

THE

# WYCLIFFE MANUSCRIPTS.

DR. VAUGHAN AND DR. TODD.

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WYCLIFFE MANUSCRIPTS.

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- Art. I. 1. *An Apology for the Lollard Doctrines, attributed to Wicliffe. Now first printed from a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. With an Introduction and Notes*, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., V.P.R.I.A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. London: printed for the Camden Society. 1842. Introduction, pp. lxxiii ; pp. 206.
2. *The Last Age of the Church*. By John Wycliffe. Now first printed from a Manuscript in the University Library, Dublin. Edited with Notes, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Dublin: at the University Press. 1840. .
3. *Diatrise in Johannis Wicliffi, Reformationis Prodromi, Vitam, Ingenium, Scripa*. Auctore, S.A.J. De Ruever Groneman, Theol. Doct. Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud Rob. Natan. 1837. 8vo. pp. 283.

ARCHBISHOP USSHER was a great collector of manuscripts, and among his liberal contributions to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, are several volumes of Wycliffe manuscripts. In one of those volumes is this exposition and defence of Lollardism, now first printed, and edited by Dr. Todd. The volume 'is in vellum, containing two hundred and nineteen leaves, each  $6\frac{2}{3}$  inches by  $4\frac{2}{3}$ , a full page having thirty-one or thirty-two lines, very neatly and accurately written, in the usual secretary hand of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century; the last leaf is wormed, and the volume ends imperfectly.' The manuscripts in this volume are by no means the most valuable in the collection of Wycliffe's writings preserved in Trinity College, and the pieces included in it vary in extent as much as in interest, the treatise now printed consisting of more than eighty

pages, while several others do not exceed a single page, or a single leaf. Altogether, they number twenty-nine pieces, of which Dr. Todd has given the titles so far as it was practicable to do so.

But concluding his description of the tract numbered XXIII., Dr. Todd says—

‘All the foregoing treatises, from No. XVI. to this inclusive, appear to have been omitted in the lists of Wycliffe’s writings.’

The treatises thus referred to are described as follows:—

‘XVI. Of Antechristis song in chirche. XVII. Of Praier a tretys. XVIII. Nota de Confessione. XIX. A tract without title, beginning, ‘Crist forsoothe did all that he couthe to obeye lordis, and mekely and softly speke to hem.’ XX. A tract entitled, ‘Nota de sacramento altaris.’ This title has been blotted with ink by a modern hand, so, however, that the words are still legible. XXI. A tract without title, beginning, ‘Crisostom seith, that fischers and buystouse men, makyng iche daye nettis,’ &c. XXII. Another tract without title, beginning, ‘Seynt Barnard spekith thus: Eugenyne the Pope,’ &c. XXIII. A tract without title, beginning, ‘God moueth hooly chirche bi many manner of spechis to knowe the truethe of this lawe,’ &c.

Dr. Vaughan’s account of the volume to which these notices relate, is as follows:—

‘Another volume in the same library contains a MS. intitled, ‘Of apostasy and the possessions of clerks.’ The volume further contains the following tracts:—*Of Pseudo Friars. Of the eight woes which God wished to Friars. Of Antichrist and his ways. Of Antichrist’s Song in the Church. A Treatise of Prayer. A Treatise on Confession. A Tract of Christian obedience,* beginning, ‘Christ forsooth did all that he could to obey lords.’ In the volume there are several separate homilies, meditations on various subjects, and a short treatise beginning, ‘How are questions and answers put that are written hereafter.’ The collection forms a duodecimo volume of about four hundred pages, written with a very small, but legible character. Class C., Tab. 5, No. 6.\*

It will be seen by comparing the above extracts, that of the eight pieces described by Dr. Todd as hitherto ‘omitted in the lists of Wycliffe’s writings,’ four have been described, and with their proper titles, by Dr. Vaughan; of the other four, there are three which have no titles, but which, from Dr. Todd’s own list, appear to have been in the main justly described by Dr. Vaughan as ‘separate homilies and meditations’—the first consisting of one leaf, the second of five, and the last of two; and with regard to

\* Life and Opinions of Wycliffe. Vol. II., p. 392. Second Edition.

the one remaining piece, we may suppose that Dr. Todd has been more fortunate than Dr. Vaughan in being able to decipher a title which 'some modern hand has endeavoured to blot out.'

It is plain, then, that Dr. Todd has put forth a statement in this case, in respect to a matter of fact, which proves to be the contrary of fact. How are we to account for this? Is it to be ascribed to ignorance? Not to ignorance assuredly. Dr. Todd is a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; he is a person whose tastes dispose him to black letter studies; and during the last seven years, the Wycliffe MSS. in Dublin have been an object of particular attention with him. The result has been a series of papers, which have appeared from time to time in the 'British Magazine,' in which the writer has appeared to find his great and constant pleasure in endeavouring to depreciate the ill-paid labours, and hardly earned reputation of Dr. Vaughan, as author of 'The Life and Opinions of Wycliffe.' One of these papers relates to the contents of this very volume, and the burden of it is a censure of Dr. Vaughan, either on account of what he has said concerning the volume, or on account of what he has failed to say concerning it.

Ignorance, therefore, is out of the question. Shall we, then, say that Dr. Todd has put forth a statement as being fact, which he must have known at the time to have been the contrary of fact? That would be a grave charge to prefer against the fellow of a college, the treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and the vice-president of the Irish Antiquarian Society. But we request our readers to look to what is now before them, and they have our free consent to devise escape for Dr. Todd from that heavy reproach, if they can. We can only say that we have read the above passages again and again, to see how such a conclusion may be avoided, and how to avoid it we find not.

We at first thought it possible that this manifest misrepresentation might have resulted from some oversight or forgetfulness. But on looking further into the matter, we do not see how that plea can be for a moment admitted, inasmuch as the introduction now printed along with this Lollard treatise, contains a reference to the paper in the 'British Magazine,' in which Dr. Todd had given his account of the volume of MSS. from which this treatise has been selected, and in that account Dr. Todd has transcribed and printed the above extract from Dr. Vaughan's book, and that for the purpose of indulging in his usual strain of comment upon it! It will appear also, presently, that this is not the only instance in which Dr. Todd's prejudices have prompted him to put forth statements of this strange description.

Concerning the publication before us, we are of opinion that

this manuscript ought not to have been attributed to the pen of Wycliffe. Our reasons are the following:—

I. Dr. Todd remarks concerning it, ‘that it appears, from several expressions, to have been delivered to an assembly of judges, before whom the author was called upon to defend his opinions.’ Supposing this to be so, we are at a loss to perceive on what occasion in the life of Wycliffe, he would have been likely to have prepared such a paper. The occasions on which his opinions came under the notice of ‘an assembly of judges,’ were in 1377 and 1378, and again in 1381 and 1382. In 1377 he appeared before the convocation in London, in company with the Duke of Lancaster and Earl Percy. Six months later he appeared again before the clergy at Lambeth. But the paper prepared in exposition and defence of his opinions at that time, was prepared in Latin, was delivered to his judges, and has been preserved. We hear nothing of any other paper of the same description as produced at that juncture; nor is it probable that any paper supplied by the reformer at that period would have exhibited the matured system of Lollardism presented in the document now edited by Dr. Todd. In 1381, the authorities in Oxford censured the doctrine of Wycliffe, but their censure was confined to the doctrine of the eucharist, and the judgment passed on the reformer’s doctrines in the clerical assembly convened in the Grey Friars’ Church in London, in the following year, was simply a judgment upon certain opinions, in order to the instituting of proceedings against the persons who should be suspected of holding them. Neither Wycliffe, nor any other supposed delinquent, was cited to appear before the authorities who then acted as judges.

But this difficulty of seeing on what occasion Wycliffe was likely to have prepared an extended and elaborate document of this kind, would not, we confess, be an insuperable difficulty with us did it stand alone, but taken with other circumstances, it has considerable weight in our judgment.

