendred, was erected as an independent priory on 6 September 2004, and the following month Dame Catherine was appointed prioress. Abbot Geoffrey Scott of Douai had helped them to find a rented home

in the presbytery at East Hendred. Owned by the Eyston family, descendants of Saint Thomas More, it was a felicitous link with the foundation of the community of Our Lady of Consolation. For nine years the monks of Douai Abbey provided regular spiritual support.

In the circumstances she could no longer continue in charge of the Stanbrook Press. Nothing daunted, she launched the Veil Press that same year as a private limited company with herself as the director and Dame Lucy King its secretary. "Veil" was a punning device; East Hendred lies in the Vale of White Horse. The principal activities, typesetting and design, would ensure a means of income as the new priory had no endowment, and also help meet diocesan needs. Work began almost at once on typesetting the 2006 edition of *The Catholic Directory of England and Wales*, ed. D. Catherine Wybourne, for Gabriel Communications, Manchester. She was responsible for subsequent editions till 2013. A simultaneous enterprise, *Lady Flower: Twelve Poems and a Prayer in honour of Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary*, was conceived as a way of showing gratitude to friends and benefactors. 50 copies were printed and bound at "The Veil Press, East Hendred MMVI." It was published as a digital book, as eBooks were now called, in 2008.

"SHARING A VOCATION WITH THE WORLD"

The recording of audiobooks, Veilaudio, was a major charitable work undertaken from the beginning to provide a free lending library service for the visually impaired. Benedictine hospitality on the ground was offered in the form of talks, short courses, and days of recollection at the monastery. The inaugural lecture in the 2009 series of talks was given by Henrietta Leyser on Christina of Markyate. Gradually the monastery library was built up and made accessible to others by appointment.

To present a front to the world, it was essential that the monastery had its own website. In the late 1990s Dame Catherine had gained experience as a member of a group working with Luke Davies to set up the Stanbrook Abbey website; she contributed the section on the Abbey Press and the portrait of Dame Hildelith Cumming. This time she herself built the website for Holy Trinity Monastery; launched in 2007, it is exemplary for clarity and ease of handling. The experience enabled her to develop a business line in web design services, Veilnet. Technological innovations continued, from podcasts and videos on the website to online meetings when the monastery began to attract oblates. A version of the website for mobile devices appeared in 2008. She explored creating an app development programme to make iPhone apps, for instance on the Rule of Saint Benedict, available to others. "We see this [the use of multimedia] as a way of reaching out from the cloister to those who wish to learn from the monastic tradition…The internet is a great way of making monastic life more accessible without destroying the peace and recollection of the cloister."[5]

She put this into practice in an extraordinary number of ways. The website blog, Colophon, won the Premier Christian Media's "People's Choice Award" in September 2009; its successor, iBenedictines, was awarded the Christian New Media "Blogger of the Year" prize in November 2013. She was invited to attend the conference for bloggers hosted in Rome on 2 May 2011 by the Pontifical Council for Culture and for Social Communications. The monastery had a page on the social media website, Facebook. There were articles in *The New Statesman* (2008), a weekly column in *The Universe*, and contributions in later years to *The Catholic Herald*. 2011 saw the development of a dedicated website offering online retreats, "a little monastic space in the midst of daily activity," for people who did not have time to spend a few days at a monastery. Prayerlines included an account on Twitter, @digitalnun, the moniker originally created when she set up an email account in the 1990s; her followers were said to number over 28,000 at the time of her death.

After Dame Teresa Rodrigues' death in 2010, the search began for a permanent home. An innovative bank scheme raised the mortgage to purchase a barn conversion, Howton Grove in Herefordshire, in the diocese of Cardiff. The move took place at the end of May 2012, and a postulant entered a year later. The little community was then dealt a series of blows. The postulant left, and in February 2014 Dame Catherine announced on her blog that she was suffering from aggressive cancer.

The sessions of chemotherapy that punctuated the rest of her life forced her to reduce activities. At the end of August 2017, she closed the web design and app-making business. Three months later she applied to strike the Veil Press off the register of companies. Veilaudio closed in the autumn of 2018; new technology was making recordings redundant.

