

THE
L I F E
OF
THE LEARNED AND RIGHT REVEREND
REYNOLD PECOCK, S. T. P.

LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH, AND CHICHESTER,
IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VI.

FAITHFULLY COLLECTED FROM RECORDS AND MSS.

BEING
A SEQUEL
OF
THE LIFE OF DR. JOHN WICLIF,
IN ORDER TO
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE
ENGLISH REFORMATION.

BY JOHN LEWIS, M. A.

MINISTER OF MEREGATE.

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THE
P R E F A C E.

THE most learned and reverend Archbishop Usher observed, 1613, that "at that time the Papists disputed with Protestants, and particularly with those of the Church of England, the antiquity of their religion, and the *perpetual succession* or continuation of it to that time. The former of these," his Grace said, "the learned Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, defended with the best success, and claimed to us Protestants the first six hundred years, as the *most ancient*, as well as the *best part* of time. The other part, the *perpetual succession*, is," he said, "greater and more obscure, containing the space of nine hundred years; in all which time, the Papists pretend, that either our Church was no where at all, or was Bellarmin. de Notis Eccles. c. 5. compelled to serve strange gods, to adore idols, and communicate with the sacrilegious." This the Archbishop undertook to confute, and for that purpose wrote *an historical explication of the most important question of the continual succession of the Christian Churches, especially in the Western parts, from the Apostles' times to that in which he lived.* But they being times of danger and trouble, and his Grace being robbed in Wales of the MSS. which he had purchased for that purpose, he executed this good design no farther than the times of our famous Dr. John Wiclif. To continue this history therefore, I wrote the Life of Doctor Wiclif, and gave as particular an account as I could of his opinions. It was, I found, no difficult matter to do this, and to shew their opposi-

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tion to those held then by the Papists; since Dr. Wiclif's works in print and written hand are still preserved, and to be found and read^a in the English libraries.

Dr. Peter
Allix.

“^b John Wiclif was the most renowned man of that age, both for *learning* and *piety*, as appears by his works above mentioned. Whether he maintained the doctrine of the Waldenses or no, certain it is, that it received new lustre from his learning, and those who joined with him in defence of the truth in opposition to the Popish errors and superstitions. Of these he made a very particular discussion, in which we meet with a great knowledge of holy Scripture, and great skill in antiquity, whose authority he makes use of to confound the Romish novelties; we likewise discover there a great strength in his way of reasoning, and an extraordinary method in his consequences, so that he seems to have fully penetrated the weakness of the Roman cause; there being scarcely any articles controverted between the Church of Rome and the Protestants to be met with, which Dr. Wiclif has not touched and handled, and that with sufficient exactness too.”

It was with the same view, that I undertook to collect and write the following Life of Doctor Reynold Pecock, the learned Bishop of Chichester, a candid and moderate opposer of the Wiclifists; in doing which I have followed the Archbishop's example, who “professed not to use his own words, where he could have the use of the words of others; because that manner of writing seemed much more accommodated to the *truth* of the narrative, and the *proof* of the things which are told or related.” I

^a A particular account of them, and where they are repositèd, may be seen in the Life of Dr. Wiclif, chap. ix. p. 179, &c.

^b In 1722, in the famous University of Oxford, lived one Thomas Hearne, who gave the following character of this great and venerable man; *qui revera rebellis impiusque erat*: and for proof of it recommended false and bitter Popish libels on that University, printed 1623, as a great rarity. *Forduni Scotichronicon*. See Advertisement before the Life of Dr. Wiclif, edit. 1723.

have therefore copied the Bishop's arguments and opinions from several tracts or books of, his, which are still preserved in MS. in our libraries.

By this method we see the state of the controversy betwixt the Papists and dissenting English Lollards in our Bishop's time; by what pleas these latter justified their separation from the established Popish Church, and what answers were returned to them. We have likewise a view of all or most of the changes, and reigning abuses, and corruptions of Popery brought into the Church of England before the happy reformation of it. To use the words of a very learned and judicious friend, who saw and perused the following papers, "while the Bishop defends these abuses, complained of by the Dissenters, in such a way as he could, he at least owns the facts, which is very considerable. The Wiclifists might be suspected of *falsifying*, or however of *aggravating*; and it has been pretended, that no credit ought to be given to the reports of adversaries. But our Bishop was a friend of the Papacy, and a very sincere one; what *he* therefore owns and confesses cannot well be suspected of being false or misreported."

Dr. Daniel
Waterland.

The reader will also see a farther proof of the vanity and falsehood of the late^c and former shameless brags and boastings of our Popish emissaries, that the *doctrine* called *Popery* is as ancient as *Christianity*. So far is this from being true, that during the first six hundred years after Christ there was no such thing in the world as what is now called Popery. Nay, Doctor Wiclif maintained, that it had no being till after the loosing of Satan in the second millenary; and so much was ingenuously owned by Cardinal Quignonius, that "by little and little a departure had been made from the very godly institutions of the ancient fathers." The learned John Beleth of Paris observed, that "heretofore the *sacrifice* was cele-

D. Offic.
Expl. c. 49.

^c *The shortest Way to end Disputes about Religion*, 1716. viz. to have an implicit faith in an infallible judge and guide.

“brated by the Apostles, and apostolical men in the primitive Church, with *wooden vessels* and *vulgar garments*; for then, as is commonly said, there were “*wooden chalices* and *golden priests*, but now is quite the “contrary.” Instead of *vulgar garments* are now introduced and used an *amess*^d, an *alb*, a *surcingle*, a *maniple*, a *stole*, and a *chasuble*; all which are distinctly blessed or consecrated, and supposed to be “watered from above by God’s grace, and purified, blessed, and “consecrated by the humble service of the Bishop, and by “those means to be made meet and blessed for divine “worship and holy mysteries; and that the Bishops, “Priests, and Levites being habited with them, may de- “serve to be guarded and defended from all attacks or “temptations of malignant spirits.”

Here in England, or rather in Great Britain, so far were either the Clergy or people from conforming to the Church of Rome in Venerable Bede’s time, and acknowledging a dependency on the Pope as their supreme head, that he tells us, “the British Bishops and Doctors pre- “ferred their own traditions to the Romish customs and “usages, particularly as to the time of the observation “of Easter, and the *manner* of administering Baptism, “which they seem to have had from the Greek or eastern “Churches, by whom their ancestors had been converted “to the belief of Christianity; and did or practised a great “many other things, contrary,” as he represents it, “to the “unity of the Church of Rome.” Insomuch, that the Britons had this character given of them in a council held at Rome, in which the Pope himself presided; *Britones, qui omnibus contrarii sunt*; the Britons who are contrary to all, or who differ from all of the Church of Rome. Of this the reader will be furnished with many instances in the following papers, relating to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the Christian Church; and thereby will,

Hist. Eccles.
lib. ii. c. 2.

Catal. L. L.
MSS. in
Bibl. C. C. C.
in Cam-
bridge, p.
28.

^d Not one of these vestments was retained in the Church of England after the Reformation, nor any other consecrated vestments.

PREFACE.

I hope, be convinced, that *changes* have been made in them, from what they were at first. Doctor Wiclif called the barbarous doctrine of *transubstantiation* a *new heresy*; a full and convincing proof of which are the Saxon or old English sermons, printed by Archbishop Parker's order in the original and modern English, and entitled, *A Testimony of Antiquity*. The same learned man observed that *leges de confessionibus expressæ in Scriptura per mille annos et amplius suffecerunt*, the laws of confessions expressed in Scripture sufficed for a thousand years and more; and imputed the introducing other laws or rules to the loosing of Satan out of prison. So that we may with much more truth return this man his own language, and defy *him*, as he defies *us*, to "mark us out one single province, town, or even family, in Christendom, where the Popish religion, either established by law at Rome, or as it is modelled by the Pope's bulls or councils, was publicly professed and published, as it is now, a thousand years after Christ."

Dial. lib. iv.
c. 28. Obj.
of Freres,
c. 16. MS.

The learned John Beleth, before mentioned, assures us, that "in the primitive Church it was forbidden to any one to speak in an unknown tongue, unless there was some one to interpret it. For," said he, "of what use is it to speak, if what is spoken be not understood?" Certainly of none at all. Our learned martyr and archbishop Cranmer observed in 1540, that "it was not much above an hundred^e years ago, since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue, or in English, within this realm; and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the Saxon tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue, whereof there remain yet diverse copies, found lately in old abbeys, of such antique manner of writing and speaking, that few men now ben able to read and understand them. And

Expl. D.
Officio.

Prologue.
A. D. 1408.

A. D. 680.

^e Jacobi le Long bibliotheca omnium ferme sacræ Scripturæ editionum ac versionum secundum seriem linguarum quibus vulgaræ sunt.

A complete History of the several Translations of the holy Bible and New Testament into English, the second edition, 1739.

“ when this language waned old, and out of common
 “ usage, because folk should not lacke the fruit of reading
 A. D. 1380. “ the Scripture, it was again translated into the newer
 “ language, whereof yet also many copies remain, and be
 “ daily found.”

We may here likewise observe, how far a bitter zeal and persecuting spirit will carry those who are so unhappy as to be acted and governed by it. No one could express a truer affection for the Established Church than our Bishop; insomuch, that he was led by it to vindicate some of its grossest corruptions, and to be an advocate for usages, for which in truth there was nothing to be said in their defence. And yet, because he did not insist on the authority of the Church, or the Clergy, and the infallibility of their determinations, (the test and shibboleth of a true Churchman at that time,) because he thought that the people, as ignorant as they were, knew better than to believe it; and supposed that the Clergy, as well as other fallible men, might possibly be mistaken in their determinations; therefore was our Bishop exclaimed against as an enemy to the Church, which he so strenuously laboured to defend, and an encourager of the Dissenters in their new separation from it, whom he took so much pains to reconcile to it. For his only supposing that he could reclaim the dissenting Wiclifists, without having recourse to the infallible authority of the Church, he was reproached himself as an heretic, and treated with an ill-natured scorn and contempt. Nay his enemies, who were but poorly qualified to be his judges, never left him, till, having the Court on their side, whom the Bishop seems to have disobliged, they got him, though contrary to law, deprived of his bishopric, and confined a prisoner in an abbey for life.

This is the account which I have here to give of the following performance; which, if it be any wise useful to convince men of the falsehood of those absurd and dangerous fanciés, that the fierce wrath of man worketh the righteousness of God; or that truth may be imprinted on

men's minds with the points of naked swords, and their understandings enlightened, so as to perceive the truth, by making bonfires of their bodies; that weak and fallible men, who will not order their unruly wills and affections, are infallible, and, like God, can neither be deceived nor deceive; in short, if I can but contribute any thing to make my own countrymen more sensible of the great and invaluable blessing of the Reformation, and that the restoring Popish superstition under the venerable name of *antiquity*, and asserting its usurped infallible authority over our minds, &c. is *putting an end to every thing for which life is worth the living*, I have all my end.

THE
L I F E
OF
DR. REYNOLD PECOCK,
BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH, &c.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Bishop's Country, Family, and Education, and
studying the Controversy with the Lollards.*

1. DR. REYNOLD PECOCK is said to have been born somewhere in the principality of Wales. The chief authority for this, so far as I can find, is his being styled, in the Pope's bulls of provision of him to the bishoprick of St. Asaph, a Presbyter of the diocese of St. David's; which, very probably, he is called either on account of his being born there, or having a benefice in that country. Presbyterum Menevens. Dioc.

2. As the place of our Bishop's birth is so uncertain, so it is as little known when he was born, or of what family he was. It is observed, that, at this time, instances were very common of persons of better rank than our Bishop's parents seem to have been, neglecting to take due care to preserve their pedigrees. However, we may, I believe, venture to say of the Bishop, as Sir Thomas More wrote of himself in his epitaph, that he was of "an honest family, though it was not much known or celebrated. If we sup-

* Familia non celebri sed honesta natus.

CHAP. I. pose the Bishop to have died ^b 1460, about three years after his deprivation, and that he was then about seventy years old, the time of his birth will fall about the year 1390.

3. But, not to dwell on things so obscure, and about which we cannot now be certain; of this we are sure, that the Bishop was educated in grammar-school learning; and being made fit for the prosecution of higher and more manly studies, was sent to the famous University of Oxford, and there admitted of Oriel or the Royal College. The studies which here he chiefly followed were, we are told, those of eloquence or rhetoric, or the art of speaking well, and of moral philosophy; both which he made subservient to that of divinity. The progress he made in these and his other studies soon made him taken notice of, insomuch that upon the election of Master ^c Richard Garsdale, S. T. P. to be Provost of the College, Mr. Pecock was chosen fellow in his room, October 30, 1417.

4. As from Mr. Pecock's first admission in the University, he seems to have had his eye on holy Orders, and, with a just regard thereto, to have made choice of, and prosecuted his studies; so now being thought qualified for them, and to be of age and learning sufficient to enter into them, he applied himself to Dr. Richard Flemmyng, then Bishop of Lincoln, in which diocese Oxford then was, and of him obtained the favour of being ordained ^d Acolyth and Subdeacon the same day, viz. December 21, 1420, and of A. D. 1420. being admitted to the order of Deacon the 15th of February following, and to that of Priesthood the next month,

^b *Iste Reginaldus episcopus Assavensis valde fuit dispositus ad lepram corporis, et plures de parentela sua fuerunt leprosi. Etiam iste episcopus fuit leprosus mente; i. e. Hereticus fama plurium. F. Gascoigne, Dict. MS.*

^c So I find it in some MS. notes, communicated to me by the late Bishop Kennett, though Mr. Wood takes no notice of any one of this name being Provost of this College.

^d *Reginaldus Pecock socius Coll. Orieli Oxon. ordinatur Acolitus et Subdeaconus eodem die videl. 12 Kal. Jan. 1420, a Ricardo Linc. Episcopo, et Diaconus ad titulum dicti Coll. ab eodem Ricardo Episcopo 15 Cal. Mart. 1420, et demum Presbyter ab eodem 8 Id. Mart. 1420. Reg. Flemmyng.*

March 8, by virtue of the title of the fellowship which he held. CHAP.
I.

5. These happy beginnings, it is observed, had such success as virtue promises to her votaries and admirers, namely, the very best; for Mr. Pecock having now finished the course of his academical studies, and been admitted into holy Orders, he took his Bachelor of Divinity's degree. This we are told he did ^e under a certain Monk of the Cistercian Order about the year 1445. But there seems to be some mistake in the figures, and that it ought to be 1425; about which time Mr. Pecock seems to have left the University.

6. At this time Humphry Duke of Gloucester was protector of the kingdom; and being a great patron of learned and virtuous men, and hearing the character of Mr. Pecock, who was now well known and much respected in his College and the University, he called him up to court. In what station he was there; I do not find; but Leland tells us, by what authority I know not, that Mr. Pecock was so serviceable to the court and his Prince, that in a little time he was endowed with very ample fortunes, and made a considerable figure. Leland De-
script. Brit.
p. 458.

7. Sir Thomas More tells us of this Duke Humphry, that *he was a great wise man, and well learned*, and intimates that he was no friend and encourager of those feigned miracles which at this time were so much in fashion. "As I remember me," says he, "that I have heard ^{Dialog.} "my father tell of a begger, that in King * Edward's days ^{fol. 18. ed.} "the fourth, came wyth hys wyfe to St. Albons, and ^{1529.} "there was walkyng about the towne, begging a five or ^{* Henry VI.} "six days before the King's coming thither, saying, that "he was borne blinde, and never saw in his life, and was "warned in his dreame, that he should come out of Berwick, where he sayd he had ever dwelt, to seke St. Albon, and that he had bene at his shrine, and had not ben

* Incepit in theologia sub quodam monacho Cisterciensis ordinis—circa annum 1445. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS.*

- CHAP. I. “ holpen, and therefore he wold go take him at some other
 “ place, for he had heard some say since he came, that St.
 “ Albony’s body should be at Colon.—But when the King
 “ was come, and the towne full, suddenly this blinde man
 “ at St. Albony’s shrine had his sight agayne, and a mi-
 “ racle solemnly rongen, and Te Deum songen, so that
 “ nothing was talked of in all the towne but this miracle.
 “ So happened it then that Duke Humfrey of Gloucester,
 “ having greate joye to see such a miracle, called the poor
 “ man unto him. And first shewing himself joyous of
 “ God’s glory so shewed in the gettingy of his sight, and
 “ exhorting him to meekness, and to none ascribing of
 * honour. “ any part of the * worship to himself, nor to be proud
 “ of the peoples praise which would call him a good and
 “ a godly man thereby; at last he looked well upon his
 “ eyen, and asked whither he could never see nothing at
 “ all in his life before. And when as well his wife as him-
 “ self affirmed fastly, no, then he looked advisedly upon
 † Firmly, with great assurance. “ his † eyen agayne, and sayd, *I beleve you very well, for
 “ methinketh that ye cannot see well yet. Yes, Sir, quoth
 “ he, I thanke God and his holy martyr, I can see now
 “ as well as any man. Ye can!* quoth the Duke; *what
 † presently. “ colour is my gowne?* Then † anon the begger told him.
 “ *What colour, quoth he, is this man’s gown?* He told
 “ him also; and so forth, without any sticking, he told
 “ him the names of all the colours that could be shewed
 “ him. And when my lord saw that, he bad him walke
 § vagabond, cheat. “ § faytoure, and made him be sett openly in the stockes :
 “ for, though he could have seen sodainly by miracle the
 “ difference between diverse colours, yet could he not by
 “ the sight so suddenly tell the names of all these colours,
 || unless. “ || but if he had know them before, no more than the
 “ names of all the men that he should suddenly see.”

8. By this we may see, that this nobleman was far from being a bigot to usurped authority, and resigning his understanding to an implicit belief of feigned and pretended miracles, and so far agreed in his judgment with Mr. Pecoock. But it was his great misfortune to be so far

blinded either with ambition or doting for love, as to marry the Lady Jaquet, or Jacomin, daughter and sole heir to William of Bavier Duke of Holland, who was lawful wife to John Duke of Brabant then living: which marriage was not only wondered at by the common people, but also detested of the Nobility, and abhorred of the Clergy. But had not this been his case, his thus detecting the pious frauds and superstitious forgeries with which that dark age abounded, we may well conclude made this great man abundance of enemies among those who were engaged both by zeal and interest to support the credit of such lying wonders. So that it is not at all strange, that we find him suspected as no friend to the Church, and, that by the contrivance of the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, who then headed the Clergy, his Duchess Eleanor was convented for witchcraft and sorcery, and indicted for treason, in order to reproach and cast a slur on the Duke. But to return to Mr. Pecock.

9. In the year 1431 he was made Master of the college of St. Spirit and St. Mary in the city of London, founded a little before by Sir Richard Whittington, several times Lord Mayor of London. By the statutes of this college there was to be a Master, four Fellows, Masters of Arts, *Clerks, Conducts, Chorists, &c.* The Master was to be chosen in one month after every vacancy by the four Fellows or Chaplains of the college, and to be Rector of the church of ^f St. Michael in Riola, near to which this college was built ^g. They were accordingly to certify their choice under their common seal to the Wardens of the Mercers' company, who were made conservators of the

CHAP.
I.

Hall's
Chron.
Reign of
Hen. VI.
fol. 2. b.

Wharton de
Episc.
Asaph.

Newcourt
Repertori-
um, &c. vol.
i. p. 493.

^f Whitenton College church standing in the street called Tower Ryall, a little above the Three Cranes, in the Vintree. *Discourse of Peter's Life, &c.* by *Chr. Carlile.*

^g Mr. Newcourt has omitted Mr. Pecock's name in the account he gives of the Masters of the college of St. Spirit, &c. and Rectors of St. Michael, as not finding it, I suppose, in the Bishop's register. But he was the *fourth* Master of this college. *Repertorium, &c.*

CHAP. I. said college, and who were to nominate the person so elected and admitted to the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church Canterbury, who were to present the same person to the Ordinary to be instituted and admitted to this church, according to a composition made between the said Prior and Chapter, and the executors of Sir Richard and the Wardens of the Mystery of Mercers aforesaid. Mr. Pecock was accordingly presented to this church by the said Prior and Chapter, July 19 this year. In the instrument of his presentation he is styled Bachelor of the Sacred Page, and Master of the college in the church of St. Michael in Riola in London.

10. It seems as if after this, Mr. Pecock was promoted in the diocese of St. David's in his own country, since in the Pope's bull of provision of Mr. Pecock to the bishopric of St. Asaph, he is styled a Presbyter or Priest of the diocese of St. David's; unless this only relates to his being a native of that part of the country, as I have hinted already. This seems plain, that if Mr. Pecock was promoted in this diocese, it was to some benefice compatible with his mastership, &c. since of that he seems to have been possessed at the time of his advancement to the bishopric of St. Asaph, as will be seen by and by.

11. By the account given us of Mr. Pecock's activeness in writing and publishing, it should seem as if about this time he applied himself to study the controversy betwixt the Church and the dissenting Lollards, since we are assured that for above twenty years he was thus employed. Whether he was led to this by the nature of his promotion, and a sincere desire to satisfy the doubts and remove the scruples of his dissenting parishioners of St. Michael's in Riola; or for what other reason he applied himself to these studies, it seems as if the foundation of all his future troubles and misfortunes was laid in them. Leland tells us he was not careful enough in his interpretation of Scripture, to follow the approved opinion of the Orthodox, but would make use of his own sense and judgment, by which

means he fell into error. But in order to form a judgment of Mr. Pecock's conduct, it will not be improper to observe, that

12. Dr. Wiclif dying at Lutterworth, ^h Dec. 31, 1384, his followers were soon after distinguished, or rather reproached, by the nickname of ⁱ Lollards, and very much harassed and persecuted. But notwithstanding this, and the death and loss of several of their great friends, they were not at all disheartened, but on the contrary their opinions so much prevailed, and the numbers of those who embraced them were so increased in several parts of the kingdom, that Knighton assures us, if two persons were met travelling on the road, it was much if one of them was not a Wiclifite, and, that this sect was very much honoured and respected. They themselves, in the papers which about this time they put on the church-doors and other public places, boasted of their being a body of a hundred thousand men at least; which occasioned the following reflection, made afterwards by Sir Thomas More, that this noising, as he termed it, that the realm was full of heretics was an artifice of theirs to embolden their party, and intimidate the Catholics; but now things were taking

CHAP.
I.

Life of Dr.
Wiclif,
chap. x.

De Event.
Anglie,
coll. 2666.

M. Parkeri
Antiq.

English
Works, p.
915. coll. 2.

^h Inquisitores dicunt, quod dicta ecclesia de Lutterworth incepit vacare ultimo die Decemb. ultimo preteriti 1384 per mortem Johannis Wycliff ultimi rectoris ejusdem. *Reg. Bokyngham, &c.*

ⁱ Our Canonist Lyndwood tells us, that this made word was derived from the Latin *lolium*, which signifies *cockle*; because as that weed is a great damage to the wheat [*infelix lolium* Georg.] among which it grows; so the Lollards, their enemies said, corrupted and spoiled the well-meaning faithful among whom they were conversant. To this derivation of the word or name, our poet Chaucer alludes in the following words:

This Loller here woll preche us somewhat,

He wolde sowin some difficultè,

Or *spring in some cokkle in our clene corne.

* sprinkle.

Squire's Prologue.

Others derive the name from one Walter Lolhard, a German. *Beausobre Disseri: sur Adamites, &c.* Others again from Lullard, or Lollard; the praises of God, a sect so named, which was dispersed through Brabant. *Picteti Oratio*, p. 29.

CHAP. I. another turn to the Wiclifites great prejudice. Not only their great advocate Dr. Wiclif, but the Queen and Queen mother, who had done them many favours, were dead. The Duke of Lancaster, Dr. Wiclif's great friend and patron, had left the kingdom to take possession of the principality of Guienne. Of the ^kknights, who, Dr. Wiclif said, "favoured much the Gospel, and had wille to rede in Englishe the "Gospel of Christ's life," and who protected and defended the Wiclifites against the insults and forcible attempts of their zealous enemies, some were dead, and others overawed by the King's authority, and fear of his displeasure: for now the King himself, to support the steps he had taken towards looseness and arbitrary power, made his court to, and tried to ingratiate himself with the Clergy and Religious, whose influence and power was now so great on account of the vast estate of which they were possessed, that they were a body of men formidable to even the crown itself. This he did by expressing a very flaming zeal against the Wiclifites, who, he knew, were hated by the Religious, &c. and persecuting those who favoured and encouraged their condemned opinions, which he suffered himself to be persuaded were very much to the prejudice of his royal state and dignity, and contributing to the disturbance of the peace and quiet of his realm.

Hom. on
Mat. xi. MS.
See Knighton de
Event. and
Life of Dr.
Wiclif.

Parker's
Antiq. Vita
Courtney,
1396.

13. As the fautors of Dr. Wiclif's tenets were so numerous, so they had now actually separated themselves from the communion of the established Church, and had not only religious assemblies of their own appointing, but

* 1. Sir Lewis Clifford, a younger son of Sir Roger de Clifford of Hert and Hertness in the bishopric of Durham, and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, died about 1404. 2. Sir John Peccke or Peche, son and heir of Sir John Peche, Knight, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and governor of Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire, died 1386. 3. Sir William Nevyle died 1367. 4. And Sir John Montacute, 1388. 5. Sir Richard Story, or Stury, was compelled by the King to retract or recant the opinions of Wiclif. See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. ii.

Isti erant hujus secte promotores strenuissimi—qui militari cingulo ambiebant ne a rectis creditibus aliquid opprobrii aut dampni propter eorum prophanam doctrinam sortirentur. *Knigh-ton de Event.*

schools which they held and exercised for the education and instruction of their youth in their own principles. CHAP.
I.

One cannot, I think, well doubt of there being some of these unlawful conventicles, as they were called, in the city of London, where Mr. Pecoek was now settled; and which might probably give him, who was of an active temper, occasion to study the controversy betwixt the Church and these dissenters from it, and to use his endeavours to satisfy them of the unreasonableness of their separation. However this be, it is plain he very carefully considered their objections, and was very particular in answering them, and vindicating the conforming Bishops and Clergy from their aspersions and reflections. But of this we shall see more in the next chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of Mr. Pecoock's being promoted to the bishopric of St. Asaph, his taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity, the reflections made on it, his preaching at St. Paul's Cross, &c.

A. D. 1444. 1. **I**N the beginning of the year 1444, Mr. Pecoock was promoted to the bishopric of St. Asaph, in his own country, vacant by the translation of ^a John Lowe, the former Bishop, to the see of Rochester. By this promotion he vacated his mastership of Whittington College, since I find John Eyburhall, S. T. P. admitted to it July 4, 1444. Pope Eugene's bull of provision of Mr. Pecoock to this bishopric is dated April 22 this year; and in it he is said to be Master of Arts, and Bachelor in Divinity, and to have ^b testimonials worthy of credit, of his knowledge of letters, purity of life, honesty of manners, a provident ^c circumspection of both spirituals and temporals, and other virtuous endowments; which was what was required to be certified in order to any one's being promoted to the episcopacy.

Newcourt,
Repert. vol.
i. p. 493.

2. By what favour or interest Mr. Pecoock gained this

^a Of this Bishop Lowe the following character is given by John Bury, in his dedication to the Archbishop, prefixed to his answer to our Bishop's Reprissour, &c. *Adest utique vobis ille reverendus in Christo dominus meus dominus Roffensis stabilis columpna in templo Domini, vir Benjamin, vir genuinus, ab adolescentia sua utraque manu ut dextra utens, qui nec sic instetit scripturis, ut humanitatis in se studia aliquando vacasse credantur, nec sic humanas literas amplexatus est quin semper eas divinis exegerit subservire.*

^b Cui de literarum scientia, vite munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium et temporalium provida circumspectione, aliisque virtutum donis fide digna testimonia perhibentur, &c. *Reg. Stafford Cant.* fol. 15.

^c These are therefore to publish and declare—what election we have, *viz.* That well knowing—to be a provident and discreet person—in managing both spirituals and temporals very circumspect and knowing, &c. *Form of publishing the election of a Bishop.*

Accordingly in the oath which the Bishops took to the Pope, was this clause, “ Possessiones ad mensam meam episcopalem pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, neque alio modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano Pontifice.” *Vita Henrici Chichele.*

promotion, is somewhat uncertain. The Duke of Gloucester, if ever he was his patron, was now declining in his influence at court. A long feud had been betwixt the Duke and Henry Beaufort, the rich Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester; which as it laid the foundation of all the disturbances that succeeded, so it particularly served to set the Clergy, who sided with the Cardinal, against the Duke. Besides this, the Duke very bravely opposed the King's marriage with the daughter of Reynier Duke of Anjou, and nominal King of Sicily. He thought this match a manifest injury to the daughter of Armagnac, of the house of Navarre, the greatest of the princes of France, to whom the King had been solemnly contracted and affianced; and, that it could bring nothing with it but, as it actually did, loss and dishonour to the kingdom, as the yielding to France the dukedom of Anjou, and country of Maine, bulwarks to Normandy, which now especially ought to have been retained in order to conclude a lasting peace with that kingdom. But other counsels prevailed, the daughter of Anjou was brought over by the Earl of Suffolk, one of the advisers of this unhappy match, and the King was married to her at Southwick in Hampshire, and she crowned Queen of England at Westminster, May the 30th this year. Suffolk for this piece of service was made a Marquis, and the great favourite of the King and his new Queen; and in less than two years after, the Duke of Gloucester was removed from his protectorship, and excluded from the council table; persons were encouraged to exhibit accusations against him, and, to make the shortest work with him, in a few months after he was committed to custody and ^d murdered, which was said to be owing to the advice of the new ^e Marquis of

CHAP.
II.

History of
England,
vol. i. p. 252.
ed. 1715.

Preface to
Sir Walter
Raleigh's
History, &c.

A. D. 1444.

^d Feb. 23 or 28, of the 25th Hen. VI. or A. D. 1446.

^e In 1442 he had obtained a grant, &c. of the name, title, and honour of Earl of Pembroke, in case the Duke of Gloucester died without issue. In 1447 he obtained a creation to the dignity and title of Duke of Suffolk, &c. which advancement was reported to be the reward of his advising the murder of the Duke of Gloucester. *Bishop Kennett's Parochial Antiq.* p. 630, 656. (vol. ii. p. 333. 373. Oxf. ed.)

CHAP. Suffolk. But if what has been observed before be true,
II. that Mr. Pecock, by being at court, was grown very rich,
we need not wonder how he came by the Pope's bulls for
this poor bishopric, which were generally purchased with
money. However this be, our Bishop received the tempo-
ralties of this bishopric June 8, 1444, and was consecrated
in the Archbishop's chapel of his palace at Croydon, the
14th of the same month.

Dict. Theol.
pars prima,
p. 348. v.
Episcopus,
MS.

3. On occasion of this promotion, our Bishop took his
degree of Doctor of Divinity. This, we are told, he had
given him without his doing any exercise. Thus Gas-
coigne speaks of it as a reproach to him, that "Mr. Pecock
" leaving the University before he had taken his degree of
" Doctor of Divinity, was made Doctor by grace of ab-
" sence, and never answered to any Doctor *pro forma sua*;
" nor did any act in the schools at Oxford, after he was
" Inceptor in Divinity, neither by reading, preaching, or
" disputation." This, it seems, was not particular in the
Bishop, even at this time, though the conferring this de-
gree in this manner seems not to have been so common
now, as it has been since. But this writer had a great
prejudice against our Bishop on account of his being re-
puted an heretic; for he was not condemned as such, until
some time after Gascoigne's death.

A. D. 1447. 4. Three years after Dr. Pecock's promotion to this bi-
shopric, he preached, we are told, at Paul's cross, and af-
firmed in his sermon several Conclusions, which were af-
terwards the occasion of a great many evils in England
and elsewhere. These Conclusions, which are so fright-
fully represented, were *seven* in number, and are as fol-
lows :

† Qui doctor fuit in Oxonia per gratiam absentandi, nunquam enim respon-
dit alicui doctori pro forma sua ut esset doctor, nec aliquem actum in scolis
fecit in Oxonia postquam incepit in theologia, an postea faciet nescitur a nobis.
Gascoigne. Dict. Theol. MS.

‡ Iste Reginaldus episcopus prædictus—ad crucem Sancti Pauli affirmavit
et asseruit in suo sermone, et per indenturas in Anglicana scriptura scriptas
tradidit diversis personis post sermonem istas conclusiones plurimorum malorum
causatas in Anglia et alibi. *Dict. Theol. p. 348. v. Episcopus.*

I. *Nobody knows how to prove, that a Bishop, because he is a Bishop, is obliged himself to preach to the common people of his diocese, taking the word preach in its most famous signification.*

II. *Bishops ought not to hold themselves obliged to preach in their own persons to the common people of their dioceses; because Bishops are superior to other Curates, and are obliged to keep themselves free, and at liberty from that burden of preaching; the words used in that Conclusion being taken in the most famous signification.*

III. *Bishops, on account of their being Bishops, ought to have knowledge of those matters which inferior Curates are to preach, and to have greater knowledge in answering and solving the great questions, than inferior Curates are obliged to have, because they are inferior Curates.*

IV. *Bishops have authority to resume, and take to themselves the office and work of preaching, and to leave it off, and let it alone whenever they please; in like manner as they have the power of resuming and taking whatever relates to the labour of any cure, belonging to the meanest or greatest Curate, whensoever they will; so that they are not hindered by so doing from the better work of their ordinary^h cure, which ought to be done by them, and which cannot ordinarily be done by another Curate.*

V. *A more useful work may be done to the souls of men, than is the work of preaching, the term preaching being used in its most famous and usual signification.*

VI. *Bishops may for divers causes be absent from their dioceses, and not reside on them, excusably, meritoriously, and cum gratiarum actione, in the sight of God; and that otherwise, or if they were resident on their bishoprics, during the continuance of these causes, they would sin against God.*

^h Novem sunt officia quæ episcopi ultra sacerdotes possunt exercere, scilicet, 1. Ordinare clericos. 2. Virgines benedicere. 3. Basilicas dedicare. 4. Clericos disponere. 5. Synodos celebrare. 6. Chrisma conficere. 7. 8. Vestes, et vasa consecrare. 9. Ultimo confirmare. *Bernardus de Parentinis Liliū Misc.* fol. xxii. a coll. 1. edit. 1510.

CHAP.
II.

VII. *Neither the Pope, nor the Bishops of England, are simoniacs upon this account, that they receive their bishoprics from the Pope by provision, and pay first-fruits or annates for their bishoprics.*

5. Any one sees, at first sight, that this sermon was the effect of the Bishop's studying the dispute betwixt the Church and Dissenters, and that, in particular, these propositions were maintained in defence of the Bishops and Clergy, from the censures that were passed upon them by the Lollards. Accordingly, it is said, that the Bishop should thus speak to one Master Chapman, "That the consequence of his opinion would be, that no one hereafter would speak ill of the Bishops, or murmur about them; since by *him* it was made evident, that Bishops are not obliged to preach, nor to do the other works of a cure of souls, as children and the common people think; but it is their office and business to superintend or oversee those who have cures." But notwithstanding this, exception was, it seems, taken at this sermon of the Bishop's, insomuch that, after he had ended it, he by indentures, written in English, delivered these Conclusions to several persons his particular friends, *viz.* Walter Hart or Lyhert, Bishop of Norwich, who is styled his fautor or patron; Adam Molens, Bishop of Chichester and Lord Privy Seal; and Dr. Vincent Clement, who is called the unwonted Doctor, because he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity when he was only in Deacon's or Subdeacon's Orders, and was admitted to it by virtue of the King's mandamus; being the Pope's collector of his tenths, &c.

Gascoigne,
Dict. Theol.
MS.

¹ Magistro Vincentio Clementi doctori insolenti, qui Oxoniæ in theologia incepit in ordine diaconatus existens, gradu suo obtento minis et promissis, et diversis literis regiis, et brevibus regiis missis contra eos, qui in magna congregatione regentium in Oxonia gratiam suam petitam, ex sua conscientia negaverunt. *Gasc. Dict. Theol.* This the translator of the History and Antiquities of Oxford thus represents: Vincentio Clementi, doctori Oxoniensi arrogantissimo, &c. *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. i. p. 221.