II. Our next objection to the notion that this document is from the pen of Wycliffe, is grounded on the complexion of the document itself. Dr. Todd speaks of the ‘moderation of its tone,’ as being a feature of the treatise favourable to his notion of its being a work of the reformer. But in this dispassionate-ness, observable as it is, with so little exception, through so long a document, we see strong evidence on the side of an opposite conclusion. From this cause the work is found to be singularly devoid of all reference to contemporary character and circumstances. If written by Wycliffe, it must have been written, as Dr. Todd elsewhere intimates, toward the close of the reformer’s history,—

sometime, we should say, within the last seven years of his life, and those years were all passed amidst great change, incessant labour, and much excitement. Almost everything written by the reformer at that period bears this impress from the times, and from his own feelings as affected by passing events. Hence his English pieces, which were mostly written during that interval, contain frequent references to recent or passing occurrences, by means of which, it has been found possible to determine the dates of much the greater part of them.\* The schism in the papacy, which began in 1378; the crusade on that account which took place in 1383; the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, and the controversy which it called forth from about 1381; the insurrection of the commons during that year; the controversy raised from about that time by Wycliffe's novel opinions concerning the eucharist, and by the conduct of his missionary, or 'preaching priests,' and the various proceedings publicly instituted against his doctrine and followers. These are the sort of contemporary facts to which allusion is made, and made so frequently and passionately in the writings of Wycliffe belonging to the period adverted to, that no mind of any sagacity, we should have thought, could have passed from the perusal of those pieces, to a careful examination of the document now printed, without being conscious of the marked want of these characteristics. Wycliffe wrote nothing in English half so extended, the date of which it has not been easy to ascertain; nor has he anywhere treated the same topics, in anything like the same extent, without more frequent and powerful outbreaks of feeling.

III. Our third objection to the assumed authorship of this manuscript, has respect to the language or dialect in which it has been written. On this point, Dr. Todd remarks:—

'There is another source of internal evidence from which it is possible that some light might be thrown upon this question—at least, so far as indicating the shire or province in which the author lived. This, however, is a subject which the editor, being an Irishman, is necessarily incompetent to investigate; and he has therefore thought it safer to leave the discussion of it to others, than to undertake it, entering upon it with such imperfect information as he might perhaps have gleaned from books. He felt also that the attempt to fix the locality of an author of the fourteenth century, from the provincial idioms to be found in his writings, must in every case be somewhat precarious, unless we can be supposed to have fully satisfied ourselves that the phrases which are now found to characterize a particular shire, were all peculiar to that shire five centuries ago.'

\* Life and Opinions of Wycliffe, vol. i., Note, pp. 381, 382, *et alibi*. Second edition.

This passage is characteristic of Dr. Todd's mind; it exhibits some appearance of acumen, but the acumen fails to reach its proper object. The question is not whether the dialect of the north of England now, was its dialect four centuries ago; nor whether the dialect of the north of England then, was not also the dialect of the south,—though even an Irishman might have been able, with no great difficulty, to make some way toward the solution of these questions; but the point in the present case is,—are there differences of dialect, differences such as to bespeak a *distinct authorship, between the most accredited works of the reformer, and the treatise now attributed to him?* On this point Dr. Todd might have found materials for a judgment without quitting the sister island, and even without passing beyond the walls of Trinity College, Dublin. The following terms, as terms of dialect, occur uniformly in this treatise:—‘swilk’ for ‘such;’ ‘wilk’ for ‘which;’ ‘tan,’ or ‘tane,’ for ‘taken;’ ‘ilk’ for ‘same;’ ‘ken’ for ‘teach,’ or ‘know;’ ‘mikil’ for ‘much;’ ‘kirk’ for ‘church.’ It were easy to extend this list. But in all these instances, where the author of the treatise uses the former terms, Wycliffe, in his translation of the New Testament, and in his writings generally, uses the latter terms. There may be some exceptions to this rule, but such is the rule distinguishing the dialect of the treatise from the language of Wycliffe's acknowledged works; and concerning the more marked of the above terms, we may venture to say, that while they occur constantly in the treatise, they never occur in the genuine writings of the reformer. Thus the term ‘kirk’ occurs in *all* cases in the treatise, excepting one, where it appears as part of a quotation. But in Wycliffe's New Testament that term *never* occurs, and it will not be found, we think, in his writings. The same may be said of many similar terms.

IV. But our strongest ground of objection to the assumption that Wycliffe was the author of this treatise, relates to portions of the matter contained in the work. Dr. Todd says, ‘the treatise contains nothing inconsistent with the supposition that Wycliffe was its author.’ But we feel obliged to demur to this conclusion. On the doctrine of the eucharist the author of the treatise expresses himself thus:—

‘This is that we say, and in all manner strive to prove, the sacrifice of the kirk to stand together in two things, and to be made in two things together; that is, the visible species of elements, and the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; sacrament and thing of the sacrament,—that is, the body of Christ; as the person of Christ standeth together of God and man, for he is very God and man; for ilk thing containeth in itself the nature of those things that it is made of; this thing that is seen is bread, and the cup that the eyes schewen;

but this that the faith asketh to be informed the bread is the body of Christ. Also the decree saith, I, Berengary, consent to the holy kirk of Rome, and as the apostle saith, I acknowledge from the mouth and heart, me to hold the same faith of the sacrament of the Lord's board, the worshipful Sir Nicol, pope in his holy synod, he hath be tane me of authority of the gospel, and of the apostle, and hath fermed to me the *bread and wine* that are put in the altar, to be after the consecration, *not only sacrament, but very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ sensibly, not only in sacrament, but in truth to be treated, with hands of the priest to be broken, and with the teeth of faithful men.*'— pp. 47, 48.

In this passage we have not retained all the old orthography, and the parts in italics we have so marked. Dr. Todd refers to the passage as a denial of transubstantiation, but as the assertion of a real presence. It would, however, we suspect, greatly perplex any man to distinguish between this alleged assertion of nothing more than a real presence, and an assertion of the doctrine of transubstantiation itself; and though Wycliffe refers to the famous canon, *Ego Berengarius*, as though in some way favourable to his doctrine, his reference to it is obscure, he does not cite the canon, and does not adopt its language as *expressive of his own faith*, as is done by the author of this treatise.

Our persuasion is, that Wycliffe's reference to the canon, *Ego Berengarius*, both in his *Triologus*, and in one other connexion, should be interpreted as an appeal to it, not as expressing his own opinion, but as being an act of the church which marked the time of her departure from the ancient faith on that subject, the time which he describes as that of the loosing of Satan after the restraint of a thousand years. Dr. Todd describes the passage as 'in full agreement with the doctrine maintained by Wycliffe in the *Triologus*, lib. c. 2, seq.' Since this statement came under our notice, we have again read the nine chapters in the fourth book of the *Triologus*, which relate to this subject, and the result is a conviction that the statement of Dr. Todd is not correct. Wycliffe concludes the discussion of this topic in his fourth chapter with these words:—'It is manifest from the aforesaid conclusions that this venerable sacrament is in its own nature true bread, and sacramentally the body of Christ.\*' It is true, he speaks of the sacrament which he describes as being 'naturally very bread,' as being 'sacramentally and truly the body of Christ.' But he is careful to reiterate that by 'truly,' in this connexion, is meant a true 'sign' or 'figure,' as John was the figure of Elias, and as the rock of the wilderness was a figure of Christ. It is even said that the bread, as used in this sacrament, is 'exalted to a

\* 'Et patet fidelitas conclusionis prædicta, quod hoc sacramentum venerabile est in natura sua verus panis, et sacramentaliter corpus Christi.'



more worthy substance ;' but it is affirmed, in the same sentence, that the nature of the bread is not changed by its being put to this high and sacred use. The doctrine of the 'identification' or 'impanation' of the body of Christ with the bread, he declares to be 'impossible and heretical,' denouncing it as fraught with the 'most detestable idolatry,' and as a notion which would degrade the Divinity to a level with 'the basest things in the world.' In the last chapter, on the question, 'Whether two bodies may be in the same place?' he speaks of some as understanding 'that the body of Christ is in the host corporally, substantially, and essentially.' This he denies altogether, alleging that the body of Christ is there 'spiritually, and in a manner, essentially distinguished from the substance of the bread.\*

It must be obvious, we think, that this is a very different thing from saying, as Dr. Todd's representation would lead the uninitiated to suppose was the manner of Wycliffe, that the bread and wine become after the consecration, '*not only a sacrament, but the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,*' that those substances become this '*sensibly;*' not only sacramentally, 'but in truth,' the bread being '*that very body which is broken by the hands of the priest, and with the teeth of the faithful.*' If Wycliffe's ideas concerning the presence of Christ in the eucharist differed at all from those now generally entertained among protestants, it was in so slight a degree as scarcely to admit of being defined. It is certain, that when writing the fourth book of his *Triologus*, he held no such doctrine on this subject as is expressed in the language imputed to him by Dr. Todd; and if this treatise could be ascribed to Wycliffe, it must have been written by him about the same time with the *Triologus*.