In April 2018 the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life issued *Cor Orans*, "an Instruction implementing the Apostolic Constitution *Vultum Dei Quaerere* on Women's Contemplative Life." It caused concern, even consternation, worldwide. Smaller, autonomous communities that had always been part of monastic tradition were no longer considered viable, and the years of initial formation were extended from five and a half to at least nine. Realizing the implications for Holy Trinity Monastery, Dame Catherine engaged both a canon lawyer and a solicitor to protect its assets. "I am sure the way the instruction is being implemented is nothing less than abuse, but it will not be of interest to any but nuns!"[6]

The Instruction's guidance on the use of social media led her to berate the Vatican on her blog. "*Cor Orans* assures us, with dreadful earnestness, that nuns may now use Social Media 'with sobriety and discretion.' Of course I agree with the need for discretion, but having been using Social Media for about ten years—probably longer than many of the clergy and others who felt it necessary to give nuns guidance on the matter—my main reaction is a mixture of despair and irritation…It seems to be only a few years ago that we nuns laughed about being given permission to use fax machines, with due discretion and limitations, naturally, and were tempted to email our response, only the Vatican wasn't using email at the time!"[7] Her post, soon translated into other languages, was a source of merriment to irritated superiors.

Her own use of social media meant so much to so many from all walks of life that she came to believe that "digital ministry" was not just a way of exercising Benedictine hospitality but part of her vocation. "Sharing a vocation with the world" was inserted as a subtitle on the pages of the monastery website. Yet she was increasingly aware of the need for discernment and restraint in exercising that ministry. In 2011 she had drawn up ten online rules for herself: "Pray, Listen, Respect, Encourage, Spend time, Share, Be welcoming, Be grateful, Be yourself, Love." In a later article for *The Catholic Herald*, she wrote "Unless you pray, unless you love those with whom you come into contact online, you're wasting your time as well as theirs."[8]

THE LAST YEARS

She was grateful for the support received from Belmont Abbey, seven miles away. When appointed Vicar for Religious for the diocese, Dom Matthew Carney of Belmont came to celebrate Mass at Howton Grove. In 2018 the Cistercian nuns of Our Lady of Las Huelgas, Spain, withdrew from their daughter-house in Peru, a monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity. She reported, "They have generously given their monastery buildings to the Belmont monks," who had made a foundation in Peru but lacked suitable buildings.[9] Spanish Cistercians and the English Benedictine Congregation, Our Lady and the Blessed Trinity: it seemed as if threads of her own life were coming together.

On 18 December 2021 she was admitted to Hereford County Hospital and told she was close to death. Dom Andrew Berry came the next day to give her the Last Sacraments and Apostolic Pardon. "They confirmed my opinion that Catholicism can be a hard religion to live by but is a beautiful religion in which to die…I like the combination of infinite trust in God and the lack of presumption. No zipping into heaven for me but, I hope, the final purification of purgatory."[10] She asked Abbot Geoffrey of Douai to officiate at her funeral at Belmont Abbey, where the monks had kindly offered her a plot in their cemetery.

She died on 24 February 2022, with Abbot Paul Stonham of Belmont at her side. It was the day of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. That morning she had written her final post on Twitter: "There are no words for the anguish of Ukraine's invasion and the consequences for all of us. May the Lord have mercy on us all." She went to God with her heart wide open.

DAME MARGARET TRURAN OSB

NOTES

1. From her website blog, http://www.ibenedictines.org
2. Personal correspondence with D. Catherine.
3. "From letterpress to Ventura" by Sister Anne Field, an article divided over two issues of TAGline magazine (Ventura Publisher User Group), nos 46–47, August and September 1996. It was reprinted as

"The D.T.P. Saga of a Benedictine Nun at Stanbrook Abbey: From Pen to Letterpress to Ventura" by Sister Anne Field, OSB; *Amphora*, Alcuin Society, Vancouver: "Part I," 108 (Summer 1997), and "Part II: Grappling with Music Notation Software," 109 (Autumn 1997).

4. http://www.benedictinenuns.org.uk/

5. http://www.benedictinenuns.org.uk/; see the Media Section.

6. Personal correspondence, 31 March 2019.

7. http://www.ibenedictines.org/2018/05/17/nuns-and-social-media/

8. "Digital detoxes rarely work. Here are ten things that do," by Sister Catherine Wybourne, *Catholic Herald*, 19 December 2019. https://catholicherald.co.uk/digital-detoxes-rarely-work-here-are-ten-things-that-do/

9. Personal correspondence, 30 November 2018.

10. http://www.ibenedictines.org, "A Personal Message from Sr Catherine (a.k.a. Digitalnun)," 21 December 2021.

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BRIAN MURPHY OSB, 1935-2022 — *Some Douai Memories*

Father Brian left Douai in 1975 and after a teaching career in Ireland, joined the Benedictines at Glenstal Abbey, near Limerick. There, he pursued research into twentieth-century Irish republican politics, and restored and transformed part of the castle gardens by creating a "scripture garden." He occasionally returned as a guest to Douai, and maintained his friendship with Father Terence FitzPatrick. He died on 16 May 2022 at the University Hospital in Limerick, aged 87, and was buried at Glenstal. Father Finbar Kealy represented the Douai community at his funeral.