Romanus quidam, Vincentius Clemens, Papæ subdiaconus, atque quæstor. *Parkeri Antiq.* p. 434. But by the constitution of the University, one in no Orders at all may take this degree of Doctor of Divinity.

6. Of this sermon of our Bishop's, complaint seems likewise to have been made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as if it was on a needless or unnecessary subject; that the Conclusions maintained in it could not be defended; and that they savoured more of curiosity than of usefulness. To answer this complaint, very probably, our Bishop was cited to give his Grace an account of the reason why he thus preached. Since we have a short defence of these Conclusions, supposed to be made by our Bishop to his Grace, in which having repeated the *seven* Conclusions which were objected against, he exhibits or declares the reasons of his drawing them up, holding and publishing them. The *first* of these is, that "the opposite or direct contrary of these Conclusions, had been for some time since the opinion of a great many men, and often preached by them in the pulpits: that the Bishops who, for reasonable ^k causes, were absent from their dioceses, were by this means subject to very frequent detractions of the common people, and made vile and contemptible to their subjects, by whom they ought to be revered; nay, that they were rendered so much the more unable to correct, command and order their subjects, since they were so much injured in their reputation by being thus reproached; that no wise man will deny that this is an evil very deserving to be remedied, since we ought to do what we can to remove the reproach of even unworthy persons, or which is undeservedly cast on them, much more the unjust reproach which is attempted to be fixed on Bishops." A *second* reason given by the Bishop for his preaching thus, is, that "in many Bishops scruples of conscience were raised on this account, viz. their being

Reginaldi
Pecock allegatio de
Conclusionibus suis
ad Arch.
Cantuariensem. MS.

^k The reasonable causes of Priests being absent from their cures, Bernardus de Parentinis assigns as follows: 1. The affairs of the Church. 2. Being mortally hated by their subjects or parishioners. 3. If by the Pope's commandment they waited at Court, or served any Bishop. 4. If they studied Divinity at the University, provided they did not stay there above five years. *Litium Misse*. fol. 22. a coll. 1.

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II.

“ under the strictest obligations to preach themselves to
 “ the people of their dioceses, and constantly to reside in
 “ them, when in truth they were not obliged so to do;
 “ which was of very ill consequence to them, especially to
 “ such of them as were at the point of death.” A *third*
 reason given by the Bishop for his maintaining these Con-
 conclusions is, “ that the laity also in judging so rashly and
 “ untowardly of the Bishops, and becoming disaffected to
 “ them, or however in taking off their affections from them,
 “ have very often defiled their souls, and involved them-
 “ selves in sins. From hence he inferred, that it was very
 “ plain, it was necessary, that all these recited mischiefs,
 “ and a great many others, should not only be prevented,
 “ but extirpated by the publication of the above-mentioned
 “ Conclusions, which no one was able to disprove. For
 “ these reasons, he said, he put them into form, stated,
 “ held, and published them, which reasons he thought no
 “ wise and discreet man would deny, that they were ra-
 “ tional, sound, and fitly advising, that the said Conclu-
 “ sions should be stated, preached, and published; espe-
 “ cially since no prejudice, no impediment, no lessening of
 “ the office of preaching is occasioned by them; but on
 “ the contrary, on account of these Conclusions, sermons
 “ delivered to the people are more frequented, the delivery
 “ of them is truer, and more admired, and people are more
 “ edified by them; as he promised the Archbishop should
 “ appear plain enough in a book of *preaching*, which he
 “ intended to write on the Conclusions themselves. These
 “ things, he said, he set forth and alleged at present before
 “ his Grace, reserving to himself the power to do, prose-
 “ cute, and otherwise defend himself before him, either in
 “ his court of ¹ audience, or elsewhere, as it shall be thought

¹ Audience-court is a court belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the Archbishop heard many causes extrajudicially at home in his own palace; in which, before he would finally determine any thing, he did usually commit the causes to be discussed by certain learned men in the civil and canon laws, whom thereupon he termed his auditors. *Cowel's Law Dictionary.*

“meet, by way of remedy against the grievances laid to
 “his charge by some men, and to oppose the false notions,
 “lately propagated and declared from the pulpits.”

CHAP.
 II.

7. In this manner did our Bishop defend these Conclusions of his, from the charge of their being curious and impertinent, and not to be maintained. That it was the opinion of many, that Bishops, as Bishops, or on account of their office, were obliged to preach themselves to the common people of their dioceses, and to live and reside in their dioceses, is plain from the writers of those times. Not only Dr. Wiclif and *his* followers, but many others, who were in other respects opposite enough to *him*, assert the obligation of Bishops to preach, and not to absent themselves from their bishoprics. And how much the common people were affected by their taking little or no care to perform this duty, and what clamours and reproaches were made use of by them, we are told by Dr. Gascoigne, who lived and wrote at this time. Thus he tells us, that Arch-
 bishop Arundel, who, he says, was only Bachelor of Arts, when he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, made a constitution, that *no one who was not* ^m *privileged should* preach to the people without a licence had of the Bishop; which licence nobody could obtain but either by the great interest or importunity of others, or by money. And thus, says he, the Archbishop tied the tongues of, as it were, all that were preachers, because of a few heretics, who were

Dict. Theol.
 pars prima,
 p. 381. MS.

^m Pope Gregory IX. A. D. 1227, under pretence of extirpating heresy, granted to the Preaching Friars his bull, whereby he allowed them *the unheard of privilege*, as it is called by the historian, of preaching wherever they would, and of hearing the confessions of whomsoever they pleased. This was so much to the damage and prejudice of the several Ordinaries, whom the Friars treated with all possible contempt, as both insufficient in learning, and wanting in their duty, that, instead of obeying the Pope's bull, (by which they were commanded kindly to admit the Friars to this office of preaching, to which they were deputed, and diligently to admonish the people committed to their care, devoutly to hear them, and confess themselves to them,) they gave them all the trouble they could, and did what they were able to hinder them from using this their new obtained privilege, of which the Friars complained to Pope Innocent IV. who confirmed to them the grant of this privilege. *Matth. Paris Hist.* p. 693, &c. ed. *Watts*.

CHAP. II. then suspended from preaching. As a punishment of which wickedness, Gascoigne tells us, that "soon after his making that constitution, concerning binding the word of God, he had a stoppage in his throat, so that he could neither well speak, nor swallow, and so ⁿ died; and, that men at that time believed, that God had tied *his* tongue, because *he* had tied the tongues of, as it were, all preachers." The same complaint was made by the Wic-
 Dict. Theol. MS. lifists; "That if Prysts wolen seye their mass, and techen the Gospel in a Bishop's diocese, anoon he shal be forbidden, * but if he have leave of that Bishop, and he shall pay commonly for that leave much money, or else swear that he shall not speke against great sins of Bishops and other Priests, and their falsnes."—They the Prelates
 Of Prelates, c. 16. MS. * unless. c. 42. wollen not suffren true men to teche freely Christ's Gospel withouten their leave and letters, for they wolden have money for their letters, and swearing, that men not preche against their sins.—They geven leave to Sathanas prechers, the Friers, for to preche fables and flatteringe and lesings, and to deceive the people in faith and good life."

8. As to the Bishops themselves, Gascoigne complains of them, as so notoriously negligent and careless in discharging this office of preaching, that the common people in the open streets clamoured and murmured against them to this effect: "Wo to you Bishops who are so rich, who love to be called lords, and to be served by others on their knees, who ride attended with so many and pompous horses, and will do nothing for the salvation of souls, by *preaching the word*; for either they know not how to

ⁿ This constitution was made 1408, and the Archbishop died Feb. 19, 1413, *five* years after. A modern writer thus represents this Archbishop's death: "Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury," says he, "in a little time after he had read the sentence which condemned the Lord Cobham for a heretic, was seized with a distemper in his tongue, which swelled it so excessively, that it quite deprived him of his speech, and quickly put an end to his life." *Goodwin's History of the Reign of K. Henry V.* p. 32. See Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS. Oct. 1418.

“preach, being entangled in worldly business and bodily pleasures, or they cannot preach truly without preaching against those evils, of which they themselves are guilty. Nor do they, when they do preach, preach good works, which are things the Bishops do not themselves, but slight and make a jest of those who make conscience of doing them, or however do not value them.” Accordingly he tells us, that notwithstanding our Bishop’s labours in the pulpit to vindicate his brethren from these reproaches, almost every body cried out *væ, væ Episcopus qui primus per eorum defectum*, that he was the principal offender in thus patronizing their vices. The same writer imputes the civil calamities of this troublesome and unhappy reign to the Bishops not preaching, and our Bishop’s justifying this omission of theirs. “Since,” says he, “the aforesaid Bishop Reginald Pecock, and other Bishops advanced by the King, have asserted, that Bishops are not obliged to preach themselves, almighty God has preached in England, to some purpose, by actually punishing the Bishops, and suffering them to be punished.”

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II.

9. The like complaint is made of the non-residency of the Bishops of this time on their dioceses. “Before King Henry VI.” says the forementioned writer, “the Kings of England were wont to choose for their Confessors grave Doctors of Divinity, who had no other cure, and the Bishops then attended to the care of their dioceses. Thus Henry IV. when his Confessor was made a Bishop,

Tho. Gascoigne, *Diet. Theol.* pars prima, p. 401. secunda, p. 450. MS.

* Ante Regem Henricum Sextum solebant reges Angliæ maturos doctores theologiæ exutos a cura alia, eligere in suos confessores, et episcopi suæ curæ tunc vacabant; sed in tempore Henrici Sexti, Stafford Episcopus Cantuarie, et bastardus origine, fuit Cancellarius Angliæ. Adam Molens, Episcopus Cicer-trensis, fuit custos privati sigilli, et occisus fuit. Episcopus Norwicensis, Walter Lyard, de Cornubia, fuit Confessor Regine, residens in curia, et Episcopus Carlisleensis, et postea Lincolniensis. Marmadocus Lumley fuit Thesaurarius Angliæ; et indignus Episcopus * Cestriæ, Buth nomine, fuit tunc Cancellarius * Coventriæ. *Diet. Theol.*

Nunquam invenire potui quod aliquis Rex Angliæ habuit episcopum in satum confessorem; nec episcopum in domo sua, hebdomatim marientem, excepto Henrico Sexto.

CHAP. II. "commandèd him to go to his cure and bishopric. Henry
 " V. likewise, a very wise King, and a terror to a great
 " many kingdoms, had with him one grave Doctor of Di-
 " vinity, ^p Thomas Walden, who had no cure of souls, for
 " his Confessor. And thus the kings and lords used to re-
 " tain such for their chaplains who had no cure of souls.
 " But in the time of Henry the Sixth, ^q Stafford Bishop of
 " Canterbury, and by birth a bastard, was Chancellor of
 " England; Adam Molens, Bishop of Chichester, was
 " Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was murdered; the Bishop
 " of Norwich, ^r Walter Lyard, a Cornish man, was the
 " Queen's Confessor residing at court; and the Bishop of
 " Carlisle, and afterwards of ^s Lincoln, Marmaduke Lum-
 " ley, was Treasurer of England; and the unworthy Bi-
 " shop of Coventry, ^t Buth, was then Chancellor to Mar-
 " garet Queen of England." He observes elsewhere, that
 " ^u John Kemp, a native of Kent, Bishop of Rochester,
 " and afterwards of London, and then of York, for almost
 " twenty-five. " twenty-eight years, while he continued Archbishop of
 " that province, was wholly absent from his diocese, living
 " at London, or in * Kent, or elsewhere in England, at a
 " distance from his diocese; excepting that sometimes in
 " ten or twelve years, he resided in his diocese of York for
 " two or three weeks, and at York a few or no days. And
 " that the mob, when they set on ^x Asku, Bishop of Sarum,

Pars prima,
 p. 387.

twenty-five.

* Probably
 at Wye,
 where he
 was born.

Henry V. ^p He was a Carmelite or White Friar, and a strenuous opposer of the Wic-
 lifites, and was therefore sent by the King, together with John Clynton, his
 ambassador to the Council of Constance.

^q John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was translated to the see of
 Canterbury by Papal provision, May 15, 1443.

^r He was promoted to this bishopric by Papal provision, 1445-6.

^s He was translated from Carlisle to this see of Lincoln by Papal provision,
 1450.

^t William Boothe, or Buth, was advanced to this see by Papal provision,
 1447, and from thence translated to York, 1452.

^u He was translated from this see to Canterbury by the Pope's bull of pro-
 vision, dated July 21, 1452.

^x Henricus Sextus fuit primus Rex Angliæ, qui habuit Episcopum continue
 secum manentem in suum confessorem Episcopum Sarum, Willielmum Ays-
 cough, qui a suis diocesanis occisus fuit anno Christi eo quod non residebat in
 suo episcopatu. *Gasc. Dict. Theol.*

“to murder him, thus insulted and upbraided him: *That fellow always lived with the King, and was his Confessor, and did not reside in his diocese of Sarum with us, nor keep any hospitality, therefore he shall not live.*”

CHAP.
II.

10. As to provisions, or the Pope's providing of a Bishop before the incumbent was dead, (called also *Mandamus de providendo*, or *gratia expectativa*, because the Pope pretended by it to *provide* for the cure, or the persons to whom these bulls were granted, were to expect, or wait for the grace or favour they were to enjoy by them, until the incumbent died,) we are assured by the forementioned writer, that through the frequency of granting licences to procure and accept of the Pope's bulls of provision for vacant benefices, the most unworthy were promoted, or that very wicked and worthless men were by these means advanced to the highest stations in the Church. He instances, particularly, 1st, in “William Buthe, who,” he says, “he translated from Litchfield to York, and was neither a good grammarian, nor knowing, nor reputed virtuous, nor a graduate in either University. 2. George Nevil, who was provided by the Pope to the see of Exeter, when he was but twenty-three years old. 3. John Delabere, who was promoted to the see of St. David's by the Pope's bull of provision, dated Sept. 15, 1447, and who indulged his Clergy in their keeping concubines, receiving of every Priest who kept one, a noble a year or more. 4. John Kemp, Archbishop of York, who is represented as a non-resident, a dilapidator, and one who left his church, when he was translated to the see of Canterbury, in great disorder and con-

p. 26, 29.
Tho. Gascoigne,
Dict. Theol.
pars 2da. p.
516, 55. v.
Appropriatio; pars
prima, p.
20. v. Episcopus.

Novi nuper in Anglia homines pessime promotos, qui habuerunt licentiam a rege Henrico Sexto, ut laborarent Papæ Romano pro *provisione*, et qui illam acceptarent. Et sic per *provisionem* factam Romæ in diebus meis, facti sunt plures episcopi et abbates et decani sine electione quacunque, excepta electione Papæ, quæ vocatur *provisio*. *Gasc. Dict. Theol.*

Plerisque in diocesisibus, rectores parochiarum, ex certo et conducto cum suis prælatis pretio, passim et publice concubinas tenant. *Nicolaus de Clemangis de corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, c. 15.

CHAP. " fusion. In sum we are assured, that from the year 1403
 II. " there were none preferred in the Church who knew how
 Ibid. 516. " in a due manner to do good to souls, or who could
 " or would do it: that at that time in England, the care
 Ibid. p. 55. " of souls was destroyed by *appropriations*, the *non-resi-*
 " *dence* of Curates and Prelates, the *promotion* of worth-
 " less men, *pluralities* of benefices, and the very worst
 " conferring of *school degrees* and granting graces to un-
 " worthy, wicked, and vicious persons, in Oxford, and
 " other Universities."

11. " Lastly, as to the payment of ^a *annates* or *first-*
 Ibid. pars " *fruits* to the Pope, the same writer observes, that it was
 prima, p. " a novel practice, and but lately introduced: that Thomas
 419. v. Epi- " Becket, and the Bishops in his time, paid no *first-fruits*
 scopus. " to the Pope, and, that they were not paid at any time
 " before; but, that afterwards, in the time of Pope John
 about 1817. " XXII. they begun to be paid by an avaricious ordinance
 " of the said Pope's, and of those who adhered to him in
 " the court of Rome: and, that thus grew up a custom in
 " England, that the consent of the Pope of Rome and his
 " chamber, the consent of the King of England, and cer-
 p. 438. v. " tain thousands of money, make any one a Bishop. So
 Episcopus. " elsewhere he observes, that *three* things make a man a
 " Bishop in England, *viz.* the will of the King, the will of
 " the Pope, or court of Rome, and monies paid in abun-
 " dance to the court of Rome, *viz.* several thousands of
 " pounds of English money paid here in England to the
 * Bankers. " * Lombards for exchange, which impoverishes the king-
 " dom."

12. Of these corruptions and intolerable grievances and exactions very great and many complaints had been made for almost an hundred years before. Dr. Wiclif shewed, that *Prelates and Priests ordained of God—ben all*

about 1400. * Annatarum usum beneficiis ecclesiasticis primus [Bonifacius IX.] imposuit, hac conditione, ut qui beneficium consequeretur dimidium annui proventus fisco apostolico persolveret—Hanc autem consuetudinem omnes admisere, præter Anglos, qui id de solis episcopatibus concessere, in cæteris beneficiis non adeo. *Platina in Vita Bonifacii IX.*

bounden by Jesu Christ to preach the Gospel: that Prelates ben more bounden to this preaching, for that is commandment of Christ before his death and eke after, than to seie Mattins, Mass, Even-song or Placebo, for that is man's ordinance. He therefore complained, that they prechen not Christ's Gospel in word and dede by which Christen men should live holy life in charity—but they senden new hypocrites to preche fables and lesings, and to flattren men in sin, and to rob the poor people by false begging damned of God's law,—and pursuen and cursen if any poor Priest wole preache freely Christ's gospel, and deliver Christen souls out of the fend's hondes, and leaden them the right way to heaven. Elsewhere it is complained, that if Curates ben stirred to go learn God's law, and teche their parishioners the Gospel, commonly they shullen get no leave of Bishops but for gold, and when they shullen most profit in their learning, then shullen they be clepid home at the Prelate's will.

13. The ignorance of both the Bishops and inferior Clergy of this time is represented to have been generally so great, that they were incapacitated to perform this office of preaching. Dr. Wiclif assures us, that in his time there were many unable ^b Curates, that kunnen not the ten commandments, ne read their sauter, ne understood a verse of it. Nay, that it was then notorious, that too many of even the Prelates were sinners in their being ignorant of God's law. This had long been a growing evil. The Friars seem to have taken advantage of this ignorance of the Clergy, to obtain the privilege of preaching and hearing confessions; for thus they represented the Parish Priests as a parcel of idiots, who never heard divinity, and were blind leaders of the blind. A writer nearer our Bishops time gives us the following representation of the

CHAP.
II.

Of Prelates,
MS. c. 19.
39.

Why poor
Priests have
no benefice,
MS. c. 2.

Great Sentence of
Curse expounded,
MS. c. iii.
xvi.
Dialog. lib.
iv.

Matth. Paris, Hist.
Ang. p. 694.
See Abp.
Peckham's
Constit.
1279.

^b Suche that can nat ysay ther crede
With prayir shall be made Prelates,
Nothir canne thei the Gospell rede
Suche shul now weldin hie estates.

Chaucer's *Plowman's Tale*.

CHAP.
II.

Nicol. de
Clemangis
de corrupto
Ecclesie
Statu, p. 8.
coll. 2. p. 16.
coll. 1.

Clergy of that age, which he notes to be the consequence of those provisions, or *expectative graces*, which the Pope had now assumed to himself the grant of, *viz.* "that they who were thus promoted, came not from the Universities, or from school, but from the plough and servile arts; that they understood Latin no more than they did Arabic, nay they could not read; and which is a shame to relate, were not able to distinguish A from B." To the same purpose in another place; "what signifies it," says he, "to say any thing of letters and learning, when we see almost all Priests without any knowledge of either things or words, nay scarce able to read even by spelling?" We need not therefore be surprised at what

Dr. Wiclif's
Life, p. 41.

Dr. Wiclif tells us, that the *Freres supplied for the Bishops the office of preaching, and, that the Bishops sent others to preach that tellen leasings, fables, and chronicles, and robben the people by false beggings, and dare not tell them their great sins and avoutrie, for fear of lesen winning or friendship.* A specimen of the Friars preaching is given us by our poet Chaucer as follows :

The Somp-
nour's Tale.

And so bifell that on a day this Frere
Had preched in a chirche in his manere,
And specially abovin every thing
Excitid the pepill in his preching
To trentalls, and to geve for Goddis sake
Wherewith men mightin holie housis make,
There as divine servise is honourid,
Not there as it is wastid and devourid :
Ne there it nedith not for to be geve,
As to Possessioners that may els leve,
Thonkid be God, in wele and haboundaunce.
Trentalls, quoth he, deliverith fro penaunce

° Eche Christin Priest to prechin owe,
From God above they ben ysende,
God's worde to al folke for to showe,
And sinful man for to amend.

Chaucer's Plowman's Tale.

Ther frendis soulis as well olde as yonge,
 If so that they ben hastily ysonge,
 Not for to holde a preest jolie and gay,
 (He singith not but o messe in a day,)
 Deliverith out, quoth he, anon the soules,
 Full hard it is with fleshe-hoke, or with * oules
 To ben yclawid, or to brenne or bake,
 Now spede you hastily for Cristis sake.

CHAP.
 II.

* pineers.

And whan this Frere had said al his entent,
 With *Qui cum Patre* forth away he went.
 Whan folk in chirche had geve him what hem lest,
 He went his way —————

14. Thus did the Friars supply for the Bishops the office of preaching, in so false and sophistical a manner, that the Church was deceived instead of being edified by it. Their business was, instead of instructing the people out of God's word, and exhorting them to yield obedience to it, to persuade them to give them their money to build fine and stately houses with, and to increase their wealth. For this purpose, they did all they could to put the people out of conceit with the other religious Orders, and the Bishops and Parish Priests, representing them as proud and lazy, and no objects of their charity, because they had enough already; and on the contrary, magnifying themselves as the only ones who honoured divine service, and did not waste and devour what was given for the support of it, and who were so intent on doing their duty, that without any delay they sung the thirty masses for their friends souls, and thereby effectually delivered them from their pains and torments.

Pierres the
 Plowman's
 Creed.

15. Our Bishop by no means approved of this way of preaching; and is said therefore to have called those who preached in this manner *pulpit-bawlers*, in a letter which he wrote to one of these Friars. To this perhaps he refers, when he explains the word *preach* to be used by him in its most famous *signification*; as if his meaning was, that Bishops were not obliged to preach as the Friars preached,

William
 Godharde.

CHAP.
II.

who were the noted preachers of that time, making their sermons to consist of a parcel of fabulous legends and stories. Accordingly we are assured that it was his lordship's opinion, that "Bishops are obliged to preach by aptly speaking, and declaring the truths of divine Scripture." But be this as it will, it was certainly our Bishop's design to vindicate his brethren, the Bishops, from the clamours raised against them on account of their not preaching constantly, as *they* were obliged to do who had a cure of souls. This they were represented as ^d thinking beneath them, and a blemish to their dignity. But our Bishop shewed, that the office of a Bishop was to superintend or ^e oversee those who are obliged to preach, and perform the other offices of a cure of souls, and not to do them always himself. By which his Lordship seems to have meant, that there were many cases in which a Bishop was to be excused from preaching; as multiplicity of business, want of health, or any other lawful impediment, as attendance in Parliament, &c. which disabled him from doing it himself; in which cases he might depute this power of preaching to such priests to whom he committed the cure of souls; or might choose out fitting persons to assist him in the ministry of the word, and to preach in his stead, in such parts of his diocese, where he could not be personally present to instruct the people himself. For our Bishop allows, that although Bishops ought not to be hindered by preaching from the better work of their ordinary cure, which ought to be done by them, and cannot ordinarily be done by any one else, as requiring more

Tho. Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. p. i. MS. p. 317.

Ibid. p. 382.

^d Jam illud egregium et præclarissimum prædicandi officium, solis quondam pastoribus attributum, eisque maxime debitum, ita apud eos viluit, ut nihil magis in dignum, aut magis suæ dignitati erubescendum existiment. *Nicol. de Clemangis de corrupt. Eccles. Stat. c. 14.*

^e In an ancient ordinal given us by Morinus, the offices of Priests and Bishops are thus distinguished. Sacerdotem oportet offerre et benedicere, præesse, predicare, et baptizare. Episcopum oportet judicare, interpretari et consecrare, consummare, ordinare, offerre et baptizare. *Morinus de Ordinationibus*, p. ii. So that it seems, when this ordinal was drawn, viz. about the year 900, *preaching* was reckoned no part of the episcopal office.

knowledge than inferior curates commonly have; yet every Bishop was obliged to preach the truths of holy Scripture, and pertinently to utter and explain them; and accordingly he not only took care that such preaching should be in his diocese, but often preached himself. This Gascoigne represents as what people wondered at, saying, *that* Bishop now preaches publicly, as if he did not use to do so. His Lordship distinguished betwixt *preaching* and *teaching*. "*Preaching*, he said, was a *serious declaration, plain or artificial, of a truth or truths, without any proof of it or them, by sufficient evidence or evidences; whereas *teaching* is a proving of a truth, *i. e.* *teaching* is a manifestation, or public declaration of the sufficient evidence or evidences of some certain truths, when there are evidences of it. By evidences, he said, he understood the more noted mediums or arguments, whether they were *a priori* or *a posteriori*. By which, he said, it appeared, that to *teach* is nothing else than an act by which a man produces the knowledge of a truth in himself or another, by the fundamentals and principles of that knowledge: and that it is plain, that by no other mean than this now mentioned, does any one produce the knowledge of a truth which was before unknown. To *teach* therefore is such a sort of act as is now said. And therefore if it shall happen that any preacher begin and continue his sermon in declarations, and moreover grounds and proves any truth declared by him, by its foundation, or by something that is a sufficient evidence of it, he in this respect exceeds the bounds of *preaching*, and enters on the office of a *teacher*, and becomes a *teacher*, and makes a mixture of his work, blending *true preaching* and *teaching* together. By which, the Bishop observed, two points might plainly enough be proved. 1. That *preaching* is not the most perfect act that may be done in relation to the souls of Christians by their Curates. 2. That to *teach* is an act more perfect than to *preach*; because *that* knowledge is more perfect by which any thing is known to be true by fundamental

CHAP. II.

Hist. of the Council of Trent, by F. Paul, Dict. M.

* Morosa denuntiation. *Morosa* is perhaps low or plain, from *moors*, a moor or heath.

CHAP. II. "evidences, than is the knowledge by which the same thing is known without them, by the sole declaration of a man without any such evidences." By this, I suppose, our Bishop proved his sixth conclusion, that a more expedient work of labour may be employed on the souls of men, than is that of *preaching*.

16. In the fifth of these conclusions, which our Bishop is said to have maintained at this time in his sermon at St. Paul's, his Lordship defends the non-residence of the Bishops on their dioceses. Of this we find very great complaints made at this time, as has been hinted already.

F. Paul's
Hist. of the
Council of
Trent.

There were *two* opinions of the obligation of Bishops' residence, which had their several fautors. Some thought it was by the law of God, and argued thus: "That bishoprics are founded by Christ, as ministries and works, and so require a personal action or labour, which a man that is absent cannot perform; that Christ, describing the qualities of a good shepherd, saith, that *he giveth his life for the flock, knoweth the sheep by their names, and walketh before them, and feedeth them.*" On the other hand, the Canonists and Italian Prelates contended, that "the obligation of a Bishop to residence was by the ecclesiastical law; alleging, that anciently never any non-resident Bishop was reprehended as a transgressor of the *law of God*, but of the *canons* only; and, that the Church had ever held, that the Pope might dispense with the residence of Bishops on their dioceses." This last seems to have been the prevailing opinion, as what was most agreeable to the corrupt inclinations and carnal affections of mankind. Accordingly, we are assured by the writers of these times, that it was a common thing for those who were promoted to bishoprics to enjoy them many years, without so much as going to their sees, or seeing their churches, or visiting their dioceses. Dr.

Of Prelates,
MS. cap. v.

^f Multi ex eis qui pastorali apice potiuntur, perque annosa tempora positi sunt, nunquam civitates suas intraverunt, suas ecclesias viderunt, sua loca vel dioceses visitaverunt, nunquam pecorum suorum vultus agnoverunt, vocem audierunt, &c. *Nicol. Clemangis de corrupto Ecclesie Statu*, c. 17.

Wiclif intimates, that here in England our Prelates were held or detained by worldly offices from the souls that they had cure of: and elsewhere, that *Prælati Cæsarei satis deserunt officium quod Christus eis instituit, et in alio officio secundum legem aliam exundant*. Our poet Chaucer thus represents the secular canons of his time:

Thei ben curates of many tounes,
 On yerth thei haven grete powere,
 Thei have grete prebendis and dere,
 Some two or thre, and some have mo.
 A parsonage to ben playing * frere,
 And yet thei serve the King ε also.

* company.

And let to ferme all that fare,
 To whom that wol most give therfore,
 Some wollin spende, and some woll spare,
 And some wol laye it up in store.
 A cure of soule they care not fore,
 So that they mowin money take,
 Whether ther souls be † wonne or lore,
 Ther profites they wol not forsake.

† saved or lost.

Some ther churchis never sie
 Ne ner ‡ o penie thither ysende,
 Though that the pore for hungir die,
 § O penie on them will they not spende :
 Have thei receiving of the rente,
 Thei || reke ner of the remenaunt.

‡ one.

§ one.

|| reckon.

By this it appears, that even many of the inferior Clergy of this time set very little or nothing by their cures; but, that their residing on them was just as it happened to suit

ε A great many of the Clergy in these times were the King's Counsellors, others of them were Treasurers of England, and of the Exchequer; and others of them were made Justiciaries in the King's Courts. See Matth. Paris, Hist. p. 772, 774, 802, 942, 943, 952, 977, 978, 979, &c. Ed. London, 1640.

CHAP.
II.

their worldly interest or conveniency. Whatever obligations they were under, by either their ordination vows, or their collation or institution, viz. to teach the people to whom they were ordained by word and example; to be always devoted to divine employments, and utter strangers to earthly businesses and filthy lucre; to be content with one church, namely, that to which they were ordained; to be courteous and pitiful for God's name sake, to the poor and indigent; they were all cassated and rendered null by the dispensations which they^h procured.

17. On the contrary, it was Dr. Wiclif's opinion, which he maintained with a good deal of zeal, "that to this end and work, viz. preaching and maintaining of the Gospel, Christ ordained all his Apostles and Disciples, both before his death and after his resurrection: that sith *Prelates* and *Priests* ordeyned of God, comen in the stede of *Apostles* and *Disciples*, they ben all bounden by Jesu Christ, God and man, to preache thus the Gospel. That neither Prelatis, neither Preestis, neither Dekenis shoulden have seculer officis, that is Chauncerie, Tresorie, Privy Seal, and othire siche seculer officis in the Chekir; neither be stiwardis of londis, ne stiwardis of halle, ne clerkis of kichene, ne clerkis of accountis, neither be occupied in ony seculer office in lordis courtis; that most while seculer men be sufficient to do such seculer offices. This sentence, *it is said*, is provid by holi Writ in the 21st chap. of Luk, where Crist seith thus; *Take ye hede to your silf that your hertis be not grevid with glotonie and drunkenes, and with bisinessis of this life.* And in the second Pistil to Tymothe, the second chapter, *no man that holdith knyghthood to God,*

Thirty-seven
Articles, MS.
No. 2.

Of Prelates,
c. 1.

^h Vis ea quæ ex divinis Scripturis intelligis, plebem cui ordinandus es, et verbis docere et exemplis? R. Volo. Vis semper divinis negotiis esse mancipatus, et a terrenis negotiis et lucris turpibus esse alienus, quantum humana fragilitas te consenserit posse? R. Volo. Vis pauperibus, et peregrinis, omnibusque indigentibus esse, propter nomen Domini affabilis et misericors? R. Volo.—Et tunc demum in conspectu Episcopi, vel cleri, sive populi, polliceri debet.— Ut ecclesia una, id est sua cui ordinatus est, contentus sit. *Morinus de Sacris Ordinat.* pars ii.

“ that is as Preest or Dekene, *wrappith himself in secular* CHAP.
 “ *officis, that he pleece God to whom he had provid, or* II.
 “ *obligid hymself.* And in the first Pistil to Corinthis,
 “ the sixth chapter, *if ye han secular domis among you,*
 “ *ordeyne ye the contemptible men, othir of lital reputacioun,*
 “ *that ben among you for to deme.* That is ordeyne ye
 “ *seculer men, that han lital of gostli knowinge to deme*
 “ *seculer domis: and, that clerkis be occupied aboute*
 “ *gostly officis, in helpe of mennis soulis.”* He observed
 further, “ that the sentence of this article is opiny taught
 “ bi the rule of Apostlis, set in decrees in the lxxxviii dis-
 “ tinction cap. *episcopus*ⁱ, and cap. *neque*, and in xxi
 “ cause iii question cap. *Ciprianus*^k, and manie mo, and
 “ opynli bi the Pistil of Seynt ^lPeter*, sen to Clement in
 “ the xi cause, i question, cap. *te quidem*; and bi Seynt
 “ Gregori in his *Morals*, and in his *Pastoralis*, and *Re-*
 “ *gistre*, and bi ^mSeynt Jerom in his Pistils, † as decrees
 “ witnessen, and bi Chrisestome on the 5th cap. of Mat-
 “ thu.”

Apostolical
Canons.

* Clement
to James
the lord's
brother.

† Dist. 88.
de seculari-
bus negotiis
episcopo in-
terdictis.

18. By this we see what care was taken in the primitive Church, to prevent Bishops and Priests forsaking their sees and cures, in order to undertake secular cares or employments. The same provision was made by the civil consti-

Novella
cont. cxxiii.
cap. 6.

ⁱ Episcopus aut presbyter aut diaconus nequaquam seculares curas assumat, sin aliter deiciatur.

^k — Ne quis de clericis et Dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat: quando singuli divino sacerdotio honorati et in clerico ministerio constituti, non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire, et precibus atque orationibus vacare debeant. Scriptum est enim, *Nemo militans Deo obligat negotiis secularibus, ut possit placere ei qui se probavit, &c.*

^l Te quidem oportet irreprehensibiliter vivere, et summo studio niti, ut omnes vite hujus occupationes abjicias: ne fidejussor existas: ne advocatus litium fias: neve in ulla aliqua occupatione prorsus inveniaris mundialis negotii occasione perplexus. Neque enim judicem, aut cognitorem secularium negotiorum hodie te ordinare vult Christus: ne prefocatus presentibus hominum curis, non possis verbo Dei vacare, et secundum veritatis regulam secernere bonum a malis. Ista namque opera, quae tibi minus congruere superius exposuimus, exhibeant sibi invicem vacantes laici: et te nemo occupet ab his studiis, per quae salus omnibus datur.

^m Negotiatorem clericum, et ex inope divitem, ex ignobili gloriosum, quasi quandam pestem fuge.

CHAP. II.

tutions of the empire, for which this very good reason was given, that, "by the Bishops being absent from their bishoprics, and engaged in civil offices, the holy houses would be dilapidated and run to ruin, and the sacred ministries of the Church be hindered." But through the power claimed by the Popes, by dispensing with the Canons, (though by the way the makers of them ground them on the word of God,) these wise and good provisions entirely lost their effect; insomuch, that in our Bishop's time, the Bishops were complained of as very largely "bribing and making friends at court, to get themselves places of profit there, that so living at other men's cost they might lay up the profits of their bishoprics. Whose example was so well imitated by the inferior Clergy, that some of them would rather than attend upon their own offices, and be among their flocks, be clerks of the kitchen, or take other offices upon them, besides that which they had already." Insomuch that the Commons, in the Parliament held 22 Henry VIII. complained that "Priests were surveyors, stewards, and officers, to Bishops, Abbots, &c. and had, and occupied *fermes, granges, and grasing* in every countrey. That spiritual persons promoted to great benefices were living in the court, in lords houses, and took all of the parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all, so that for lacke of residence, both the poore of the parishe lacked refreshment, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching, and true instruction of God's worde, to the great perill of their souls."