But strong as this point may be, it is by no means the strongest opposed to the statement of Dr. Todd, that 'the treatise contains nothing inconsistent with the supposition that Wycliffe was the author.' The second chapter of the treatise is upon indulgences, and contains the following passage:—

'It seemeth well that popes, cardinals, and other prelates, priests, and other religious, may medefully and graciously sell indulgences and merits of saints, and prayers, and ghostly suffrages, as they may grant by Christian men swilk (such) things, or benefits and deeds of mercy and other goods; and thus may the other buy. And many may not take part of grace nor of bliss, but if they buy it in some manner, and it be sold them, it seemeth by this that Christ bought us again, and for our good deeds promises us heavenly kingdom; thus blessed martyrs for glorious martyrdoms deserved to have perpetual crowns. Thus the apostle did all things for the gospel, that he should be made pre-

\* 'Corpus Christi est ibi spiritualiter, etiam modo quo distinguitur essentialiter a corpore panis.'

server thereof. Also thus say we, oh, marvellous merchandize, the Maker of mankind taking a solid body of the Virgin, deigned to be borne, and foregoing man without seed, may give us his godhead; such faith is ever made in hope, trust, and charity. And thus if the pope, or any other, any time faithfully and charitably grant and promise to any man *indulgence, or part of merit of saints, part of prayers, abstinence, wakings, obedience, or other deeds*, justly, and on God's pleasure, and graciously, for their good deeds, either that they be released of sins, or of pains, or that they be the more stirred to the faith, or to please God, *blessedly they sell swilk* (such) things to them. But if the pope, led by covetousness, or otherwise, as by simony, or with the spirit of pride, as if they herewith beginning disposed all things, and grant swilk (such) things to ilke man, yea, without merit, or without God leader before. . . . who shall then doubt but that the pope and others sell such things sinfully?\*

It will be seen that in this passage we have a full recognition of the popish bank of merit. The merits of martyrs and saints, their prayers, abstinence, vigils, obedience, and deeds, all are regarded as available as means of release from sins and pains in the case of those who need such assistance. This supposed accumulation of saint and martyr merit is to be dispensed virtuously and religiously, but it is supposed to exist, and the clergy are set forth as the proper almoners of this sort of bounty. Is this the doctrine of Wycliffe? We think not.

In the work 'On Prelates,' which was written by the Reformer, in common with the last book of the *Triologus*, not more than two years before his death, he expresses himself as follows, on this subject:—'But the simony of the court of Rome does most harm, for it is most common, and done most under the colour of holiness, and robbeth most our land. When a lord hath the gold for his presentation, the gold dwelleth still in the land, but when the pope hath the first fruits, the gold goeth out, and cometh never again. *And so for pardons; if they are aught worthy they must be free, and to take money for them is to sell God's grace, and so simony.*'† In the thirteenth chapter of the same treatise, this doctrine is condemned still more explicitly. The clergy, it is said, are wont to promise pardon, 'by virtue of Christ's passion, and of the martyrdom and holy merits of saints, which they did more than was needful for their own bliss, but *this Christ taught never in all the gospel, and never used it, neither Peter nor Paul. Marvellous it is that any sinful fool dares grant anything on the merit of saints, for all that ever any saint did may not bring a soul to heaven without the grace and might of Christ's passion.*' In this alone, it is alleged, are 'all merits which are

\* Pp. 10, 11. † MS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, chap. iv.

needful:’ and the same doctrine occurs in many other places. This, it will be seen, is not quite the same thing with setting forth the popish doctrine concerning the supererogatory merit of saints as a truth, and then describing the indulgences drawn from the treasury of those merits as the matters of a legitimate spiritual ‘merchandize,’ which men, under certain regulations, may ‘blessedly sell, and blessedly buy.’

But such was the doctrine of Wycliffe, and such is the doctrine of a treatise described by Dr. Todd as containing ‘nothing inconsistent with the supposition that Wycliffe was its author’!

It may be alleged as some extenuation of this palpable error, that the evidence showing it to be such, is derived from manuscripts, and from manuscripts difficult to consult, and little known; and in the case of most men this plea might have been admitted. But in the case of Dr. Todd it is not admissible. Dr. Todd is much praised by some of his clerical friends, on account of the supposed accuracy and extent of his knowledge on this subject. They speak of him as more competent than any other man to the sort of work which he has undertaken in the publication of this treatise; and the manner in which Dr. Todd has taken upon himself the office of censor in regard to those who have ventured to meddle with such matters, has been such as to indicate sufficiently that he does not account the praise so bestowed as being ill-placed. The least that may be exacted from Dr. Todd is, that he should show himself to be very familiar with what is contained in the Wycliffe MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin. The manner in which Dr. Todd has written concerning those MSS., and the ease with which he may have consulted them at any time, during many years past, render it imperative to his reputation that he should not allow himself to be convicted of any material mistake concerning them. But in that collection are copies of all the more valuable of the Reformer’s works, and among them a copy of the very treatise ‘On Prelates,’ from which the above extracts are taken. Our extracts were made from the copy in Cambridge, but we doubt not that the copy in Dublin will be found to contain them; and were the copy existing in Dublin imperfect, or wholly wanting, the remaining MSS. in that collection, contain matter, the smallest acquaintance with which should have sufficed to have saved Dr. Todd from so egregious an error as is that into which he has fallen on this point.

But we have now to add, that our proofs in respect to the unsoundness of Dr. Todd’s pretensions with regard to a peculiarly accurate acquaintance with the writings of Wycliffe, are not derived wholly from manuscript sources. The fourth book of the *Dialogus* contains a noble summary of the reformer’s

opinions; it includes evidence of being written within two years of his death; and his opponents, Wodeford, Walden, and the good fathers at the council of Constance, have taken care that we should not be left in any uncertainty as to whether the *Triologus* should be accounted a genuine work of Wycliffe or not. Now this *Triologus* is a printed book, a book which Dr. Todd cites, and which, in consequence, we must suppose him to be in circumstances to consult. We have had reason to complain of Dr. Todd as having made a very sorry use of this book when professing to state to his readers the doctrine of Wycliffe on the matter of the eucharist. But we have stronger ground of complaint in the present instance.

The fourth book of the *Triologus* is divided, like the rest, into chapters, each chapter has its heading, and one of these headings is *De Indulgentiis*. It might have been supposed that the most superficial inquirer concerning matters of this sort, could hardly have observed the manner in which the doctrine of indulgences is set forth in the treatise now printed, without a very strong misgiving as to the propriety of attributing such a document to Wycliffe; and however natural it might be that obscure manuscripts, difficult to consult, should have been somewhat overlooked, the least to have been expected was, that the doctrine of the reformer on this subject, as stated in the printed and more accessible portions of his works, should have been carefully examined. But strange to say, in the present case, even this obvious source of information appears to have been wholly neglected. In the chapter of the *Triologus*, *De Indulgentiis*, the reformer thus states the received doctrine on this subject:—‘In the first place, they suppose that infinite supererogatory merits of saints are laid up in heaven, and especially the merit of the Lord Jesus Christ, enough for the salvation of infinite worlds, and that Christ has appointed the pope as chief over the whole of this treasure; and secondly, that what it pleases him to dispense from that source, he has power to distribute without limit, since the treasure remains infinite. Against this VULGAR BLASPHEMY I have often inveighed.\* He then proceeds to state, at length, on what ground he so judged this doctrine; partly because he regarded it as an assumption of power on the part of the pope, which Christ himself never assumed, either as man or God; partly, because if it were true, it would then be the fault of the pontiff if any

\* ‘Supponunt enim primo, quod in cælis sint infinita sanctorum supererogata merita, et specialiter meritum domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod sufficeret salvare mundos alios infinitos, et super illum totum thesaurum Christus Papam constituit. Ad secundum quod sibi libuerit dispensandum, ideo infinitum potest de illo distribuere, cum hoc remaneat infinitum. Contra istam rudem blasphemiam invexi alias.’

portion of mankind should be lost, since the possession of a power to save after this manner, must imply an obligation to put it into exercise; and partly because such a scheme must overlook the fact, that it not only belongs to Christ to complete the righteousness which justifies the sinner, but to bestow upon the mind of the sinner all the grace and worthiness of which it can possibly be possessed.\*

Such, then, are the grounds on which we conclude that this treatise is not from the pen of Wycliffe, and on which we are obliged to come to a conclusion little flattering to the notion of Dr. Todd's singular competency to the province of a judge in relation to such questions. It is somewhat unfortunate, that a gentleman, whose supposed capability to the work of editing Wycliffe MSS. has been so much applauded, should have made his appearance in that character under circumstances so little advantageous. This treatise, it seems, has been published, together with its companion at the head of this article, in order to show the weakness of supposing that anything certain can be known in respect to the opinions of Wycliffe, until Dr. Todd, or some one of equal ability in this department of labour, shall have given to the world a complete edition of the reformer's works. Of course, no doubt can now be entertained with regard to the propriety of at once committing the editorship of the whole of the Wycliffe MSS. to the literary integrity, the accurate learning, and the eminent critical sagacity of Dr. Todd.