I JOINED DOUAI SCHOOL in September 1962, a year later than most of my form contemporaries. As a result, I was listed second from the bottom of the form since I had taken no examinations to qualify for a place. I was also placed in the third set, the bottom set, in all subjects except English and History. Someone must have suggested I enjoyed these two subjects, and I suspected this may have been Father Andrew Gibbons, my parish priest and a Douai monk. For these two subjects, taught respectively by Father Bernard Swinhoe and Brother Brian Murphy, I was placed in the second set. Brian had not long returned to Douai to teach history. He had read history at Saint Benet's Hall, Oxford and had graduated M.A. in 1961. He was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop John Henry King of Portsmouth in October 1963 in the abbey church, the first ordination I attended. The ordination Mass was filmed in colour by Father Wilfrid Sollom, one of his first recordings of major Douai events. Father Wilfrid was Brian's contemporary in the community, and his film of the ordination survives. It shows Brian wearing a white woollen chasuble, one of two, the other of red wool, made at The Spinning Wheel, in the Douai parish of Stratford-upon-Avon, owned by the Hall family, one of whose boys attended Douai School. The shop had achieved some fame for its woven orphreys on cloaks, some of which were commissioned by Dame Margaret Rutherford (1892-1972) to wear in the 1961 movie, *Murder She Said*, which was adapted from one of Agatha Christie's Miss Marple novels. Rutherford always insisted on wearing her own clothes in any TV series, and those in the movie had strong similarities to Father Brian's ordination chasuble.

Brian taught me O-Level English History, Tudors and Stuarts, in classroom 5 from a book authored by his fellow history teacher, Oliver J.G. Welch, who taught the first set. The book, *Great Britain 1585-1714*, of many editions, was one of a cluster of textbooks written for English Catholic grammar schools, and they thus manifested a particular slant. Tom Charles Edwards of Ampleforth College had written an earlier volume, and Oliver Welch, whose sister was a Benedictine nun at Stanbrook Abbey, had been helped in writing his volume by Dame Anselma Brennell, a Stanbrook nun. Welch's volume did not encourage the reader to favour Cromwell or the Puritans and almost canonised Archbishop William Laud. I got on very well with Brian, a young monk who was a talented all-rounder, excelling at rugby and soccer, but who had a quiet, self-effacing voice. He could not sing. Unlike Oliver Welch's accomplished neo-Italic script, Brian wrote a personalised Italica-Bastarda script, especially in pink and blue and printed on vapoured sheets from the methylated spirits duplicating machine. Compared to

Welch's literary and elevated lectures, Brian preferred a more practical diagrammatic teaching style.

Brian was the first president of The Derrick Society in 1961, called after Michael Derrick, the Old Dowegian who had had a particular interest in the politics of Eastern Europe. Brian was responsible for inviting speakers on current political and international matters and the Society helped, I think, to steer him towards research and publication of Ireland's vexed twentieth-century history once he had settled in Ireland after leaving Douai. The Derrick Society's members were the senior boys at Douai School, and it was inevitable that I took History as one of my A-Level subjects. I then had the benefit of experiencing the two styles of history teaching at Douai: Welch's ambulant and polished lectures on nineteenth- and twentieth-century European history, and Brian's diagrammatic classes on English history of the same period. Sir Lewis Namier was the darling of the examination boards of the time, so the Jacobites never had an airing, and I think Brian, like myself, felt more at home with the nineteenth century, especially in terms of its social history.

As brethren in the same monastic community, I began to help Brian on the local parish around 1969. He had taken over the care of the congregation in Theale following Father Paulinus Cunningham's sudden death in December 1965. Mass was celebrated in a railway hut, but Brian was helped to build the new church of Saint Luke in Theale, which opened in 1969. Although I would not describe myself as an organist, I drove with Brian every Sunday to accompany hymns at Theale on a Victorian harmonium which always reminded me of Ena Sharples' role at the Glad Tidings Mission Hall on Coronation Street, and achieved a "swell" by means of the organist stretching his knees outwards. We usually picked up Patricia from Wayland mental hospital at Bradfield (the old Bradfield Union Workhouse) for Mass at Theale. One Sunday she disappeared in the middle of Mass and was never seen again. Brian also cared for the small congregation at Bradfield, which met in a superior garden hut, courtesy of Bradfield College, under the patronage of Saint Antony of Padua, but it did not possess a harmonium.