Bishop Latimer's Sermons, fol. 286. b. Edit. 1596. Hall's Chronicle, fol. 188.

19. It does not seem to have been any part of our Bishop's design, in vindicating the Bishops absence from

" Illud nequaquam eis dederim, quod ipsi ultro a principibus tanquam consiliarii evocentur, quinimo magnis sumptibus, amicorumque intercessionibus hoc impetrant, non quidem zelo aliquo vel cura reipublicæ, cujus nulla apud eos charitas est, sed propter stipendia et larga munera quæ exinde eis proveniunt, ut alieno sumptu viventes, suarum proventus ecclesiarum, in æraria recondant. Nicol. de Clemangis de corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu, cap. 17.

° This Dr. Heylin represented, as if the Bishop had said, that the poor Clergy were forced to do this for bread. *Hist. of the Reform.* p. 61.

their dioceses, to defend these abuses and corruptions. His Lordship indeed affirms, that there are several *reasonable causes* of a Bishop's absence from his flock, and, that he may not only be excused for his non-residence, but, that such non-residence may be meritorious and deserving of thanks; but then he qualifies this by observing, that a Bishop should be non-resident no longer than these reasonable causes of his absence continue. Our Bishop could not be ignorant that our kings in time past, as well as in his own time, were wont to have the *greatest part of their council*, for the safeguard of the realm, when they had need, of such Prelates and Clerks as were advanced by the Kings of this realm, and other great men of it: that the Prelates of this kingdom are declared, by our Acts of Parliament, to be *very profitable and necessary* to our said Lord the King, and to his said realm, as being *the sage people of his council*. His Lordship therefore concluded, that Bishops giving their attendance on the great council of the nation, being summoned thereto by their prince, was a reasonable cause of their being absent from their dioceses, and not residing on them; that their assisting on such and such like occasions, was a duty they owed to their King and their country, and that for their faithful performance of it, they were so far from being to be blamed, that they deserved thanks. But this is very different from defending their non-residence, when it was occasioned purely by their own ambition and covetousness, their thrusting themselves, without being called, into the courts of princes, and ambitiously pretending to the administration of matters of state, not to serve the public, but to gratify their own haughty and secular desires.

20. The next thing, for which our Bishop vindicates the Bishops of his time, is their receiving their bishoprics from the Pope by provision, and paying *annates* or first-fruits for them. Upon this account they were accused by Dr. Wiclif and others as *simoniacs*; from which charge our Bishop, it seems, endeavoured to justify them. Now as to the *first* of these, the Bishops receiving their bishoprics from the

Statute of
Provisors of
Benefices.

16 Rich. II.
c. 5.

CHAP. Pope by *provision*; we are to observe that anciently Bishops were chosen by the Clergy and people. Insomuch,

II.
Morinus de
Ordinat.
pars ii.

that in the form of ordination, as low down as the year 900 or 1000, it is acknowledged, that in old times the Bishop was to enquire of every one who came to him to be ordained, whether he was chosen by the people. This was agreeable to the Clementine constitution, which ordered, that a Bishop was to be chosen by all the people, out of those of the best and most blameless character, who was accordingly to be presented to the Bishop, who was to ordain him. At that time no one was ordained but to an actual cure; so that to be ordained and collated to a

Duareni de
Sac. Minist.
lib. iii. c. 2.

benefice was one and the same thing. Now this being done at the election, and with the consent of the people, they may properly be said to be patrons, as we now speak, of the several vacant bishoprics. But these elections, in process of time, as the bishoprics grew more wealthy, and consequently more deserving the wishes of men of worldly and corrupt minds, became very tumultuary and seditious, insomuch that the civil magistrate, to preserve the public peace, was forced to interpose. In the British and Saxon times, and even after the Conquest, till the reign of King John, bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities were conferred by the King in Parliament, or his great councils.

Observations upon
the Eccles.
Jurisdiction of
the Kings of
England.

As one of the people and head of all the people, he must necessarily have a vote and great interest in these elections. And therefore, when it was found necessary to lay these popular ones aside, it must be thought very reasonable that this power should be transferred to the chief or princes of the people, and the magistracy: since it is certain, that all the right the people have is transferred to the Prince and Parliament as their head; and that by the ancient canons this right is not taken from them. Accord-

† Primitus cum venerint ordinandi clerici ante episcopum, debet episcopus inquirere unumquemque si electus populo sit.

‡ Ἐπὶ πάντες τῷ λαῷ ἐκκλησίαντες. Constat secundum veteres canones in eligendis Ecclesiæ ministris, non solum cleri sed etiam populi consensum maxime requiri. *Duareni de Sacris Eccles. Minis.* lib. iii. cap. 2.

ingly it is declared by our Acts of Parliament, that this Church of England was founded in the estate of prelacy for several pious and good ends by the Kings of England, who have therefore had and ought to have the custody of such voidances, and the presentments and collations of the benefices being of such prelacies. These collations they therefore practised, presenting persons to vacant bishoprics, and investing them in them by the ceremony of delivering to them a ring and a staff. This they continued to do till the reign of King Henry I. when they granted to the several Chapters a free election to such benefices upon a certain form and condition, as to demand licence of the King to choose, and after the election to have his royal assent.

CHAP.
II.

25 Edw. III.
stat. 6.

Cl. Seldeni
notæ ad
Eadmerum,
p. 142.

25 Edw. III.
stat. 6.

20. As to the Popes, *they*, in ancient times, claimed to themselves no right or power of ordaining any Priests or Clerks, and consequently of collating them to benefices, out of their own dioceses. "It was many hundred years after Christ, before they could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other Bishops, out of their province in Italy. Since which time they have ever usurped more and more." The later Popes, not content to be confined within these limits, or indeed to have any bounds set them, have made no question of acting in the most arbitrary manner, as so many lords and kings, and to arrogate to themselves the government of the universal Church. The Pope was therefore said to have the full, free, and unlimited disposition of all benefices, and accordingly in time a custom prevailed, that was utterly unknown to the ancients, of expediting bulls; by which benefices not yet vacant were commanded to be conferred on certain per-

Duareni de
Beneficiis,
lib. iii. c. 1.

The Institution of a
Christen
Man, fol.
47. b.

* If it shall appear that till the reign of King John, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities were conferred *in* and *by* the Parliament; then will a common mistake appear to run through many books of law, wherein we frequently read, that before his time they were donative, and conferred by the King *per traditionem annuli et baculi*. Confounding the election with the investitures; ascribing that to the King *solely* which was the act of the King and Parliament. *Observations on the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England.*

CHAP.
II.

Nicol. de
Clemangis
de corrupto
Ecclesie
Statu, c. 3.

sons whensoever they happened to become void: these were commonly called *graces expectative* and *mandates of provision*. The pretence for this new and unheard of claim was, the better providing for the several vacant churches, and instituting pastors in them of purer morals and better learning than those elected by the Chapters: but it was soon made appear, that the true meaning of this new attempt was only ^a getting money and increasing the revenues of the Apostolical Chamber. For not only was there no regard had to either the age, the learning, or the morals of those to whom these bulls of provision were granted, the highest bidder being the surest purchaser, but in process of time the fees of these bulls were so much raised, and become so very extravagant, that it was observed by one of our English Parliaments, that “no Par-
“son, Abbot, nor other should have *provision* of any arch-
“bishopric or bishopric, which shall be void, till that he
“hath compounded with the Pope’s Chamber to pay great
“and excessive sums of money, as well for the *first fruits*
“of the same archbishopric or bishopric, as for other ser-
“vices in the same court, and that the same sums or the
“greater part thereof be paid beforehand; which sums

6 Hen. IV.
c. 1.

William
Felter,
LL.D. who
died 1451.

^a Of this we have the following instance given us by Dr. Gascoigne. Post mortem Decani Eboracensis, Feltar nomine, canonici ecclesie pacifice elegerunt — Bermyngham in decanum suum Eboracensem; et in tempore electionis in capitulo duo mali canonici Eboraci, et prior Sancti Oswaldi elegerunt extra capitulum, juxta imaginem Sancti Christophori, in decanum ecclesie Eboracensis, magistrum Richardum Andrew secretarium R. Henrici Sexti. Et, facta appellatione per illos tres canonicos contra electionem veram Bermyngham in capitulo, R. Henricus licentiauit illum Richardum, qui fuit pessime et injuste sic a tribus extra capitulum electus, sub sigillo suo acceptare provisionem Papae ut esset Eboracensis Decanus. Ita quod Papa Nicolaus quintus ipsum Richardum in decanatu ecclesie Eboracensis provideret, et electionem Bermyngham factam legitime, cassaret, et revocaret seu adnullaret. *Et sic factum fuit Romae per pecunias predict. Rich.* Et quis capitulum Eboracense ipsum Richardum provisionem per Papam recipere in suum decanatum non voluit, idcirco per bullas Papae Nicholai diversi canonici ecclesie cathedralis Eboracensis excommunicati fuerunt, et ecclesia cathedralis exposita interdicto, et suspensa per plures septimanas. Ita quod nec matutinae, nec aliqua missa fuit in illa ecclesia per plures septimanas, nec vesperae. *Dict. Theol. MS.*

“ pass the *treble*, or the *double* at least, of that that was
 “ accustomed of old time to be paid to the said Chamber, CHAP.
II.
 “ and otherwise by the occasions of such *provisions*.”

This the complaint of the Commons, on which this act is grounded, calls a *damnable custom, which is introduct of new in the Court of Rome*.

21. This usurpation of the rights of the several patrons of ecclesiastical benefices, by the Popes, met with a very stout and resolute opposition here in England. One of our historians tells us, that in the reign of King Henry III. Pope Gregory, desirous to assist a special clerk of his, sent his apostolical mandate to the Abbot and convent of Bury, with armed entreaties and terrifying admonitions, that they would confer on the Pope the income of some church in their gift, which was at least of the yearly value of 100 marks. But on the Abbot's notifying this new demand to the King, and asking his advice, and withal intimating to him the ill consequences of yielding to it; the King being sensible that such a precedent would be not only to the prejudice of this church, but of all others in his dominions, on which the same arbitrary demands might be made, he as defender, patron, and governor of the said churches, detesting the hidden snares and the avarice of the court of Rome, very strictly prohibited any such enormous fact any more polluting the air of his kingdom. Mat. Paris,
Hist. Angl.
A. D. 1241.

22. But the avarice and exactions of the Popes were not soon checked. “ They claimed to have and occupie the
 “ whole monarchy of the world in their hands, and that
 “ they might thereby lawfully depose kings and princes
 “ from their realms, dominions, and seignories, and so
 “ transfer and give the same suche persons as them liked.” The Institution of a
Christen
Man, fol.
47. b.
 This occasioned our poet Chaucer to use this kind admonition. Plowman's
Tale, part ii.

How much times were altered afterwards may be seen by what Dr. Gascoigne tells us; speaking of Buthe Archbishop of York, he says, *confert beneficia et præbendas pessime pueris et juvenibus*, fol. 47. b. The like he reports of Kemp, Archbishop of York, and afterwards of Canterbury; *malos et extraneos et curtesanos Romanos providit et elegit in magnas dignitates suæ ecclesiæ Eboracensis, et in rectores suæ diocesis*. *Dict. Theol. MS.*

CHAP.
II.

* fellow.

The Emperour gaf the Pope sometime,
 So highe lordship him about,
 That at the last the sely * kime
 The proude Pope yput him out,
 So of this relme is in grete dout.

Bp. Gib-
 son's Codex,
 p. 75, 76.

23. In the very next reign we find petitions drawn up for the estate of the crown of England, by the Earls, Barons, and other great men, and the Commons of the realm; wherein they complained of the various new and intolerable grievances, oppressions, injuries, and extortions done to them by the authority and mandate of the Lord Pope. The first of these mentioned by them is the unbridled multitude of *provisions apostolical*, "by which," they said, "the patrons of the several benefices are deprived of their right of collation or presentation, the noble and learned natives will be wholly excluded from all ecclesiastical promotion, so that there will be a defect of council as to those matters that concern the spirituality, and none will be found fit to be preferred to the ecclesiastical prelacies; divine worship will be impaired, hospitalities and alms will be laid aside, contrary to the primary intention of the founders of the churches; the rights of the respective churches will be lost, the church-buildings will all go to ruin, and the devotion of the people will be lessened." On which representation it was ordered, that the Sheriffs of every county should inquire of these abuses, and attach those who were guilty of them. Accordingly writs were prepared to be sent to the several Sheriffs for this purpose; but after the recess of the Parliament, the King was not only prevailed with by Cardinal Peter Fabines, then in England, to direct his Chancellor to suspend the *sealing* of the said writs, but did also grant letters of protection to the collectors of the *first fruits* and *Peter-pence*, under colour of which they proceeded, as they had formerly done, in contempt of the prohibitions enacted in Parliament against their extortions and oppressions. Nay they had the boldness to complain publicly, at the next

Parliament, that divers of the King's subjects had opposed and resisted them, in virtue of those prohibitions. Upon which occasion the prohibitions were enforced in a writ directed to the Pope's collector William Testa, whereby he was commanded and strictly inhibited, the any ways attempting by himself or any others, any thing that might be to the hurt of the royal dignity, or to the damage of the peers or people of this realm. But before the King could see this prohibition executed, he died, and nothing further was done.

CHAP.
II.Dated June
27, 1307.Jan. 25,
1326.

23. Men who were so far lost to all shame, as to complain to the Parliament of the people observing their laws, one may well conceive ready to attempt any thing, so that we need not wonder at these grievances growing worse and worse. Accordingly we find it represented in the Parliament, that met 25 Edward III. that these grievances and mischiefs did then daily abound, to the great damage and destruction of all the realm of England, *more than ever were before*. But now in this reign of King Henry VI. the Popes were so far gone in their encroachments, that whereas before they granted to aliens and Cardinals only rich benefices and dignities in cathedrals, now they granted English bishoprics to foreigners in commendam. Thus one Lewis Lushborough, Archbishop of Roan, was provided by the Pope to the bishopric of Ely, by way of commendam. This indeed the Archbishop of Canterbury complained of to the Bishops and Clergy in convocation, as an invidious thing and of ill example, and what might prove to the great loss and detriment of the Church of England; but to no manner of purpose, for the Archbishop held this bishopric till his death, which was a little more than *five* years after the temporalities of it were assigned to him.

A. D. 1350.

A. D. 1438.

24. When the ^u exaction of *annates* or the *first fruits*

Duaren. de
Beneficiis,

^u Statuerunt—ut quoties aliquem virum ecclesiasticum quacunq̄ foret dignitate vel conditione ex ista luce migrare contingeret, aut suum cum altero quovis qualecunq̄ beneficium permutare, totiens * omnis proventus primi * dimidium anni secuturi certam ad summam, suo arbitrato, taxatos, sua memorata camera annui proventus.

CHAP.
II.

of benefices was first invented, is not so certain as to admit of any dispute: some ascribing the imposition of this tax to Pope John XXIII^x, others to Pope Boniface IX. about the year 1400. But that it could not be so lately introduced is very plain from the several complaints of the great grievance of it, made by our Parliaments from the year 1350 and afterwards, *fifty* years before this time. This was an arbitrary tax, the sum to be paid being fixed or settled by the mere will and pleasure of the Pope, or the officers of his Chamber: so that though it was pretended to be only the first year's fruits of the bishopric, or half a year's profits of any lesser benefice worth above twenty-four nobles a year, it sometimes proved to be the fruits of three or four years; for let what accidents would happen, as loss of the crop, &c. the sum appointed by the Chamber was to be raised. It is fairly owned by one of the Pope's γ collectors of this tax in England, that of all the projects

acciperet. Quod si illam fortassis summam annua fructuum collectio, aut ex diminutione fructuum, aut alia calamitate conficere non posset, triennali vel quandoque quadriennali fructuum exactione ad summam ipsam pertingi voluerunt. *Nic. de Clemangis de cor. Ecclesie Statu.*

Onus illud Annatarum ab initio omnes generatim populi subire minus recusant extra Anglos qui suis minoribus sacerdotiis, quando ea Pontifex dabat, id servitutis imponendum non censuerunt. Nam Pontifex Romanus minorum quoque sacerdotiorum aliarum gentium quæ ipse confert, dimidiam capit vectigalium unius anni partem, si pluries viginti quatuor aureis aestimentur. *Pol. Vergil de Invent. lib. viii. cap. 2.*

^x S. Thomas nullos solvit primos fructus seu annata Papæ Romano, quod nullus episcopus in tempore S. Thomæ solvit primos fructus Papæ nec antea. Postea tamen in tempore Papæ Romani, Johannis XXII. primi fructus sive annata Papæ solvi cœperunt, ex cupida ordinatione Papæ Johannis XXII. et sibi adherentium in curia Romana. Et sic inolevit in Anglia consuetudo quod consensus Papæ Romani et ejus cameræ, et consensus Regis in Anglia, et certa millia pecuniarum constituunt episcopum quemcumque jam in Anglia, ut sit episcopus. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS.*

γ Nullum inventum majores Romano Pontifici cumulavit opes quam annatum (quas vocant) usus, qui omnino multo antiquior est quam recentiores quidam scriptores suspicantur. Et annates, more suo, appellant primos fructus unius anni sacerdotii vacantis, aut dimidiam eorum partem. Sane hoc vectigal jampridem cum Romanus Pontifex non habuerit tot possessiones, quot nunc habet, et eum oportuerit, pro dignitate, pro officio, multos magnosque facere sumptus, paulatim impositum fuit sacerdotiis vacantibus quæ ille conferret, de

invented by the Court of Rome for augmenting its revenues, this was the most gainful one; and, that though it was by little and little imposed, that so it might insensibly, as it were, take place, (for when the Pope first of all pretended to dispose of vacant benefices by his mandates of provision, this tax seems not to have been demanded,) yet it was often protested against, and complained of as a great grievance, but to no purpose. Here in England we find remonstrances made against this imposition from Rome, by several Parliaments, who call it *an unheard of thing, a damnable custom newly introduced*, and represent it as the occasion of a great part of the treasure of this realm being carried to the court of Rome, and of impoverishing the several Archbishops and Bishops. In the address of the Lords and Commons, on which the first of these acts is grounded, made in less than twenty years after this tax is said to have been first imposed, it is complained, that the Pope had then newly set forth the hardest explanations of the collection of this tax, and which were very prejudicial to the King and kingdom, and the whole Church of England.

25. Of this grievance Dr. Wiclif very loudly complained; he said "it was *symony* to serve the Pope in such a strange travail and country, and give him gold for his lead, and the *first fruits* for gift of a church. When (saith he) a lord hath the gold for presenting, the gold dwelleth still in our land; but when the Pope hath the *first fruits*, the gold goeth out and cometh never again." And then he proceeds to shew the malice and cursedness of *symony*. Nor was he^z singular in this opinion of his.

Of Prelates,
MS. c. 5.

qua quidem re, ut gravi, sæpe reclamatum fuisse testatur Henricus Hostiensis qui cum Alexandro IV. Pontifice vixit, sic ut Franciscus Zabarellus tradit, post hæc in concilio Viennensi (quod Clemens V. indixit qui factus est Pontifex anno salutis humanæ 1305) agitatum fuisse ut, eo deposito annatum onere, vigesima pars vectigalium sacerdotalium penderetur quotannis Romano Pontifici, et id quidem frustra. Quare Pontifex annatas in sua massa retinuit, ut ne indidem exire possent. *Polydore Vergil de Invent. Rerum*, lib. viii. cap. 2.

^z Nec satis perspicio ut se excusare possint hoc modo promoti a Pontifice, quominus in canonum poenam incurrant, et tanquam vitio creati, ut veteres

CHAP.
II.

Duaren. de
Beneficiis,
lib. iv. c. 8.

* Depriva-
tion is the
penalty of
simony.

Consilium
defectorum
Cardinali-
um, &c.
de emen-
danda Ec-
clesia.

We are told that it is the opinion of almost all Divines and Canonists, that the Pope is equally obliged with other Bishops by the law of ^a *symoniacal ambitus*, if he takes any money for disposing of the sacred ministries of the Church: and, that by the Council of Basil, this kind of tax was condemned, and the pain ^{*} of *simoniacal ambitus* decreed against those who this way come at the sacred ministries of the Church.

26. Our Bishop, in his defence of himself and the other Bishops thus promoted by the Pope, seems to have been misled by the prevailing opinion of this time; that the Pope, as universal Pastor, had a right to the fruits of all the ecclesiastical benefices in the Christian Church. For thus his Lordship is said to have preached at Paul's Cross, "that ^b Bishops paying to the Pope before they are admitted to be Bishops 5000 marks, or a greater sum, are not guilty of sin on this account, because by this payment they do not give any thing to the Pope, but only make a tender to him of what is his own, as a bailiff or steward does, when he accounts or reckons with his lord." By this it should seem as if it was then generally thought, that the Pope had a right to all the benefices of the Church, and might in the disposal of them reserve to himself what he thought fit of the profits of them, without being guilty of *symony*, since, as rightful lord of them, he sold only that which was his own: and indeed so far was the power or authority claimed by the Popes, of providing

loquebantur, dignitatem, honoremque, ecclesiasticum amittant, si quis ad prisce institutionis normam potius, quam receptæ consuetudinis, hæc exigere velit. *Duaren. de Beneficiis*, lib. vi. c. 8.

^a Hic autem ambitus vulgo simoniacus dicitur a Simone, quodam apostolorum contemporaneo, qui mirificam illam divinamque vim ac potestatem Spiritus Sancti gratiam infundendi per manuum impositionem, quam habebant Apostoli, ab ipsis emere et mercari voluit. *Ibid.* cap. 2.

^b Item prædicavit Londoniis ad crucem S. Pauli, quod episcopi solventes Papæ Romano, antequam per Papam admittantur, ut sint episcopi, quinque millia marcarum seu majorem summam non peccant in hoc, nec hæc solvendo Papæ aliquid dant Papæ, ut ipse dicit, sed tum tribuunt Papæ quod Papæ est, sicut tribuit aliquis Ballivus suo domino. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol.* MS.

persons to bishoprics and other dignities, when they should become void, by degrees established in this weak and troublesome reign, that the Popes seem to have acted in this matter with little or no ^c opposition, application being generally made to *them*, as if *they* were the undoubted rightful patrons. Insomuch that, as it has been hinted before, Gascoigne tells us it was commonly said, that *three* things made a man a Bishop in England: 1. the will of the King; 2. the will of the Pope; and, 3. a round sum of money paid into the Pope's Chamber at Rome.

CHAP.
II.

28. Whatever were the effects of this complaint of our Bishop's preaching, it is plain it did not discourage his Lordship from proceeding in his endeavours to vindicate the Bishops and Clergy of the established Church, and to reconcile the dissenting Lollards to it, by causing them to have a better opinion of their discipline and governance. Of this I shall give an account in the next chapter.

^c ———Per provisionem factam Romæ in diebus meis facti sunt plures episcopi, et abbates et decani sine electione quacunq̄ue, excepta electione Papæ, quæ vocatur *provisio*. Gascoigne, *Dict. Theol.* MS.

CHAP. III.

*An account of a book published by the Bishop, entitled,
The Repressour, &c.*

1. OUR Bishop was not, it seems, by the offence lately taken at his preaching in vindication of the Bishops and conforming Clergy, and the trouble given him on that account, made to desist from his attempts to defend the established Church from the objections made to her by the dissenting Lollards. And therefore in the year 1449, his Lordship published a book in English, which he entitled, *The repressing of over miche * witing the Clergie*; in which his Lordship endeavoured to defend the Clergy of the then Church of England against the common objections of the followers of Dr. John Wiclif, then going by the nick-name of *Lowlardis*, or *Lollards*. The design of this book may be seen by what the Bishop himself says of the partition or division of it. "I schal," says he, "justifie xi governauncis of the Clergie whiche summe of the comoun peple unwiisly and untreuli jugen and comdempnen to be yuele. Of which xi governauncis oon is the hauvinge and using of ymagis in chirchis; and another is pilgrimage in going to the memorials or the myndeplacis of seintis, and, that pilgrimagis and offeringis mowe be doon weel, not oonli priueli, but also openli; and not oonli so of laymen, but rather of prestis and of bischops. And this schal I do by writing of this present book in the comoun peplis langage, pleinli and openli and schortli, and to be † clepid *The Repressing*, &c. and he schal have v principal parties. In the *firste* of whiche parties schal be maad in *general manner* the seid repressing, and in general maner proof to the xi seid governauncis. And in the ii, iii, iv, and v parties schal be maad in *special manner* the seid repressing, and in special maner the proof to the same xi governauncis."

* *blaming*
from A. S.
pitan.

† called.

2. In the first part of this work, where the Bishop, as

he proposed, makes the repressing in *general manner*, he attacks the main or general principle of the *over-blayers* of the Clergy, as the Bishop calls them, or as he elsewhere styles them, of the *Bible-men*, which holden them so wise by the Bible ^a alone. According to the Bishop some of these affirmed, that,

CHAP.
III.

3. "No governaunce is to be holden of Christen men ^{Repressour, part ii. c. 1.} "the service or the lawe of God, save it which is groundid "in holie Scripture of the Newe Testament; whereas "others of them maintained, that no governaunce is to be "held or accounted of Christian men the service or the law "of God, save it which is groundid in the New Testament "or in the Old, and is not bi the New Testament re- "voked." Both parties agreed in this, that Scripture did not only contain all revealed and supernatural truth, which is absolutely necessary for men to know in this life, that they may be saved in the next; but all things simply, and in such sort, that to do any thing according to any other law, is not only unnecessary, but unlawful and sinful. This they applied to the ecclesiastical polity, or the government and service of the Church, to shew that to use any government or discipline, or to observe any rites or ceremonies which are not grounded in the Old or New Testament, is unlawful. So that the question was, not whether the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were the law of God concerning revealed and supernatural truth, but whether they were to be our law in the choice and use of such things as are in their nature indifferent, so that we may not be sometimes sufficiently guided by the light of reason and the common rules of discretion, and are not bound for every ^b thing we do in such matters to have our warrant from some places or other of holy Scripture. For however complete the sufficiency of the whole or entire

^a ———Talem habebant terminum in omnibus suis dictis semper prætendendo legem Dei *Goddislawe*. *Hen. Knighton de Event. Angliæ*, coll. 2644.

^b I say, that the word of God containeth the direction of all things pertaining to the Church, yea of whatsoever things can fall into any part of man's life. *Cartwright's Admonition*, p. 14. §. 3.

CHAP.
III.

body of Scripture is, it ought to be understood with this caution, that the advantage of the light of nature or of reason be not excluded as unnecessary, or of no use, because the necessity of a diviner light is magnified. Besides, it is plain matter of fact, that the Scriptures do not express particularly every thing that is to be done in the Church, or in the life of man; the Scripture has not expressed every particular ceremony, order, discipline or kind of government that is to be used in the Church; which occasioned the great Erasmus to wish that St. Paul had treated more copiously and distinctly of those ecclesiastical rites, which he just touches in his two Epistles to the Corinthians; and shews, as it were through a casement, that he had at least explained by whom, at what time, with what worship and ceremony, and with what words that mystical bread and holy cup of the Lord's blood used to be consecrated, whose unworthy treatment, the Apostle shews us, occasioned frequent distempers and deaths.

4. It seems as if these Bible-men, as the Bishop calls them, were led to this extravagant opinion of the Scripture's sufficiency, through an opposition to the schools of Rome, who had now carried the authority of the Church, or the significancy of its determinations, to an unjustifiable height, equalling them with the determinations of holy Scripture; providing, that none should either publicly or privately bring them into dispute; and making it heresy to impugn^c them; for Dr. Wiclif's followers had allowed,

Const.
Arundel.
A. D. 1408.

Prologue to
the Bible,
MS. c. i.

“that men might accept man's law and ordinances when
“they were grounded in *holy Scripture*, or *good reason*,
“or were for the *common profit of Christian people*.”

5. Our Bishop therefore shewed them, that in opposing *this*, they themselves ran into a dangerous extreme; that the law of nature or reason, as it is before all Scripture, so it is not grounded thereon, but rather the Scripture is grounded on *that*, though its rules and precepts may in part

^c ——— Non solum hæresis incurritur ex hoc quod aliquis impugnat articulos fidei, sed etiam si impugnet ea quæ sunt determinata per Ecclesiam, licet non concernant articulos fidei. *Lindwood Provinc.*

be conveyed to us by Scripture, but not so fully as by rational searches and deep study; from whence he inferred, that men may be obliged to some duties and practices, as taught by the law of nature or reason, of which no mention is to be found made in the Bible. For this purpose the Bishop laid down the following conclusions, which I shall repeat in his Lordship's own words.

First, "It longeth not to holi Scripture, neither it is his ^{Repressour,} office into which God hath him ordeyned ^{part ii. c. 2.} ^d, neither it is his part for to grounde eny governaunce or dede or service of God, or eny lawe of God, or eny trouthe which mannis resoun bi nature may fynde, leerne, and knowe."

This the Bishop defends in the following manner:

"1. Scripture does not contain all that is necessary for the grounding or supporting of moral vertues, and therefore is not properly the foundation on which they stand. — There may nothing be fundament or ground of a wal, or of a tree, or of an house, save it upon which the al hool substance of the wal, or of the tree, or of the house stonndith, and out of which oonli the wal, tree, or house cometh."

2. That is properly the foundation, which is alone sufficient for the purpose, as natural reason in this case is. "Al the leernyng and knowing which holi Scripture geueth ^{cap. 3.} upon eny biforesaid governaunce, deed, or trouthe of Goddis moral lawe mai be had bi doom of natural resoun, ghe thoug holi Writt had not spoken therof, &c." These reasons the Bishop elsewhere thus expresses; "a ^{Inter Frag-} truth is not known," saith he, "which is not known ^{ments in} ^{Bibl. Bodl.} ^{MS.}

^d Two opinions there are concerning the sufficiency of holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of Rome teach Scripture to be insufficient, as if, except traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth, which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this life to know, that they may in the next be saved. Others justly condemning this opinion, grow likewise unto a dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kind necessary, but all things simply, and in such sort, that to do any thing according to any other law were not only unnecessary, but even opposite unto salvation, unlawful and sinful. *Hooker's Eccles. Pol.* lib. ii. §. 8.

CHAP.
III.

“ either of itself, or in its ground from whence it proceeds
 “ and comes, and into which it may be resolved and re-
 “ duced. Now because of all conclusions of written truths,
 “ about which any care is to be taken, or which are of
 “ any importance, there are only four grounds, viz. the
 “ judgment of reason for a philosophical truth; a positive
 “ constitution for a juridical one; the text of holy Scrip-
 “ ture, in its probable sense, for a truth of orthodox faith;
 “ and history for the truth of an historical fact; it ought
 “ to follow, that every matter doubted of, whether it be a
 “ matter of philosophy, law, divinity, or history, it is ne-
 “ cessary, if a true knowledge be to be had of that matter,
 “ that it be run up thither where it fundamentally lies, and
 “ as it were sprung from the root; and we ought to see
 “ how they stand according to their principles, and funda-
 “ mental undoubted evidences, and accordingly to form a
 “ judgment of them.” This reasoning his Lordship thus
 “ applies: “ * Christ,” says he, “ has revealed to us politics
 “ or governances which human reason of itself alone could
 “ never have found out, so as to know and appoint them;
 “ and we hold them by faith, as experience will teach any
 “ one, who inquires into and examines each of them. But
 “ all, or almost all practical governances necessary to be
 “ known and instituted for the salvation of souls, to the
 “ finding and establishing of which human reason can at-
 “ tain, Christ has left to the wisdom of his Church to find
 “ out and constitute, and has not himself revealed nor ap-
 “ pointed them.”

* Pius et
 compatiens
 Christus.

cap. 4.

3. “ The moral lawe or judgment of natural reson was
 “ whanne neither of the Newe, neither of the Old Testa-
 “ ment the writing was, and that fro’ the time of Adam,
 “ &c.”

cap. 5.

4. “ The most that Scripture does, is only to remind,
 “ exhort, stir up, command, or counsel to the practice of
 “ moral vertue; which supposes the thing to have been
 “ before known, ‘ for he biddith a man to be e meke, and

• Thus a celebrated pen of the present age: “ There is nothing new in the
 “ Christian-institution but matters of faith; there are no new vices forbidden,

" he techith not bifore what mekenes is; he biddith a
 " man to be pacient, and yit he not bifore techith what
 " pacience is; and so forthe of ech vertu of Goddis law. CHAP.
III.
 " Wherefore no such seid governaunce, or vertue, or
 " trouthe is to be seid groundid in holi Scripture, no
 " more than it oughthe be seid if a Bishop woulde sende
 " a pistle or a lettre to peple of his diocise, and theryn
 " wolde remember hem, exhorte hem, and stirre hem, and
 " bidde hem, or counseile hem, for to keepe certayn moral
 " vertues, &c.' "

His Lordship uses a fifth and sixth argument much to
 the same purpose with this fourth. In the conclusion he
 has the following comparison, which sets forth his notion
 in a lively way, and which I have transcribed, for the ac-
 count it gives of an old custom in the city of London, on
 Midsummer-eve, in our Bishop's time. " Seie to me, C. 6.
 " good sire, and answeere hereto; whanne men of the cun-
 " tree uplond bringen into Londoun in fMydsomer-eve
 " braunchis of trees fro Bischopis-wode, and flouris fro
 " the feeld, and bitaken tho to citessins of Londoun, for
 " to therwith araie her housis, schulen men of Londoun
 " receyving and taking tho braunchis and flouris, seie and
 " holde, that tho braunchis grewen out of the cartis which
 " broughten hem to Londoun, and that tho cartis, or
 " the hondis of the bringers weren groundis and funda-
 " mentis of tho braunchis and flouris? Goddis forbode so
 " litel witt be in her hedis. Certes thoug Crist and his

" nor newvirtues commanded; the prohibitions of the one and the injunctions
 " of the other are again indeed enforced by Revelation; but without that, we
 " are by the moral law under the same obligations, and the same confinements.
 " And it is observable, when the Scriptures recommend chastity, temperance,
 " justice, and mercy, they never give any definition of those virtues, but barely
 " name them, supposing the world was acquainted with their nature, and that
 " the observance of them, as well as the forbearance of the contrary vices,
 " were the dictates of the light of reason, and the result of the moral nature of
 " things." *Essay upon the Laws of Nature, by Sir Richard Blackmore.*

f A watch used to be kept in the city of London on Midsummer night, to
 prevent, I suppose, the disorders committed by this rabble, and was first laid
 down 30 Henry VIII. when Sir James Spencer was Mayor; when, I suppose,
 this foolish custom was discontinued. *Hall's Chron.* fol. 181. b.

- CHAP. III. "Apostlis weren now lyvyng at Londoun, and wolde bringe, so as is now seid, braunchis fro Bischopis-wode, and flouris fro the feelde into Londoun, and wolden hem delyvere to men, that thei make therewith her housis gay into remembraunce of Seint Johann Baptist, and of this that it was prophecied of him, that *manye schulden joi*
 Luke i. 14. "in his burthe: yet the men of Londoun, receyvynge so the braunchis and flouris, oughten not seie and *feele, that the braunchis and flouris grewen out of Christis hondis and out of the Apostlis hondis—The braunchis grewen out of the bowis upon whiche thei in Bischopis-wode stoden, and the bowis grewen out of stockis or tronchons, and the tronchons or schaftis grewen out of the roote, and the roote out of the next erthe therto, upon whiche and in whiche the roote is baried. So that neither the cart, neither the hondis of the bringers, neither the bringers ben the groundis or fundamentis of the braunchis."
- C. 7. 6. "The secunde principal Conclusioun and trouthe is this; thoug it perteyne not to holi Scripture, for to grounde eny natural or moral governaunce, or trouthe into whos fyndyng, leernyng, and knowyng mannis resoun may bi himself and bi natural help com, as it is open now bifore;—Yit it mai perteyne weel ynung to holi Scripture, that he reherce such now seid governauncis and treuthis, and that he wisse hem as grounded
 † nature. "somwhere ellis in the law of † kinde, or doom of mannis resoun. And so he dooth, as to ech reder thereyn it mai
 ‡ that. "be opene, that by ‡ thilk rehercing and witnessyng so doon by holi Scripture to men, the men schulden be bothe remembrid, stirid, provokid, and exortid for to the rathir performe and fulfille the same so rehercid and wittenessid governauncis and trouthis."
- C. 8. 7. "The iiid principal Conclusioun is this. The hool office and werk into which God ordeyned holy Scripture,

‡ The law of God, though principally delivered for instruction in supernatural duties, is yet fraught with precepts of those that are natural. The Scripture is fraught even with laws of nature. *Hooker's Eccles. Pol.* lib. i. §. 12.