With regard to the contents of this treatise, it will be sufficient to say that its chief value consists in its presenting, within the limits of a single document, all the leading points of the Lollard controversy, with the usual arguments in support of them. It alleges, as the topics of so many distinct chapters,—that the pope is not the vicar of Christ; that his holiness may not sell indulgences to souls in purgatory, or to the lost; that church censures should be only for spiritual ends, and are without effect if passed on the righteous man; that Christ was cursed; that the power of the keys belongs to every priest; that every priest is bound to preach; that men who accept the offices of an immoral priest, commit deadly sin; that to curse whom God has not cursed, is to bear false witness against our neighbour; that to choose the poverty of the religious, is to choose damnation; that fasting is

\* 'Per deducens ad impossibile declaratur, quod si viator in tempore alicujus Papæ damnabitur, ipse Papæ erit reus damnationis, propter hoc quod obmittit ipsum salvare . . . quod virtute passionis Christi homines *quicquid* beatitudinis habuerint mercantur . . . Oportet enim Christum plus facere, tam ex parte sui pro complemento justitiæ, quam ex parte peccantis, quem oportet Christum movere, et dare sibi gratiam ad merendum digne, ut taliter sit adiutus.'

needful only as means of abstaining from sin; that a priest is not bound to canonical hours, except officially; that the substance of the bread dwelleth in the sacrament of the altar; that churches are not to be worshipped; that priests who sing by covenant for money, commit simony; that the pope, cardinals, bishops, &c., are disciples of Antichrist; that every holy man is the true vicar of Christ; that a judge condemning an innocent man, sinneth mortally; that marriage within certain degrees is lawful; that the church, by marrying within a prohibited degree sinneth; that the canon law is contrary to God's law; that no man is Christ's disciple unless he keep Christ's counsel; that each man is bound to do the better (to forego a lesser rule when required by a greater); that the written gospel is not to be worshipped; that the use of charms is unlawful; that the vow of the religious is against the gospel of Christ; that religious men are bound to bodily works; and that it is not lawful for the religious to beg. Such are the topics of thirty chapters; the arguments adduced in defence of them exhibit nothing of novelty, and our limits require that we should proceed to examine the next antiquarian fragment edited by Dr. Todd—'The Last Age of the Church.'

This tract occurs in a volume of tracts and treatises preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the greater part of which are undoubtedly Wycliffe's, and the whole of which, it is reasonable to suppose, were so regarded when the volume was transcribed, which appears to have been in the life-time of the reformer, or soon afterwards. The author of 'The Last Age of the Church,' speaks of the year 1356 as that in which the piece was written, a date many years earlier than can be assigned to any other work supposed to be from the pen of Wycliffe. Dr. Todd has justly remarked, that it is this circumstance alone which gives to the production its value. In itself it is little worthy of the reformer's reputation. It is a mystical exposition of church history, dividing it into four periods, the century in which the writer lived being regarded as a destined period of great tribulation, and the time following being that which would be marked by the coming of Antichrist. Hence the title of the tract.

Dr. Vaughan has given some account of this production, and extracts from it, which Dr. Todd has criticised in his favourite repository, the British Magazine, with his usual narrowness and ill-temper. Dr. Vaughan is censured because he has described the author of the tract as following the guidance of the abbot Joachim in his mystical interpretation of the times, but the printed tract shows that there was good reason for this representation; and comparing the tract with Mr. Lewis's description of it, as an attack on 'the covetous exactions of the popes,' and

with Dr. Vaughan's description of it, as relating 'to the general corruption of the ecclesiastical system, arising from simony and other causes,' we are disposed to regard the latter as, on the whole, a more just representation of its purport than the former. It makes no mention of the popes nor of Rome, nor does it contain any reference to them, except as it may be implied in the censure of general abuses which the papacy had sanctioned, and had its interest in upholding. Dr. Vaughan has further presumed to give his extracts from this almost unintelligible document, not strictly in the order in which they occur in the MS., and two or three words he is thought to have understood erroneously or doubtfully, but his censor is obliged to admit that the sense of the passages given remains undisturbed, and that points of the criticism in which he has indulged, relate to matters 'of no great consequence.\*' We wish also distinctly to state, in this place, that Dr. Todd's notices of Dr. Vaughan's account of this tract, futile and frivolous as they are, may be taken as a favourable specimen of his critical labours in regard to the account which Dr. Vaughan has given of the Wycliffe MSS. generally, in his 'Life and Opinions' of the reformer. On the whole, Dr. Todd has done nothing towards showing that this tract was written by Wycliffe, nor has he thrown any material light upon it in other respects. It is, in common with the Lollard treatise, an interesting publication, but its interest arises from its full and accurate text, and not from anything particularly instructive in the notes of the editor. It must be felt, we think, as a somewhat unpromising affair, that of two manuscripts, published for the purpose of showing what might be accomplished by employing such men as Dr. Todd in editing the writings of Wycliffe, the one should add nothing really valuable to the amount of our previous knowledge, and the other be given to the world in a manner adapted to lead men into much greater mistakes with regard to the doctrine and character of the reformer than they were likely otherwise to have adopted. Unless the stars should be more propitious to Dr. Todd in his next experiment in this way, we doubt much if his labours will prove to be very productive.

But our great complaint against Dr. Todd does not relate to his want of critical discernment, and still less to his want of a certain kind of ecclesiastical learning, though in both these respects he has been foolishly overrated, but to his contracted and ungenerous temper—a temper which has been so far indulged as to have betrayed him into practices which we know not how to reconcile with a proper sense of justice, or a just reverence of truth. Enough has appeared in this article to show that we have

\* British Magazine, viii., 207, 272, 402, 406.

not formed this opinion lightly; but its accuracy will be further manifest from what follows. The following passage is from Dr. Todd's preface to 'The Last Age of the Church:—

'The list of Wycliffe's writings published by Bishop Bale, in his work, *Scriptorum Majoris Brytannie Catalogus*, has been necessarily made the basis of all that subsequent writers have collected. It has been reprinted with many useful additions, by the learned and indefatigable John Lewis, of whose labours every student must speak with gratitude. Mr. Baber also has done much towards assisting future inquirers, by the very valuable list of the reformer's writings which he has compiled. Here, however, we must stop; Mr. Vaughan's compilation has not added much to our knowledge of the subject, nor can it be commended either for accuracy or learning; and Mr. Le Bas does not profess to do more than follow his predecessors. His humble task, however, has been executed with great elegance and judgment.'

With this characteristic report from Dr. Todd, as to the comparative merit of his predecessors in the labour of endeavouring to make the public acquainted with the writings of Wycliffe, we shall connect another report, on the same subject, from a scholar on the continent. The preface to the 'Treatise on the Life, Character, and Writings of Wycliffe,' placed at the head of this article, reads as follows:—

'Seeing that Wycliffe had great weight and influence, both with the men of his own time, and with posterity, and that the age which produced him is most memorable in English history, I have resolved in the following discourse to investigate his character, the times in which he lived, the works he produced, and what kind of ecclesiastical reformation he had in view. In order, however, that the most important facts might become more obvious, I have detailed a few of those events which took place prior to his lifetime, and have treated of those efforts to effect a reformation of the church which were made on the Continent before his day. As Wycliffe was, without doubt, opposed to the errors of the church, not carried away by a sort of overheated zeal, but under the influence of a matured and rational judgment, and appears to have wished to proceed step by step in its reformation, it is from a consideration of these steps that the division of my subject has arisen. Having thus investigated his life, character, and principal doctrines, I have then spoken at some length of his chief works, and in conclusion summed up the substance of the whole treatise, so as to make evident the opinion which ought to be formed in regard to the objects and labours of Wycliffe.

'As to my authorities, I have availed myself as well of the works of those who were the enemies of Wycliffe as of those authors who held him in highest estimation. Accordingly, I have made especial use of the histories of Henry Knyghton and Thomas Walsingham, the former of whom flourished in the time of Wycliffe, the latter in the



following century. I have consulted beyond these many records of councils, and public enactments, and the works of Bale, Fox, Harpsfield, Wood, Wharton, and others who have written about Wycliffe.\* Though I saw that his character and doctrines were to be best elucidated from his own writings, I had no opportunity of examining his MSS., which are preserved in great numbers to this day, when those English writers who have immortalized their countryman, assisted me, and held out an admirable light for my guidance. For what had been commenced by Thomas James in his 'Apology for John Wiclif,' published in the year 1608, and by John Lewis, in his book intitled, 'The History of the Life and Sufferings of John Wicliff, D.D.' London. 1720, has been carried out with much more accuracy, fullness, and labour in our own time by Mr. Robert Vaughan, in his work intitled 'The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, D.D.,' London, second edition, 1831, who has illustrated the life, character, and doctrines of the reformer, with extraordinary success, from the Wycliffe MSS. Principally guided by this work, Mr. Le Bas soon afterwards wrote a shorter life of Wycliffe, adapted not only for the learned, but also for ordinary readers—The Life of John Wiclif, London, 1832. Beside these works, I was enabled to avail myself of Baber's preface to Wiclif's version of the New Testament, which he published in 1810, and of a little work containing certain parts of Wycliffe's MSS. which has lately been published by a religious society in London. So much then for the matter, plan, and authorities of my treatise.'