In these years, Brian drew closer to Father Terence FitzPatrick, a contemporary in the school and in the monastery, both being involved

in parochial work in the neighbourhood. In both communities, Brian was supported by families strongly identified with their congregations: the Hartigans at Bradfield (Sergeant Hartigan had run P.E. sessions in Douai School for years) and the Birds at Theale, particularly Esther Bird. By this time, I felt Brian's main interest was becoming that of work on the local parish and less in teaching in the school.

However, so successful had he been in the school, that he was appointed headmaster in 1973 (*above, in the headmaster's study*), but he lasted only four terms. Granted extended leave, he left for Ireland, where he taught, and later returned to the monastic life at Glenstal. I regard him as one of the most formative influences on my early adult life, and would like to think that all those hours in the grounds at Douai, helping Father Michael Young to scythe the long grass and cut the lawns, prepared him for a similar vocation at Glenstal.

GEOFFREY SCOTT OSB

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DESMOND SEWARD, 1935-2022 — *Homily at his Funeral*

Like the requiem mass for a Benedictine nun at which I also officiated a few weeks ago, Desmond wanted no eulogy at his. Perhaps the Church's liturgy suffices. Although, therefore, I won't be able to mention his favourite football team (of which in any case I have no knowledge), I think you would expect me to weave a few references to him in this homily.

I reflected deeply on what was the key to Desmond's life, which was snapped off so suddenly. I decided it was his love for the Church throughout his long life, and which was manifested in all sorts of different ways. I think we are apt to forget how closely the presence and influence of the Church clings to its sons and daughters, devout or wayward they may be. This is a distinctive mark of the Catholic faithful especially.

So, we see exemplified in Desmond's life what might be termed "the varieties of the universal Catholic experience." He could never quite work out whether he was an English or French Catholic, given his pedigree. He was born in Paris and baptised in Worthing. A French Catholic forgets the Revolution in the way that an English Catholic forgets the Reformation. French Catholicism is proud, aristocratic, royalist, conservative, naturally adapted to fine liturgy, theologically educated, devoted to the Mother of God, and sometimes reluctant to have the pope interfering too much. The French Catholic Church has produced some of the greatest saints, and has produced some of the most impressive monks and nuns, from those of the Grande Chartreuse to those of Solesmes. I first came across Desmond when reading an article of his on reformed medieval French Benedictines and, like many children educated by the English Benedictines, he believed these Benedictine schools became their second homes, especially if they had lost their parents. His interest in the quasi-monastic Order of the Templars, which was to be suppressed by the pope, was to be a subject of his book, *The Monks of War*. Themes of Christian chivalry and knightly virtue were to propel Desmond towards the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

I imagine that the greatest blow that the Catholic faithful and their leaders have experienced has been the modern phenomenon of the division of Church and State, and the advent of a pluralist and secular

society in which the Church has found its grip loosened in regard to moral and ethical education, and somewhat shrivelled into becoming a sort of voluntary society alongside a collectivist state. This did not seem to worry Desmond and many other Catholics, who remained so loyal to the Church in spite of persecution and contraction. Desmond was well aware of the frequent survival of a Church forced to go underground, to be marginalised and persecuted. It would survive, perhaps smaller but probably more fervent. This was how English Catholicism fitted into his mental picture and which produced his book on the Jacobites, entitled *The King over the Water*, his last major work. For this, he researched our collection of letters from the Old Pretender and Bonnie Prince Charlie which are in the archives here. I am grateful to him for inviting you to remember him by contributing to the upkeep of the library and archive here at Douai.

In his book on the Jacobites, Desmond described how the Catholic subjects of the later Stuart kings were persecuted, deprived, and marginalised. Desmond's view of English Catholics—poor, private, powerless, and isolated—was in sharp contrast to his view of the French Church. He would have approved of Cardinal Newman's idealised description of them as "a few adherents of the Old Religion…a set of poor Irishmen, or there an elderly person, grave and solitary, and said to be of good family, and a 'Roman Catholic, though that term had an unpleasant sound, and told of form and superstition, and it was reported that they had once had power and had abused it.' An old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in high walls and yew trees and it was reported that 'Roman Catholics' lived there." Desmond enjoyed endangered minorities fighting for their lives.

Many of us here today, amongst whom we include Desmond, have a strong sense of a kinship with the Church which survives death. We are encouraged to pray for the dead, and they, in their turn, intercede for us before God. We keep obit books listing dead family and friends, remembering them on their anniversaries. Somewhere, someone will be praying for each of us at this very minute, and that is a great comfort.