" is for to grounde articlis of feith, and for to reherce and
 " witsnesse moral trouthis of ^h lawe of * kind grounded in CHAP.
 " moral philosphie; that is to seie, in † doom of resoun, III.
 " that the reders be remembrid, stirrid, and exortid bi so * nature.
 " miche the better and the more, and the sooner for to † judgment.
 " fulfille hem. Of whiche articlis of feith summe ben not
 " lawis, as these; that God made heven and erthe in the bi-
 " gynnyng of tynae; and that Adam was the firste man, and
 " Eve was the firste womman; and that Moises ladde the
 " peple of Israel out of Egypt; and that Zacharie was fedir
 " and Elizabeth was modir of Johann Baptist; and that
 " Crist fastid xl. daies, and so forth of many like. And
 " summe othere ben lawis; as, that ech man ougte
 " be baptisid in water if he may come thereto; and
 " that ech man ougte to be † hosilid if he may come † receive the
 " thereto." Lord's Sup-
 per. A. S.

8. " The iiiii principal Conclusioun; it is not the office hurl.
 " longing to moral lawe of kinde, for to grounde eny arti- C. 8.
 " cle of feith, groundid bi holi Scripture. For whi al that
 " the now seid moral lawe of kinde, or moral philosphie,
 " groundith, is groundid by doom of mannis resoun; and
 " therefore is such a treuthe and a conclusioun that into
 " his fynding, leernyng, and knowing, mannis witt mai, by
 " itsilf aloone, or bi natural helpis withoute revelacioun
 " fro God, rise and suffice. But so it is, that noon article
 " of feith mai be groundid in doom of resoun sufficientli,
 " neither into his finding, leerning, and knowing; mannis
 " resoun by itsilf, and bi natural help, may rise and suffice,
 " without therto maad revelatioun, or affirming from Ged.
 " For whi thane feith were no feith."

9. " The v principal Conclusion. Thoug neither the c. s.
 " seide moral law of kinde, neither outward bokis thereof
 " wrieten, mowe grounde eny trouthe or conclusioun of
 " verry feith; yit tho outward bokis, as Cristene men
 " hem maken, mowe weel ynow reherce and witsnesse

^h The law of reason or human nature is that which men, by discourse of natural reason, have rightly found out themselves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* lib. i. §. 8.

- CHAP.
III.
- “trouthis and conclusions of feith groundid bifore in holi
“Scripture. For whi; it is no more repugnant, that bokis
“of moral philosophie reherce trouthis and conclusiouns
“propre to the grounding of holy Scripture, than, that
“bokis of holi Scripture reherce trouthis and conclusions
“propre to the grounding of moral philsofie.”
- C. 8. “The vi principal Conclusioun. The hool office and
“werk into which ben ordeyned the bokis of moral philo-
“sophie, writen and maad bi Cristen men in the maner
“now bifore spoken, is to expresse outwardli bi writing
“of pene and ynke, the treuthis and conclusions which the
“inward book of lawe of kind, beried in mannis soule and
“herte, groundith; and for to reherce summe treuthis and
“conclusiouns of feith longing to the grounding of holi
“Scripture, that the reders be the more and the oftir re-
“membrid, and stirrid, and exortid by this rehercing, &c.”
- C. 8. “The vii principal Conclusioun. The more deal and
“party of Goddis hool lawe to man in erthe, and that bi
“an huge gret quantite over the remanent parts of the
“same lawe, is groundid sufficiently, out of holi Scripture,
“in the inward book of lawe of kind and of moral philoso-
“phie, and not in the book of holi Scripture.”
- C. 9. 10. “The viii principal Conclusioun. No man mai
* know. “leerne and * kunne the hool lawe of God, to which
† know. “Cristen men ben bounde, but if he † can of moral phil-
“sophie; and the more that he can in moral philosophie, bi
“so muche the more he can of Goddis law and service.
“This Conclusioun folewith out of the seventh Conclu-
“sioun openly ynoug.”
- C. 9. 11. “The ix Conclusioun. No man schullen perfittly,
“sureli, and sufficientli undirstonde holi Scripture in alle
“tho placis wherynn he rehercith moral virtues——but if
“he be bifore weel, and perfittli, suerli, and sufficientli
“leerned in moral philosophie.——This Conclusioun fole-
“with out of the vii and the viii Conclusiouns.”
- C. 9. 12. “The x Conclusioun. The leernyng and kunnyng
“of the seid law of kinde, and of the seide moral philoso-
“phie, is so necessarie to Christen men, that it mai not

“ be lackd of them if thei schulen perfitli serve to God, and kepe his lawe * bitake to hem in erthe.”

CHAP.
III.

13. “ The xi Conclusioun. Ful weel ougten alle per-
soones of the lay-parti, not miche learned in moral phil-
sophie, and lawe of kinde for to make miche of clerkis
weel learned in moral philsofie, that tho clerkis schul-
den helpe tho lay persooones, for to arigt undirstonde holi
Scripture in alle tho placis in whiche holi Scripture re-
hercith the bifore spoken Conclusiouns and treuthis of
moral philosophie, that is to seie of lawe of kinde. For
whi, withoute tho clerkis so learned in moral philosophie,
and withoute her direccioun, the now seid lay persooones
schulen not esili, lightli, and anoon have the dew undir-
standing of holi Scripture in the now seid placis.”

* delivered.
C. 9.

14. “ The xii Conclusioun. Ful weel ougten alle per-
soones of the lay-parti, not learned ougwhere ellis bi the
now seid clerkis, or bi othere bokis of moral philosophie,
for to make miche of bokis maad to hem in her modires
langage whiche be clepid thus: *The † donet into Cristen* † introduc-
religioun; the folwer to the donet; the book of Cristen tion.
religioun, namelich the first parti fro the begynnyng of
the iii treti forthward. *The book filling the iiiii tablis;*
The book of worschipping; the book clepid *the pro-*
voker of Cristen men; the book of counceiles, and othir
mo pertenyng to the now seid book of Cristen religioun.
——— Wolde God men wolden not be bi so miche the
frowarder, and the more presumptuose, that goodness is
to hem thus profrid. Wolde God, that thei wolden assaie
perfitli what tho now seid bokis ben, and wolden weel
† kunne hem, and thane if thei schulden have eny cause † know or
for to blame or commend tho bokis, that thanne firste understand.
thei wolden blame or commende.”

15. “ The xiii Conclusioun. Thei that wolen aske and
saie thus; *Where fyndist thou it groundid in holi*
Scripture? as thoug ellis it is not worthi to be take for
trewe, whanne-ever eny governaunce or treuthe suffici-
entli groundid in lawe of kinde, and in moral philsofie
is affermed and mynystrid to hem, (as ben many of tho

C. 10.

CHAP. III. “ xi gouernauncis and treuthis, whiche schullen be treatid
 “ aftir in this present book; which ben *setting up of*
 “ *ymagis in hige placis of the bodili churche; pilgrim-*
 “ *ages doon priuety; and pilgrimages doon openli by lay-*
 “ *men and bi Prestis, and bi Bischopis unto the memorialis*
 “ *or mynde-placis of seintis, and the endowing of Priestis*
 “ *bi rentis and bi unmouseable possessiouns, and such othere)*

* like.

“ asken tho whilis in * liik maner unreasonabili, and liik
 “ unskilfulli, and liik reprouabli, as if thei wolden aske
 “ and sei thus: Where findest thou it groundid in holi
 “ Scripture, whanne a treuthe and a conclusioun of gram-
 “ mer is affermed and seid to hem, &c.”

16. By this account of the positions maintained by the
 Bishop in this book of his, it is plain his Lordship's design
 was to shew, that those men are in a great error who make
 the holy Scripture the sole rule of all human actions what-

Bishop San-
 derson's
 Sermons.

soever. An error for the maintenance whereof, there was
 never yet produced any piece of an argument, either from
 reason, or from authority of holy Writ, or from the testi-
 mony either of the ancient fathers, or of other classical di-
 vines of latter times; which may not be clearly and abund-
 antly answered, to the satisfaction of any rational man
 not extremely fore-possessed with prejudice. The law of
 nature and of right reason *imprinted in men's hearts*, as
 the Apostle expressed himself, or, according to our Bishop,
buried in their souls and hearts, is as truly the law and
 word of God, as is that which is printed in our Bibles.

Dem. Evan.
 lib. ii. c. 9.

Eusebius styles Christianity *παλαιότατον εὐσεβείας πολιτεύμα*
καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη τις φιλοσοφία. Tertullian observes, *Nec differt*

De corr. Ec.
 c. 4.
 Prima Se-
 cundæ
 Quæst. 99.
 art. 2.

Scriptura an ratione consistat. Thomas Aquinas, who
 flourished in the 13th century, thus taught; “ that the
 “ old law is distinguished from the law of nature, not as
 “ altogether different from it, but as superadding some-
 “ thing to it. For as grace presupposes nature, so must a
 “ divine law presuppose a natural one. That man's reason
 “ about the moral precepts, so far as they are the com-
 “ monest precepts of the law of nature, could not err *in*
 “ *universalis*, though through a habit of sinning it might

“ he obscured *in particularibus agendis*. That even among
 “ the things to be believed, there are proposed to us not
 “ only those things to which reason cannot attain, but also
 “ those to which it can.”

17. In the *four* remaining parts of this book the Bishop proceeds, according to the method he had set down at the beginning, *in special manner* to repress the Wiclifists overblaming the Clergy, by answering the objections made by them, to the eleven governances or usages of the Church, with which they found fault, and making proof to the same eleven governances. Those of them which he here considers are these *six*. 1. The using of images in churches. 2. Pilgrimage. 3. The possessions of the Clergy. 4. Divers orders or degrees of Clergy. 5. The primacy of St. Peter and his successors. 6. The Religious.

18. As to the first of these, Erasmus observed, that there was this difference betwixt the state of the Church in his time, and that of the primitive Church; “ that Epistola, lib. xxxi. ep. 47. ed. London. 1642.
 “ whereas for some ages it was thought an abominable
 “ thing for a painted or engraven image to be seen in the
 “ churches of Christians; *then* the use of images was car-
 “ ried to that height, that it not only exceeded all bounds,
 “ but was even far from being decent; since *there* were to
 “ be seen in churches such unseemly paintings as were in
 “ porticos and taverns. However by degrees it came to be
 “ believed, that in these ⁱ images there was a revelation of
 “ the real presence of the saints whose images they were,
 “ and that the saints assisted and were personally present
 “ physically with them. Insomuch that in the *second*
 “ Council of Nice, celebrated A. D. 787, it was decreed,
 “ that an honorary worship was to be paid to the life-
 “ giving cross of Christ, the images of the blessed Virgin,
 “ of the angels, and saints, and that they ought to be ho-

ⁱ ——— Dicendum sit concessum deiparæ dominæ privilegium assistendi *physice et realiter* in aliquibus suis simulachris seu imaginibus——quod in aliquibus simulachris, seu imaginibus insignibus ipsius, *pœ* credatur *assistere*, *ademque personaliter* physice et realiter——ut in illis debitas adorationes recipiat a fidelibus cultoribus. R. P. Petri de Medrano, &c. *Rosetum Theologicum*, p. 311. *Hispani Ann.* 1702.

CHAP.
III.

Annales,
pars prior,
A. D. 791.
Matt. West.
A. D. 793.

Alcinus.

“noured with kisses, and the offering of lights and incense, though not with that true worship which pertains to the divine nature alone.” But how contrary this was to the faith and practice of the then Church of England, may be observed from the account given us of the sending this synodical decree into England, by our annalist Roger de Hoveden: Charles King of the Franks, says he, sent over into Britain a synodical book, directed to him from Constantinople; in which book were found many things inconsistent with and contrary to the true faith; but especially it was decreed by the unanimous consent of almost all the eastern Doctors, however of not less than 300 or more Bishops, that images ought to be adored, *quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur*, which the Church of God utterly abominates. Matt. of Westminster adds, that Albinus wrote a wonderful letter against this decree of the Councils, and together with the synodical book which had been sent hither, carried to the French King in the names of the Bishops and Princes of the realm. This shews what a sense they had of this decree, and how resolved they were not to receive it.

Inett's Orig.
Anglicanæ,
vol. i. p.
210, &c.

Abp. Cran-
mer's Arti-
cles of Visi-
tation, &c.

19. When carved or graven images were first introduced into the churches of England, and honoured with a religious worship, I am not certain. But by what has been observed of the French, and particularly of the Normans, that they were very fond of the worship of images, and therefore separated from their Bishops, because they were so far from indulging them in their humour of setting up more images in their churches, that they pulled down those which were already there; it seems, that though the English had in their churches the pictures of saints, and representations of the sacred history, they had no graven or molten images, nor paid any sort of adoration to them, till they were here introduced by the Normans after the Conquest: then indeed there were images set up in churches, and the people were taught to light candles before them, to creep to them, and kneel before them, to kiss and deck them with gay garments, and to pray and offer to them. They had images in the body of the church, and the image of the saint to

whom the church was dedicated, in the high chancel over the high altar, besides the image of Christ on the cross called the *roode*, or the rood ^k *Mary* and *John*, because, I suppose, of the carved images of the blessed Virgin and that disciple standing at the bottom of the cross, as they are commonly pictured. These images were solemnly blessed by a prayer to God, in which it was rehearsed, that, "he did not condemn the carving or painting the images of his saints; and he was prayed to bless and sanctify that particular image, and to grant, that whosoever shall humbly kneel before it, and desire to worship and honour the saint represented by it, may by that saint's merits and attainments obtain from him grace for the present, and eternal glory for the future." After which the images were sprinkled with holy water. To these images, their altars, and the lights burning before them^l, legacies used to be left; these were sometimes in money, *viz.* two pence, four pence, six pence, eight pence, &c. sometimes wax, barley, &c. Legacies were likewise left to purchase palls for the several altars, and towels, &c. for the roode. To persuade the common people, that the saints were personally present with these their images, or however with some of them, the images were so contrived as to move their eyes, &c. and to seem to change their countenances, to weep, smile, &c. witness the crucifix commonly called the *roode of grace*, at Boxley in Kent, "which," according to Mr. Lambard's description of it, "was able to bow down and lift up itself, to shake and stir the hands and feet, to nod the head, to roll the eyes, to wag the chops, to bend the brows, and finally to re-

CHAP.
III.

Lynwood's
Provinc. p.
252, 253.

Rituale Ro-
manum.

History, &c.
of the Isle
of Tenet, p.
81, 85, 41,
45, 62, 100,
115.

Perambula-
tion of
Kent, &c.
p. 228.

^k <i>Item</i> , paid a joiner in Canterbury for making the rood Mary and John, and painting the same	a. d.
	xi 0
For setting up the rood Mary and John, and for paper and thread to trusse the same	i 8

Church Book of Crundal in Kent.

^l *Lego ymagini crucifixi ibidem 6d. Item, Altari beate Marie 6d. Item, ymagini Katherine ibidem 8d. Ut. Test. Alice Poccoke de St. Nicolao in Tarneto. 1396.*

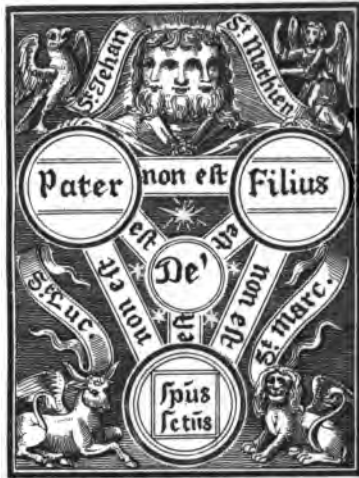
CHAP.
III.

“ present to the eye both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, express, and significant shew of a well contented, or displeasèd mind; biting the lip, and gathering a frowning, froward, and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence; and shewing a most mild, amiable, and smiling cheer and countenance, when it would seem to be well pleasèd.” All which was performed by wires, &c. as was publicly shewn at St. Paul’s, where this image was taken to pieces, before a multitude of people there assembled. Much the same account is given us by Peter de Medrano, a Spanish Jesuit, of the images of our Lady del Aviso, and of Pity, in the colleges of Lima, and Callaya in Peru, which, he says, *non semel in miraculosum sudorem, lacrymasque resolutæ sunt.* But above all, he tells us, is the miraculous image of our Lady del Rosario, the patroness of the royal city of Lima, and of the whole circuit of Peru, which is in the famous temple of the Dominicans, which, as he describes it, *sæpe refulsit auricomis solaribus radiis; atque in varios aspectus, veneratione, amore, et timore dignos, divinum vultum transmutavit:* no doubt of it, by the same miracle that the roode of grace changed its countenance, and either looked cross or pleasant, as its keepers were pleasèd or displeasèd with the offerings of its superstitious worshippers.

Rosetum
Theologi-
cum Scho-
lasticum,
&c. Hispal.
1702. p.
311.

20. They had likewise images of the Holy Trinity, two of which I have represented in the adjoining plate, taken from the Salisbury Primer. All which the followers of Wiclif condemnèd as savouring of idolatry^m. Thus they

^m In how great peril of idolatry the members of the Romish communion are, or they who join in the religious service of that corrupt Church, appears very plain from the following rubric, in the canon of the mass in the Manual after the use of Sarum, printed at Antwerp, 1542.—*Hic erigat sacerdos manus et jungat, et postea tergat digitos et elevet hostiam parumper; ita quod videatur a populo, et sic debet tenere quosque dixerit verba consecrationis; quia si ante consecrationem elevetur et populo ostendatur, sicut fatui sacerdotes, faciunt populum idololatrare adorando panem purum tanquam corpus Christi.*—But now the words of consecration are orderèd to be pronouncèd secretly, so that it is impossibël for the people to know whether the bread be consecrated or not.



expressed themselves in a little book which they presented to the Parliament 18 Richard II. A. D. 1394. "The prayers and offerings made to blind crosses or roodyes, and deaf images of wood and stone, are near akin to ydolatry, and far from charity. And although those prohibited and imaginary things are a book of error to the lay people, the usual image of the Trinity is most abominable." From hence they inferred, that "the service of the cross performed twice a year in the Church of England is full of ydolatrie." They added, that, "if those nails with which Christ was fastened to the cross, and the spear which pierced his side, ought to be so highly honoured as they were, then should the lips of Judas, which kissed Christ, if one could have them, be very good reliques." What they called the *usual image* of the Trinity, is the first of these two figures, where the three divine Persons are represented by a man's face seen in a prism, where it appears treble. Now it was pretended, that, "the catholike Church hath alwayes, even from the begynnyng, put greate difference betweene an *idol* and an *image*, utterly abhorryng and detesting the one, and devoutly and godly receyuinge and allowing the other. Since, the origynalls, first formes and patternes of idoles, to represent by are very untrue and clerely false; whereas the originals, first formes, or paternes of the ymages to represent the very thing signified by them, are faithful and true." But if this distinction be allowed, this representation of the holy Trinity^o must be an *idol*, since

CHAP.
III.

Life of Dr.
John Wiclif,
p. 340.

Bp. Bon-
ner's profit-
able and ne-
cessary Doc-
trine, &c.
1555.

^a That of one head with three faces, or one body with three heads, Molanus saith, is much more common than the other, and is wont to be set before the office of the holy Trinity. It seems as if the famous Dr. Michael Servetus had this image in his thoughts, when he styled the Trinity a three-headed Cerberus.

^o It were better for them, the Papists, to erect altars to an unknown God, than to make those *absurd, scandalous, and horrible representations* of the mysteries of the Trinity; from whence some of the Anti-trinitarians have taken occasion to expose that sacred mystery to scorn and contempt, and have published a book on purpose to set forth the images of the Trinity, which are publicly seen and allowed in the Roman Church.—Molanus and Thyraus men-

CHAP. III. no one dares to say, that this is a faithful and true representation of the divine originals. But to proceed:

21. The *service of the cross*, here mentioned as performed twice a year, is that done on the two festivals of the *invention* and *exaltation* of the holy cross, viz. on May 3, and September 14; on which, according to the present Roman Breviary, the cross is invocated to save the present congregation that day assembled in his praises.

Life of Dr. Wiclif, &c. p. 175.

22. Dr. Wiclif himself thought, that "though images which truly represented the poverty and passion of Jesus Christ, and other saints, were lawful, and the books of ignorant men; and might be worshipped in a manner, as for signs of saints, or as books of ignorant men, or as a wife keepeth cheerly her wedding ring for love of her husband; yet false images that represented worldly pride and glory, as if Christ and other saints had lived thus, and deserved bliss by pomp and glory of the world, were false books, and to be amended or burnt as books of open heresy, against the Christian faith; that to worship them as Christ or his saints was plain idolatry; that neither Christ nor his Apostles commanded nor counselled such images to be made; and, that if simple or ignorant people did idolatry by them, in placing their hope or trust in them, or giving the honour to them that is due to God alone, as swearing by them, or offering to them, they should be broken or burnt."

Repressour, p. ii. c. 2.

23. Bishop Pecock in justifying this governance, and shewing, that the lay people *over-myche and untreuly* blamed the Clergy, on account of the having and using of images, no way pretended to plead for the costly adorning of them, and the offerings made to them, or for people's giving the honour to them, that is due to God only. So far from it, that he owns "rebuke is given in Scripture to men which taken and holden graven images to be their

tion *four* sorts of images of the Trinity that have been used in the Roman Church. They might, if they had pleased, have mentioned near as many more. See Pilgrimage of Perfection, printed by de Worde, 1531. *Missa Romanum*, Antwerp, MDCCL.

“ gods ; that Salomon was so miche * foned, masid, and CHAP.
 “ dotid, that he worschipped those ydolis as gods ; that III.
 “ ymagis mowe leefulli be broke, whan thei ben usid in * befooled:
 “ ydolatrie irremediabli, for so it was in the caas of the
 “ brasen serpent in the time of Ezechie ; that, at the
 “ leeste, ymagis mowe leefulli be broken whanne more
 “ harme irremediabli cometh by the havvng and using of
 “ them, than is all the good which cometh bi the havvng
 “ and using of them ; that more than this cometh not forth
 “ by this proces of Ezechie iiiii. Reg. xviii. and, that there-
 “ fore the proces is over feble, for to † wærne ymagis to be † warn.
 “ had and usid whanne thei ben had and usid without
 “ ydolatrie, or with ydolatrie remediable, or with other
 “ harm remediable, nameliche lasse than is the good com-
 “ yng bi the uce of the ymagis.” “ Now ydolatrie,” the Bi-
 “ shop observed, “ was never doon save whanne a man took
 “ a creature for his God, and worschiped thilk creature as
 “ for his God. But so saith he, no person dooth in these
 “ daies aboute the ymagis had and usid in the chirche,
 “ afir that the man is come into yeeris of discretioun, and
 “ is passid childhoode, and which is not a natural foole.
 “ As to the othir objections against the use of ymagis, viz.
 “ that the peple trowen or beleeven summe wrong and
 “ untrewen opiniouns by occasion of ymagis, as, that sum
 “ godli vertue is in the ymagis, or, that tho ymagis doon
 “ myraclis, or that thei ben † quyk, and seen, heeren, or † alive.
 “ speken at sum while, or that thei sweten at sum while ;
 “ that ymagis ben occasiouns of sume moral vicis in the
 “ peple, as of over myche worschiping doon to them, of
 “ pride, or of covetise, or of suche othere :” These his
 Lordship reckoned *remediable harms*, and therefore not
 sufficient for to reprove and weern the said having and using
 of images. He therefore maintained, that “ the having
 “ and setting up of ymagis in churchis, and the using of
 “ them as rememoratif or mynding signes is not reprovèd
 “ by eny ground of feith ; that is to seie, not bi holi Scrip-
 “ ture, neither bi long use of the churchis bilieving, nei-
 “ thir by eny miraculouse therto of God’s wirching. And

GHAP. " concluded, that the agenseiers hereof werte to be † reiaint-
 III. " ed, and rebukid as nyce, foned, waful, wantoun, acisme
 † chidden. " sowers, and disturblers of the peple, in maters which
 " thei mowe never her entent bring about."

24. By this we may see, that so far were our Bishop and the Wiclifists agreed, that images were not in themselves absolutely unlawful, but that they might be honoured and respected as the signs and memorials of those we regarded or esteemed. They differed in their notions of idolatry, and consequently in the reasons for removing and abolishing them. The Bishop thought, that idolatry consisted in *taking a creature for God, and worshipping that creature for his God*, a fancy, that, our Bishop truly observes, no man can entertain that is not a natural fool. Even the heathens, *who changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible men*, were not such fools as to take that corruptible image for the *incorruptible* God. Thus Celsus: *Who but an utter fool believes these images to be gods, and not their ιωθήματα and ἀγάλματα, or statues dedicated to them?* Whereas Dr. Wiclif's notion of idolatry was, that it is setting hope or putting trust in images, or giving the honour to them that is due to God alone, as swearing by them, and offering to them; and this he thought a sufficient reason for the destroying of images. " *If,*" says he, "*Ezechie the*
 "*blessid king brak the brusene serpent commawndid of*
 "*God to be maid, for, or because, the puple gaf to it in-*
 "*cense and onour due to God alone, as it is open in the*
 "*iiii boke of Kingis, the xviii chap. how moche more a*
 "*Cristene King, with assent of his Lordis and trowe*
 "*Clergie, shuld breke or brenne doumbe idolis — if the*
 "*simple puple doth idolatrie by them, in settiuge hope in*
 "*them?"* &c. Our Bishop does not deny, but that very wrong and false opinions were entertained by the people of these images; as, that there was some godly virtue in them, that they did miracles, that they were alive, and did see, hear, or speak at some certain times, and sometimes did sweat. Nay, he seems to allow, that images

Bp. Stillingfleet's
 Idolatry of
 the Church
 of Rome.

Life of Dr.
 Wiclif, p.
 175.

were the occasions of some moral vices in the people, as of their overmuch worshipping them, of pride, and of covetousness. Of these things Dr. Wiclif, &c. much complained. That poor men were spoiled with unjust axings, or tallages, oppressions, extortions or other frauds, to maintain the costly honour paid to these images; that by them the works of mercy were cruelly withdrawn from needy men; nay, that the Clergy enjoined, as penance, men's offering to certain images, for their winning or advantage, or to maintain their pride and covetousness. But nothing less in our Bishop's opinion was sufficient to justify the breaking or destroying them than the worshipping them as God. But certainly if covetousness, or a trusting in uncertain riches, a making gold our hope, or the fine gold our confidence, be idolatry, as the Apostle of the Gentiles expressly affirms, one would think our trusting in any images of Christ or his saints, our making them our hope and confidence, though we no more took them for the incorruptible God, than we believed our riches to be so, should be properly idolatry. Now what greater sign could the people give of their trusting in images, and placing their hope and confidence in them, and by so doing, giving that honour to *them* that is due to God only, than their believing a divine virtue in them, and, that miracles were often wrought by them? This was being like even the heathens themselves, or however the wiser sort of them, who, though they denied that they ever thought their images to be very gods, *per se deos*; yet fancied that by consecration the gods were brought into them, and dwelt in them, and that there *they* worshipped them. But to proceed:

CHAP.
III.

Ibid. p. 175.

Great Sentence of
Curse expounded, c.
6. MS.

Arnobius
con. Gen-
tes, lib. vi.

25. The *second* principal governance——“of which many of the layte overmyche witten the Clergie,” the Bishop observed, was this, “that *pilgrimagis* to dyverse bodies and bonys of seintis be maad, and also ben maad to ymagis of Crist crucified, and of Marie, and of othere seintis, and nameliche for that *pilgrimagis* ben maad into summe placis more in which ben the ymagis of the

Repressour,
part ii. c. 7,
8.

CHAP. III. " crucifex, and of Marie, and of the seintis, than into
" summe othere placis, in which ben like ymagis of the

" crucifix, and of Marie, and of the same othere seintis."

The practice of going in pilgrimage to Jerusalem seems to have been new in the fourth century, when Gregory Nyssen, about the latter end of it, in a learned epistle dissuaded Christians from going thither on that errand, telling them, that the Lord had not reckoned going to Jerusalem among those good deeds which direct us to attain to the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven. To the same purpose St. Chrysostom; To obtain pardon of our sins, says he, there is no occasion of travelling far in pilgrimages, and going to the most distant nations. Here in England about the beginning of the eighth century, an odd and surprising opinion of the holiness and merit of pilgrimages to Rome very much prevailed, and became very fashionable, insomuch that the English of all ranks and degrees, of every sex and age travelled to Rome, and placed a mighty confidence in visiting the tombs of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, &c. The consequence of which was,

A. D. 870.
Bp. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, part ii. b. 2.

Dr. Inett's History of the English Church, vol. i. p. 148.

about 750.

Edit. Photomag. 1554.

that as Boniface Archbishop of Mentz wrote to Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury, there were few cities in Lombardy, France, or Gaul, in which there were not to be found some lewd women of the English nation. For which reason he recommends to him the suppression of this practice, as of a very scandalous and ill consequence. But this humour finding encouragement on account of the profit arising by the offerings made to the holy places and images which the pilgrims visited, a service or order was composed for them in particular, which was inserted in the Salisbury Manual. First of all the pilgrims were to be confessed of all their sins; then they were to prostrate themselves before the altar, and to have said over them the psalms and prayers there appointed; the pilgrims were then to stand up, and the Priest was to bless their satchels or srips, and staves, praying to God, that he would vouchsafe to sanctify and bless them, that whoever for the love of his name should put that satchel to his

side, or hang it about his neck, or carry that staff in his hands, and thus going on pilgrimage, should with an humble devotion desire to obtain the suffrages of the saints, might be protected by the defence of his right hand, and deserve to come to the joys of the eternal mansion. And then sprinkling holy water on the satchels and staves, putting the satchel about each of the pilgrims necks, and delivering the staves into their hands, with a set form of words for the purpose. If any of the pilgrims were a going to Hierusalem, they were to have their garments marked with a cross, and the crosses to be blessed and sprinkled with holy water, and the garment so marked was to be delivered to every one of the pilgrims, with a set form of words for the purpose. All which being ended, a mass was said for their good journey.

26. The Popes finding these pilgrimages likely to turn to account, it was ordained, A. D. 1188, that whatever clerk or laick took the cross, he should be freed and Pabsolved from all the sins which he had repented of and con-

¶ This is the first mention which we have made of these indulgences in any of our English Constitutions. The Council of Trent having left the nature of an indulgence undefined, there are various opinions of it; but it is allowed, that the safest to follow and easiest to defend is this: that, "an indulgence is a remission, in part, or in whole, of the temporal pains imposed on sinners by their Confessors, according to the judgment of their discretion, or which might have been imposed on them, according to the canons of the Church: and by the usual style of an indulgence of forty days, is meant, according to them, a remission of the penalties imposed by the canons on offenders, or an indulgence of the several periods of time to do penance for several sins."

But these are the softening of the English Popish missionaries, since the detection of the fraud of this superstition at the Reformation, and since. It is very plain by the English rubrics printed in the *Hore beatissime Virginis Marie*, 1527, that by these *indulgences* was then pretended to be granted a *clene remission of all synnes perpetually enduring*; and ten hundred thousand yers of pardon for *dedly synnes* graunted of our holy Father Jhonn XXII. Pope of Rome: and *thousands of yers of pardon for venial synnes*. By another of these rubrics we are assured, that *who that devoutly with a contrite heart daily say this oryson, w^{ch} he be that day in the state of eternal damnacyon, than thys eternal payne shall be chaunged hym in temporal payne of purgatory; than w^{ch} he hath deserved the payne of purgatory, it shall be forgotten and forgyuen throwe the infinite mercy of God.*

CHAP.
III.St. Marie de
la Peyte.John Pur-
ney's Pro-
logue, &c.
MS.Speculum
Parvulo-
rum, lib. v.
c. 27.
apud Whar-
ton Angl.
sac. vol. ii.

fessed. And to improve the trade, some particular images were preferred to others as of more especial virtue and holiness, and to which therefore the prayers that were made were more meritorious. Thus among the prayers of St. Bridget, in the Salisbury Primer, are some prayers with this rubric prefixed to them: *Whosoever, being in a state of grace, shall say devoutly the following prayers with one Pater-noster, and as many Ave-maries, before the ymage of Pitie, he shall deserve or merit fifty-six thousand years of indulgences; which were granted by three Popes, viz. 1. by Pope Gregory⁹, xiiii thousand; 2. by Pope Nicholas V. xiiii thousand, A. D. 1459; 3. by Pope Sixtus IV. who also composed four prayers of the following suffrages, xxviii thousand, and A. D. 1478, doubled these indulgences.* The saints which seem to have been most in vogue here in England, were our Lady of Walsingham^r, St. Edward, and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and to their images and shrines was the greatest resort of pilgrims. However, even at the very height of these follies, there were some, and they too of no inferior character, who shewed their dislike of these superstitious follies. Thus the author of *the Looking-glass for little Children* tells us, that A. D. 1381, "in the fourth jubilee of the most famous martyr St. Thomas, the people from every place flocked to Canterbury, *magno cordis affectu, et desiderio*; and, that at the same time, on the vigil of the foresaid translation, it happened, that the venerable father, the Lord Simon de Suthberi, then Bishop of London, was travelling towards Canterbury, who being misled by the spirit of error, positively assured the people that were going on pilgrimage thither,

⁹ By there being no year mentioned here when Pope Gregory granted this indulgence, it seems as if the maker of this rubric did not know to which of the Gregories to ascribe it, or rather, that he was willing it should be believed that it was Pope Gregory I. But the last of the Gregories lived 1406, which indeed seems to be the date of the rise of these extravagant follies.

^r Celeberrimum nomen est per universam Angliam, nec temere reperias in ea insula qui speret res suas fore salvas, quin illam quotannis aliquo munusculo pro facultatum modulo salutarit. *Erasmii Peregrinatio Religionis ergo.*

“ that the plenary indulgence which they hoped for at
 “ Canterbury was of no profit or value : on which many
 “ of the crowd, with their eyes cast down to the ground,
 “ stood amazed at the sayings of so great a father ; some
 “ went back again ; others with loud voices cursed the
 “ Bishop to his face, saying and wishing, that he might
 “ die a base and shameful death, who was not afraid to do
 “ so great an injury to the glorious martyr. A Kentish
 “ knight also, whose name the writer thinks was Sir Tho-
 “ mas de Aldoun, being moved with anger, came up to the
 “ Bishop, and said to him, My Lord Bishop, because you
 “ have raised such a sedition among the people against St.
 “ Thomas, on pain of my life, or at the peril of my soul^s,
 “ you shall die a shameful death ; to which all the people
 “ cried *amen, amen*. Accordingly, in the reign of Richard
 “ II. he was beheaded by the mob that rose under Wat-
 “ Tyler and Jack Straw, that the voice of the people, saith
 “ the writer of this story, *i. e.* the voice of God, as it was
 “ foretold, might in due time be fulfilled. This story is
 “ therefore told, as the writer of it informs us, to make
 “ others afraid of opposing the Papal indulgences, and ter-
 “ rifying the minds of devout pilgrims.”

27. It was about the same time, that Dr. Wiclif op-
 posed the granting these *indulgences*, and the practice of
 pilgrimages. He observed of the first of these, that “ this Life of Dr.
 “ pardon is forgiveness or remission of sins when men are Wiclif, p.
 “ verily contrite for all their sins, by virtue of Christ’s 169, &c.
 “ passion and martyrdom, and holy merit of saints, that
 “ they did more than was needful for their own salva-
 “ tion : That this was never taught in all the Gospel, and
 “ never used by Peter nor Paul, nor any other Apostle of
 “ Christ’s : That all men that are in charity are partakers
 “ of Christ’s passion, and of all good deeds from the be-
 “ ginning of the world to the end thereof, by the most
 “ righteous dealing of Jesus Christ, as far as it is right ;

^s This was in those times a form of swearing—*Juramentum est quando aliquis dicit, Periculo animæ sum.* Lyndwood, *Provin.* p. 110.