This book presents, as the above extract will have suggested, a judicious and valuable account of the life, opinions, and writings of the reformer. It is an octavo volume, written in elegant latin; it is based on a scrupulous examination of all printed sources of information on the subject, continental and English, from the earliest to the latest; it is written by a scholar, in the language of scholars, and is meant to have its place in the libraries of the learned in Europe and through the world. Dr. Groneman, in common with Mr. Le Bas, was fully acquainted with all that had been published on this subject before the appearance of Dr. Vaughan's book, and both avow their pleasure, in being able to avail themselves of that work as their principal guide. They concur, accordingly, in giving a marked precedence, in value, to

\* ' Nobis autem, ex ipsius viri scriptis ingenium ejus et placita præsertim esse explananda intelligentibus, neque libros ejus MSS., qui magno adhuc asservantur numero, inspiciendi copiâ factâ, succurrerunt et facem egregie prætulerunt auctores illi Anglici, qui popularis sui memoriam immortalitati commendarunt. Quod enim antea maxime Thomas Jamesius, in Apologiâ, quam scripsit 1608 pro Joh. Wicliff, et Johannes Lewisius, in libro: the Hist. of the Life, and Sufferings of John Wicliffe, D.D., Lond. 1720, inceperant, hoc nostra ætate multo accuratius uberiusque elaboratum est a Roberto Vaughano, in opere: The Life and Opinions of John Wycliffe, D.D. Lond. Ed. 2, 1831, qui e libris Wicliffi MSS., cum vitam ejus et ingenium, tum doctrinam, eximie illustravit.'

the publication in which Dr. Todd would not appear to be capable of recognising the slightest degree of merit. Dr. Todd will perhaps answer,—it may be so, but those authors have not given the attention to the Wycliffe MSS. that I have done, or they would think differently. We would, however, respectfully suggest that it will become Dr. Todd to express himself more cautiously on matters of this nature than has been his wont. We know that he has nibbled and fretted on this subject, through paper after paper in the *British Magazine*, but that anything really valuable has been discovered by him as the result of his studies among Wycliffe MSS. we have still to learn. *To no fact in the reformer's history, to no article of his creed, has Dr. Todd been able to bring the smallest degree of light.* When disposed to appear very authoritative on this subject, we would beseech him to bear in mind, that the blundering which disfigures the editorship of this Lollard Treatise, is not likely to be forgotten; and to remember also, that the world is not made up of the *British Magazine*, and that there may accordingly be people in it perverse enough to regard him as a person more likely to lead the way upon a false scent on questions of this nature, than upon a true one.

We are willing to suppose that the term 'compilation' in the above extract, is used by Dr. Todd with reference to the compiled list of the reformer's writings at the end of Dr. Vaughan's work, and not with a reference to the work itself. The term, however, is so employed, that almost every one on reading it will understand it in the latter and larger sense—a sense in which the expression would be iniquitously unjust. We know of no work in the recent history of our literature which has afforded greater proof of being the result of original and laborious research than 'The Life and Opinions of Wycliffe.' Thus much its author might himself freely assert concerning it, since it would merely be to claim, in his own behalf, that very moderate degree of praise which is considered due to the humble merit of industry.

But the policy of Dr. Todd has been, to understand Dr. Vaughan as claiming to have published a book which left not the smallest degree of information to be supplied concerning the MSS. of Wycliffe; and on this assumption, Dr. Todd has given himself to the study of the Wycliffe MSS. in Dublin, in hope of finding something in Dr. Vaughan's account of those MSS. which might be accounted as an inaccuracy, or something which might be made to appear as a defect, and then, upon such real or imaginary instances, it has been his pleasure to employ himself in founding and iterating the charge of unsound and unauthorized pretension. But did Dr. Vaughan send forth his work as one in which no sort of mistake might be detected, or as one on which no im-

provement might be made? No. His claim simply was, that of having brought to his labour, as a biographer of Wycliffe, a mind more adequately instructed with regard to the writings of the reformer than any of his predecessors; and a mind sufficiently informed in that respect to justify him in the persuasion, that no future investigation would be found materially to disturb the report which he had made concerning the life and opinions of that extraordinary man. Now it is not only true that Dr. Todd has done nothing toward showing that this confidence was ill placed, but we venture to assert that it will not be within his power, nor within the power of any coadjutorship which he may obtain, to present the character of Wycliffe in any other light than that in which it is already presented, nor to show that the opinions attributed to the great reformer have been in any material respect incorrectly attributed to him.\* The Wycliffe MSS, in Dublin are between sixty and seventy in number; they include transcripts of all the more valuable of the reformer's writings; Dr. Todd has been in the habit of very frequently consulting them for many years past; and this attention has been given to them for the manifest purpose of eliciting from them, if possible, some new light, such especially as might suffice to depreciate the labours of Dr. Vaughan; and what is the effect? We repeat, just nothing. In short, let any man of discernment read the forty-four chapters which constitute the last book of the *Triologus*, relating as they do throughout to the distinctive opinions of the reformer, and expressing those opinions as they do in the matured period of the reformer's life, and it must be plain, that so far as the substance of Wycliffe's opinions is concerned, mankind are already in possession of their knowledge. Dr. Todd may gravely assure us that we shall not be in a condition to form any certain judgment on that subject, until labour like his own shall have been expended in editing a complete collection of the reformer's writings; and Dr. Todd may flatter himself that in putting forth such language he is giving evidence of his learning, and of his critical dis-

\* Only one attempt, we believe, has been made by Dr. Todd to convict Dr. Vaughan of inaccuracy in his description of Wycliffe's opinions, and that is in the first paper which appeared on this subject in the *British Magazine*. Dr. Vaughan has described Wycliffe as teaching that the people were not obliged to pay tithes to unworthy ministers. Dr. Todd alleges that in the passages cited, the reformer merely meant to say that the people in such case would be less guilty than the ministers, and not that any fault would justify the withholding of tithes from ministers. But strange enough, the doctrine of one of the chapters of this Lollard treatise is, that to accept of the offices of an immoral priest, is to commit deadly sin; so that, according to Dr. Todd, Wycliffe would account it a deadly sin to accept the offices of an immoral priest, and at the same time count it a very proper thing to pay tithes to such priests for the performance of such offices! We feel assured that Wycliffe was more mindful of the consistent in such matters, than is the manner of Dr. Todd.

cernment and caution, but to men who know what this ground is fully as well, or very much better than Dr. Todd, his conduct will rather appear as a somewhat amusing display of qualities not exactly of that reputable description. No other man, we presume, has examined the Wycliffe MSS. in Dublin so largely as Dr. Todd; but the equally authentic MSS. of the same works, as existing in England, have been so examined, so analyzed, and so far printed, or reported upon from the press, and the dates, moreover, of so large a proportion of them, have been so distinctly ascertained from internal evidence, that no editorship on this subject can be expected to add anything considerable to our knowledge, though much might no doubt be supplied as affording a wider, and, in some respects, a more satisfactory range of illustration.

But it must not be forgotten, that the genius of antiquarianism has to do with more important and difficult matters than with the history of orthography, with the precise form or power of obsolete letters, or with the kind of illumination proper to ancient manuscripts, or to early specimens of printing. Concerning things of this nature, the 'mint and cummin' of antiquarianism, Dr. Todd is very studious. But the 'weightier matters,' the acute and comprehensive intellect, which can separate between real evidence and false appearances, however blended together; and the moral qualities, which concede readily and heartily to a precursor in labour his due, being intent only upon truth—in these things the vice-president of the Irish Antiquarian Society is lamentably wanting.

Extended as this article has become, there is one more exhibition of the kind of infirmity we have imputed to Dr. Todd to which we must call the attention of our readers. Dr. Vaughan, in a note to one of the chapters in his Congregationalism, referred to a statement in one of the papers of Dr. Todd, as containing, in his judgment, a gross misrepresentation. On seeing this note, Dr. Todd sent an angry sort of reply to the pages of the British Magazine. To that communication Dr. Vaughan sent an answer, which appeared in the next number of that publication, and from which we select the following passage:—

'Sir,—A friend has called my attention to a paper in your last number from Dr. Todd relating to myself, on which I must beg permission to offer a word or two of explanation.