Let me conclude by echoing this in the words of John Ellerton's famous hymn:

> As over continent and island,
> The dawn leads to another day.

The voice of prayer is never silent,
Nor dies the strain of praise away.

We thank thee that thy Church unsleeping
While earth rolls onward into light.
Through all the world her watch is keeping,
And rests not now by day or night.

GEOFFREY SCOTT OSB

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Community Chronicle 2022

January

Yet again, a new year began at Douai in the shadow of Covid-19. In the days following Christmas a number of the brethren tested positive for the virus. Father Hugh, who had come down from Scarisbrick for a few days at the monastery, was confined to Douai until he reached the number of consecutive negative tests required at the time. Thankfully no one needed emergency care.

This did not stop the guesthouse resuming its gradual re-emergence from the restrictions of Covidtide, and the pastoral programme was resumed in prudently modest proportions.

On 17 January Father Peter conducted the funeral of Donato Piero, a Woolhampton parishioner, who for over half a century had been houseman to the resident community at Douai. Especially for more elderly brethren, he had been a discreet and helpful presence in the lives of several generations of monks. May he rest in peace.

Hosted by our parish in Stratford-upon-Avon, around 30 monks from Douai and Belmont gathered to meet in the morning with Abbess Anna Brennan as part of the preparations for July's EBC general chapter. In the afternoon the assembled monks discussed the future of our incorporated parishes given their important role for our two monasteries both today and historically. A number of ideas were floated by way of formulating a possible strategy for the future. The day provided a wonderful occasion for the two communities to forge or renew personal contacts in the flesh, free from the constraints of Zoom.

February

Covidian quietness was still a factor as the community moved through February. A few more pastoral programme events were possible, and Douai welcomed the RAF chaplains as they made their annual retreat.

In the first week of the month some papers of the famous spiritual author, Dom Bede Griffiths, were lodged in the archive at Douai.

Towards the middle of the month a new Twitter account was set up for Douai. This will allow for important announcements at short notice as well as alerting our friends to updates on the Douai website. You can search for us using the handle *DouaiMonks*.

Moving into the second half of the month the nation was struck by two severe storms, Dudley and Eunice. Douai did not escape unscathed, with a number of trees brought down and the tin roof blow off one of the aged garages near the workshops. The Douai Abbey Parishes Trust had hoped to meet in person for the first time since the outbreak of Covid, but the storms moved this back onto Zoom, although a couple of the trustees were disconnected during the meeting.

On 24 February Douai's annual conventual chapter was able to take place again in person. Only two of the brethren attended by Zoom. Sadly, the day was marred by two sad events outside Douai. The first was news of the death of Sister Catherine Wybourne OSB after a long and noble battle with cancer. Her obituary appears earlier in this volume. May she rest in peace. The second was the invasion of Ukraine by Russia, which would become a (the?) defining event of 2022.

The next day the son of the late Dr Michael Blee, the architect of the abbey church extension built in 1993, came to deposit his father's architectural drawings in the Douai archive.

As Lent loomed at month's end, Brother Christopher undertook to walk 5km per day to raise money for Cafod's *Walk Against Hunger.* He was joined at various times by Fathers Gervase, Benjamin, and Gabriel. On the Saturdays in Lent there was also *Walking with Monks*, with parishioners, visitors, and oblates invited to join in the Lenten walk.

March

On Ash Wednesday the community adopted the Roman manner of imposing the ashes, by sprinkling them on the top of the head, in place of inscribing a cross with them on the forehead. This was a prudent concession to the demands of Covidtide.

On 16 March Abbot Geoffrey took the funeral of Sister Catherine Wybourne OSB at Belmont Abbey, in whose graveyard she is buried.

It was a quiet month…

April

On 6 April Desmond Seward died. He had been a parishioner, Knight of Malta, and historical author. Abbot Geoffrey took his funeral in the abbey church on 27 April; his homily for the funeral Mass can be found in the obituaries' section. It was the first time in some years that the *Dies irae* was sung in the abbey church.

Abbot Geoffrey was at Reading Crown Court on 8 April for the ceremony to mark the end of parishioner Willie Hartley-Russell's term of office as High Sheriff of Berkshire.

Holy Week saw further signs of emergence from Covidtide. There was again a procession on Palm Sunday, though modestly proportioned and starting from the library cloister. On Maundy Thursday, the Mandatum (despite its name, not liturgically mandatory) was omitted out of prudence. On Easter Sunday however, the High Mass was celebrated by the abbot president, Father Christopher Jamison, and the Douai Abbey Singers were joined by a string quartet to provide superb liturgical music for the great feast. The guests staying at Douai for the Triduum were shared the festal lunch with the monks in the monastic refectory.