CHAP.
III.

“ and, that more shall no man have, for any grant of any
 “ creature of God: That if the day of judgment come,
 “ before these thousands of years are expired, then these
 “ pardons are false, since after the judgment shall be
 “ no purgatory: That the Pope and his creatures are
 “ out of charity, if there dwell any soul in purgatory, for
 “ he may with full heart, without any cost deliver them
 “ out of purgatory, and they are able to receive such help,
 “ since they are in grace: That these pardons go not for
 “ charity, but for worldly dirt, as it seems; since if pardon
 “ should be granted, it should be granted for to make
 “ peace and charity, and not for to make dissension and
 “ wars, and Christian men to slay their brethren: That if
 “ this pardon be an heavenly and spiritual gift, it should
 “ be given freely, as Christ teacheth in the Gospel, and
 “ not for money, nor worldly goods, nor fleshly favour:
 “ whereas if a rich man would buy dearly the bull, he
 “ shall have a bull of pardon with thousands of years,
 “ though he be cursed of God for his sinful life; and a
 “ poor bedrid man that hath no money, and cannot tra-
 “ vel to Rome, or to such another place, he shall have
 “ no pardon of the Pope, though he be holy and full of
 “ charity: That this feigned pardon foully deceived many
 “ Christian men, and robbed them cursedly of their money;
 “ for rich men trust to flee to heaven thereby without
 “ pain, and therefore dread sin the less, and little is said
 “ of true contrition and of leaving of sin, and of doing
 “ alms to most needy men. He therefore concluded, that
 “ this feigned pardon is a subtil merchandize of Anti-
 “ christ’s clerks, to magnify their pretended power, to get
 “ worldly goods, and to make men not dread sin, but
 “ securely to wallow therein as hogs.”

Life of Dr.
Wiclif, p.
176.

28. As to the going on *pilgrimages*, the Doctor said,
 “ that, though it might be allowed, that sick men go a pil-
 “ grimage in the realm, in visiting the places of saints to
 “ avoid sins, and to give goods to needy men, so that they
 “ set not hope of health in the aforesaid images, nor leave
 “ the works of mercy in relation to poor men, which

“ Christ commanded under the pain of everlasting damnation: Nevertheless to go a pilgrimage, and visit such places in set hope of health in dumb idols, or in images made with man’s hands, in offering to the images, or to rich men of the world, the alms-deeds that are due to poor men by the command of Christ, was utterly unlawful, an open sign of idolatry, and a spoiling and slaying of poor men, and apostasy or going back from the Christian faith.”

On the whole he concluded, that, “ by such *images* and *foolish pilgrimages*, the works of mercy were cruelly withdrawn from needy men, and the common people were needlessly and unprofitably occupied and engaged in sins, and proud clergymen and religious were set, so high, that they neither know God nor themselves, nor secular lords duly, or as they ought to know them nor their poor neighbours mercifully.”

But in the year 1408, Archbishop Arundel made a constitution, that nobody should presume privately or publicly to dispute the determinations of provincial councils, &c. or teach contrary to them, especially about the adoration of the glorious cross, the worship of the images of the saints, or the pilgrimages to their places, or reliques, &c. under the pain of incurring the penalties of heresy and relapse.

Lyndwood,
Provinc. p.
298.

29. Thus stood this matter in our Bishop’s time, who in justifying this usage of *pilgrimages* proceeded by these following conclusions. First, that “ holi Scripture weerneth not, neither reproveth suche now seid pilgrymagis to be don: That doom of kindeli weel disposid resoun weerneth not, and lettith not bodili pilgrymagis to be donin the maner now bifore seid: That pilgrymagis are not unleeiful, but leeiful: That holi Scripture allowith, that pilgrymagis be doon—For whi, withoute rememoratiff signes of a thing or of thingis, the rememoracion or the remembraunce of thilk thing or thingis must needis be the febler. And therefore sithin the bodi, or the bonis, or the relikis of eny person is a ful wyg rememoratiff

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“signe of the same person; it is ful resonable and ful
 “worthi, that where the bodi or bonis, or eny releef or
 “relick of a saint mai be had, that it be sett up in a co-
 “moun place, to which peple may have her devout neiging
 “and accesse, for to have her devout biholding therupon
 “for to make the seid therbi remembraunce. And ferther,
 “sithin it is not resonable and convenient, that suche bo-
 “dies or bonis or relikis be left withoute in the bair feeld,
 “and that bothe for it were agens the eese of the peple,
 “which schulde come therto in reyny and wyndi wedris,
 “and for that thei myghten thanne be take away bi
 “wicked men not dreding God; therfore it is ful reson-
 “able and worthy for to bilde over the bodies and bonis
 “and othere relikis chapellis, or chirchis, yhe and for to
 * quires. “bilde besidis hem auter and *queris, that the office of
 “praising God, and of praiyng to God and to seintis be in
 “the better forme doon ——— Resoun wole and allowith
 “and approuth nedis, that men visite and haunte, *for the*
 “*seid eende of solempne remembrauncing*, tho placis and
 “tho ymagis whiche it is sure God to chese into the seid
 “eende, and by the seid evydencis of miraculis doing.——
 “But so it is, that suche seid visiting and hauntyng into
 “the seid eende is not ellis than pilgrimage. Wherefore
 “resoun wole, jugith, allowith and approuth pilgrimagis
 “to be doon.” In all which reasoning, we may observe,
 the Bishop says not a word of people’s visiting the relics
 and images of the saints to obtain the benefit of indul-
 gences, or in set or firm hope or trust of health or salvation
 in them, or to make their offerings to them, which were
 the ends of pilgrimage which Dr. Wiclif opposed. The
 same may be observed of our Bishop’s answers to the
 objections made by the Wiclifists against images and pil-
 grimages.

30. It seems by the Wiclifists’ objections, that they
 went farther in their opposition to *images* than Dr. Wiclif
 had done, since they were against their being thought at
 all lawful, or even for rememorative signs, or the books of
 ignorant men. Thus the Bishop represents their arguings :

“ There is no occasion for either images or pilgrimages to
 “ awaken men’s remembrance, so long as Scripture, and
 “ saint-lives, and other devout treatises may sufficiently
 “ answer that purpose: That if Bishops and Priests were
 “ but more constant and diligent in preaching and other-
 “ wise instructing and exhorting the people, there would
 “ be no need of images or pilgrimages to stir up their re-
 “ membrance: That every *living* man is a better repre-
 “ sentation of Christ or of the saints than dead *images*:
 “ That the Devil hath sometimes deceived the worshippers
 “ of images, as is plain from the legend of Bartholomew,
 “ where it is said, that *the feend, which was in a famos*
 “ *ymage in a temple, made the peple siik in her bodies,*
 “ *that thei schulden come bifore him in pilgrimage, and*
 “ ** prie, and thanne he wolde make hem hool; and herbi* ^{pray.}
 “ *he drowe the peple into mysbileeve and myslyvyng*: That
 “ images and pilgrimages are the occasions of much sin;
 “ that the time and pains and costs laid out upon images
 “ and pilgrimages might be more usefully spent in much
 “ better services, as relieving the poor, instructing the
 “ ignorant, reading, hearing, &c. That St. Paul cautions
 “ us against vain philosophy and human wisdom: That if
 “ a man must go in pilgrimage, why must it be done open-
 “ ly, except for vain-glory? *Also what skille is thereto,*
 “ *that he bere openli by stretis an ymage of wex, or of † tre † wood.*
 “ *for to offre it up at the place of pilgrimage, and for to*
 “ *lete it abide there contynuelly after him?* That Joshua
 “ commanded the people to put away all strange gods:
 “ That the Jews had much more sense than Christian
 “ children of ten year old, and so also had the heathens a
 “ great deal of excellent sense; yet both these fell into
 “ gross idolatry in the use of images; how then shall
 “ Christian people, the ignorant especially, avoid the like
 “ snare while they use images? That to pray to any crea-
 “ ture for such favours and blessings as can come from
 “ God only, is plainly idolatry; yet such prayers are of-
 “ fered up to the cross, both by Clergy and people, as is
 “ manifest from the Church-offices, particularly the hymn

CHAP.
III.Breviarium
Romanum,
pars vern.
p. 298.

“ *Vexilla regis prodeunt, &c.* which is appointed to be said
 “ on the *Saturday* before *Passion Sunday*; the response,
 “ *O crux viride lignum, &c.* at the first evening song on
 “ the feast of the *Invention of the Cross*; and the anthem,
 “ *O crux splendidior, &c.* sung at the same festival; the
 “ anthem *Cruce fidelis, &c.* sung at the second evening
 “ song of the *Exaltation of the Cross*, and the sequence, *O*
 “ *Christe, &c.* at the same feast. That to use such cere-
 “ monies, salutations, prostrations, &c. towards a creature,
 “ as are proper to God alone, is making a God of the crea-
 “ ture; but such are those that have been customarily used
 “ towards the cross: Thus in *eeldir daies whanne pro-*
 “ *cession was maad in the Palme-Sunday, before masse,*
 “ *the Eucharist was not brougt forth, that the processioun*
 “ *of the Clerkis and of the lay peple schulde meete with*
 “ *him, but a baar uncoverid crosse was brougt forth*
 “ *agens the processioun, that the processioun schulde meete*
 “ *agens it, as y have red in diverse oolde ordinalis of ca-*
 “ *thedrale chirchis, and of monasteries in Ynglond: (thoug*
 “ *in latir daies, and namelich in summe chirchis, the Eu-*
 “ *karist is born forth, and the processioun meetith with the*
 “ *Eukarist born in a chest among relikis, and in many*
 “ *placis he is born in a coupe ordayned thereto.) In tho*
 “ *daies, and in tho placis whanne and where the proces-*
 “ *sioun mette in Palme-Sunday, with the nakid crosse, or*
 “ *with the chest of relikis withoute the Eukarist, summe*
 “ *of the Clerkis were ordeyned for to stonde bifore the seid*
 “ *crosse, and for to turne hem toward the processioun, and*
 “ *seie in singing to al the Clergie and peple thus, Lo the*
 “ *Kynge mylde and meke, &c.—And thanne thus seid and*
 “ *sungun fro the Clerkis, in the crossis bihelve, to the*
 “ *Prestis and lay peple in processioun, the Priestis and*
 “ *peple fillen down, kneeling with alle her knees to the*
 “ *grounde, seying or singing, or in both maners, toward*
 “ *the seid discouered crosse thus: Heil thou whom the*
 “ *peple of Hebrees meeting witnesseth to be Jesus:*
 “ *Lastly, it was objected, that to whatever thing men*
 “ *offren in * lougist wise coming toward it bi creping,*

* lowest.

“ and whos feet thei kissen in devoutist maner thei kunnen
 “ think thing thei taken for her souereynest and highest Lord
 “ —But so it is, that to the crosse in Good Fridai, men
 “ comen in lougest wise creeping on alle her knees, and to
 “ this crosse in so louge and devout maner thei offren,
 “ and the feet of thilk crosse thei in devoutist maner
 “ kissen, &c.”

31. To the objections of the Wiclifists against images, going on pilgrimages, and offering to them, our Bishop thus replies. First, he observed, that hearing and reading, though good means, are not sufficient without rememorative signs, which are more lively, strong and affecting, and do that at once, and with less labour or pain, which the reading whole volumes can scarce effect. Besides, that many cannot read at all, and at the best, reading and hearing alone leave but faint and dull and transient impressions, and convey a great deal less to the mind than a visible representation and reading both together. Christ added visible Sacraments to supply the defect of mere reading or hearing, so necessary was it to have something visible added to the other. *For*, says his Lordship, *to soone and ofte come into remembraunce of a long mater bi ech oon persoon, and also as for to make that the mo persoones come into remembraunce of a mater, ymagis and picturis serven in a specialer maner than bokis doon, tho' in another maner ful substanciali bokis serven bettir into remembrauncing of the same materis than ymagis and picturis doon* —*Marke whoso whole in his mynde all the bokis whiche been in London writun upon Seint Katheryns liif and passiouns, and y dare weel seie, that thoug ther were x thousand mo bokis writun in Londoun in thilk day of the same seintis liif and passioun, thei schulden not so moche turne the citee into mynde of the holi famose liif of Seint Kateryn, and of her dignitee in which sche now is, as dooth in each yeer the going of peple in pilgrimage to the college of Seint Kateryn bisidis Londoun. As y dare* juxta Turrim. *outte this into judgment of whomever hath seen the pilgrimage doon in the vigil of Seint Kateryn bi persoones* Nov. 24.

of Londoun to the seid college. Wherfore rigt greet special commodities and profitis into remembrance making ymagis and pilgrimagis han and doon, whiche writing is not so han and doon. His Lordship added,

That the Clergy are not bound, neither can they be always intent upon the office of instructing the people; that they have their health and their studies, their maintenance and several other private affairs to look after; that when they have done their utmost, it will not amount to so much as *that*, and the other means both together :

That a living man does not represent Christ as hanging on a cross, stripped, wounded, scourged, or the like, and therefore is not a competent representation :

That it does not appear, that the Devil has any thing to do with the images of the Church, and that the case is very different; for the people, of whom the legend speaks, took the image for their God, and were justly deceived by the Devil. Whereas Christian people use the images as signs only or tokens of God :

That many other good things are the occasions of much sin, as well as images and pilgrimages; but that they are not therefore to be laid aside, or not used, but the abuses of them to be corrected or prevented :

That to argue, that the pains and costs, &c. spent on images and pilgrimages, might be better employed, is to fill men with endless scruples; since if we are never to do any good work, till we are sure that we might not in the same time do better, we may possibly sit still and do no good work at all. It is sufficient that the thing be good, though in a lower way, and that a man employs himself either in the higher or lower exercises, as occasion offers, and does good of all kinds :

That as to adhering only to what Scripture prescribes, &c. whatever right reason approveth God approveth, though not prescribed in Scripture; that nevertheless Scripture is not entirely silent in the present case, but has scattered some hints here and there, which favour the practice or use of images and pilgrimages : That it is not

vain philosophy, but true wisdom which introduced them, and that therefore St. Paul's caution against vain philosophy does not at all relate to them :

That carrying images openly to offer up at the place of pilgrimage, is the best way of exciting others to follow our example, and to preserve the memory of what we have done to future generations for their instruction and benefit :

That it does not follow, because Joshua commanded the people to put away all strange gods, that therefore all images must be put away, since images are not strange gods :

That neither Jews nor heathens worshipped mere images, but devils as it were incorporate in the images. *The hethen men holden her god to be bodili, and bodied in a maner which thei couthen not at fulle undirstonde ; even as we Cristen men holden now our God to be bodili and bodied in a man. And as it is trewe, that Cristen men worschipe a man for her God, but thei worscipen not so the pure manhoode in himsilf, withoute more therto sett ; so the hethen men worschipeden a ymage and a bodili graved thing for her God, but not the pure bodili graved ymage in himsilf withoute more for her God. And so these ii. thingis which Scripture seith of idolatreris stond togedere and be trewe ; that alle goddis of heathen men ben feendis ; and also, that the goddis of hethen men ben gold and silver the workis of mennis hondis.—The hethen men camen into thilk greet synne of ydolatrie bicause thei never receyveden the ffeith whiche othere men not being ydolaters in the same daies receyueden—manye also of the Jewis, whiche weren bifore sufficientli instructid in the feith of oon God, and of veri God, and in the evidencis longing therto, fellen bi her negligence fro the attendaunce whiche schulde have be gouvum bi a continuauunce to tho evidencis—But now sume what bifore the birthe of Crist, alle Jewis camen into so grete attendaunce to the evidencis of veri feith, teching oon God to be, and also aftir the passioun of Crist, hiderto in this present day, so*

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greet resoun hathe ben founde bothe of hethen men and of Jewis and of Cristen men—That a this side the passioun of Crist, was not into this present day eny ydolatrie among Jewis, neither among hethen men whiche lyven in eny notable famosse sect; or if among hethen men be eny ydolatrie, it is in ful fewe placis, among wrecched persons, not sett bi of othere hethen men. Hereof it muste nedis folowe, that nowe adaies it is not perel to Cristen men, neither to the Jewis, neither to hethen men for to have and entermete with ymagnis of God, as it was in the daies fer bifore going the incarnacioun of Crist.

32. As to the hymns, responses, &c. in the Church-offices, produced to prove that prayers are offered up to the cross, the Bishop observed, that these and the like expressions of devotion are to be taken for figures of rhetoric, and not to be soberly interpreted, understanding them not strictly of the cross, but of Christ himself upon the cross, and of saving men in and by the cross. As for example, when the Church prays, *'O cross of Christ, y prie thee helpe me and defende me, and justifi me; the dew undirstanding herof mai be this, O Crist y prie thee helpe me and justifie me bi thi crosse, as therto the helping instrument.*

33. To the two last objections, the Bishop thus answers: *All what in suche processions was seid and sungun to the crosse in eelde daies of the Chirche in Palme Sunday, was seid of Crist ymagned to be bodili present with, and in the crucifixe or crosse which the peple in processioun bihelden. And herbi git into ferther encrecing of devocioun*

*† O crux ave spes unica
Hoc passionis tempore
Pius adauge gratiam,
Reisque dele crimina.*

*Te, fons salutis trinitas,
Collaudet omnis spiritus,
Quibus crucis victoriam
Largiris, adde præmium.*

Amen.

and good affecciou, to be gendrid upon Crist, thei crepiden toward and to such an ymage of the crucifex in Good Fridai—and git ferther, into more love and good affecciou they kiseden the feet of the ymage—And this devout practise namelich in his outward deede abidith git in al the West-chirche a this side Greek-lond, however it be of the inward ymaginatif deed, whiche, as I trowe, abidith ful littil or nougt; the more harm is. And so it mai be seid, that nothing is seid and sungun to the nakid and bare crosse in processiou of Palme-Sunday, neither eny creping or of-fring, or kissing is maad to the crosse in Good Fridai; but al this is doon to Christis persoon in his manhede which is ymagined there to be in, and with the ymage crucified, heed to heed, hond to hond, foot to foot, thoug it be not trowid so to be, but thoug the contrari is trowid to be. And herbi is sufficient answeere govoun to the xiiiith and xvth argumentis togidere. Whoever schal cleerli and perfectli undirstonde the answeere whiche is now bifore made to the xiiii and xv argumentis, he schal therbi take sufficient ground for to excuse fro blame, and fro unfruytful and lewid gouernaunce alle tho whiche wolen touche with her hondis the feet and other parties, and the clothis of ymagis, and wolen thanne astir sette to her visage, and to her igen, and to her mouthis, tho her hondis with whiche in the now seid maner thei toucheden the ymagis or the clothengis of the ymagis—And sitthen what a man mai not have and do at the next and immediatli, he wole be weel paied and weel plesid for to have it mediatly, that is to seie, for to have it arome, and bi a meene it folewith, that it is coveitable to a man for to gete to him, and to have unto his visage, or igen, or mouth, the touche of Cristis feet, or of his mouth, or of his hond, or breste, bi meene of the touche whiche the hond gittith fro hem, and upon hem immediatli.

34. To there being some special virtue in some images above others, and the making pilgrimages to some places for the sake of these images rather than to others, it was objected by the Wiclifists, that God is present every

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where, ready to shed or pour forth his gifts and graces, *wherefore it was vain, waast, and idil, for to trotte to Walsingham rather then to ech other place in which a ymage of Marie is, and to the rode of the^a north-dore at London, rather than to ech other rood in whatever place it be*; that Christ's discourse with the woman of Samaria witnesseth, that God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and that his worship is not to be confined to this or that place. To these arguments the Bishop replies to this effect; that it is not true, that all places are alike in God's sight, since God often chooses to dispense his favours in one place rather than in another, and in the manner of his own approving, rather than in another of man's devising; and has pointed out the places, or the images, which he most accepts by his miracles wrought in them: That the Samaritans worshipped God as a bodily thing, and so not in *spirit*, or not as *a pure spirit*, and by *idolatry*, and so *not in truth*. Wherefore Christ's caution affects not the use of images under the rules before laid down; and as to his saying, that neither upon this mountain Gerizim, nor in Jerusalem, the time would come, that they should not there worship the Father, it was no more than a prophecy of the destruction of that city and country by the Romans.

35. The Bishop concludes this his discourse of *images* and *pilgrimages* with the following wise and excellent advice. That though he had said, as he thought, sufficient to justify the use of images and pilgrimages, especially to such as cannot read or hear the word of God, yet he would not advise any, *to haunte as it were alwey, the exercise in such visible signes whanne thei coveten to be maad spiritual, sweet, and devoute with God, and strong for to do and suffre for him. Neither, that haunte so miche, or so ofte the uce of suche visible signes, that thilk haunte and uce lette hem from uce of a better exercise;—speciall, that thei not drenche al the leiser which tho men migten and*

^a Towards the great north door was a crucifix, whereunto pilgrimages and offerings were frequently made, whereof the Dean and Canons had the benefit. *Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 92. ed. 1716.

schulden have for to recde or heere the word of God.— **CHAP. III.**
For certis how the sunne passith in cleernes, sheerte, and coumfort the moone; and as a greet torche passith a litil candel; so in these seid pointis, reding and heering in Goddis word, which is an exercise in hereable signs govum to us fro God, passith in cleernes of teaching, and in cheerte of deliit, and in coumfort of strengthe-geving for to do and suffre for God in his lawe-kepeing, al the exercise had, or whiche can be had, in suche nowe bifoeseid visible signs devised bi man.

36. The next governance of the Church which the Bishop here vindicates is, *the possessions of the Clergy*, or rather those of the Pope, since his whole defence consists of a confutation of that fiction, that the Emperor Constantine founded and endowed the Church of Rome. Thus our John of Salisbury in the reign of Henry II. contended, *A. D. 1179.* that all the isles, and consequently Ireland, belonged to the Roman Church of ancient right, by the donation of Constantine, who founded and endowed that Church. To the same purpose Marsilius de Padua, that Constantine in the seventh year of his reign changed the seat of his empire, going himself to Constantinople, and committing Rome to Sylvester the then Pope, and to his successors. *A. D. 1324.* Dr. Wiclif seems to have been of the same opinion; *Before Cæsar*, says he, *endowed the Church of Rome, no one took this honour of priesthood upon him, unless he was called of God.* So in another place, *“The angel said full sothe, when the Church was dowed, that this day is venom shed into the Church.* In the same manner our poet Chaucer refers to this fable as then a current opinion. Laurentius Vallensis about 1440 wrote a book which he entitled, *Of the false Donation of Constantine.* But then he is represented as doing this with some hazard, *librum scribere ausus est.*

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Repressour, &c. part iii. c. 18.

Archbishop Usher of the Religion of the ancient Irish.

de transl. Imperii.

Life of Dr. Wiclif, p. 148.

Dialogorum lib. iv. c. 18.

Plowman's Tale. See p. 29.

Bar. Picerini de Monte arduo ad Julium II. Prefatio, &c.

¶ Narrant chronica quod in dotatione ecclesie, vox audita est in aere angelica tunc temporis sic dicentis, *Hodie effusum est venenum in ecclesia sancta Dei.* Dial. lib. iv. c. 18. which is thus reported by Thomas Sprott, a Monk of St. Austin's near Canterbury, *illo tempore viz. anno iii. c. xv. dyabolus in aere volando clamavit, Hodie venenum ecclesie Dei infusum est.* Chron. p. 48.

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37. Our Bishop thus sets himself to oppose this donation: *Constantyn*, says he, *endewid not the Pope Silvester neithir eny chirche in Rome, with eny greet habundaunt immoveable possessiouns, but oonli with possessiouns competentis and mesurably, with sufficiency servyng for the fynding of the prestis and mynystris of the chirchis which he endewid; except oon chirche clepid Constantynyana, into whiche chirche he gaf a certain of possessioun for* oil, balm. *fynding of ligitis, and for fynding of haume into brennyng of laumpis, ouer the competent unmovable endewing which he made into the same chirche for fynding of prestis and mynistris seruing in the same chirche. But al the habundant and riche endewing of the Pope and his see-chirche in Rome, came bi other persooones long aftir Constantyn, as by ^v Pipyn King of Fraunce, and by Charles King of Fraunce and Emperour, and bi Lodowic King of Fraunce and Emperour, and bi Matilde, a greet ladi,* Avignon. *which gaf the greet and riche and rial marchionat of Auchon to the Pope togidere at oonis, and became therbi to be the doughtir of Seint Peter, as in chronicles and stories it is open for to see.*

38. The Bishop's reasons to confute this ^z fiction of Constantine's donation are these. 1. Pope Damascus makes no mention of it in his Epistle to Jerome. 2. This Pope was not in possession of any such endowment when he wrote to Jerome. 3. No authentic and credible records or chronicles take notice of it, nothing but the *legende or storie of Silvestris gestis, and oon epistle putt and ascryved unlikeli to Constantyn, and tho stories and cronicles which* taken of it and folewen it. 4. *The thre-departid storie, maad of thre moost famese and credible storiens in Greek-lond, relates, that Constantine divided his whole empire into three parts among his three sons, and particu-* Historia tri-partita.

^v Nulli plus contulerunt Ecclesie Romanæ, nec magis potentiam ejus auxerunt, quam Pipinus, Carolus, et Ludovicus, Francorum reges. *Fran. Duaren. de Sacris Ecclesie Ministeriis ac Beneficiis*, lib. ii. c. 1.

^z Constantini donatio est ficta et eumentita. *Roberti Coci Censura quorundam Scriptorum*, &c. p. 87—92.

larly he *biquathe the lordship of the west-parti which was Rome, with al the cuntrey aboute, to his eeldist sone Constantyn*; *whiche sone * rejoiced the same parti to him de-
vysid, and, that thorug al his liif, and his brother Con-
stans next aftir him rejoiced the same west-parti*—and his brother *Constancius, after the deeth of hem bothe, al the hool empire of east and west.* 5. Boniface the IVth, about two hundred and fifty years after Silvester's death, begged of the Emperor Phocas to give him the Pantheon in Rome, in order to convert it into a Christian church; which the Pope need not have begged of another, had Rome been all his own. 6. Histories plainly evidence, that Charles the Great and Lewis were the first that invested the Popes with such large territories and dominions. 7. *Manye hundrid yeeris after the death of Pope Silvester, the eleccioun of the Pope, maad at Rome, was sende into Grekelond*—for to be confermed or admittid of the Emperour, as can be proved bi sufficient credible cronicles and stories—*this y seie not for this, that it so doon was weel doon; but herfore y seie it, that it hadde not be so doon if the Emperour of Greeklond hadde not be thanne in tho daies as ful Lord and Emperour of Rome, &c.* 8. Lastly, the Bishop questions the genuineness of the letter ascribed to Constantine, since it mentions a false fact, and is evident from three departid history, which he reckons more authentic, since he observes, that the Greek writers who were with the Emperor at Constantinople, or near him, are more to be credited than *other men dwelling farther fro thens in † rombe.*

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* enjoyed.

Fasciculus
Rerum, &c.
vol. i. p. 124,
&c.

† at a dis-
tance.

39. The fourth governance of the Church defended by our Bishop, is the *divers orders or degrees of Clergy.* His Lordship thus represents or states the question as it was then disputed betwixt the Church and Wiclifists. *In the Clergie, saith he, ben dyverse statis and degress of overtie and nethertie, as, that above manye prestis soortid togidere into oon cuntree or diocese is oon Bischop for to overse and attende, that alle tho prestis lyve and do as it*

Repressour,
&c. part iv.
c. 1, &c.

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longith to hem bi her presthode, and for to juge querelis, and pleintis and causis and strives, if eny such rise among summe of tho prestis, and for to redresse the wrongis whiche prestis doon to her parischenys, or ministris, if thei eny such doon. And above manie Biscopis of a large cun-tree, or a province is oon Archibiscop, for to in liik maner overse and attende, that tho Bischopis lyve and do as it longith to her bischophode, and for to juge querelis, and pleintis and debatis if eny such arise among tho Bischopis, and for to redresse the wrongis which the Bischopis doon to her prestis, if they eny such doon. And liik maner above many Archibischopis is oon Patriark for to overse and reule and amende the gouernauncis of tho Archibischopis. And above manie and alle Patriarkis is oon Pope for to overse and reule and amende the gouernaunces of tho Patriarkis, and for to redresse wrongis, &c. Al this now rehercid gouernaunce and policie in the Clergie, summe of the lay-peple deemen and seien to be naugt, and, that it is brought in bi the Devel and Anticrist; so that thei wolen alle priestis to be en oon degree, and noon of hem be above other of hem, and thei wolen that undir prestis be dekenys, and no mo ordris, statis, or degrees in the Clergie at al. And bicause, that suche bifore rehercid statis and degrees above prestis ben in the Clergie, thei bacbiten and detracten the Clergie, cleping the hige Pope Anticrist, and cleping all the othere louger rehercid statis, above prestis, the Antecristis lymes or membrs.

Dial. lib. iv.
c. 15.

40. Dr. Wiclif thus delivered his opinion. *Unum audacter assero, quod in a primitiva Ecclesia, vel tempore Pauli, suffecerunt duo ordines Clericorum, scilicet, sacerdos, atque dyaconus. Similiter dico quod tempore Pauli fuit idem presbyter atque episcopus. Patet 1 Tim. iii. et*

* The same was asserted by the two Archbishops, the Bishops, &c. of the Church of England, in the reign of King Henry VIII. *The trouthe is, say they, that in the Newe Testamente there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in Orders, but only of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priestes or Byshops. The Institution of a Cristen Man, fol. 41. b. 42. a.*

ad Titum i. et idem testatur ille profundus theologus Hieronymus, ut patet lxxxvii. dist. c. olim. Tunc enim ad inventa non fuit distinctio papæ, et cardinalium, patriarcharum, et archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et archidiaconorum, officialium, et decanorum, cum cæteris offitiariis et privatis religionibus quorum non est numerus neque ordo.

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Elsewhere he observed, that there are three kinds of ministers of the Church. The first and lowest are *simplices laborantes*, mere labourers, or the common people; the second are potentates, the defenders of the ordinances of Christ in the Church; and the highest and last ministers are Christian priests, who truly preach the Gospel. This part, he says, ought to be as the soul to the body of our mother; whereas in them, he observes, there is the greater deceit, since Antichrist has, under the species of Clergy, twelve proctors plotting against the Church of Christ; namely, *popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, monks, canons, false-friars* introduced just now last of all, and *pardon-mongers*. All these twelve, and especially the ^b *Cæsarean prelates* and *friars*, are infallibly the disciples of Antichrist, because they take away the Christian liberty, and lay burdens on the holy Church, and hinder the law of the Gospel from having so free a course as usual.

Ibid. c. 26.

Quæstores
Praelati Cæsarei.

41. Our Bishop in justifying the several orders of the Clergy, and their different degrees, only pleads here for those of the *pope, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons*. "This governaunce of the Church," he says, "holy Scripture werneth not, and letteth not; as "neither doth doom of cleerli disposid resoun in kind; "and therefore he concludes, the seid governaunce is "leeful."

42. Having thus asserted the divers orders of the Clergy, our Bishop proceeds particularly to defend the supremacy of the Pope, which is the fifth governance mentioned by him, as opposed by the Wiclifists. It was observed by the English Bishops and Clergy, A. D. 1537,

^b Prelates endowed by Cæsar with secular honours and offices.

CHAP. that, "it was many hundred years after Christ, before the
 III. "Bishop of Rome could acquire or get any primacy or go-
 vernance above any other Bishops out of his province in
 "Italy; but that since that time he hath ever usurped
 "more and more." To the same purpose the learned
 French lawyer Duarene; who, though he says that in an-
 cient times the principal see of the Bishops was in the
 Roman Church, yet observes, that at first the Bishops of
 that see used that honour and dignity with great modera-
 tion, so that they always reckoned the other Bishops as
 their brethren and colleagues, and never had it in their
 thoughts to bear rule over them, like kings and princes.
 But as riches and temporal honours flowed in upon them,
 through the generous piety of the Emperors and others,
 and their own crafty and indirect management, this meek-
 ness and lowliness of mind soon wore off, so that a heathen
 historian of those times observes, "they rode about in
 "chariots, wore very rich clothes, kept profuse tables, and
 "exceeded even the Emperors in their entertainments."
 Who now can wonder, that by degrees their heads were
 so turned as to fancy themselves the Emperor's superiors,
 and that the extent of *their* jurisdiction was equal to, or
 rather exceeded, that of the Emperor, himself. But, not-
 withstanding this, we have evidence, that above 200 years
 after this time, the British Bishops disowned the Pope's
 supremacy over *them*, and absolutely refused paying any
 subjection or obedience to them as their head. Nay, when
 on account of Austin the Monk's being sent hither, by
 Pope Gregory, to convert the English Saxons, he and his
 successors acknowledged the primacy of the Bishop of
 Rome, and professed to pay obedience to him, it does not
 yet appear that, for above six hundred years after, any
 of them were required at their consecration to take an
 oath of fidelity and obedience to their lord Pope. There
 is no such oath in any of those ancient rituals or ordinals
 which are published by Morinus; so that it seems though
 there was such an oath framed by Pope Gregory VII.
 about 1075, yet it was long before it was generally re-

The Insti-
 tution of a
 Cristen
 Man, fol. 47.
 b.

De Benefic.
 lib. i. c. 10.

Amm. Mar-
 cell. lib.
 xxvii. c. 3.
 A. D. 367.

By Burnet's
 Vindication
 of the Ord-
 nations of
 the Church
 of England,
 p. 87.

ceived, or put into the forms of ordination. At first the Popes were so modest as to exact nothing but a promise of obedience, such as all inferiors gave to superiors; though even this was more than *they* had any right to require. Then there was a particular vow, made by such as the Popes sent in missions; such an one probably was made by Austin to Pope Gregory I. when he was sent by him into England. But Pope Gregory VII. pretending to a higher power, not only over Bishops, but secular Princes, framed an oath for the Bishops to swear, which is almost the same with that in the Pontifical. A little after, the Council of Lateran, under Pope Paschal II. appointed a more modest oath in the form of an anathematism, in which having anathematized all heresy, &c. the Bishop elect promised obedience to the lord Paschal, Pontifex of the apostolic see, and to his successors under the testimony of Christ and the Church, affirming what the universal Church affirms, and condemning what she condemns. But this oath, as modest as it was in comparison with the other, Panormitan, Archbishop of —, in Poland, signified to Paschal, that the Kings and grandees of that kingdom were struck with admiration, that the pall was tendered to him by his Apocrisaries on such a condition, that he would take the oath which they administered to him, as set down in writing by the Pope. That they ob-

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A. D. 1079.

Decret.
Greg. lib. i.
tit. vi. c. 4.

^c —That from that time forward he would be faithful to St. Peter, and Pope Gregory, and his successors; that he would neither assist nor advise in taking away the life, dismembering, deposing, or imprisoning the Pope; that he would come to his synods, when summoned by his nuncios or letters, and be obedient to the canons thereof; that, saving his order, he would defend and assist in maintaining the Roman Papacy, and the regalia of St. Peter; that he would not disclose the councils of the Bishops of Rome, to their prejudice, whether committed to him by themselves or their legates; that he would be assisting to their legates coming from, or going to Rome; that he would not knowingly communicate with those, who were by name excommunicated by the Bishop of Rome; and that when he was called thereto, he would by a military force assist the Church of Rome.