'The heading given to my catalogue of the Wycliffe MSS. is as follows:—

“SECTION II. *Including the Wycliffe MSS. extant in England and Ireland. This series contains nearly forty MSS., preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the existence of which has been hitherto unknown to the reformer's biographers.*”

‘ To this statement Dr. Todd now objects—

‘ I. That allowing its meaning to be, that my series of the reformer’s MSS. contains mention of nearly forty duplicate or additional manuscripts, of which no mention had been made by any preceding biographer, the statement in this sense is not correct, the manuscripts so mentioned by me being found upon examination to be not more than half that number.

‘ The Nos. admitted by Dr. Todd as so mentioned by me are, No. 1, and Nos. 3 to 19, inclusive, with the exception of No. 6, making together seventeen; but we still count them as eighteen, as No. 19 contains two distinct treatises, enumerated as such by Mr. Lewis. The other Nos. admitted by Dr. Todd as belonging to this series are, Nos. 28, 30, 34, and 44, which brings my series to twenty-two. Then comes No. 47, under which are classed three volumes of manuscripts, each volume consisting of a number of distinct treatises or tracts, enumerated and described by me in the following manner:—

‘ ‘ 47. In a volume preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, is a series of treatises described as follows:—Class C, Tab. 1, No. 23.

‘ ‘ 1. *Tractatus Evangelii de Sermone Domini in Monte, cum Expositorio Orationis Dominica. Dividitur in tres Libros.*

‘ ‘ 2. *Tractatus de Antichristo, cum Expositorio in xxiii., xxiv., xxv., cap. Matthæi.*

‘ ‘ 3. *Tractatus in Sermonem Domini, quem facerat valedicendo Discipulis suis.*

‘ ‘ 4. *Tractatus de Statu Innocentiæ.*

‘ ‘ 5. *Tractatus de Tempore, in 13 capitulis.*

‘ ‘ 6. *Expositio quorundam locorum Scripturæ.* Titus, ii. cap. Heb. i. cap. et Isaia, xxv. cap. But these are merely parts of his homilies. The volume extends to 400 pages, and, which is peculiar to this collection of Wycliffe MSS., it has a copious index.

‘ ‘ Class C, Tab. I., No. 24.—1. *De Simonia.* 2. *De Apostasia.* 3. *De Blasphemia.* The first piece extends to about forty small folio pages, the second to about half that number; the last consists of about eight pages.

‘ ‘ Another volume in the same library contains a MS. entitled, ‘ *Of Apostacy, and Possessions of Clerks.*’ This volume further contains the following tracts:—*Of Pseudo Friars; Of the Eight Woes God wished to Friars; Of Antichrist and his ways; Of Antichrist’s Song in the Church: A Treatise of Prayer; A Treatise on Confession; A Tract of Christian Obedience*, beginning, ‘ Christ forsooth did all that he could to obey lords.’ In this volume there are several separate homilies, meditations on various subjects, a short treatise, beginning—‘ How are questions and answers put that are written hereafter?’ The collection forms a duodecimo volume of about 400 pages, written with a very small but legible character.—Class C, Tab. V., No. 6.\*

\* Life and Opinions of Wycliffe, vol. ii. pp. 391, 392, second edition.

‘ In this account it will be perceived that there are at least eighteen distinct MSS. described, which makes my series at least forty. Of this number it is admitted that not more than four are mentioned by Mr. Lewis, leaving ‘nearly forty’ to constitute the series which are mentioned by me as existing in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, but which had not been so mentioned by any preceding biographer.

‘ Now it will be in vain for Dr. Todd to plead that these manuscripts are some of them short, inasmuch as a large portion of them are quite of the average length of Wycliffe’s treatises; and inasmuch, also, as he has himself described Nos. 26 and 29 as in the proper sense MSS., and has given Mr. Lewis credit for referring to them as such, though the first does not contain more than four pages, and the second does not exceed two. It will be observed, also, that the nearly twenty MSS. which are classed and described by me under No. 47, are not even bound in one volume, but in three. And it will now be still further observed, that in order to reduce my alleged series of ‘nearly forty’ MSS. to somewhat less than twenty, Dr. Todd has counted these several volumes, each including a series of treatises or tracts, as ONE Wycliffe manuscript! Let this suffice concerning Dr. Todd’s *new* ground of impeachment against me.

‘ II. But admitting for a moment that the matter is, in this respect, as I have shewn it to be, Dr. Todd represents me as saying, that the very *existence* of those nearly forty MSS. had been hitherto unknown to the reformer’s biographers, and this he insists is not true as regards Mr. Lewis.

‘ Now on what evidence does Dr. Todd found his conclusion in favour of Mr. Lewis’s knowledge in this particular?

‘ In part on the fact that the following four lines on this subject appear in Mr. Lewis’s preface: ‘ What account I have had of the MSS. in Ireland, I thankfully acknowledge to have received it from the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, and the Rev. Dr. Howard, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.’ Dr. Todd supposes that the ‘ *What* account,’ &c., thus acknowledged, must be understood to mean a full account, such an account as would enable Mr. Lewis to ‘ mention and describe’ every article of Wycliffe MS. in that library. It will be admitted, perhaps, that this was rather a slight form of acknowledgment for services necessarily involving so much labour, and coming from such quarters. It is a very rare thing, as those who have tried it know, for assistance of that nature to be obtained on so large a scale.

‘ But Dr. Todd will no doubt say that it is not on this circumstance alone that his conclusion is grounded. It is proper, however, that I should remind him, that the manner in which he has spoken of the information so obtained by Mr. Lewis is to the above effect. But there was, it seems, a catalogue of the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, printed at Oxford in 1697; and this catalogue, it is supposed, as a matter of course, Mr. Lewis must have seen. It is now twice seven years since my attention was occupied with this subject. At that time, the only catalogue of the MSS. in Trinity College,

Dublin, I found known to Dr. Sadlier, the librarian, or to more than one of the fellows with whom I had conversation, was a volume of MSS. catalogue which lay on the library table; and in my subsequent correspondence with Dr. Singer—a senior fellow of the college, and a gentleman of whose liberality and kindness I hope ever to retain a grateful remembrance—reference was more than once made to a person in Dublin, who was employed in preparing that desideratum for the manuscript library—a printed catalogue. Was it unnatural, in such circumstances, that I should have been without suspicion as to the existence of such a catalogue? And informed as I now am that such a book exists, and has existed since 1697, my conviction is unhesitating, that it was never seen nor heard of by Mr. Lewis.

‘Had Mr. Lewis been fully apprised by Bishop Godwin, or Dr. Howard, concerning the number and description of the Wycliffe MSS. in Dublin, or had he seen the catalogue to which Dr. Todd refers, the proof of the knowledge thus obtained would surely have presented itself in his catalogue, drawn up as that is, on the plan of giving the fullest information in his power, not only with regard to the *works* of Wycliffe, but with regard to the number of existing Wycliffe MSS. Why describe the two or three MSS. which exist in Dublin, and which exist also elsewhere, as so existing, and not describe the ‘nearly forty’ beside which might have been so described? Why mention a tenth portion of these MSS., and leave the nine-tenths unmentioned; and why, especially, do so, when his plan required that whatever knowledge of this kind he possessed should be put forth?

‘The sum is this. Two friends communicate to Mr. Lewis some account of the MSS. in Dublin; and in 1697 a catalogue of those MSS. was printed in England. On the ground of these facts, Dr. Todd informs us, that he ‘happened to *know*’ that the ‘existence,’ at least of the nearly forty MSS. mentioned by me, must have been known to my predecessor, Mr. Lewis. Dr. Todd has not the slightest degree of proof that the persons who gave Mr. Lewis an account of the four MSS. he does mention, gave him an account also of the ‘nearly forty’ which he does not mention; nor has he any proof that Mr. Lewis ever saw the catalogue printed in 1697. While opposed to this want of evidence in favour of his being thus informed, on the one side, is the existence of something amounting to proof on the other side, in the non-appearance of such information in that chapter of Mr. Lewis’s book where his plan required that it should appear, had it been in his possession.

‘When a writer shews that he can make his way to a conclusion, not merely *without* evidence, but *against* it, there must be something wrong somewhere. It is true, by being thus credulous in favour of the knowledge of Mr. Lewis, Dr. Todd seizes upon ground on which to make charges very unfavourable to the knowledge, and even to the integrity, of Dr. Vaughan. Of course, we must not suppose that this has been the  *motive* to such credulity.