A happy fruit of an unhappy event, the stations of the cross from the chapel at Saint John's seminary in Wonersh (Surrey) came to Douai in April. The seminary had recently closed its doors, and the stations, carved by Joseph Cribb (1892-1967), are of artistic and historical importance, and so required a new and appropriate home. Exquisitely carved in wood and in the striking Ditchling style, they are now happily housed in Saint Mary's church at Douai. An article by Professor Ewan Clayton—a member of the Guild when it closed in 1988, grandson of the Ditchling weaver Valentine KilBride, and who recently helped

design Queen Camilla's new royal cypher—has written an excellent background to these stations, to be found earlier in this edition.

Under the presidency of Sister Margaret Truran OSB of Santa Cecilia's in Rome, and Brother Michael De Klerk OSB of Pluscarden, the annual plainchant forum was held at Douai on 25 April. The next day Father Finbar represented Douai at the abbatial blessing of Mother Eustochium at Saint Cecilia's Abbey on the Isle of Wight.

On 28 April Douai hosted the annual EBC History Symposium, which was dedicated to Bishop Charles Walmesley OSB, a monk of Douai who was in eminent on both Church and in learning, in the tercentennial year of his birth. The papers read there head up this edition, and a bust of Walmesley by Neil Weir was unveiled in the library at the end of the symposium.

To end the month, Abbot Geoffrey, accompanied by Father Gabriel, conferred Confirmation on 40 girls at Saint Mary's, Ascot.

May

At Douai on 3 May, for the first time since Covid hit the world, the abbot president's regimen, or council, met in person. Joining them were various members of the commissions making final preparations for July's quadrennial general chapter at Buckfast. The abbot president, Father Christopher Jamison, took the opportunity to hold a celebratory lunch for the regimen and the Douai community to mark Abbot Geoffrey's impending retirement after 24 years as abbot.

On 10 May, the solemnly professed monks of Douai gathered in chapter to begin the process of electing a new abbot, to succeed Abbot Geoffrey. The tractatus was held, allowing the chapter to identify and discuss viable candidates for the office. This brought to a head the nine months of preparatory discernment on Douai's present and future that had been led by Father David Smolira SJ, a process that involved small groups and plenary sessions of the entire community. It was an experience that the brethren actively embraced and which enabled, among other things, the community to experience a new way of hearing each other's opinions and insights.

On the morning of 11 May, after a Mass of the Holy Spirit in the abbey church, the abbot president led the chapter in the election proper. Father Paul was elected abbot, the abbot president confirming the election as canonical and receiving Abbot Paul's profession of faith. After being installed in the abbatial chair in the abbey church, a hasty election was held to replace Abbot Paul as Douai's delegate to general chapter, since Abbot Paul would now attend in his role as abbot. Father Oliver was elected as delegate. An article on the election and subsequent abbatial blessing in September can be found in this edition.

It was no time just yet for rest for Father Geoffrey. On 15 May he attended celebrations to mark the millennium of the foundation of the great abbey of Bury St Edmunds, to which community Douai is the titular successor. After vespers in the cathedral, Father Geoffrey preached in the crypt.

Rounding off the month, Fathers Geoffrey, Godric, Oliver, and Alexander were in Cambridge on 29 May for the biennial chanting of Latin vespers in the chapel of Magdalene College. It was a year late due to the impact of Covid, but the chapel was full for the occasion. Afterwards, as is now traditional, the brethren dined with the college fellows in Magdalene's refectory.

June

In the first week of the month Douai welcomed a dozen candidates for the permanent diaconate on retreat, led by Archbishop Kevin Macdonald.

This was also the period in which celebrations took place around the country to mark the Platinum Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II's reign. Some of the brethren joined the events held next door by the residents of our former school. The monastery parish and some other local parishes held their own celebration in Douai Park. The Queen's 70 years as a peerless model of public service were thus duly acknowledged.

In mid-June Douai welcomed more men in formation for service to the Church, this time a group of deacons from Allen Hall who were making their pre-ordination retreat.

On 17 June the local Catholic primary schools held their traditional jamboree in the grounds of Douai. At the same time students from Saint Stephen's House in Oxford spent the day at Douai. Brother Aidan, meanwhile, was at the annual garden party of Blackfriars, Oxford, where he is pursuing his ecclesiastical studies.