^d Apocrisarii dicti præsertim qui a Pontifice Romano, vel etiam ab Archiepiscopis, ad comitatum mittebantur, quo res ecclesiarum suarum peragerent, et de iis ad principem referrent. *Du Fresne Gloss.*

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jected to it, that all swearing was forbidden by the Lord, and by the Apostles after him, and could not be found ordained in any of the Councils. To this Paschal replied, that they might as well wonder at Jesus Christ on this account, who, when he committed the care of his sheep to Peter, did it with this condition, saying, *If you love me, feed my sheep.* If the maker of consciences and the knower of secrets made use of this condition, and that not only once but twice, and even to the making Peter sad, with what solicitude ought *we* to commit so great a pre-lacy of the Church to the brethren, whose consciences we do not see? As to all swearing being forbidden by the Lord, he asks what follows what our Lord says? To which he answers himself, *Whatsoever is more is from evil.* For, says he, *evil* forces us, by his permission, to require this oath: is it not evil to withdraw from the unity of the Church, and from the obedience of the Apostolic See, and to break forth against the determinations of the canons, which many have presumed to do even after their taking an oath? by this *evil* and necessity are we compelled to require an oath for fidelity, for obedience, and for unity. As to the objection, that this oath was not found decreed in councils, the Pope answers, As if, says he, any councils had prefixed a law to the Church of Rome, when all of them are held by the Pope's authority, and have their sanction from *him*, and in their decrees the authority of the Pope is manifestly excepted. He therefore concluded, that since the Archbishop required the ensigns of his dignity, which are taken from the body of St. Peter alone, from the Apostolic See, it is just that he also should pay to the Apostolic See the signs of due subjection, which declare him to be a member of St. Peter, and to keep the unity of the Catholic Head.

43. Of this reasoning of the Pope's, let any one judge who can distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood. In the first place, he manifestly perverts and abuses our Saviour's words to St. Peter, as if his asking *him* whether he loved him, was the same as imposing an oath of fidelity on him;

or that his accepting Peter's affirmation, that he did love him, was a good reason for the Pope's exacting an oath of obedience to *them*. The like perverse meaning he puts on our Saviour's words to his disciples, *Whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil*. The plain and uppermost meaning of these words is this; that men's swearing in their communication with one another, proceeds from some evil principle, as vain glory, want of reverence to the Divine Majesty, &c. or from the devil, the evil one. But now the Pope represents our Lord as prescribing swearing as a remedy against evil, or a method to suppress and remove it. What he adds concerning councils, is a plain evidence of the insignificancy of those assemblies in curbing the haughty spirits of the Popes, and reforming their usurpations, since Pope Paschal here owns, that no councils can prescribe laws to the Roman Church, &c.

44. But this oath was, it seems, too modest to satisfy the ambition of Pope Gregory IX. who therefore drew up another form, which was set out by him A. D. 1236. According to this, every Bishop swore at his consecration, that, "from that hour forward, he would be faithful to St.

"Peter and the holy Roman Church, and to his lord Pope

Decret.
Greg. lib. ii.
tit. xxiv. c.

"C—and his successors canonically entering; that neither 4.

"in design nor in fact would he be any ways accessary to

"his losing life or limb, or being taken with an evil cap-

"tion; that he would not disclose to any one, to *his*

"damage, the council which he should make known to

"him, either by himself, his letters, or his nuncio; that he

"would be assisting in defending and maintaining, against

"all men, saving his own order, the Papacy of the holy

"Roman Church, and the rules of the *holy Fathers*; that

"when he was called to a synod, he would come to it, un-

"less he was hindered by a canonical hindrance; that the

"legate of the Apostolic See, *whom he certainly knew to*

"*be so*, he would honourably treat in his going and com-

"ing, and help in his necessities; and that the thresholds

"of the Apostles he would every year visit himself, or by

CHAP. III. "a certain messenger, unless he was absolved from so
"doing, by their, the Popes, licence."

Vita Henrici Chichele Archiep. Cant.

45. These additions did not yet satisfy the pretensions of succeeding Popes, since sometime before A. D. 1414, the word *obediens* was added after *fidelis*, the expressions *papatum sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et regulas sanctorum patrum*, were changed for *papatum Romanum et regulia sancti Petri*; the clause *quem certum esse cognovero* was left out, instead of *nisi eorum absolvat licentia*, it was expressed *nisi apostolica absolvat licentia*: last of all was added the following clause to make the Bishops yet more dependent on the see of Rome, viz. *I shall not sell nor grant, nor mortgage, nor anew enfeoff, nor any other way alienate the possessions pertaining to my archiepiscopal table, without advising with the Roman Pontifex.*

inconsulto Romano Pontifice.

46. How long this oath continued to be expressed in these terms I cannot say, but in the English translation made by the command of King Henry VIII. about 1532, we may observe some variation from the present form. For instance, these clauses were added: *the rights, honours, privileges, authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented and promoted. I shall not*

Hall's Chron. fol. 205, b. Hen. VIII. See Archbishop Cranmer's Oath.

• The oath taken to the Pope by Archbishop Cranmer at his consecration was as follows. Ego Thomas electus Cantuariensis ab hac hora, ut antes, fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro, sanctæ apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et domino meo D. Clementi VII. suisque successoribus canonicè intransitibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant vel membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios, ad eorum damnum me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum, et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum sedis apostolicæ in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo, vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina, Romana curia existente citra Alpes singulis annis, ultra vero montes, singulis bienniis visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuntium nisi apostolica absolvat licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignerabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano Pontifice; sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia.

be in council, treaty, or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of Rome, their rights, states, honours, or powers; and if I know any such to be moved, or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others; heretics, schismatics and rebels to our holy Father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power.

47. Some of these alterations and additions seem to have been made about our Bishop's time, when the Papal power was near at its utmost ^f height in this kingdom; and the dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments apostolic, universally obeyed and submitted to, without any opposition. By these gradual usurpations came the Popes to claim, as sovereign monarchs, the following royal prerogatives, *viz.*

48. "To be superior to the whole Church ξ , and to its representative a general synod of Bishops. To convocate general synods at his pleasure; all Bishops being obliged to attend upon summons from him. To preside in synods, so as to suggest matter, promote, obstruct, and over-rule the debates in them. To confirm or invalidate their decrees or determinations; giving life or vigour to them by his assent, or subtracting it by his dissent. To define points of doctrine, or to decide controversies authoritatively; so that none may presume to contest or

Dr. Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 19.

^f ——— cupiditas dominandi quando primum grassari cœperit, novi tituli, nova jura quando primum sint excoGITATA, quibus artibus, per quos gradus, quibus, quantisque motibus, bellis, sceleribus, parricidiis ad hoc fastigium humanæ potentie Papa Romanus fuerit evectus; nemo qui proximorum seculorum historias legit, potest ignorare, nisi fungus est, aut judicio divino excæcatur. *Is. Casauboni Exerc. xv. ad Annales Baronii.*

ξ This Sir Thomas More denied: *There are, saith he, orders in Christes church, by which a Pope may be both admonished and amended, and hath ben for incorrigible minde and lacke of amendment synallie deposed and changed.* *English Works*, p. 621. col. 2.

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“dissent from his dictates. To enact, establish, abrogate, suspend, dispense with ecclesiastical laws and canons. To relax or evacuate ecclesiastical censures by indulgence, pardon, &c. To void promises, vows, oaths, obligations to laws by his dispensation. To be the fountain of all pastoral jurisdiction and dignity. To constitute, confirm, judge, censure, suspend, depose, remove, restore, reconcile Bishops. To confer ecclesiastical dignities and benefices by paramount authority, in way of provision, reservation, &c. To exempt colleges, monasteries, &c. from jurisdiction of their Bishops and ordinary superiors. To judge all persons in all spiritual causes, by calling them to his cognizance, or delegating judges for them, with a final and peremptory sentence. To receive appeals from all ecclesiastical judicatories; and to reverse their judgments, if he findeth cause. To be himself unaccountable for any of his doings, exempt from judgment, and liable to no reproof. To erect, transfer, abolish episcopal sees. To exact oaths of fealty and obedience from the Clergy. To found religious orders, or to raise a spiritual militia for propagation and defence of the Church. To summon and commissionate soldiers by *croisade*, &c. to fight against infidels, or persecute those whom the Popes condemned as heretics, or schismatics, or rebels against his authority.”

49. To so monstrous an height did the Popes carry their usurped authority: insomuch that it was disputed in the schools, “whether the Pope could abrogate that which was decreed by the Apostles’ writings, or determine that which was contrary to the evangelical doctrine, or make a new article in the creed. Whether he has greater power than St. Peter, or only equal. Whether he can command angels. Whether he can wholly take away purgatory. Whether he be a mere man, or as God participates both natures with Christ. Whether he be not more merciful than Christ was, since we do not read that *he* ever recalled any from the pains of purgatory.”

Erasm. An-
not. Nov.
Testam. in
1 Tim. i. 6.

50. They did not indeed get this prodigious power all at once, and without any opposition. In France, when Pope Boniface VIII. told Philip the fair, in his letter to him, that "he was subject to *him* in spirituals and temporal, that the collation of benefices and prebends did not belong to him, nor their profits in their vacancy, and that whosoever thought otherwise he reputed them fools, &c." the King returned him this smart answer, *Sciat tua maxima fatuitas in temporalibus nos alicui non subesse*, let your great foolship know, that in temporal matters we are subject to nobody. See the defence of the Parliament of Paris, against the Roman Court, for the liberty of the Gallican Church.

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Cat. Test.
Veritatis, p.
1687.

51. Here in England, when Pope Gregory VII. demanded of William the Conqueror, his doing homage or fealty to him, the King returned him this peremptory answer, *Fidelitatem facere nolui nec volo*: I have hitherto refused it, nor will I do it now. For which his majesty gave this reason, that he neither promised it himself, nor did he find that his predecessors had done it to the Pope's predecessors. In the controversy after this, betwixt William Rufus and Archbishop Anselm, about appeals to the Pope, the King was angry at the mentioning the Pope's name, *Quia tunc temporis Ecclesia Romana schismate laborabat*; no one being to be owned here for Pope, but whom the King and Parliament acknowledged for such. The King therefore alleged, that as the Emperor claimed it, as part of his office, to choose whom he would for Pope, and that no one else had any thing to do to name him to the Apostolic See, no Archbishop or Bishop of his kingdom should be subject to the Pope or Court of Rome, since he had all the liberties in his kingdom which the Emperor claimed in the empire. Accordingly, though ten years were now elapsed since the death of Pope Gregory, yet till the heat and zeal of Anselm did precipitate the resolutions of the Church and kingdom, we have no marks of any disposition to own the authority of either of the rival Popes. These resolutions were to acknowledge Urban for

Inter Epist.
Lanfranc. in
Bibl. Cotton.

Matt. Paris,
Hist. ad an.
1096, p. 19.
ed. Watta.

Inett's Orig.
Angl. vol. ii.
p. 270.

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Pope, who by way of requital took Anselm's part against the King, and in a council held at St. Peter's in Rome declared the King worthy of excommunication, and decreed all laymen excommunicate that should presume to give investitures, &c. But the thunders of the Papacy had not yet reached to England, or however the King and Bishops had not at this time learned to dread and stand in awe of them; for the King remained immoveable; and the Bishops, as they had unanimously advised Anselm to submit to the King, and renounce the see of Rome whilst he was in England, so they remained steady in their duty to the King and their country, notwithstanding what had since passed at Rome.

52. One would have thought that so violent a shock, added to the general opposition which this doctrine of the Papal supremacy met with from all the Western Princes, had been enough to shame so groundless and impious an imposture out of the world. But ambition knows no bounds, especially when backed by interest, and flushed and encouraged by the superstitious madness of the people. It was not long after this, that, through the industry of the Religious, the people were struck with such a panic dread of the Pope's thunderbolts, that, as if they had a deadening force, they were perfectly deprived of all sense of duty and loyalty to their Prince, or even of their own interest; insomuch that the unfortunate Prince K. John^b, having been excommunicated by the Pope, and his subjects being absolved by him from their allegiance to him, was forced to resign his crown, and for the time to come to hold his kingdoms as fees of the Papacy; which he need never to have done, had his subjects had but a due sense of their duty and interest.

53. But this was too great a dishonour to be tamely submitted to by this Prince's successors. The Popes in-

^b Sir Thomas More absolutely denied, that the King had any power or authority to do this. *Never could any King of England, says he, give away the realme to the Pope, or make the land tributary, though he would, nor no such money is there paid, nor never was.* *English Works*, p. 296. col. 1.

deed still kept up their claim, and acted as if they had been really lords of the fee, and our Princes and their subjects only their vassals and tributaries. But against this we find very warm remonstrances made by our Princes and their Parliaments, though indeed to very little purpose. In King Edward III.'s reign, Pope Urban VI. gave that great Prince notice of his intention to proceed against him, for not performing the homage which King John acknowledged, &c. With this insolence the King acquainted his Parliament, and required their advice: to which it was stoutly answered by the common consent of the whole estate, "that neither King John, nor any other King, could bring his realm and kingdom into such thralldom and subjection, but by common assent of Parliament; the which was not done; therefore that which he did was against his oath at his coronation, besides many other causes. If therefore the Pope should attempt any thing against the King, by process, or other matters indeed, the King, with all his subjects, should with all their force and power resist the same." But notwithstanding this resolute answer of the estates of the realm, a monk, it seems, had the hardiness to defend this unjust claim of the Pope's. To him therefore Dr. Wiclif replied, and shewed, that the resignation of the crown made heretofore by King John to the Pope, ought not to prejudice the kingdom of England, and did not at all oblige the present king. That the reason of this pretence was, that the Lord Pope ruling the kingdom of England with less control, and at his own pleasure, temporal demesnes may be heaped on the abbies without any restraint.

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Life of Dr.
Wiclif, p.
19.

Cotton's
Ab. p. 102.

Life of Dr.
Wiclif, p.
19.

54. In his other writings, Wiclif argued against the Prelates of his time, saying "that it is not enough to believe in Jesus Christ, &c. but if a man believe the Bishop of Rome to be head of the holy Church. That secular lords have no power upon Clerks, but if Prelates clepen them to chastise Clerks when they ben rebell, and wolen not ben amended by their Prelates: that the King hath no jurisdiction ne power of their persons, ne

Of Prelates.
c. 14. MS.

Of Ser-
vants, and
Lords, &c.
MS.

Great Sen-
tence of
Curse ex-
plained, c.
11. MS.

- CHAP. III. "goods of holy Church." He observed, that "Clerks
"wolen never cease, if they may, till they have fully de-
Ibid. c. 11. "stroied Kings and Lords, and their regalie and power."
In another tract, wrote by one of his followers; we read
thus; "Cristen men ben not holden for to bileve that the
Thirty-se- "Bishop of Rome, that now lyveth in this peyneful lyf, is
ven Arti- "heed of al holi Chirche in erth. This sentence is opin
cles, No. 20 "bi this, that Crist is heed aloon of alle holi Chirche, as
MS. "Poul seith in i. chap. to Ephesies, in the i. chap. to Co-
"lossies, and in the 1 Pistil to Corinthians, the iii. chap.
Ibid. No. 24. "Therefore if he chalaungeth this dignite to him, he is a
"blasfemere, and Lucifer, and Antecrist." He therefore
concluded, that "Christene men ben not holden for to bi-
"leve, withouten opin groundinge of holi Scripture or of
"resoun that maie not faile, that Seynte Petir hadde more
"power of bynding and assoylinge than othir Apostlis
"gretly lovid of Criste." And therefore he called them
Schisma In- "Anticrist's Clerkis, who hold, that the Pope as Vicar of
ter Papas, "Crist, and of Petir hath power in the Chirche to do what
c. 3. MS. "he wole."

55. Our Bishop was so far ensnared by the modish doctrine of his time, as to oppose this opinion and reasoning of Dr. Wiclif's. He, on the contrary, asserted that "holi
Repressour, "Scripture werneth not and lettith not this governaunce;
part iv. c. 1. "that doom of cleerli disposid resoun in kinde weerneth
MS. "not and lettith it not; that the said governaunce is lee-
"ful; that holi Scripture, bothe in the Oolde Testament
"and in the Newe, allowith it; and, that doom of cleerli
"indisposit resoun, jugith, allowith, and approvith it."
In shewing that holy Scripture alloweth it, he observed,
"1. that, in the Oold Testament God ordeynid oon Bischop
"to be above in reule and jurisdiccoun to alle the Prestis
"and Dekenys, and so to alle the Clergie in Goddis
"Chirche being thanne; even as the Pope is now oon
"persoon above in reule and in jurisdiccoun to alle Prestis
"and Dekonys, and to alle the Clergie in the Chirche of
"God being now. 2. That holi Writ of the Newe Testa-
"ment makith mensiou, that Crist seid to Symount

“ Petir thus, *Thou art Symount the sone of Johanna,* CHAP.
 “ *thou schalt be clepid Cephas or heed.*——Petir,” says III.
 he, “ was heed, in the mauer in which noon of the other
 “ Apostlis was heed. And sithen ech Apostle was heed
 “ of oon certeyn parcel of peple, or ellis of alle the lay-
 “ peple of the worlde jointli with his felawis, it folewith
 “ nedis, that Petir was heed of al the Clergie, and so of
 “ alle Prestis, and of alle the lay-partie. For in noon
 “ otherwise can it be govun, that he was heed in a dy-
 “ verse and different maner from ech other Apostle.”——
 He proceeded in quoting the usual texts cited for the pri-
 macy, and argues like one who was strongly attached to
 the Pope. Elsewhere his Lordship affirms, that “ the Pope
 “ is of lyk auctorite, and juresdictioun with ech, or with
 “ the grettist of the Apostlis for to make positive ordi-
 “ nauncis lyk as holi Scripture bi power of the Apostle
 “ maad, and for to revoke thilk positive ordinaunce of holi
 “ Scripture maad bi the Apostle.”

Treatise of
Faith, p. 28.

56. The sixth governance defended by the Bishop, is
 the Orders of the Religious. To these his Lordship tells
 us, it was objected, that these distinctions were all wrong,
 and that they were wholly new. “ That bothe of Prestis
 “ and lay persoones ben sectis clepid religious maad to
 “ men, and also to wommen for to be streighter to hem in
 “ eting and drinking, in speking, in wering, in going, in
 “ sleping, and in aboute-walking, and in othere dedis of
 “ worldlihode and fleischlihode, than is the freedom of the
 “ lawe of kinde with the settings to of Christis Sacra-
 “ mentis: alle this summe of the lay peple blamen bothe
 “ for the dyuersite and novelte so takun to be in, other-
 “ wise than is the comoun maner of othere men and wom-
 “ men. And also thei beren an honde, that the religious
 “ whiche now ben had and usid han summe statutis and
 “ ordinauncis being agens charite, and therefore agens the
 “ law of God. And ferthermore these blamers ascriven
 “ and geven the fynding and the maintenaunce of alle
 “ suche sectis or religious to the feend and to Anticrist.
 “ —That no good skile is whi tho religiose persoones

Repressour,
part v. c. 1.

CHAP. "schulden were so straunge and diverse formes of habitis
 III. "fro her other Cristen bretheren—That religiose mo-
 "nasteries, nameliche of the begging religiouns, han with-
 * closes. "inne her gatis and * cloocis, grete, large, wiide, hige, and
 "stateli mansiouns for lordis and ladies therin to reste,
 "abide, and dwelle:—That thei haw large and wiide
 "chirchis like sumwhat to cathedral or modir chirchis of
 "diocisis—That bi the religion of Seint Fraunces, the
 "religiouse persooones of thilk religioun schullen not han-
 "del and touche with her honde, neither bere aboute hem
 "eny money, that is to seie, eny gold or silver or other
 "metal koyned; and git thei ben not weerned bi the same
 "religioun for to telle such money with a stik holdun in
 "her hond, neither for to keep it in her coffris, neither
 "ben thei weerned for to holde, bere, touche, and handle
 "cuppis and dischis, knyfis and jewelis of silver and of
 "gold, however preciose and delectable to the sigt tho
 "jewelis ben."

58. Our poet Chaucer thus introduces Jack Upland, asking a begging Friar, "whether there is any perfecter rule than Christ himself made, or that Christ approveth any more religions than one? Whether their habit made them men of religion; what betokeneth their great hood^k, their scapulary, their knotted girdle, and their wide cope; and why they used all one colour, more than other Christian men? Why they held silence, and eat flesh in one house more than in another? Why they would not touch any coined money with the

ⁱ Erasmus rallies the Franciscans, or begging Friars, on this head. *Rurum alios qui pecunie contactum seu somnium horreant nec a vino interim, nec a mulierum contactu temperantes.* So again, *alius gloriabitur sesaginta annos nunquam attactum pecuniam, nisi digitis duplici chirotheca munitis. Morie Encomium.* The founder of this order, Francis, forbid the Friars to receive any money; but this, it seems, one of the Popes interpreted to mean their not touching any money, and they therefore, to evade that, used to take it with their gloves on, and tell it with a stick. *Ger. Listrius, Comment. in Morie Encom.*

^k —Quot modiorum capax cuculla, quot digitis latum capillitium? *Erasmii Morie Encomium.*

“ cross, or with the King’s head, as they did other jewels
 “ both of gold and silver? What charity is this to burden CHAP.
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 “ the people by importunate begging, under colour of
 “ preaching, or praying, or singing mass? To lie to the
 “ people and say, that *they* followed Christ in poverty
 “ more than other men, when yet in curious and costly
 “ housing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious
 “ and liking feeding, and in treasure, jewels, and rich or-
 “ naments they exceeded lords and other rich worldly
 “ men? What charity it was to feign so much holiness
 “ in their bodily clothing, which they called their habit,
 “ that many blind fools desired to die therein, more or ra-
 “ ther than in another?” He concludes, “ that if Friars
 “ cannot or may not excuse them of the questions asked
 “ of them, it seemeth that they be horribly guilty against
 “ God, and their fellow Christians.”

59. So Dr. Wickf objected to these Friars, “ that they See a de-
description of
one of these
monasteries
and church-
es in the
Collection
at the end of
Dr. Wickf’s
Life, p. 345,
346.
 “ builden many great churches and costly wast housen
 “ and cloisters, as it weren castels, and that withouten
 “ nede, where through parish-churches and common wayes
 “ ben perred and in many places undon.—For by this
 “ new housing of Freres, though it rain on the auter of
 “ the parish-churche, the blind people be so deceived, that
 “ they wolen rather geve to wast houses of Freres, than
 “ to parish-churches, or common waies, though men’s cat-
 “ tle and beasts ben perished therein.” On which he asks,
 “ what skill is it now to make so much cost in bilding, and
 “ laten old parish-churches fallen a-down?”

60. To these objections, which seem mostly, if not all,
 made against the begging Friars, our Bishop answers to
 this purpose. In the general he observes, that *the religi-* c. 6.
*ous in Englonde han ben ful noble and profitable * heggis * hedges.*
and wardis thorougout these xxxiiij † geeris in which we have † years.
been engaged in war with France, for to close and kepe
and heggeyn and werne so manye persoones fro so miche
gretter synnes into whiche ellis, if tho religiouns hadden
not be, tho personnes schulden have fallen, and have be
gilti. For, says he, take me alle the religiose men of Eng-

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*lond, which ben now, and han ben in religioun in Eng-
land, these thirti geeris and mo now endid, in whiche xxx
geeris hath be contynuel greet warre betwix Englund and
Fraunce, and lete se what schulde have worthe of the men
in these geeris, if thei hadde not be mead religiose. Lete
se how thei schulden have lyued, and what maner of men
thei schulden have be. Whether not thei schulden have be
as weelnyg alle othere men ben, and han be in this xxxiiij
wynters in Englund. And therefore thei schulden be or-
gileful artificers or unpitiful quest-mongers¹, and for-
sworen jurors, or souldiers wagid into Fraunce, for to
make miche morthor of blood, yhe and of soulis, bothe in
her owne side, and in the Frensche side——No man
fynde agenward that tho persoones whilis thei han lyved
in religioun, han be gilty of so miche synne how mithe
synne is now rehercid, and of which thei schulden have be
gilty if thei hadden not be religiose. All which are weak
reasonings.*

61. Our Bishop urges farther in behalf of the various Orders of the Religious; that God purvied manye dyverse religiouns to be in the Chirche, for that bi so greet a dyversite had in so manye religiouns, what for dyversite of outward habit, and of inward wering, and of diet, and of

¹ These were the pardon-mongers, who were Friars employed by the Pope, &c. to raise money for building churches, &c. for which purpose they were empowered to assure the people of so many days or years of pardon, upon condition that they gave a certain sum of money toward the intended work. The Pope at last made use of them for raising money to fill his own coffers, or to raise portions for his nieces. Dr. Wiclif reflects on the Prelates of his time, as “deceiving poor men of their alms by false pardons, making men to geve their neddy lifode to their cathedral churches—and suffering other false pardoners to disceyve the people for a little money.” So they are represented in the *confessionale Richardi, qui dulcibus et adulatoriis verbis et mendosis ad se populum congregant, ut duntaxat bona eorum terrena habeant et manducant et devorent*. Hence our Bishop styles them unpitiful quest-mongers, since they spared not the very poorest of all, but got whatever they could of every body.

——These bilderes wiln beggen a bage ful of whete
Of a pure pore man that may * onethe paye
Half his rent in a yere, and half ben byhynde.

* SCAROE.

Pierce the Plowman's Creed.

waking, and officying, and of sitis or of placing, and of bilding, and of othere suche manie the mo of the peple schulde be provokid and stirid therby into religioun: that aftir that eny man hath professid eny of the religiouns, and is receyved into it, if it can be openli provid and scheuid, that he is bounden bi comaundement of Goddis lawe for to do eny certein deede out of thilk religioun for eny certein while, or for al his tyvys tyme, sotheli thilk religioun is noon harder, neither streiter holding, but that thilk man schal have good leue and license for to wirche and do the so provideede out of the religioun for the same while.—For weel provid deede religiose persoones ben licencid for to leue perpetuali her professid religiouns. Nunnys han be taken out of her cloistris, and han be weddid to Princis; and Monkis han be take out of her cloistris, and han be weddid and maad Kings.—And clausal Monkis han be licencid for to be summe heremytis, and summe reclusis, and manye Monkis han be take out of cloister liif to be Bischopis.—But after all his Lordship owns, that summe harme and yvel comith throug the havyng of such now seid multitude of ^m religious Orders, and, that ech religioun now usid, the occupaciouns foundid and devisid bi the religioun, bisides the thre principal vowis, that is to seie, of chastite, of wilful and exproprial poverte, and of obedience to the Prelate when he comaundith comaundementis of the religioun, mygte be myche amendid, both the occupaciouns of her prying, and officying, and of her contemplacioun, and also the occupaciouns of her studyng and lernyng. But then he observes, that git not so great harme and yvel cometh of there being so many Orders of religion, as is excluded by the having of so great a multitude; and, that the occupations of the Religious being capable of being much

^m Of the Friars alone were four Orders, viz. the Carmelites, Augustines, Jacobites, and Minorites, of the initial letters of which is made the word *Caim*, and the name *Caim* being then so spelt, Dr. Wiclif calls their houses *Caim's castles*. *Dial.* lib. iv. c. 33. These were commonly called the *White*, the *Black*, the *Austin*, and the *Grey Friars*.

CHAP. amended, *argueth not neither proveth tho occupaciouns to*
 III. *be naught neither to be unfrytful.*

62. To the objections made to the habits, stately houses, &c. of the Religious, our Bishop answers, that such variety of habits is for distinction sake, and to remind the Religious of what they are, and what they have bound themselves to; that their stately buildings were of great convenience to persons of quality, and of great use to the monasteries for great persons to repair thither; that lords and ladies are thereby the more shut out of the world to attend to their religious concerns, and the Monks can thus attend them the more constantly, and at the same time be supported and protected by them, and have less need to go a begging among poorer persons, and become chargeable to them; that their magnificent churches, so very richly adorned and furnished, were most for the honour of God's service, and would contain more people.

63. Lastly, the Bishop answers the particular objection made to the Franciscans, their having jewels of gold and of silver and of precious stones, and knives and girdles harnessed with gold and silver, and their telling money with a stick's end, when by the rule of St. Francis they were to forbear handling and bearing of money. His Lordship observes, that *to handle or bere money is a more homely entermeting with the same money, than is for to telle it with a stik; and therefore the more homelyness is forborn, and the lasse comelyness is suffrid: that jewelis ben not in so manie kindis so redy and so nige to the uce in whiche the haver mai delite him synfulli as in money—and therefore the more perol is forborn, whilis the lasse is suffrid to abide. And thoug it were so, that the telling of money with a stik were as great a neiging in homelynes to money as is bare handling; and thoug the handling of jewelis were as perilose as is the handling of money; yit therof not folewith, that if eny man for devocioun wolde forbere the oon, that he ougt forbere the other—For whi it is fair, good, and priseable to forbere the oon whilis he is not consteyned to for-*

bere of hem bothe eny oon—Whanne a man is fre to leve bothe, it is priseable, and fair, and honest, if he take the oon, and not bothe, and naveliche, sithen fewe othere taken eny of hem bothe.

CHAP.
III.

64. Hitherto the Bishop had defended six of those usages of the Church of England which were opposed by the Lollards; there remained, according to his proposed method, five other usages or governances, to be vindicated from their objections. These were, 7. Prayers offered to saints, and the communication of merits commonly boasted of, and put to sale by the Monks. 8. The vast number of precious jewels or utensils kept in churches or religious houses, which, it was pleaded, might better have been sold and given to the poor, and the honour given to the images and relics of saints. 9. The divine worship which was given to the eucharistical elements, the wafer and the wine. 10. The use of oaths usurped by the Clergy, and imposed by them on others. 11. The use of capital punishments, and of war, or the croisade, approved by the Church. But his Lordship having largely treated of these governances in other discourses, declined saying any more of them in this book. Thus he expresses himself concerning the Clergy's swearing, and making others to swear. *The xth principal gouvernaunce agens which summe of the comoun peple erren is this; that the Clergie in certein causes and maters swerith and makith othere persoones for to swere; and allowith weel, that Princis and her officers being undir hem bothe swere, and make othere men of the layte for to swere. Certis summe of the lay peple holden this gouvernaunce to be unleoful and agens the comaundement of God, and that it is uttirli unleoful eny man for to swere. Neuertheles for as muche as this unwiis holding is sufficientli proued to be untrew in the booke filling the iiiii tablis, in the secunde partie bi manye chapitris, therefore nothing therof here.* The Bishop thus concludes this book. *And thus y eende this present book clepid the Reprasser of ouer-miche blamyng the Clergie. For which book, to thee Lord God, be preising and*

CHAP. *thanking; and to all the seid ouermyche underneymers*
 III. *and blamers ful amendment. Amen.*

65. As to the invocation of saints, or praying to them, Dr. Wiclif observed, that "Christ himself is the Mediator, the best intercessor, and most ready in every extremity: that it must be therefore foolish to seek after another intercessor, because two eligible things being proposed, he who chooses the less eligible is a fool: that Christ always lives with the Father to make intercession, and is *paratissimus illapsus in mente cujuslibet viatoris qui ipsum dilexerit*. Wherefore there is no occasion to make use of the mediation of any saints to get to the speech of him, since he is kinder and more ready to help us than any of them." He therefore concludes, that whether they are the fathers of the old law, or of the law of grace, how much soever they may be magnified, *non sunt laudandi in fide*, any farther than they are followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. And hence, says he, has our Church this reasonable custom, that whatsoever saint it prays to, it directs its speech to Christ God; not to that saint principally, but to Christ. Whoever is acquainted with the devotions of the Roman Church, must be very sensible, that in them formal petitions are often made to the saints immediately, nay, that sometimes they join God and *them* together in their praises, and in the same *glories*. Dr. Wiclif therefore can mean no more than, that though the saints are formally and directly invocated, yet it is not from them that the petitioners expect the blessings they ask, but from God at their request. For instance, Saint Erasmus is thus addressed; *O saint Erasmus, the precious martyr of Christ—receive this prayer for the salvation of my body and soul; that through thy prayer God may vouchsafe to give to me food and raiment, &c.* So is the blessed Virgin prayed to obtain, for the petitioner, of our Lord Jesus Christ, the indulgence of all his sins, &c. Dr. Wiclif therefore tells us, that many thought it would be good for the Church, if there were no festivals of saints at all, but that the festival of Christ was observed alone. Because

Ad captan-
 dum ejus
 colloqui-
 um.

Horæ se-
 cundum Sa-
 rum.

Primer of
 Salisbury.

then the memory of Christ would be more fresh, and the devotion of the people not be so unduly scattered or divided among his members. The same was the judgment of the great Erasmus, that the Pastors of the Church would do well, if they altogether abolished all the festival days, except the Lord's day, and a few of the principal saints' days.

CHAP.
III.

Epist. lib.
xxi. ep. 43.

66. The Popes had now for some time driven a very gainful trade of granting indulgences, or pardons, which they pretended was by virtue of the holy merits of saints, which they did more than was needful for their own happiness: these they claimed a power of communicating to others, whose merit was not so great, and accordingly pretended to grant to men thousands of years of pardon, which, as Dr. Wiclif observed, was presuming to be even with God, in knowing certainly the coming of the day of judgment, and distributing of mercies to whom they pleased. In an humble imitation of this divine power claimed by the Popes, the Religious pretended to a communication of their merits; and by granting to men and women letters of fraternity, confirmed by their general seal, to bear them in hand, that they should have part of all their masses, mattins, preachings, fastings, wakings, and all other good deeds done by those of their order, both whilst they lived, and after they were dead. They likewise made men believe, that their singing of special prayers for people by name, as famulory and benefactory should turn to men after *their* granting and limiting. On which account scarce any one, who had any thing to give, but left a ⁿ legacy to some of the religious Orders, for

Life, p. 169.

Life of Dr.
Wiclif, p.
161, 389.

ⁿ Item, lego unum trental ad celebrand. pro anima mea. *Test. Alice Pocock, de St. Nicholao in Taneto, 1396.*

Item, lego ad opus ecclesie fratrum in villa Sandwich, decem solidos ut fratres ibidem dicerent unum trental pro anima mea, et pro quibus teneor. *Test. Johannis Sackett, de St. Petro in Taneto, 1444.*

Item, lego fratribus Carmelorum de Sandwich, 40d. Item, lego fratribus Sti. Augustini, Cant. 40d. Item, lego fratribus ordinis Sti. Francisci, Cant. 40d. *Test. John Malyn, de Monketon.*

Item, lego fratribus Carmelitis de Sandwich, 6s. 8d. *Test. Thomas Walter, de Birchington, 1414.*

CHAP. III. them to sing a *trental* for their souls. These superstitions Dr. Wiclif and his followers opposed. They argued, that this was to forget the rightful dealing of God for the good life of men, and to hold forth or recommend the dealing of sinful fools, who know not the ableness of men, and the rightful doom of God: that such prayers were a false foundation of charity, and, that it appeared to them, that the principal intent of them was a grant of some temporal goods to the Priests, and of alms to the religious houses, which was not far from simony. They therefore affirmed, that a simple *Pater-noster* of a plowman that is in charity, is better than a thousand Masses of covetous Prelates and vain Religious full of covetousness and pride, false flattering, and nourishing of sin.

67. By the inventories yet remaining of the jewels in cathedral and parish churches, it appears, that a prodigious treasure lay there buried. This will be easily presumed by any one who has the curiosity to look over the account of the ornaments or implements of the parish-church of Cranbrook in Kent, as they were in those days of ignorance and superstition, when toys and baubles were a great part of religion. Erasmus thus describes the shrine of that rebel to his Sovereign, and martyr to the Pope, Thomas Becket, which he saw in the cathedral of Christ Church at Canterbury. "A case of wood, which covered a golden one," says he, "being lifted up or opened by ropes or pullies, discovered inestimable riches; the vilest part was gold; all shined, glittered, and lightened with rare and very large gems, some of which were bigger than a goose's egg." The like he says of the Virgin Mother's chapel, that he never saw any thing richer; that it was more than a royal sight; and that *specie longe superat opibus parathalassiam*,¹ it was in appearance far richer than her temple at Walsingham. He accordingly

Poor Vicar's
Plea, &c.

Pereg. Re-
lig. ergo,
apud Collo-
quia.