‘We now come to Dr. Todd’s original misconstruction of the heading to my catalogue of the Wycliffe MSS.—viz.,

‘ III. That of describing me as meaning to say, that my catalogue contains nearly forty newly-discovered *works* of the reformer, and not merely that number of *duplicate* or *additional manuscripts*.

‘ My language is, that my catalogue ‘ contains nearly forty MSS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the existence of which has been hitherto unknown to the reformer’s biographers.’

‘ Now can any of your readers need to be reminded, that the history of ancient MSS. is the history of so many separate transcripts, and that the transcript of a work does not cease to be valuable because it is not the only transcript of that work known to exist?

‘ Again—need I remind your readers, that the fact that Mr. Lewis has ‘ mentioned and described’ certain works of the reformer from transcripts of them, to which he had access, as existing in England, is in itself no evidence of his being acquainted with certain transcripts of those same works as existing in Ireland? Or can it be necessary to caution any man against supposing that the fact that Mr. Lewis has ‘ made use’ of a certain series of MSS. in England, is not, as a matter of fact, really the same thing with his having made use of another series of MSS. of the same description in another kingdom?

‘ But Dr. Todd, it seems, has been incapable of perceiving any one of these distinctions. He has been at great pains, it seems, to look intelligently and impartially at this matter, and, after all, he ‘ could not help’ using an ambiguity of expression, which serves to confound all distinction between the *works* of Wycliffe, and the scattered transcripts of those works; nor could he help seeing in the fact that Mr. Lewis knew and used certain MSS. in England, the evidence that he must have known and have used certain other MSS. of the same description not in England. And then, as the consequence of his inability to see otherwise on these points, Dr. Todd ‘ could not help’ charging me with having put on record a deliberate falsehood—a falsehood which would have been as remarkable for its stupidity as its baseness, since it would have been of that broad and obvious description that could not possibly escape detection and exposure!

‘ By this time, perhaps, some of your readers may begin to perceive that there may possibly be other reasons beside such as have respect to the learning or the sagacity of Dr. Todd, which may indispose a man to be much concerned with him as a controvertist.’

Dr. Todd, in the warmth of his indignation, had challenged Dr. Vaughan to a reply. The editor of the *British Magazine*, in consequence, could hardly have refused admission to the above paper; but we were a little curious to see how Dr. Todd would attempt to extricate himself from the unenviable position in which this paper had placed him. When a man stands convicted of delinquencies of this nature, there are two methods of proceeding open to him—a frank confession of his errors, or an attempt to get up the show of a reply, great care being taken, while so doing, to evade the main points of the accusation, and to indulge in disputatious talk about small matters, little, if at all, affecting those



points, imposing upon the superficial, by not seeming to be silenced though thoroughly beaten. We shall see to which of these courses Dr. Todd has betaken himself in this exigency.

The first charge against Dr. Todd is, that in order to reduce the 'nearly forty MSS.,' mentioned by Dr. Vaughan as existing in Dublin, to not more than half that number, Dr. Todd had counted three volumes of MSS., each volume containing a series of tracts or treatises, as one Wycliffe manuscript. The whole of Dr. Todd's reply to this charge is in the following passage:—

'Dr. Vaughan now replies, that by the term 'MSS.' he intended not separate volumes, but tracts or pieces, of which several are generally to be found in the same volume; and, in this way, including some tracts which, although separately enumerated, are, in reality, only chapters or sections of one and the same treatise, Dr. Vaughan has succeeded in showing that he had mentioned about thirty-two MSS., a number which he thinks may be taken as 'nearly forty,' though other people might imagine it nearer to thirty MSS.'

In this short passage there are nearly as many incorrect statements, either direct or virtual, as there are lines. In the first place, it is not, as the above extract insinuates, *one* volume, consisting of a series of treatises or tracts, which Dr. Todd has described as one manuscript, but they are three volumes, which have been so described by him—described, not even as counting for three manuscripts, but as counting for one only! In the second place, it was not reasonable, as Dr. Todd further insinuates, that he should have understood Dr. Vaughan as meaning to say that he had made mention of nearly forty 'volumes' of manuscripts not mentioned by his predecessors; on the contrary, Dr. Todd must have known such a supposition to be so utterly absurd, that we know of no honest process by which he could have brought himself to think that Dr. Vaughan did not so mean, even while seeming to suppose that such was his meaning. In the third place, it was not, as Dr. Todd alleges, a natural thing in him to reckon the Wycliffe MSS. adverted to by the volume, and not according to the treatises or tracts which the volume might include, inasmuch as Bale, Lewis, Baber, every one who has written concerning those MSS., all have described them piece by piece, whether long or short, and each by its title or beginning, and inasmuch as Dr. Todd himself has pursued this course on all occasions, excepting in this one instance, in which, as we have seen, he had a particular reason for departing from his own practice in this respect, and from that of every one else. In the fourth place, the pieces enumerated by Dr. Vaughan, allowing the mode of enumeration ascribed to him by Dr. Todd to have been adopted, amount to thirty-six, and not to thirty-two only. In the fifth-place, Dr. Vaughan has not counted parts of treatises as

being separate works, in any instance that we find, unless it be in the case of the pieces—*De Apostasia*, *De Simonia*, *De Blasphemia*, which Dr. Todd alleges are parts of the work intitled *De Veritate Scripturæ* ;\* but Dr. Todd is the first person who has so described these pieces, and as Dr. Todd confesses his inability to decipher even the chapters of contents to the volume in which these pieces are found, we must confess that we have no such faith in his general accuracy on such matters as to account his solitary testimony on this point of any great value.

On the whole, we think our readers will perceive that it is not often that so narrow a space as that presented in the above extract is found to include so large an amount of error; and that this pretended defence, while leaving the original accusation wholly untouched, exhibits only a further display of the mental or moral infirmity which it was meant to conceal.

The next charge against Dr. Todd relates to the assertion that to his 'knowledge,' Mr. Lewis was acquainted with the existence of the 'nearly forty MSS.' mentioned by Dr. Vaughan, and that he has 'used, mentioned, and described' every one of them; and Dr. Vaughan, adducing evidence to the contrary of this assertion, challenges Dr. Todd to show the ground on which he persists in ascribing such knowledge to Mr. Lewis. The whole of Dr. Todd's reply to this challenge is in the following curious passage:

'I had shown that Dr. Vaughan's boast of having included in his catalogue 'forty MSS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the existence of which had been hitherto unknown to the reformer's biographers,' must be reduced at least one-half, even after allowing what he tells us 'every ingenuous man might have seen at a glance,' that the word 'unknown' in the above-quoted announcement meant only 'not particularly mentioned by,' and that 'the reformer's biographers' meant specially Mr. Lewis.'

Dr. Todd, it seems, had 'shown' that Dr. Vaughan's 'nearly forty' MSS. should be reduced below twenty. Our readers have seen *how* it is that Dr. Todd has so done, and will no doubt admire the taste which could descend to repeat such an assertion, after such exposure of the dealing on which it had been founded. But the most amusing part of this paragraph, is that in which Dr. Todd asserts that in speaking of the knowledge possessed on this subject by the 'reformer's biographers' he did not mean 'specially' Mr. Lewis; and that by the knowledge attributed to them, he has not meant, in the case of Mr. Lewis or of others, a knowledge indicated in a 'particular mention' of the said MSS.

\* These pieces are all counted as separate tracts or treatises in the Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ, of which, as we shall presently see, Dr. Todd has been pleased to speak as being a valuable guide in such questions.

Now in the name of everything ingenuous, let the following passage be read attentively, it is Dr. Todd's, italics and all :—

‘ I set myself to compare Mr. Vaughan's list with that of Mr. Lewis, for the purpose of ascertaining what the newly-discovered MSS. were, and, notwithstanding my previous suspicion, I confess I was surprised to find that it did not contain a single article which was not already mentioned and described by Mr. Lewis.’

We must leave our readers to judge whether this reference to Mr. Lewis, as one of the reformer's biographers, be, or be not, ‘ special;’ and we must leave them also to judge whether the knowledge on this point attributed to Mr. Lewis, be, or be not, a knowledge said to be indicated by a ‘ particular mention’ of the MSS. in question. Driven from the above assertions in favour of the knowledge of Mr. Lewis in ‘ special,’ Dr. Todd would now take refuge among the ‘ reformer's biographers’ in general; but since Mr. Lewis must be supposed to have known at least as much on this subject as his predecessors, we are obliged to suspect that our critic will find this move, in common with every other he has taken, a move, according to the old adage, from bad to worse.