July

The first half of the month was dominated by the EBC general chapter being held at Buckfast. Abbot Paul and Father Oliver were there, of course, as was Father Edmund, in his capacity as the EBC's procurator in curia in Rome. The general chapter lasted 10 days of often intense and exhausting activity. A day was devoted to safeguarding, and the applications to join the EBC from three convents of nuns in Ireland, Sweden, and Australia, were discussed. After a vote, these three communities' applications were accepted by the general chapter. A report on the general chapter can be found in this edition.

Covid reared its ugly and persistent head again. Some of the resident brethren tested positive for it, and Father Hugh was very ill with it in Scarisbrick. Covid also had an impact on celebrations for Father Peter's reaching 80 years of age and 60 years of monastic profession. Brexit and Covid restricted the numbers of his family and friends fro overseas who could attend. About 50 people came for the Mass in the abbey church and the festal lunch afterwards in the guest refectory. *Ad multos annos!*

August

At the beginning of the month Abbot Paul announced his first changes in community appointments. From the autumn Father Gabriel would become claustral prior, Father Benjamin subprior, and Father Alban parish priest of Woolhampton. Father Gabriel would also become novicemaster, with Brother Simon to assist him as zelator.

Early August also saw the first bottling of the season's honey from the community's hives. It was a healthy harvest, to Father Gabriel's satisfaction.

This is the month when the guesthouse closes and the monastery has its constitutional holiday, with a more relaxed regime allowing greater enjoyment of the long, warm summer days. Brother Cassian Shoyo OSB, from Ndanda Abbey in Tanzania, came to Douai after several weeks as a guest of Father Godric in Ormskirk. Brother Cassian, who is studying in Rome, was making a pastoral placement. His reflection on his placement can be found in this edition.

At the end of the month all the monks gathered at Douai for our annual retreat, which this year was led by Bishop Hugh Gilbert OSB.

September

After significant and careful preparation the community celebrated the abbatial blessing of Abbot Paul by Bishop Philip Egan of Portsmouth in the abbey church on 8 September. It was a happy day, with the solemn liturgy followed by a relaxed and lively buffet that spanned both the monastic and guest refectories. The only gremlin to appear on the day was the interruption to the livestream of liturgy (though the event was still fully recorded, and an edited version can be seen on Youtube). Many of Abbot Paul's friends and family were able to join in the celebrations. A full report of the occasion appears earlier in this edition.

Little did we know that while we were fully engaged in the celebrations, Queen Elizabeth II was drawing her last breaths in this life. Her death was hardly a surprise, but was no less momentous in its impact. On Sunday 11 September Abbot Paul celebrated a pontifical Requiem Mass in the abbey church, to commend her to God's merciful care. Our new king, Charles III, was also in our prayers.

On 29 September Abbot Paul and Father Alban concelebrated the Mass to mark the tenth anniversary of Bishop Philip's ministry as our local bishop. Hard on the heels of this Abbot Paul joined the Norbertines in Peckham for the Mass to inaugurate their new ministry there.

October

On 6 October, Father Hugh published, under the Weldon Press imprint, an historical guide to the P.P. Pugin church and the parish at Scarisbrick, adapting a typescript composed by several parishioners back in 2009.

On 12 October Fathers Abbot, Benjamin, and Alban were at Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight for the feast of the dedication of Quarr's abbey church. Abbot Paul was principal celebrant for the Mass. At the festal lunch after Mass Abbot Xavier Perrin of Quarr invited Abbot Paul to speak of his hopes for Douai's future.

Only two days earlier Father Finbar was at Quarr as a guest of Abbot Xavier and his community as they marked Father Finbar's 80th birthday. For a number of years Father Finbar had served as administrator of Quarr, before the arrival of Dom Xavier from France. On his return a ferculum was held by the community to mark this milestone, and also that of Father Peter whose own 80th birthday fell that very day.

On 22-23 October Abbot Paul made a visitation of our parish at Ormskirk, celebrating the Sunday Masses and meeting with parishioners, including those who were housebound.

In the last week of the month Archbishop Mark O'Toole of Cardiff was at Douai with a number of his clergy on retreat.

November

On 4 November Abbot Paul attended the conferring of a papal knighthood in the order of Saint Sylvester to Dr Edward Morgan, who is responsible for the new National Tribunal Service, which works together with the Catholic Safeguarding Standards Agency.

Father Abbot gave a talk on the Rule of Saint Benedict to the seminarians at Allen Hall in London on 9 November.

From 18 November a group of permanent deacons and their wives from the archdiocese of Birmingham were at Douai on retreat, which was led by Father Brendan Thomas of Belmont Abbey.