¹ It is remarkable, that the parish-church of Yarmouth in Norfolk had so many goods and utensils belonging to it, that there were sold of them, A. D. 1548, as what might well be spared, as many as came to 977*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Dr. Prideaux's *Direct.* &c. p. 30.

makes one of his colloquists say, "that he sometimes se-
 "riously thought by what colour they can be excused
 "from sin, who expend so great wealth in building, adorn-
 "ing, and enriching of churches, so that there is no end
 "of it. He confessed, that in the sacred vestments and
 "vessels of the church, there ought to be a dignity suit-
 "able to the solemn worship in which they were used;
 "that he likewise desired the structure should be stately
 "and majestic; but then he thought it superfluous to
 "have so many fonts, so many candlesticks, so many
 "images of gold; that it was needless to lay out such im-
 "mense sums on organs and queristers, when in the mean
 "while our brethren and sisters, the living temples of
 "Christ, were famished with hunger and thirst." In the
 same manner did Dr. Wiclif argue. "Prelates disceyven Of Prelates,
 "poor men of their alms, for by false pardon they maken chap. ix.
 "men to geve their nedy liflode to their cathedral churches MS.
 "that have no need, and make the poor men to hope of
 "more thank of God's mercy to don their almes to rich
 "houses and rich men, more than to don it to their poor
 "neighbours that ben bedrid, feble, and coked, and blind,
 "and therwith have nought of their own." These objec- Peregrina-
 tions our Bishop, it may be, answered as Ogygius in Eras- tio Religio-
 mus, that, "indeed there was no pious and prudent man nis ergo,
 "but would desire a mean should be observed in these apud Col-
 "things; but because this fault is owing to an excess of loquia.
 "devotion, it deserves some favour; especially when we
 "consider the very different distemper of those who any
 "wise plunder churches of their riches. That these jewels
 "or costly ornaments are almost all given by potentates
 "and monarchs, who would otherwise perhaps have spent
 "them worse in gaming and war: that if you take away
 "any of these riches, in the first place it would be counted
 "sacrilege; next they who used to give would withhold
 "their hands, and moreover be encouraged to plunder
 "them: that they who have these riches, are rather the
 "keepers than proprietors of them: and lastly, that it is
 "better to see a church too much abounding with sa-

CHAP. III. “cred utensils and ornaments, than, as some churches
“are, naked and sordid, and more like stables than
“churches.”

68. As to the ninth governance defended by our Bishop.

Dial. lib. iv. c. 27. It was Dr. Wiclif's opinion that, “the host ought to be
“adored, not because it is any way the body of Christ,
“but for that it contains within it in a hidden manner the
“body of Christ.” But his followers, in the little book
which they presented to the Parliament about the 18th
year of King Richard II. thus expressed themselves; “the
Dr. Wiclif's Life, p. 338. “feigned miracle of the Sacrament of bread leads all but
“a few into idolatry; because they imagine, that the body
“of Christ, which is never out of heaven, is by virtue of
“the Priest's words essentially included in the little wafer,
“which they shew to the people.”

Dalleus adv. Lati-
norum de
Cultus Reli-
giosi Ob-
jecto Tradi-
tionem, lib.
ii. c. 6. This was a usage that was so far from having any being
in the first three ages of the Church, that it did not pre-
vail till late, even in the last times among the Latins, viz.
not till the eleventh or twelfth century. But I suppose
our Bishop defended it, as he believed transubstantiation,
and that therefore the bread which was adored at the ele-
vation was not a creature, but Christ himself.

Antwerpise,
A. D. 1542.
fol. 89. Thus is the rubric expressed in the canon of the Mass,
according to the use of Sarum—Elevet hostiam parum-
per, ita quod non videatur a populo; et sic debet tenere
quousque dixerit verba consecrationis; quia si ante con-
secrationem elevetur, et populo ostendatur, sicut fatui sa-
cerdotes faciunt populum idololatrare adorando panem pu-
rum tanquam corpus Christi, et in hoc peccant.

Life, p. 160. 69. As to the use of oaths, Dr. Wiclif's followers al-
lowed, that God granteth to swear by his own name or by
himself; and, “that it is leeful to swere bi God Almgiti
“in a nedeful case, with three circumstauncis, in truth,
“doom, and rigtfulnesse. In the fifth chapter of Matthew,
“said they, Crist forbid not to swere bi the Creatour, but
“bi the creature, as Seynt Jerom witnessith there, and
“Seynt Austyn proveth there opinli bi holi Scripture and
“resoun that to swere soth with due circumstaunce is not

Thirty-se-
ven Arti-
cles, No. 14.
MS.

“synne. For bi Austyn on Jon, and bi Crisostom on the
 “Pistil to Ebreis the vi. chap. Crist swoor whanne he
 “seide, *truli, truli, I seie to you.* And as Austyn wit-
 “nessith in the v. chap. of Matthew, Poul swoor oft in
 “seyngge thus; *God is witnessse to me, or thus, I clepe*
 “*God to witnessse to my soule:* and the Aungil in the x.
 “chap. of Apoc. swoor bi God lyvinge in worldis of
 “worldis.” What Dr. Wiclif blamed was, “men’s swer-
 “ing customabli, needlesli, and oft unadvisedli and falsli
 “by the membres of God^p, by Christ, and bi sayntis.”
 This he called idolatry, and observed that men were en-
 couraged thus to swear by the examples of Lords and Pre-
 lates, who commonly made, each one for himself, an idol of
 some [¶] saint, whom he worshipped more than God; for
 commonly they swore by our Lady of Walsingham, St.
 John Baptist, St. Edward, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and
 such other saints, and charged more this oath than the
 oaths they swore by the Holy Trinity.

CHAP.
III.

Life of Dr.
Wiclif, p.
160.

70. By the story of William Thorpe, preserved by Mr.
 Fox, it appears, that the Wiclifists thought it “evil done,
 “and great sin to swear truth, when in any manner a man

¶ —Hoc anno Christi Jesu in quo fecisti plurimos homines mori in
 Angliæ emittendo (sanguinem) per juncturas et per secessum, scilicet in illis
 partibus corporis per quas horribiliter jurare consueverunt, scilicet, per oculos
 Christi, per faciem Christi, per latera Christi, per sanguinem Christi, per cor
 Christi pretiosum, per clavos Christi in suis manibus et pedibus. *Gasc. Dict.*
Theol.

To this profane swearing Chaucer alludes in the following words, where he
 intimates how it was reproved by the people called Lollers.

Sir, parish Priest, quoth he, for Goddis bones,

Tell us a tale as was thy forward yore,

Ise wel that ye lernid men in lore

Can mochil good, by Goddis dignity.

The Parson him answered benedicite,

What ails the man so sinfully to swere?

Our hoste answered—

I smell a Loller in the wind—

This Loller here will prechin us somewhat.

vulgar yet
use *Lawcus*
heart for
Lord
Christ’s
heart.
Squire’s
Prologue.

¶ Sanctorum Alphegi et Thome martyrum patronorum nostrorum—sacris
 meritis et precibus. Sancte Etheldrede virginis patrone nostre—sacris me-
 ritis, &c. *Mandatum, W. Gray Ep. Eliensis, &c.*

CHAP. " may excuse himself without an oath. But if a man may
 III. " not excuse himself without an oath, to them that have

Col. 2706,
 &c.

Provinciale,
 p. 298.
 Notes col.
 2, &c.

" only by God, taking him only that is soothfastness
 " to witness to soothfastness." Henry Knighton there-
 fore represents them as affirming, that it is not lawful
 to swear in any manner; though by what he adds, he
 seems to intimate that this is to be restrained to their
 common conversation, since he represents them as con-
 firming^r what they said thus, *I am siker it is soth*, or thus,
withoute doubte it is so. Our canonist Lyndwood tells us,
 that the Wiclifists affirmed, that *no truth is to be con-*
firmed by an oath; accordingly he argues against them
 on this supposition. He shews, that God swore by him-
 self, and, that if he who is most perfect swore, it follows,
 that to swear is not against the law of perfection: that
 the Angel swore, Apoc. x. and, that the Apostle swore,
 Rom. i. *God is my witness*; which are the very same ar-
 guments which Dr. Wiclif used to shew the lawfulness of
 swearing. And yet he makes the following harsh and se-
 vere reflection, that, " since God, an Angel, and an holy
 " man did swear, it is wonderful, that an heretic will not
 " swear, as if *he* would be more holy than God, Angels,
 " and saints: but, that he seemed to be rather like the
 " Devil, since he did not remember that he had read, that
 " the Devil ever swore to the confirmation of the truth."
 In refuting the objections, which he pretends the Lollards
 used against swearing, he observes, that Christ does not
 say *omnino non jurabis*, but *non jurabis omnino*, which he
 thus explains; " he did not forbid, all swearing, but all
 " causeless swearing, lest, by swearing on every trifling
 " occasion, men might come to a facility of swearing, and
 " from thence to a habit of it, and from thence to perjury."
 So St. James, he observes, when he says, *above all things*
swear not, " forbids indiscreet swearing, or swearing for
 " any cause without any distinction. He does not abso-

^r Sequela cujuslibet dicti serum talis erat. *I am syke it is soth, &c.*

“lutely forbid all swearing; but only *voluntatem libidinosa-
sam jurandi, quia ad jurandum non debet quenquam de
honestate spontanea voluntas inducere.* This, he says,
“some expound to be the meaning of *omnino*, i. e. *ubi-
que*, or without cause, or for a light cause, or indifferently
“*in omnibus, et in omnia.*” So well did our learned can-
onist agree with those whom he condemned of heresy.

71. By the same story of Thorpe, we are shewn, that
the Wiclifists thought it “not lawful to a subject, at the
“bidding of his Prelate, to kneel down and touche the holy
“Gospel book, and kiss it, saying, *So helpe me God and
“this holy dome*; for, that to swear upon a book is to
“swear bi creatures, and this swearing is ever unleeiful.”
To this opinion of theirs Archbishop Arundel refers in his
Constitution, which orders, that no one shall presume to
dispute publicly or privately, unless it be to have a true
understanding of articles or points determined by the
Church. Among these he reckons *the taking of oaths, by
touching the holy Gospels of God, and upon them in cases
expressed in the law, and used in either court by all who
are concerned.* Lyndwood notes, that it was not neces-
sary that the book on which they swore should be the
holy Gospels; it was enough that it was a sacred book;
accordingly it was usual to swear on the ** tropery* or *topey*,
a book of sequences. Three things were chiefly regarded;
that the thing on which they swore was holy; that it was
open, and not shut; and, that it was in sight. *That oath,*
he says, *obliged the swearer, whether it was made by God,
or by the book of the holy Gospels, or upon the altar, or
upon the cross, or on any other holy thing.*

Provinciale,
p. 110. col.
2.

In what manner our Bishop defended this way of swear-
ing, I am not able to say. It is not improbable, that he
excused it from the charge of idolatry, as he did the wor-
ship of images.

72. The last governance here mentioned by our Bishop,

* Nulla justitia defuit Johanni in curia mea, sed ipse—attulit in curia
quendam Toper, et juravit super illum. *Rogeri de Hoveden, Annal. pars poste-
rior Hen. II.*

CHAP. is the use of capital punishments, and of war approved by
 III. the Church. By capital punishments I suppose to be meant the punishing heresy with death; and by war approved by the Church, is to be understood, I presume, the croisades which were so much encouraged by the Popes.

73. As to the *first*, it is to be observed, that Christ Jesus gave this reason to Pilate, to shew that his kingdom was not of this world, *viz.* that if it were of this world, then would his servants fight, that he should not be delivered to the Jews. Accordingly the great Apostle of the Gentiles declared, that though he and the rest of the Apostles walked in the flesh, they did not war after the flesh, nor were the weapons of their warfare carnal; that their armour was the armour of righteousness, and in particular the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit: and that they approved themselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, and in distresses. He shewed Timothy, that though if any man taught otherwise than he had instructed *him* to teach, and consented not to wholesome words, the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he should withdraw himself from such; yet the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, and of a forbearing temper, in meekness instructing those that opposed themselves.

74. After the death of Christ and his Apostles, for above two hundred years, so far were the Bishops and Pastors of the Church from having the secular arm at their beck, to execute their sentences on those they thought fit to deliver over to it, that they themselves were in bonds, imprisonments, and endured persecutions and tribulations for the sake of the Gospel. They were armed with no other defence than that of their doctrine, their prayers, and tears, and had no other weapon to fight against heretics with, than the sword of the Spirit. Accordingly they opposed with all their might all cruelty

Eraem.
 Epist. lib.
 xxxi. ep. 47.

and persecution on account of religion. Thus Tertullian bids the heathens consider, whether this was not for the advantage of irreligion, their taking away the freedom of religion, and forbidding men the "choice of the object of divine worship, so that they might not worship whom they would, but were forced to worship whom they would not. Since no one, not even a man, would be worshipped by any one against his will." So in the same apology he thus expresses his sentiments: "Since it so plainly appears to be wrong to force free men against their wills to sacrifice, for that otherwise a willing mind is required to the performance of any divine matter, it must certainly be thought foolish for any one to compel another to honour the gods, whom for their own sakes they ought of their own accord to appease." To the same purpose in his book to Scapula. "It is the right of mankind, and their natural privilege, for every body to worship that which he shall think best; nor does any one man's religion profit or incommode another. Besides, it is no part of religion to force religion, which should be taken up voluntarily, and not by constraint; since even sacrifices are required to be offered with a willing mind: so that though you by force compel us to sacrifice, you will thereby do nothing for your gods, since, unless they are spiteful, they will never desire sacrifices from such as are unwilling to offer them, and if any of them be of so spiteful a temper, he is not a God." St. Cyprian follows his master Tertullian in delivering the same sentiments: thus he expresses them, according to the fine translation of Dr. Marshal: speaking of the excommunication of offenders, he proceeds thus:—"God hath commanded such to be slain as obeyed not his priests, as refused to hearken to his judges who should be appointed for the time being: *then* indeed the temporal sword took vengeance of them, as the carnal circumcision stood then in force; but *now* that a spiritual circumcision hath begun to take place among the faithful servants of God, the presumptuous and obstinate

CHAP.
III.

Apologet.
c. 24.

C. 38.

C. 11.

Epist. IV.

ad Pomponium de
Virginibus.

CHAP. " among *us* are put to death by the sword of the Spirit,
 III. " and by being cast out of the church."

Maximo
 Presbytero,
 c. 1. 2.

75. So in his 54th epistle, refuting those who separated themselves from the Church, he thus bespeaks them.
 " And indeed the cause seemed to me to be plainly this ;
 " that you left all your glory behind you in your prison,
 " when, upon your coming out of it, you suffered your-
 " selves to be entangled in the errors of heresy and
 " schism. The honour of your character seemed, I say,
 " to be left there behind you, when the soldiers of Christ
 " returned not to his Church, upon their being let out of
 " prison, into which they had been thrown, with the
 " praises and gratulations of his Church attending them.
 " For though tares should appear in the Church, yet *that*
 " should give no scandal to our faith and charity, nor
 " should we leave the Church because we observe *them* in
 " it. Our business is to labour with all our might, that
 " we ourselves may be found true wheat, that so, when
 " the time shall come for gathering the wheat into our
 " Lord's barns, we may reap the fruit of our honest endea-
 " vours. The Apostle saith in one of his Epistles, that *in*
 " *a great house there are not only vessels of gold and sil-*
 " *ver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honour,*
 " *and some to dishonour.* We therefore should strive as
 " far as we are able, to become vessels of gold or silver :
 " but as for those of *earth*, we should remember that the
 " *breaking them* belongeth only to our Lord, who alone
 " is entrusted with the *rod of iron*. The servant must
 " not pretend to be greater than his Master, nor ought
 " any person to assume to himself a privilege which the
 " Father hath granted only to his Son, or imagine that he
 " is fit or able to manage the shovel or fan, or to purge
 " the floor, or to separate all the tares from the wheat, by
 " the power or sagacity of human judgment. It is obsti-
 " nate pride, and a presumptuous robbery of God, which
 " makes men so rash and so assuming."

Cornelio
 Fratri, c. 6,
 7.

76. Again in his 59th epistle, " Nor should any one,
 " says he, be surprised at observing, that the Bishop, who

“ is but a servant, should be forsaken by certain persons ;
 “ since the Master himself was left by his disciples, though
 “ he performed such great wonders, and shewed forth the
 “ power of God his Father in them, yet did not he upbraid
 “ them when they were going from him, or give out any
 “ severe threatenings against them, but only turning to
 “ his Apostles asked them, *Will ye also go away?* therein
 “ preserving the law inviolate, whereby man is left to his
 “ liberty of choosing for himself either death or salvation.”
 And a little after; “ As for ourselves, dear brother, we must
 “ be careful that none fall away from the Church through
 “ any fault of ours ; but if any by their own choice and
 “ through their own fault miscarry, and refuse to do pen-
 “ nance, and to return into the Church ; *we* who consult
 “ their safety shall be blameless in the day of judgment,
 “ whilst *they* only shall remain obnoxious to punishment,
 “ who would not hearken to our *wholesome counsel*, nor
 “ make any use of it.” In this manner did these ‘two
 Doctors of the Church express their dislike of all force and
 violence in matters of conscience and eternal salvation.

† Pamelius observes, that these very Fathers elsewhere express themselves as of a quite contrary opinion. To prove this of the first of them, he instances in a passage in the beginning of his book called *Scorpiacum*, of the good of martyrdom, *vis. ad officium hæreticos compelli, non illiciti dignum est. Duritia vincenda est, non suadenda.* As for St. Cyprian, he quotes his Exhortation to Martyrdom, and his 55th Epistle to Antonianus, §. 5. where the Father thus speaks. *If before the coming of Christ these precepts concerning the worshiping of God and despising of idols were to be observed, how much more are they to be followed since his coming, when he has persuaded us, not only with words, but with deeds! Having after he had suffered all manner of injuries and reproaches, been also crucified that he might teach us by his example to suffer and die; that no man might have any excuse for not suffering for himself, since he suffered for us; and since he suffered for other men's sins, much more ought every one to suffer for his own.* Both Tertullian and St. Cyprian are speaking of the same thing, *vis.* the laws made for the punishment of idolsters under the Mosaic dispensation. To this Tertullian plainly refers, when he observes, that it was then thought meet that heretics should be compelled, &c. Idolatry was under that theocracy an act of high treason against the Sovereign, and therefore was punished with death. But it does not thence follow, as Pamelius and Cardinal Bellarmine would have it, that in a Christian commonwealth, where the sovereign is not God, but a man, heresy is to be capital, or to be punished with death.

CHAP.
III.

77. Lactantius is yet more clear and open in maintaining the same doctrine; after having challenged the heathens to defend their gods, and put them in mind of their being able to do nothing by force towards the destruction of Christianity, which the more increased, the more it was oppressed, he adds, that "there is no need of force and violence, because religion cannot be compelled; and that it may be a man's free choice, the matter ought to be transacted by words or arguments, not by blows. Let them therefore draw the sword of their wits; if their reasoning be good, let it be produced; we are prepared to hear them, if they will but instruct us: but we no more believe those who say nothing, than we yield to them who torment us with their cruelties. Let them imitate us, and give an account of the whole matter; for we do not, as they object to us, entice men, but we teach them, we prove, we demonstrate to them; therefore is nobody detained by us against his own consent; since he is useless unto God, who has not faith and devotion; and yet nobody leaves us, the truth itself retaining him." And a little after; "They may know therefore from hence the difference betwixt truth and falsehood, seeing they themselves, though they are eloquent, cannot persuade, when the rude and unskilful can, because the thing speaks itself, and is the truth. Why therefore are they so cruel as to propagate their folly, when they should rather lessen it? Hanging and devotion are very different things; nor can either truth consist with force, nor justice with cruelty.—But the established religion is, say they, to be defended! O how do the wretches wander by having their wills! For they think there is nothing in this world more excellent than religion, and that they ought to defend that with the utmost violence: but they are deceived, as in the religion itself, so in the kind of its defence; for religion is to be defended, not by killing others, but by dying ourselves; not by cruelty, but by patience; not by wickedness, but by faith; since those are the qualities of the

Divin. Just.
lib. v. c. 19.

“wicked, these of the good; and it is necessary that in religion there should be good and not evil. For if you will defend religion by shedding blood, by torments, and by doing evil, you will not defend religion, but pollute and violate it. For nothing is so voluntary as religion, in which if the mind be averse, religion is gone and nullified. Right reason therefore is, that you defend religion by patience or by death, in which if the faith be kept, it is both acceptable to God himself, and adds authority to religion.” To the same purpose in the next chapter; “That is not a sacrifice which is extorted from one who is unwilling to offer it. For unless it be offered voluntarily, and with a willing mind, it is an execration; since men offer it as they are compelled to it, by proscriptions, by wrongs, by imprisonment, and by torments. If they are Gods who are so worshipped, even for this very reason they should not be worshipped, because they desire to be worshipped in such a manner; seeing they deserve the detestation of men, by whom they are sacrificed to with tears and groans, and the blood flowing from all parts of their bodies. But we on the contrary do not desire, that any one against his will, or whether he will or no, should worship our God, who is the Creator of all things; nor are we angry with him if he does not worship him.”

78. Such was the harmless faith of the first Christians, expressed according to the pattern of the Gospel, when yet the world had not entered into the Church, and by its pride and splendour perverted the minds of Christians, and corrupted their innocent manners. But after that Christians came to have the reins of the civil government in their own hands, by the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity, with this change of their fortune there soon followed a change in their doctrine and behaviour; insomuch that their degenerate posterity, leaving the footsteps of their ancestors, at length brought back into the Church the heathens' cruelty, nay a cruelty more severe than that of the heathens was. What gave the

CHAP.
III.A. D. 313.
Eusebii de
Vita Con-
stantini
lib. ii. c. 60.Ibid. c. 64,
&c.

first occasion to it was the contention that happened betwixt Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and Arius, a Presbyter of the same Church. The Emperor had before this published an edict, in the conclusion of which he exhorted his subjects both Christian and Pagan to live quietly and neighbourly together, and not to injure one another on account of their different opinions, telling them, that it is one thing voluntarily to undertake a warfare for immortality, and another to be compelled to it by force. But amidst these pleasing cares of his to preserve peace, tidings were brought to him of a great tumult being raised in the Church, and all things being in the utmost confusion; that not only were the Bishops divided among themselves on account of some religious opinions, but that the people were distinguished into parties, some taking one side, some another; and that these unhappy contests were not confined to the Church of Alexandria, where they first began, but like fire had spread, and taken hold of the other parts of the empire. On this the Emperor wrote a letter, which he directed to Alexander and Arius, in which he blames them both, and seriously exhorts them to mind the things which make for peace; for which purpose he observes, that, so far as he could find, the first cause of all these differences was very small, and no way deserving so much zeal and contention about, being only a strife about words. But so exasperated were the minds of the several contending parties, and so totally had they lost all manner of good temper by their drawing blood in contro-

* The Emperor in his letter to Bishop Alexander, &c. mentions some in Africa, who, through a rash levity, had dared to divide the religion of the people into divers sects, and observes, that he had endeavoured to cure this distemper. In this he is thought to refer to the Donatists, who were very tumultuous, and of whom the Catholics often preferred complaints to the magistrates concerning their injurious treatment. St. Augustine therefore tells us, that Constantine was forced to make a very severe law against them, viz. that the places in which they held their religious assemblies should be all confiscated to the exchequer. The date of this edict, Pagi conjectures, is A. D. 316.

† Διαδικαστῶν τὴν σύμπασαν Αἰγυπτὸν τε καὶ Λιβύην, τὴν ἰστικαὴν Ἑθναίαν Ἰβηρὴν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκείνησι ἰσαρχίαις τε καὶ πόλεσι.

versy, that all the Emperor's endeavours to restore the peace and tranquillity of the Church were to no purpose; neither were Alexander or Arius at all softened by them, and among the people there were still very great tumults and contentions. To remedy these evils therefore, the Emperor resolved to assemble a general council to meet at Nice; the conclusion of which was, that not only Arius and his books called *Thalia* were condemned, but even the words or manner of expression in which he explained his opinion. On this occasion the Emperor published an edict directed to the Bishops and people, wherein it is declared, that as Arius had imitated wicked and ungodly men, he deserved with them to undergo the punishment of being declared infamous; and it is ordered, that whatever books are found written by Arius should be burnt, and that if any one shall be discovered to have concealed any book written by him, and not forthwith to have burnt it, *τούτω θάνατος ἔσται ἢ ζημία*, he shall immediately be put to death or fined; the reason of which severity is said to be, that no remembrance of Arius might be left to posterity. Not content with this wholesome severity, he issued another edict against the followers of Arius, who were now styled heretics, whereby it is ordered, that the conventicles of their superstition (so their oratories or churches are now called, as those of the Christians were named but a little before by the heathens) should be taken from them, and without delay delivered up to the catholic Church, and their other places be condemned to the public, and that hereafter they should have no licence or liberty of assembling themselves together. The reason of this rigour is said to be, that it is expedient that men should turn away their eyes and ears from these things, lest the pure and sound confession of their faith be corrupted by the heretics' particular exposition; and that they cannot be tolerated without the danger of the sound and strong being infected as with a pestilential distemper.

Socratis
Hist. lib. i.
c. 9.

Eusebii de
vita Con-
stantini
lib. iii. c.
64, 65.

79. Such harsh remedies as these being used, and the

CHAP.
III.Limburchi
Hist. Inq.
lib. i. c. 3.

secular arm thus interposing to inflict civil punishments on those whose doctrine was condemned by the sentence of councils, and whom it became the fashion to call by the infamous or reproachful name of heretics, thereby the more effectually to expose them to the hatred of the common people. The severity was not restrained to one sort of punishment; but others were added on the back of one another, that so the doctrine condemned by a council might, if possible, be altogether extirpated, as having no followers. From pecuniary punishments they proceeded to confiscation of estates, to banishment, and at length to blood and slaughter; for cruelty rarely stops within its first bounds, but when once a door is opened to it, it presently disperses itself on all sides, and has on every occasion new additions and increase. This appeared very plainly in this coercion of heretics, of which I am now speaking; for first of all laws were made against heretics, by which they were forbidden to have churches, to hold any assemblies, to possess any goods of the Church, to consecrate Bishops, to ordain Priests, to make their wills, to be executors to others, and to have or enjoy any public offices. It was provided by the severest laws, as I have shewn, that their books should not be copied or preserved; and as Christians thus imitated the heathens in persecuting Dissenters, so they particularly followed the example which the Emperor Julian had given them, in destroying their schools, a thing which the heathens themselves thought cruel and severe.

Codicis
lib. i. tit. 5.

80. These were indeed the laws of the civil magistrate, but nobody, who compares the present times with those that are past, can doubt but that they were made and promulged with the consent and approbation of the Bishops, if not by their advice; since it is very earnestly contended

Adnotatio
Jac. Pame-

ŷ Jura condidit, Julianus, non molesta, absolute quædam jumentia fieri vel arcentia, præter pauca; inter quæ erat illud *inclemens*, quod docere vetuit magistris rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos ni transissent ad numinum cultum. *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xxv. c. 4.

for, that in any one place of the same kingdom, monarchy, province, dominion, republic, city, or town, different religions are not to be admitted.

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III.

lii in Ter-
tul. Scorpi-
acum.

81. Nor were the ^zArians at all behindhand with the Orthodox, when *they* came to have the power in *their* hands, or the Emperor on their side. Athanasius, in his letter to those who lived a solitary life, relates several instances of their cruelty; as that in Egypt they scourged the Bishops, and bound them with bitter bonds; that they sent Sarapammon into banishment, and laid such heavy strokes on the neck of Potammon as to leave him for dead, and that not long after he died with grief, and the blows which they gave him; that they forbade a dead woman to be buried; that they ejected a great many Bishops from their sees, and sent them into exile, and obtained an edict from the Emperor, that not only should those Bishops be deprived of their cities and churches, but be punished with death, wherever they should be found. Many other instances of the same, or a more cruel nature, may there be met with.

82. In the Latin Church, St. Augustine was one who bore a great sway, and to whose judgment and opinion a very high regard and deference was paid. Now he, though in his former writings he condemned the use of all force in matters of religion, yet afterwards being heated with dispute, and teased by opposition, he very largely shewed, and warmly contended, that heretics might be compelled by outward force and the fear of punishments. These punishments indeed he would not have to be such as deprived men and women of their lives, but any thing short of *that* he was for: they might be banished and outlawed,

Limborchi
Hist. Inq.
lib. i. c. 6.

^z Non dissimili tamen de causa et illa olim et postea Al-mondarus infenso in partes Romanas animo fuit: ob Christianos scilicet, qui ejusdem cum Arabum Christianis sententiæ fuerant durius tractatos. Hac autem differentia, quod sub Mawiah Arrianismi fautores *orthodoxos*, sub Al-mondaro, Orthodoxi Jacobitarum hæresim amplexos persequerentur. *Pocock. Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 85, 137.

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by which means life might be rendered more bitter than death; but they must not have the privilege of putting an end to the torments of an unhappy life, stripped of all the comforts and enjoyments of it, by dying a speedy death. The Bishops of Rome therefore improved on this opinion; they not only were for punishing those they called heretics with inflicting on them in their lives all the plagues and calamities which this world affords, but they endeavoured, by the most cruel and barbarous inventions, to make the bitterness of death as great as possible. And, that those they called heretics might not possibly escape this their persecution, they at length inserted into the oath, which all Bishops were to take to the Pope at the time of their consecration, this clause, *hereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis posse persequar et impugnabo*: heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the same our lord, or his foresaid successors, I shall resist and persecute to the utmost of my power. Instances of this we have but too many in the more than barbarous insults and cruelties which were practised towards the poor harmless Albigenes and Vaudois. One of these instances of their brutality I will here mention, as being done here in England. The historian tells us, that “in the reign of King Henry II. some vagabonds came into England of that sort, as it was believed, whom they called Publicans or Puritans. There were of them somewhat more than forty men or women: being asked in order concerning the articles of the holy faith, they answered right as to the substance of the supreme Physician, but as to his remedies, by which he vouchsafes to heal men’s infirmities, that is, the divine Sacraments, they spoke

Pontificale Romanum, p. 60. edit. Antwerpæ, 1627.

Gul. Neubr. Hist. lib. xi. c. 13.

* When this persecuting clause was first inserted I cannot say, but it is not in Pope Gregory’s form, nor in the oath taken by Archbishop Chicheley A. D. 1414, nor in that sworn by Archbishop Cranmer. Mr. Collier, out of a disposition to find fault with Bishop Burnet’s History of the Reformation, and to colour over the deformities of the Church of Rome, is so hardy as to affirm, in direct contradiction to plain matter of fact, that the word in this oath is not *persequar* but *prosequar*. *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 68. col. 2. mar.

"very perversely. On this they were admonished to do
 "penance, and be united to the body of the Church; which
 "wholesome counsel," the historian says, "they despised.
 "They were then threatened on this pious pretence, that
 "they might be driven through fear to repent; but they
 "derided these threats, abusing," as the historian terms
 it, "that saying of our Lord's, *Blessed are they who are*
 "*persecuted for righteousness sake; for theirs is the king-*
 "*dom of heaven.* The Bishops then, out of their care that
 "the heretical poison might spread no further, having
 "publicly denounced them heretics, delivered them over
 "to the Catholic Prince, to be put under corporal disci-
 "pline. He ordered, that the mark of heretical infamy
 "should be burnt on their foreheads, and that in the sight
 "of the people they should be whipped and expelled the
 "city, strictly forbidding any one to receive them into
 "their houses, or to presume to afford them any comfort.
 "The sentence being pronounced, they were led rejoicing
 "to what the historian calls the justest punishment, the
 "master going before them, not in a slow manner, as if he
 "was loath to come to the place of torment, and singing
 "as they went, *Blessed shall you be when men hate you,*
 "*&c.*" The historian thus describes the manner of the
 execution of this cruel and barbarous sentence. "He who
 "was the principal of them, as a sign or token of his
 "mastership, was doubly burnt, *viz.* in his forehead and
 "about his chin; the others were only burnt in their fore-
 "heads, their clothes were cut up to their girdles, and they
 "were publicly lashed and whipped out of the city, where
 "they miserably perished ^b with the extremity of the cold,
 "it being winter, and no one daring to shew them the
 "least pity." Who can read this without weeping? And
 yet the historian, out of his zeal against heresy, is so void
 of all bowels of compassion, as to call this hardheartedness

^b This was in the year 1161. But of this cruelty the King seems to have
 lived long enough to repent. Since in 1182, one and twenty years after, and
 but seven before his death, he would not consent that they should be burnt
 any where in his dominions, though there were great numbers of them

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and inhumanity the *godly rigour of severity*. However by this we may see, that as yet the ordinary corporal discipline for heretics here in England was not burning them to death; this was a discipline, that, however it was favoured by our common law, was not allowed by statute, nor commonly practised till above two hundred years after this time, when it was enacted^c, that any person refusing to abjure, or relapsing after abjuration, should be delivered to the secular arm, and that "the sheriff, &c. the same persons after such sentence promulgate shall receive, and them before the people in an high place do see to be burnt; that such punishment might strike fear into the minds of others, whereby no such wicked doctrine and heretical and erroneous opinions, nor their authors nor fautors in this realm and dominions, against the Catholic faith, Christian law, and determination of holy Church, be sustained, or in any wise suffered." To which his successor Henry V. added, that as many as were found to be fautors of the sect called Lollards should be judged as guilty of high treason.

2 Henry IV.
c. 15.
A. D. 1401.

T. de Elm-
ham, Vit.
Hen. V.

Treatise of
Faith, part
i. c. v.

83. I hope I shall not be blamed for this particular detail of the progress of persecution on account of religion. I thought it necessary not only to shew the unreasonableness of men's thus acting the devil for God's sake, but to account for our Bishop's defending an usage so absurd and inhuman. Since here we see how early this infamous practice begun, and by how great human authorities it has been supported. Our Bishop thus expresses his opinion of these sanguinary and capital punishments. *The Clergy*, says he, *shall be condemned at the last day, if by cleer witt they drawe not men into consent of trew faith otherwise than by fier and swerd or hangement. Although I will not deny these second means to be lawful, provided*

^c Before this act a Bishop could not convict any one for heresy, but he was to be convicted by the Archbishop in a provincial Synod; after which conviction the heretic was to be delivered to the sheriff, who, by virtue of the King's writ *de hæretico comburendo*, was to burn him. *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani*, p. 292, &c.

the former be first used. In what manner he defended this his opinion I cannot tell: perhaps he was of Erasmus's mind, who excuses the civil powers backing the Church's sentence with their edicts and arms, that it was necessary for them so to do, to preserve the peace of their kingdoms, and keep all things from running into tumult and confusion, through people's eagerness and perverseness of disputing about their different opinions. CHAP.
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84. To this brutal and profane conceit of compelling men, whether they will or not, to the worship of God, and forcing them to think as others will have them, as if truth could be imprinted on men's minds with the points of swords, or their understandings be enlightened by making bonfires of their bodies, was owing that savage and romantic custom, introduced by the Popes, of men's taking on them the cross, to fight the Pope's battles, and be knocked on the head to do them service. This project seems first of all to have been invented for the recovery of the Holy Land, for the use of the Pope, out of the hands of the infidels. To this attempt Christian princes were invited to leave their kingdoms, and expose their lives, and spend the blood of their subjects and their treasure; and for their encouragement, they were to be freed and absolved from all the sins which they had repented of and confessed. But in process of time the Popes made use of this taking the cross, as it was called, to revenge their own quarrels. Thus Pope Urban the Sixth, having his title questioned by the French, who owned his rival Pope Clement, sent his bulls to Henry le Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, to empower him to undertake the croisade against the French, to avenge him of them; and promised to those who either went with him, or contributed towards the expences of his expedition, the same indulgence which it had been usual to grant to those who went to the assistance of the Holy Land. Of this Dr. Wiclif complained, that the seal or banner of Christ on the cross, that is, a token of peace, mercy, and charity, was used to slay Christian men, for love of two false Priests, that are

Walsingham Hist. Angl.

Life of Dr. Wiclif, p. 121.

CHAP. open Antichrist, to maintain their worldly state, and to
 III. oppress Christendom worse than Jews, &c. How our Bi-
 shop defended this governance does not appear to me.

85. Such were the governances of this Church at that time, which our Bishop undertook to defend. I observe his Lordship does not once mention the exorcisms and benedictions made over the bread and wine, water and oil, salt, wax and incense, the stones of the altar, and walls of the church, over a vestment, a mitre, a cross, and the pilgrims' staves. These the Wiclifists censured as more like the practices of necromancy, than of true divinity.