Concerning the original misrepresentation on this point, that of describing Dr. Vaughan as claiming to have called the public attention to nearly forty new *works* of the reformer's, while he merely spoke of having so done in respect to that number of new *manuscripts*, Dr. Todd has nothing to reply, except that he thinks nine persons out of ten would so understand the language of Dr. Vaughan! This is in effect to say, that duplicate manuscripts of works existing only in manuscript, are things the existence of which it is so difficult to suppose, that Dr. Vaughan ought to be understood as saying he has found, what he does not say he has found—viz., so many new *works* of the reformer, and not what he does say he has found—viz., so many new *manuscripts*! Could we think Dr. Todd so obtuse as really to believe this, we should have left his imbecility to the range of its own necessary harmlessness.

There is still one other point in this unique sort of defence deserving attention :—

‘ Dr. Vaughan now admits,’ says Dr. Todd, ‘ that he was, and is, except from my statement, ignorant of the existence of the ‘*Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*,’ published in Oxford in 1697; and because he and two gentlemen whom he consulted (neither of whom have ever been known to have turned their attention to the subject) were ignorant of the existence of this book, he concludes that Mr. Lewis must have been ignorant of it too!

‘Surely this is a little too bad. But if Dr. Vaughan now, after having published a life of Wycliffe, admits publicly his ignorance of so well known a book, to which one should have thought he would have had recourse in the first instance, in order to ascertain what MSS. of his author were in existence, he cannot complain if doubts are expressed of his qualifications for the task which he was bold enough to undertake.’

This passage, when examined, will be found to be in beautiful keeping with the rest. Pray from whom was Dr. Vaughan likely to obtain information as to the existence of a printed catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, if not from its resident fellows, to whose special keeping the manuscript library is intrusted, so that no man can copy or read a line in it without one of those gentlemen being present? From whom was this information likely to be obtained, if not from Dr. Sadlier, the librarian, a gentleman who, from his years, his tastes, and his office, was likely to be much better informed on this subject than any other man to whom application could be made? The insinuation, then, that Dr. Vaughan did not look to the best source for information is not just; he looked to that source, and it failed him. But on the matter of this printed catalogue, a letter has been addressed by Dr. Vaughan to the Editor of the ‘British Magazine,’ which we shall insert in this place, as affording a further display of Dr. Todd’s ingenuousness:—

‘SIR,—It was not until a day or two since that I had given sufficient attention to Dr. Todd’s recent communications in your pages concerning myself, to perceive that in the matter of the supposed printed catalogue of the Wycliffe MSS., in Trinity College, Dublin, I had committed an oversight, and one of which undue advantage has been taken.

‘Dr. Todd describes the book to which he refers as a catalogue ‘of all,’ and ‘of the whole,’ of the MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin. Being satisfied that no such printed catalogue in respect to the Wycliffe MSS. in that collection had ever come under my notice, I at once confessed my ignorance as to its existence. On recurring to the subject, however, I find that the catalogue intended, so far from being unknown to me, is one which came under my examination in the Bodleian Library nearly twenty years since; and this fact would have occurred to me immediately, had not Dr. Todd’s description of that publication been such as to create a totally false impression on my mind in respect to it.

‘My papers relating to the Wycliffe MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin, taken at the time of examining those documents, contain a list of more than sixty MSS., the several small pieces included in the ‘Pore Caitif’ being counted together as one. In the printed catalogue to which reference has been made with so much confidence, the fol-

lowing are the whole of the insertions that occur in relation to the MSS. of Wycliffe.

' 129. Tracts of John Wycliffe, 8vo. 148. Determinatio Jo. Wycliff, 1379. 401. Excerpta ex Jo. Wickliffe de Veritate Scripturæ. An exposition on Psalm cxliii. 4to, F. 42. 758. M. J. W. Tractatus de Veritate Scripturæ, Simonia, Apostasia, Blasphemia, fol., membr. c. 3. 812. (Pore Caitif) Discourses of Jo. Wicliffe touching the Ten Commandments: the P. N. of Perfect Life, Ghostly Battle, to Love of Jesus, of Contemplative Life, and of Chastitie. In old English, 8vo, parchment. H. 75. 813. Jo. Wickliffe's Postills, in old English, fol. parchment, c. 35. 814. Jo. Wicliffe's Works to the Duke of Lancaster in 1368, 4to, parchment, H. 17.'

' Here we find eight insertions, or, at the most, eleven, in place of between sixty and seventy. In the case of seven of these insertions, there are only five so descriptive as to enable any man to discern the sort of MSS. intended. These seven insertions, it is probable, Mr. Lewis read, but the insertion numbered 758, he does not appear to have seen, and I think I can perceive the cause of his not having seen it. The other articles are all referred to in the Index, under the name 'Wiclif,' and the name of the author is printed in each instance in full; but No. 758 is not so pointed out, and in the place, the initials only of the name are given. It was my error to do nearly twenty years since, as my predecessor appears to have done a century before—viz., to rely on a treacherous index. It was not until I had examined the MSS. in Dublin, that I became aware of the pitiable deficiencies, in this respect, of this much boasted catalogue.

' Now Dr. Todd appeals to the fact that this catalogue was printed in 1697; he next assumes that Mr. Lewis must have seen it; and supposing Mr. Lewis to have seen it, Dr. Todd then proceeds to deride the notion of there being any Wycliffe MSS. in Dublin with the 'existence' of which, at least, that writer was not acquainted. Who would not conclude from Dr. Todd's manner of expressing himself on this matter that the said catalogue would be found to contain a list of the Reformer's MSS. hardly less specific, as to number and sort, than Dr. Todd himself might have supplied? But strange to say, on examination, the sum of the matter proves to be, that a catalogue consisting of eleven articles has been proclaimed as sufficient to have enabled Mr. Lewis to 'mention and describe' articles to some six times that amount! May I not ask, Sir, in the language of Dr. Todd, if this be not 'a little too bad'? But thus much concerning what Mr. Lewis might have learnt from this printed catalogue concerning the Wycliffe MSS. in Dublin; will Dr. Todd so far gratify your readers as to show—show on the ground of proper evidence and proof—to what extent Mr. Lewis found the Bishop of Kilmore and Dr. Howard more communicative than this printed catalogue?

Such, then, are the notions of the honourable which Dr. Todd has brought with him to his labours as a critic. He repudiates the thought of being hostile to Dr. Vaughan on the

ground of his being a dissenter; but however he may deceive others, or deceive himself by such a protest, we are not to be deceived by it. It is less disreputable to Dr. Todd to suppose that he has been prompted to these courses by his haughty feeling as a churchman, than to suppose that he has descended to such practices as are exposed in this article from the pure love of indulging in them. Dr. Todd is one of a class. It is as such that we have dealt with him. It is on this account that we would urge our readers to mark the elements of his character, and to remember them. We are disposed to do its proper homage to real piety wherever we find it, and we know how to estimate at its proper value the honourable and the generous in the man of the world; but the religion which only serves to make its possessor a bigot, and which, as the consequence, tends to vitiate all the natural sentiments of the heart, in place of improving them, is a base thing, which we can never fail to denounce and loath.

We have entered more thoroughly into this subject than our limits ordinarily permit, partly on account of our regard for a gentleman who has rendered eminent service to the body whose principles we advocate, and partly for the purpose of showing the mean arts of detraction to which church writers frequently resort when compelled to refer to the labours of our brethren. The well-earned reputation of Dr. Vaughan is an offence to our opponents which has prompted many ungenerous attacks, distinguished alike by party spleen and intellectual imbecility. Those which we have had under review on the present occasion, partake of the common features of their class, and may safely be left by Dr. Vaughan to the judgment of all impartial men. Two opinions cannot be entertained by the candid of any party respecting the course pursued by his assailant. That there are honourable men amongst our opponents we do not question, but truth compels from us the statement, which we make reluctantly, that such is the bitterness of spirit distinguishing many of them, that we look in vain to their productions for literary integrity, or the common courtesies of life. We regret the fact, not on our own account, but for the sake of our common Christianity, and call upon all our friends to take warning by it. We have nothing to expect from the justice of our opponents, and must therefore befriend ourselves if we would have our literature sustained, or our principles understood by the great body of our countrymen.

In these concluding passages, and in some others, we have given expression to our honest judgment with regard to the labours of Dr. Vaughan; but there are circumstances connected with this controversy which render it expedient that we should

so far depart from our custom in such matters as to state that, as regards the substance and form of the *argument* contained in this article, both in respect to the alleged authorship of this Lollard Treatise, and in respect to the character of the Wycliffe MSS., and Dr. Todd's papers in relation to them, the writer responsible is the author of 'The Life and Opinions of Wycliffe,' and it is not the wish of Dr. Vaughan to be at all shielded from that amount of responsibility, under the anonymous character of a review.