20 November—the solemnity of Saint Edmund, King and Martyr, and our patronal feast day—fell on a Sunday this year, and it was therefore transferred to the Monday following. Among our guests for the Mass and festal lunch were Canon Chris Thomas, General Secretary of the Bishops' Conference, and Father Jan Nowotnik, Director of Mission for the Conference.

December

From 5 December, and over the following Mondays of Advent, the community shared in a series of talks given by three members of the community Abbot Paul, and Fathers Godric and Boniface, as well as one by Father Anselm Brumwell, from the community of Saint Gregory, formerly at Downside and now residing at Buckfast Abbey.

Brother Aidan completed, on 9 December, his first term of a new year of studies at Blackfriars free from the need to commute there from Douai. During the week in term time has been staying at the provincialate of the De L Salle Brothers, an easy walk into the centre of Oxford.

15 young people from Gaudete, the group for young adults from the parish of Notre Dame de France in Leicester Square, came to Douai for an Advent retreat on 10 December.

On 13 December Father Oliver and the abbot president, Father Christopher Jamison, attended a conference at the Oxford Chaplaincy on Catholic Literary Imagination. There was a talk to mark the publication of a new series of novels by forgotten female catholic authors; all three of the "forgotten" novels featured in the talk are to be found in the Douai Library already.

On 14 December Father Abbot attended the episcopal ordination of Canon Peter Collins, the new bishop of East Anglia. Bishop Peter had made his pre-ordination retreat at Douai.

HUGH SOMERVILLE KNAPMAN OSB

The Douai community immediately after the election of Abbot Paul, 11 May 2022.

Monastic Community 2023

Rt. Rev. Paul Gunter, was elected abbot in 2022. He also heads the liturgy office of the bishops of England and Wales. (Professed 1987)

Very Rev. Gabriel Wilson is prior, novice master, and vocations' director, and beekeeper. (Professed 2008)

Rt. Rev. Geoffrey Scott is titular abbot of Lindisfarne, having served as abbot of Douai from 1998 to 2022. He is now parish priest of Alcester (Warks), continuing as librarian and archivist, junior master, and annalist of the EBC. (Professed 1967)

Rt. Rev. Finbar Kealy is abbot emeritus, having served as abbot from 1990 to 1998. He is also Cathedral Prior of Canterbury. (Professed 1962)

Rt. Rev. Edmund Power is titular abbot of Saint Albans. He teaches at Collegio Sant'Anselmo in Rome, and also serves as Roman procurator for both the English and the Sankt Ottilien Benedictine congregations. (Professed 1972)

Fr. Benjamin Standish is subprior and assistant guestmaster. (Professed 1990)

Very Rev. Godric Timney is Cathedral Prior of Worcester, parish priest of Ormskirk (Lancs), and Episcopal Vicar for Religious in the Liverpool archdiocese. He is also chaplain to the Douai Society. (Professed 1963)

Fr. Gervase Holdaway is director of oblates, organist, jam-maker, and manager of the bookshop. (Professed 1955)

Fr. Boniface Moran is assistant director of oblates. (Professed 1961)

Fr. Peter Bowe is director of the pastoral programme. (Professed 1962)

Fr. Austin Gurr is parish priest of Andover (Hants). (Professed 1969)

Fr. Oliver Holt is bursar and guestmaster, sits on the abbot's council, and is the community's liaison with the Douai Society. (Professed 1969)

Fr. Alexander Austin is the parish priest of Stratford-on-Avon (Warks). (Professed 1976)

Fr. Francis Hughes is the parish priest of Kemerton (Glos), and serves on the Marriage Tribunal for Clifton diocese. (Professed 1982)

Fr. Richard Jones is the parish priest of Fishguard and St Davids (Pemb), and edits the EBC's liturgical *Ordo*. (Professed 1984)

Fr. Alban Hood is parish priest of Woolhampton. He sits on the abbot's council and is the community's representative at the Douai Foundation. (Professed 1986)

Fr. Benedict Thompson serves as parish priest of Studley (Warks). (Professed 1994)

Br. Christopher Greener is infirmarian and assists as deacon in the Woolhampton parish. (Professed 2000)

Br. Simon Hill serves as assistant to the bursar and zelator to the novice master. (Professed 2001)

Fr. Hugh Somerville Knapman is parish priest of Scarisbrick (Lancs) sits on the abbot's council, and serves as webmaster and publisher at the Weldon Press. (Professed 2002)

Br. Aidan Messenger is in the juniorate and is reading philosophy and theology at Blackfriars, Oxford. (Professed 2021)

This list does not necessarily include all of the work undertaken by members of the community.

Ut in omnibus glorificetur Deus

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