86. About the ninth and tenth century appeared several liturgies under the names of some of the Apostles; in which there is a strange agreement about the solemn invocation of the Holy Spirit, to make the gifts, or the bread and wine at the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ. Of this liturgical invocation it is truly observed, that there is not the least hint in the genuine writings of the Apostles. To this conceit of a mystic virtue and secret power being conveyed, by the giving thanks to, or blessing God over the outward elements, &c. some countenance had been given before by St. Cyrill of Jerusalem, (if those passages are his,) who tells us, that simple or pure water having received a virtue, by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, of Christ, and of the Father, is made partaker of holiness. The same he observes of the eucharistical bread, and of the holy unguent, that after the invocation of the Holy Spirit they are no more common bread or bare unguent; but the one is the body of Christ, and the other charisma, or a divine gift, which effects the presence of the divinity of Christ, and the Holy Spirit. From hence it came to be fancied, that a real holiness may be imparted to senseless inanimate creatures; and that the benediction or thanksgiving used, rests or is terminated on *them*, and not on God; and that it consisted in the immediate presence of the Holy Spirit with them, who sanctified and changed them by his sacred contact. In the offices of the Roman Church we meet with abundance of instances of these be-

Cod. Apoc.
 N. Test.
 pars iii.
 edit. J. Alb.
 Fabricio.

Catech. iii.
 c. 2.

Catech.
 Myst. iii. c.
 3.

nedictions. In the first place, God is implored of his pity to vouchsafe to bless and sanctify the creature *salt*, that it may be to all who use it the health of their mind and body; and that whosoever shall be salted or sprinkled with it may be free from all uncleanness, and all resistance of spiritual wickedness. Next, God is prayed to pour on the element of *water*, prepared by manifold purifications, the virtue of his benediction; that his creature, serving his mysteries, may receive the efficacy of the divine grace, to drive away devils and remove distempers; that whatsoever in the houses or places of the faithful shall be sprinkled with this *water* may be free from all uncleanness, delivered from harm, and that no pestilential breath or infectious air may continue there, &c. The holy loaf, on the Lord's days, God is called upon to bless, as he blessed the five loaves in the wilderness, that all who taste of it may have health both of body and soul. The creature *wax* our Lord Jesus Christ is prayed to bless, and to pour on it a heavenly blessing, through the virtue of the holy cross, that by the sign of his cross it may have such a fortitude and benediction, that in whatsoever places it is lighted and set, the Devil may depart, and tremble, and fly away pale, with all his ministers, from those habitations, and not presume any more to disturb them. The creatures of *flowers* and *leaves*, the *branches of palms*, and *leaves of trees*, which, they say, they offer in the presence of God's glory, he is prayed to let his truth sanctify, that the devout people, who carry them in their hands, may deserve to obtain the grace of his benediction. The like benedictions were used for the meats at Easter, butter, cheese, eggs, &c.

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Manuale ad
usum Sa-
rum, fol. 2.

Ibid. fol. 5.

Ibid. fol. 19.

Ibid. fol. 63,
&c.

87. In the Roman Pontifical there is a solemn form of benediction of the first stone of a church; and God is prayed to let his Holy Spirit descend on this house which is to be built. In the form of consecrating a church, God is desired to send forth his Holy Spirit on the wine mixed with water, salt, and ashes, that being armed with the defence of heavenly power, it may be profitable for the con-

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secration of this church and altar. And to name no more of these superstitious dotages and follies, in the consecration of the altar, prayers are made that God would command the polished matter of that stone, which was to be imbued or anointed with the sacrifices offered on it, to be enriched with the abundance of sanctification. To support these profanations they, in their addresses to God, uttered this untruth: "That he had conferred on his " Priests, above others, such a favour, that whatsoever " *they* did in his name, worthily and perfectly, should be " believed to be done by him."

Life of Dr.
Wiclif, p.
151, 158.

88. To these consecrations or blessings Dr. Wiclif objected, that they were feigned things, and invented to blind or deceive the people; and that, in particular, the hallowing of dead stones, or dead earth, and other ornaments of the church, as vestments, cloths, chalices, oil and cream, which was reserved to the Bishops, served only to magnify *their* state in pride. In the little book presented by some of his followers to the Parliament, it is observed by them, that by such benedictions the creatures are esteemed to be of higher virtue than they are in their own nature; and that yet we do not see any change made in any creature which is thus blessed. Accordingly they added, that if the book of blessing ^d holy water, read in the church, was all true, they should think that the holy water used in holy Church should be a good medicine for all sorts of distempers, and particularly for sores; which yet they knew to be otherwise. However the common people were so persuaded; so that the ^e water in the font, the holy wafers, and chrism, were all locked up.

I have been the more particular in my account of this

^d —Elemento huic multimodis purificationibus preparato virtutem tue benedictionis infunde, ut creatura tua misteriis tuis serviens ad abjiciendos demones, morbosque pellendos, divine gratie sumat effectum. *Manuale secundum usum Sarum*, fol. 3. a.

^e Fons—cum sera claudatur, ne laicis vel aliis ad aquam ejusdem pateat accessus ad aliqua nefaria exercenda, sicut alias ordinatur de Eucharistia et chrismate. *Lyndwood's Provinciale*, p. 241, edit. 1679.

book of our Bishop's, because it gives us so good a view of the state of the controversy at that time betwixt the then Church of England and the Wiclifists who dissented from it. I now proceed to give what further account I can meet with of our Bishop.

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*Bishop Pecock is translated from St. Asaph to Chichester.
An Account of a Book of his entitled, a Treatise of
Faith.*

1. ABOUT this time the Duke of York's friends, taking advantage of the popular discontents, which were now growing to a very great height, were for preparing the way for the Duke's accession to the throne. Among other steps taken by them for this purpose, one was the removing out of the way those whom they thought best affected to the King, and most capable of serving him. Accordingly Dr. Adam Molins^a, Bishop of Chichester, and Lord Privy Seal, was by a parcel of rude sailors, hired by them on purpose, murdered at Portsmouth, January 9, 1449; who being thus removed, Bishop Pecock was thought by the Duke of Suffolk to be the most proper person to succeed him. A licence to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, to proceed to the election of a Bishop, was, we are told, granted January 30, 1449. But whether they did not proceed to an election, or chose another person, and not our Bishop, who was recommended to them; Bishop Pecock, it is certain, was by the Pope's bulls of provision translated to this see March 23. Accordingly he made his profession at Leicester the last day of this month, and had the temporalities of the bishopric restored to him the 8th of June following.

Nich. V.
Reg. Staf-
ford, p. 35.

A. D. 1450.

2. Gascoigne^b assures us, that "he knew this promo-

^a The ninth of January, Adam Molins, Bishop of Chichester, Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, was by shipmen slain at Portsmouth. *Summary of English Chronicles*, p. 370.

^b Ego Thomas Gascoigne novi, quod iste Pecock provisus tunc in Episcopum Cigestrensem per media Willielmi Ducis Suffolciæ, et Walteri Hart Episcopi Norwicensis. *Dict. Theol. MS.*

—Instantia duorum virorum factus est ibidem Episcopus, quamvis antea ab eisdem multum oditus est. *Idem.*

“tion of our Bishop was owing to the Duke of Suffolk, and the Bishop of Norwich, though before he was very much hated by them both.” If this was so; it is not improbable, that the reason of it was, our Bishop’s being so attached to the interest of the Duke of Gloucester, and so much favoured by him. But however this be, it seems very true, that hitherto every thing went well and succeeded on our Bishop’s side; though the latter end was no way answerable to the beginning, as we shall have soon occasion to shew.

3. An universal discontent seems now to have spread itself all over the kingdom, on account of the King’s late dishonourable match with Marget, daughter of the titular King of Sicily, and Duke of Lorraine, and the ill successes in France, which accompanied that unhappy marriage. By this contract the King granted, under his great seal to the Queen’s father, and his heirs, the dukedom of Anjou, and the city of Le Mans, in the county of Le Mans. To this, we are told, the King was forced by the French, who declared, that the Earl of Suffolk, the King’s proxy on this occasion, should not carry the young lady out of the kingdom of France, till their friend and ally, the King of Sicily, had granted to him and his heirs, by the King of England, the dominions above mentioned. Soon after this all Normandy and all France, even Gascony and Burgundy, withdrew from their obedience to the King of England. Thus unhappily were matters carried in France, where we lost our reputation before we lost the country. The Duke of Somerset very dishonourably surprised a town while the truce continued, and refused to make restitution; and the French, provoked by this example, surprised town after town, till they gained all Normandy, and within a few years extorted the dutchy of Gascony out of the English possession. Gascoigne tells us, it was reported, that a herald of arms, belonging to Charles King of France, swore by God and the said King, to a Somersetshire esquire named St. Barbe, that he heard the said King

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Tho. Gasc.
Dict. Theol.
MS.

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Guianes.

Westmo-
nas. Nov. 6.
28 Hen. VI.

Hall's
Chron. the
1. year of K.
Hen. VI.
fol. 1. a.

say, that the King of England, with the consent of divers lords of his council, had given and granted to the King and crown of France all the lands out of England, which the said King of England had, or pretended to have, excepting three places, viz. the town of Calais, and the castles of Kamys and Kyme, just by Calais. The same person tells us, that the King was said to have granted from himself and his heirs, almost all the lands and castles belonging to the crown, to certain lords in England, and to the servants of his household; insomuch that his Majesty could scarce spend out of the lands and tenements remaining to himself to the value of 400*l.* a year. And that on this the Parliament^c, which sat at Leicester, A. D. 1450, came to a resolution, that they would never grant any tax to the King, till he had first, by authority of Parliament, actually resumed all that pertained to the crown of England, which he had alienated from it.

4. A good deal, if not all, of this misconduct was imputed to the late murder of the Duke of Gloucester, who was generally esteemed by the people, as one who provided for and ordained all things which either redounded to the honour of the realm, or seemed profitable to the public wealth of the same; and to there being none at the helm, but such who were unable and unfit to advise in state affairs; all things being managed at the will and pleasure of the Queen, and her favourite the Duke of Suffolk, and the King but a mere cypher, or an engine moved by their hands. The impolitic Queen, too much transported with a passionate desire of government, and of being without any restraint, overlooked the ill consequence of laying the foundation of this her absolute rule, in the murder of this honest Duke, and excellent patriot; since had *his* life been preserved, the decay or weakening of the

^c Prædictum Parliamentum indies vexatum laboribus et expensis palam dixit, quod nunquam concederet taxam Regi, nisi prius ille auctoritate Parliamenti resumeret actualiter omnia pertinentia coronæ Angliæ, quæ idem Rex alienarat. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol.* MS.

house of Lancaster was very unlikely to have happened. *His* primogeniture would have kept back and stifled the Duke of York's pretensions to the crown, this Richard Duke of York's father being but the fifth son of Edward the Third; whereas Humphrey Plantagenet Duke of Gloucester was the fourth, which would have put an end to the former claim. But because he, who was careful in all things that related to the public good, delivered his mind against the King's match with the Queen, which he thought very prejudicial to it; therefore was he given up a sacrifice to the Queen's violent resentments, and the hatred of her ambitious favourite, and accordingly he was murdered 1447. This, together with the loss of Anjou and Mayne, the surrendery of which was imputed to the Duke of Suffolk, so inflamed the Commons, that in the Parliament, which met A. D. 1450, he was accused of being the chief promoter of the Duke of Gloucester's death, and of traitorously revealing to the French King all the secrets of state. Upon which, and many other accusations laid against him by the House of Commons, he was committed to the Tower; but the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but the Queen set him at liberty; which so much Hall. enraged the multitude, who looked upon him as an abhorred toad, and the common nuisance of the realm of England, that they made an insurrection, under the leading of a desperate fellow, who called himself Blue-beard; but by the diligence of the country gentlemen, he and the other leaders were apprehended, before they had attempted any enterprise, or done any mischief.

5. After this little rage was over, the Parliament was Hall. adjourned to Leicester, whither the King and Queen came in great state, attended with the Duke of Suffolk, as prime minister. But the Commons had not forgot their former complaint against the Duke, and therefore finding him in as high favour as ever, they renewed their address to the King, that such counsellors, as assented to the surrendery and giving up of Anjou and Mayne, might be punished with the utmost severity; and in particular accused the

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 IV. as principally concerned in this matter. On which the
 King, finding that the Commons would not be satisfied,
 sequestered the Lord Say, who was Lord High Treasurer,
 and the other friends of the Duke from their offices and
 employments, and banished the Duke himself for the term
 of five years, hoping that in that time the rage of his ene-
 mies would be somewhat appeased, so that he might be
 safely recalled. But all these designs were not suffered to
 take effect; for the Duke taking ship at Ipswich in Suf-
 folk, to transport himself into Flanders, was met the next
 day by a ship of war belonging to the Duke of Exeter,
 Constable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of
 the Tower, and others which lay in wait for him; the captain
 of which boarding the Duke's ship, and finding the Duke
 there, brought him into Dover road, where he caused his
 head to be cut off by the sailors on the gunnel or side of
 the long-boat, and left his body with the head on the
 sands hard by, which was taken up, together with his
 head, by Robert ———, and buried in the collegiate
 church of Wingfield in Suffolk.

W. Wyr-
 cester.

May 2.

6. The Duke was a nobleman of very considerable abi-
 lities, and one to whom his Prince and country were not a
 little indebted. He had warred in France forty-four years
 without intermission, in seventeen of which he never once
 saw his own country. In 1420 he was made a Knight of
 the most noble Order of the Garter, and in 1446 a Mar-
 quis, and two years after advanced to the honour of a
 Duke. But after all, suffering himself to be governed by
 a prodigious ambition, he was the unhappy adviser of the
 King's dishonourable match, and a contributor towards
 the worthy Duke of Gloucester's murder, and upon these
 accounts universally hated, as the occasion of all the king-
 dom's misfortunes, in which it was so terribly involved
 after that great patriot's death. In the fall of this great

^d Tunc in Anglia occisi fuerunt per Anglicos Dux Suffolcie Will. Poole, et
 Jacobus vocatus Dominus Say, et Dominus Will. Ayscough Episc. Sarum, &c.
Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS.

man, it is intimated as if our Bishop was not a little concerned, as thereby losing all the interest he once had with the temporal lords, as we shall see hereafter. CHAP.
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7. The Duke of York had very soon after the Duke of Gloucester's death begun to whisper among his friends his right and title to the crown, and was so far suspected of making an attempt to assert and claim it, as to be sent into Ireland to be out of the way. But, as is observed, though he was there as a prisoner, he had a great influence on the affairs of this kingdom, his friends, kinsmen, and allies being so many and very numerous. The Duke of Suffolk now falling under the displeasure of the Parliament, and having been taken and beheaded as he was going into France, as has been said before, the Duke of York's friends thought it a proper time to sound the inclinations of the people towards him. For this purpose they enticed a young man of good parts, and who made a handsome appearance, whose name was John Cade, to take upon himself the name of Mortimer, as supposing by that stratagem to make the family of the Earl of March, which was very large, to favour and adhere to him, and to conceal the Duke of York's having any hand in this sudden rebellion. The better to succeed in this attempt, it was ordered to be first made in Kent, the inhabitants of that county having been observed to be very impatient of wrongs, disdaining what they thought oppression, and ever desirous of changing. Here Cade raised a good number of men fit for his purpose, calling himself Captain

In Whit-
sun Week,
W. Wyrce-
ster, Anna-
les.

• Richard Duke of York was in pryson (as the Kyng's deputie) in the realme of Ireland continually resiaunt there. *Hall's Chron.*

Circa festum nativitatib beate Marie, [Sept. viii. 1460,] reversus est Dux Eboraci de Hibernia, et arrivavit apud Redbanke prope Cestriam, et ibidem cum paucis meavit ad castrum de Ludlowe. Die vii. Octobris inceptum est Parliamentum—Tercio die Parliamenti Dux Eboraci cum 500 armatis intravit palacium Westmonasterii, et sic in camera Parliamenti ubi proprio ore suo declaravit se fore heredem regium coronæ Angliæ. Et illo die pauci dominorum sibi favebant, sed solummodo absentabant. In vigilia Omnium Sanctorum concordati sunt Rex et Dux Eboraci auctoritate Parliamenti. *W. Wyrcester, Annales Rerum Anglic.*

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Mendall, and them *the public petitioners for public justice*, and with them, very well appointed, marched to Blackheath^f, where he lay encamped about a month, sending for whom and what he pleased. Gascoigne tells us, that they plundered several Rectors and Vicars in Kent, whom, I suppose, they knew, or suspected not to be in the Duke of York's interest.

Nor were these attempts in favour of the Duke of York confined to Kent; care had been taken by the Duke's agents, by popular insinuations to the prejudice of the government, to inflame the minds of the people in other parts of the kingdom, and set them against it. In those dioceses, the Bishops of which were either in favour at court, or any ways retainers to it, arts were used to prejudice the people against them and their clergy, who were in the same interest, and continued steady in their duty and loyalty to the King. And, because people are commonly most affected with what relates to their worldly advantage, therefore was it industriously suggested to them, how great losers they were by their Bishops not residing on their dioceses, not living among them, nor doing their alms, nor keeping any hospitality with them, but spending all their revenue elsewhere. Thus in the diocese of Sarum, Dr. William Askue, Bishop of that see, and the King's

Aiscough.

^f Die — Junii communitas Kancie, cum Johanne Cade capitaneo eorum, venerunt usque Blakheth, et ibi fixerunt campum. *W. Wyrcester, Annales.*

‡ Dominus Wilielmus Aiscough, Episcopus Sarum, et tunc Confessor R. Henrico VI. occisus fuit per ipsos suos diocesanos post missam suam, quam celebravit in die sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Et devote accepit mortem suam, ut dicebatur, et male tractabatur a suis diocesanis propriis, qui eum occidebant, et bona sua multa rapiebant, dicentes, *Iste mansit semper cum Rege, et fuit ejus Confessor, et non mansit in sua diocesi Sarum nobiscum, nec tenuit hospitalitatem, ideo occidetur.* Et sic verberabant eum, et percutiebant eum, cum instrumentis horribilibus ipsum vulnerantes tyrannice, et occidentes post extractionem ejus extra ecclesiam, et ipsum nudum jacere in campo fecerunt. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS.*

The 29th of June, William Aiscough, Bishop of Salisbury, after he had said mass at Edington, was by his own tenants drawn from the altar in his albe, with his stole about his neck, to the top of an hill, and there by them shame-

Confessor, was murdered by the mob, who forced him from the altar, where he was celebrating mass on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, and dragged him out of the church, thus insulting and reproaching him; *That fellow was always with the King, and was his Confessor, and never lived in his diocese with us, nor kept any hospitality; therefore shall he be killed.* Accordingly they never left beating and wounding him till he was dead, when they stript him of his episcopal robes, and left him naked in the open field, and plundered his episcopal palace. Not content with this cruel revenge on the Bishop, they likewise, we are told, plundered several Rectors and Vicars in the same diocese near Salisbury, and about Hungerford. William Boothe, Bishop of Coventry, and Chancellor to the Queen, and Dr. Walter Lyherd, or Le Hart, the Queen's Confessor, were both, we are told, pursued by the rabble on their flying to avoid their fury.

8. Gascoigne^b, in his zeal against our Bishop, tells us, that *he* was the cause of the several mobs who committed these cruelties and did so much mischief, and reckons them as a judgment of God, occasioned by his, and other Bishops promoted by the King, preaching that *Bishops are not obliged to preach themselves.* The same is very

fully murdered. And the day before his chariot was robbed to the value of ten thousand marks. *Stow's Summary of English Chronicles*, p. 371.

xxx die [Junii] Wyllhelmus Ascough, tunc Episcopus Sarum, apud Edyngtone, Wiltesire, ab insurrectoribus ejusdem comitatus interimitur. *W. Wyrcester, Annales Rerum Anglic.*

^b Causa fuit Reginaldus Pecock, quod plurimi in populo surrexerunt et occiderunt Episcopum Cicestrensem Adam Molens, et Episcopum Sarum Will. Asku; et persecuti sunt Episcopum Cestrie Buthe nomine, et Episcopum Norwicensem Walterum Lyart; et Rectores et Vicarios diversos in Cantia, et juxta Sarum, et circa Hungerford spoliaverunt. Et eodem anno intravit Dux Eboraci in Angliam ab Hibernia, in qua tunc fuerat contra voluntatem suam, ex mandato Regis Angliæ, Henrici VI. Et revera ex quo prædictus Episcopus Reginaldus Pecock, et alii Episcopi per Regem intrantes, dixerint, quod *Episcopi non tenentur prædicare per se ipsos vocaliter*, Deus omnipotens prædicavit in Anglia realiter, puniendo realiter, et puniri permittendo Episcopos, &c. in Anglia. *Dict. Theol. MS.*

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Collier's
Eccles.
Hist. vol. i.
p. 676, col.
1.

Jurisperiti
ac Episco-
porum Offi-
ciarum.

Wood, Hist.
et Antiq.
Oxon. pars i.
p. 222, col.
1.

confidently affirmed by a late ecclesiastical historian, who is pleased to assure us, that, "for about two years after our Bishop's maintaining the *seven* propositions above-mentioned, he declaimed against the Bishops in the pulpit in very warm intemperate expressions, railed on them for their titles and revenues, for appearing with a splendid equipage; and notwithstanding he had lately discharged them from the exercises of the pulpit, he now reproaches them for their omissions of this kind; is so hardy as to affirm, that it was either their ignorance, or their luxury, that occasioned this negligence; and, that if they would do any good in preaching, they must declaim against their own practice, and recommend those good qualities they had not the honesty to be masters of. This satire upon the hierarchy, the historian tells us, proved popular, inflamed the mob to a tumult, and carried them to such a pitch of distraction, that they murdered Molens and Askew, Bishops of Chichester and Salisbury, and pulled down their palaces. They likewise drove the Bishops of Litchfield and Norwich from their sees, and pursued them through the country, plundered and killed several advocates and judges belonging to the spiritual courts, and harassed the inferior Clergy in Kent and Wiltshire at a barbarous rate." To such lengths will men go, who are slaves to their own prejudices, and write history for no other end than to captivate men's affections, and serve a cause.

9. Gascoigne, it is plain, imputed these calamities of the public to our Bishop, and others promoted by the King, out of prejudice to the court, and to our Bishop in particular, whom he reckoned an heretic. As to the other account, the author of it was so blinded with zeal against our Bishop, as not to read even his own voucher right; who is so far from saying, that the Bishop declaimed against his colleagues in the pulpit, and made a satire upon the hierarchy; that he only tells us, that his sermons in defence of the Prelates of that time were so far from sa-

tisfying the people, that theyⁱ highly provoked them; and that accordingly they frequently railed against them in the open streets, in such expressions as are above mentioned.

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10. Among the grievances now rehearsed, in order to increase the popular discontents, (as it is the point of those, whose business it is to court the favour of the people for unwarrantable ends, to steal upon their blind side, and apply to their affections and vicious inclinations,) it was industriously given out, that the great men at court were so far from being well affected to the Clergy, as to wish there was not one preacher of the word in England; that since the King's reign there were none preferred in the Church, but ignorant and wicked men; that appropriations, pluralities, and non-residencies were very much multiplied and increased; and that our Universities were so much corrupted, as to grant graces to, and confer degrees on, the most unworthy and vicious men. If these things were generally believed by the people, and they were by them prejudiced and disaffected to the Bishops and Clergy of that time, it is not to be wondered at, if our Bishop's attempts to vindicate them were not well taken, and did not please the populace; since by his Lordship's being an advocate for them, he might be thought to approve these abuses, and be a patron of the grievances, of which so much complaint had been made. But this is very different from the Bishop's being the real cause of these tumults, by his intending to stir up the people, and set them against the government both in Church and State.

Gascoigne,
Dict. Theol.
MS.

11. About this time our Bishop, who still continued his studies and labours to reduce the dissenting Lollards to the communion of the Established Church, published a book in English, which his Lordship called, *A Treatise of Faith*. It is a dialogue betwixt a father and his son, di-

ⁱ Pecockii conciones tum alibi passim, tum Londini præsertim, habitæ tantam Episcopi invidiam cumularant, ut eosdem his frequenter verbis proscindebant; *Væ Episcopis qui ditantur, qui volunt vocari domini, et ut eis serviatur genibus flexis, &c.*

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vided into two books; whereof the first professeth to treat of the most probable means of gaining over the Lollards to the Church, which he assigns to be an entire submission of their judgment to the decrees of the Church, or Clergy, although supposed fallible; or, as his Lordship expresses himself, *a following the determinations and the holdings of the Church in mater of feith*, unless we can demonstrate their determinations to be wrong or mistaken, or can evidently and plainly without any doubt shew, that the Church hath determined that article untruly, and hath no sufficient ground so to determine. This first book is chiefly taken up with a long digression, shewing that faith in this life is only *probable*, or *opinional*, not *sciential*, which, the Bishop says, *is had in the bliss of heaven*; or that the truth of the Christian religion cannot be proved by *demonstrative*, but only by *probable* arguments. This dispute his Lordship manages in a scholastic way, full of niceties and subtilties of philosophy and school divinity, which makes it very obscure. In the beginning of it his Lordship observes, how fruitlessly many have endeavoured to reduce the Lollards by this principle, that *the Clergie, or the Chirche of the Clergie may not erre in matere of faith*. Of any further attempt of compassing the thing in that method he utterly disapproves; for which he gives the following reasons. That this principle has too much the appearance of improbability to be taken for granted: that many laymen of strong parts and high reputation will never tamely submit to any such principle: that a colourable opposition may be made against it from the writings of many celebrated Doctors^k: lastly, that this presuppos-

^k Gerson distinguished betwixt the universal Church and the Church which is called Apostolical, which is a particular Church, and comprehended in the Church universal, *viz.* the Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, Prelates, Ecclesiastics, which according to custom was called the Church of Rome. The universal Church, he said, according to tradition, could not err, nor fail, neither deceive nor be deceived; but as for the other, it might err and fail, deceive and be deceived. See Mr. Wharton's Preface to the Bishop's *Treatise of Faith*, printed 1688.

ing the infallibility of the Church, or of the Clergy, appears exceeding partial on the Clergy's side, and sets the laity against them, as being biassed and not indifferent judges in their own cause. And, *therefore*, says the Bishop, *to allege the seid meene into eeris of the seid laymen is not expedient into her conversioun.* After these preliminaries the Bishop proceeds to open his own purpose and design in these words. *Wherfore y unworthiest and yongist and lougist of Prelatis—entende and purpos in this present book for to mete agens suche unobediencers another way and in another maner, and bi meene which the lay-per-soonys wole admit and graunte; which meene is this:* That we *owen to bileeve and stond to sum seier or techer, *ought. which may faile, while it is not known, that thilk seyer or techer therynne fallith.—The *second* part of this treatise treateth of the rule of faith. In it the Bishop shews, that holy Writ is the chief and principal ground of all the faith which is contained in it, or the only rule or standard of revealed and supernatural truths.

12. The authority of the Church or Clergy, and infallibility of their determinations, had of late (since Dr. Wiclif's translating the holy Scripture into English, and contending that Christ's *law sufficeth by itself to rule Christ's Church*) been carried very high, and looked upon as the most successful engine against the prevailing growth of condemned heresy; insomuch that our Bishop assures us, in the first part of this treatise of his, that some divines argued from those words of St. Paul, *if we, or an angel Gal. i. 8. from heaven, should teach any other doctrine than that which ye have received, let him be anathema*; that if it should happen that the Church militant and the Church triumphant disagreed in an article of faith, the determination¹ of the Church militant was rather to be followed.

¹ Of this opinion the Council of Constance seems to have been, which sat Session xxi. but a little before our Bishop's time, viz. 1416, in which was this remarkable decree passed: "That although Christ had instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist to be received in both kinds, and the primitive Church retained the same manner of administering it; yet notwithstanding the custom

CHAP. IV. Nay, his Lordship shews in the second part of this treatise, that it was maintained, that "holy Scripture is not, nor was not the ground of faith to any persons believing; but that the Clergy of holy Church is worthier, mightier, and of greater authority, than is Scripture, or at least, of even worthiness, power, might, and authority, with holy Scripture of the New Testament." But such crude positions as these, though they might raise the wonder and admiration of fools, deserved the contempt and indignation of wiser men. Our Bishop therefore set himself to refute them in this part of his treatise, and to shew, that "holy Writ is such a ground and fundament of our Cristen general faith, that noon gretter or bettir or surer to us ground or fundament is for our Cristen general faith written in holy Writ."

Wharton,
Pref. p. 35.

than.

13. At this time great were the follies, and very gross the superstitions, which had crept by degrees into religion, and at last so much prevailed as quite to supplant it, and establish themselves in its room; and what added to the mischief was, Christians being grown so very insensible of their danger, as on the brink of death to fancy themselves alive and well, and therefore, instead of seeking for a cure, to detest all remedies, and do all they could to continue and propagate the distemper. For this purpose was even the service or common prayers of the Church corrupted, by placing in the breviary uncertain stories, and legends of the saints^m. Stories, if we may believe a Cardinal of the Roman Church, and our own eyes, that "were written with so little care or choice, that they had neither authority nor gravity." In the same manner was their preaching so far corrupted and abused, that all the greater and more necessary articles of faith, and all genuine and rational knowledge of Christianity, had gene-

Wharton,
Pref. p. 86.

"of the Church, according to which it was to be received by the laity under the species of bread only, was to be observed."

^m *Historiæ sanctorum quedam tam incultæ et tam sine delectu scriptæ habentur in eodem, ut nec auctoritatem habere videantur nec gravitatem. Quignoni Breviarium Romanum recogn. Paris. 1548.*

rally given place to fabulous legends and romantic stories; fables which in this respect only differed from those of the ancient heathen poets, that they were more incredible and less elegant. The preachers of those times, as has been observed before, were for the most part the Monks and Friars, who never scrupled lying for the honour of their saints and patrons; for which at length they were become so famous, that it was a proverb, among the better sort however,

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*This man is a Frier,
Therfor he is a lier.*

With these fables and romances they constantly stuffed their sermons, which by the credulous multitude were therefore the more admired, since they were now ignorant enough to believe any lie. Our Bishop too well saw the mischievous consequences of these false harangues, not to shew his dislike of them. He therefore arraigned them of error, heresy, and superstition, and did all he could to expose their folly, styling the preachers themselves *pulpit-bawlers*.

Clamitators in pulpitis.

14. Our Bishop's thus mincing the authority of the Clergy, by granting, though only for argument sake, the fallibility of their determinations; his candour and moderation towards the poor dissenting Lollards, in treating them with so much gentleness and goodness, as patiently to hear their objections and scruples, without either insulting or abusing them; his regard to the laity in affording them the means of better knowledgeⁿ, by writing in English, a language which they understood; and the contempt and dislike which he shewed of the pious fraud of legends; soon drew upon his Lordship the envy and ha-

ⁿ The people were so termed from the A. S. *lepebe*, *ignorant*, as much as to say *the ignorant ones*. Hence our Bishop Bilson, "I call no man *laie* in contempt or derogation either of his gifts, or of that state in which I know the Church of God hath always had and hath many grave and worthy men, fit for their wisdom and gravity to bear as great or greater charge than Clergymen." *Perpetual Government*, &c. p. 144.

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tred of all those, who were engaged both by zeal and interest in the continuance of these evils and corruptions. Several of the Doctors therefore of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, especially of the latter, which at this time was very remarkable^o for supposed orthodoxy, opposed our Bishop in their sermons, lectures, and determinations. The following persons are particularly named.

Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.

1. Gilbert Worthington. 2. William Litlefield. 3. Peter Beverly^p, alias Hyrford, of the diocese of Lincoln. 4. William Myllyngton, a Yorkshireman, Master of Clare Hall and Provost of King's College in Cambridge, who in a sermon he preached at St. Paul's, the next course after our Bishop, is said to have openly declared, that the kingdom of England would never suffer those, who patronized or favoured our Bishop, to prosper. 5. Dr. Hugh Damlet, Master of Pembroke Hall, who is said to have pretended to prove our Bishop guilty of heresy out of his own writings. These were all Cambridge Doctors. 6. Thomas Eborall or Eyburhall, who succeeded the Bishop in the mastership of Whittington College, &c. 7. John Burbach. 8. ^q John Bury, an Augustine heremite monk, and ^r John Milverton, all Oxford men; besides the Doctors of the Friars Mendicant, who, it seems, could not relish the Bishop's finding fault with their preaching, and instead of it recom-

^o The preamble of King Henry VI.'s patent for the erection of King's College there, which his father designed to have built at Oxford, intimates as much.—“ Ad errorum et heresium extirpationem, qui quasi totum respertur guntur in orbem, et solennium regnorum ac Universitatum pacem perturbant, regnumque nostrum Anglie in aliquibus ejus suppositis violarunt. Quorum ab inventionibus Universitas nostra predicta immaculatam se continere observavit.” *E Collect. D. Tho. Baker, Coll. S. Johannis Cantab.*

^p This man abjured Dr. Wiclif's opinions, or those which were condemned as his, in plena congregatione—coram reverendo viro magistro Eudone de la Zouche, LL.D. ejusdem Universitatis Cancellario, necnon coram venerabili cetero magistrorum regentium et non regentium—Feb. 22, A. D. 1412. *Idem.* So that he must be pretty old, when he opposed our Bishop.

^q See before.

^r This man, Leland tells us, preached frequently at London, and particularly at St. Paul's, against the intolerable ambition and avarice of the Bishops. *De Scriptor. Britan.* p. 465.

mending the preaching the sacred truths of holy Scripture: and several students of the University of Oxford.

15. Whether the Bishop ever wrote any reply to these his opposers, is very uncertain. In the imperfect account which we have of his Lordship's writings, there is nothing which has the appearance of any defence of himself, and the positions maintained by him; unless the tracts entitled, *The Defender*, *The Follower of it*, *The Declaration*, and his letter to William Godharde, the Franciscan or begging Friar, were of this nature. However, it was not long before a more effectual course was taken to stop the mouth, and silence the arguments of our Bishop.

16. It has been observed before, that the Duke of York, taking advantage of the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and the general discontent and uneasiness on that account, and of the losses abroad and mismanagements at home, began secretly to engage his friends of the nobility and gentry, &c. and to declare to them his title and pretensions to the crown. This he now began to prosecute more effectually, by coming out of Ireland, and with the help of his friends raising a great army in the marches of Wales; though still, to conceal his true design, the intent of all this armament was given out to be the public wealth of the realm, and great profit of the commons, by redressing and reforming the public grievances^s, and removing the evil and disaffected counsellors, that were said to be about the King.

17. Amidst these domestic divisions and civil commotions, Gascoigne tells us, that our Bishop was about the feast of St. Martin's, A. D. 1457, by the King's command, expelled the House of Lords at London, and forbid the King's presence by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and that so much were all the temporal lords set against our Bishop, (for elsewhere he observes that the Bishops favoured him,) that they refused to enter on any business, so

^s A. D. 1452, in quadragesima surrexit Richardus Dux Eboraci pro reformatione regni Anglie, ut dixit idem Dux. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS.*

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long as his Lordship continued in the house. Which disgrace of the Bishop, he says, was imputed to his having lost his principal support, the Duke of Suffolk, and his two powerful friends at court, the Bishops Mullins and Ayscough. In this great council, which Gascoigne^t intimates was summoned by the King on our Bishop's account, several great Doctors of Divinity being there present, demanded of the Archbishop of Canterbury Bishop Pecock's works, that they might have them to examine, and that accordingly the Archbishop permitted them to have them. This demand was opposed by the Bishop, who desired and petitioned, that he might not be judged by their judgment, but by the judgment of his peers, or such as were equal to *him* in scholastic disputation. The Bishop likewise told the Archbishop, that he would bring before him all his books which he had made three years before that day, and for those books would be answerable; but as for the other books, which before that time had been published and dispersed, he could not answer for *them*, because those books were not corrected by him. Accordingly afterwards *nine* of our Bishop's books were brought before the Archbishop, which were found to be cancelled and rased in several places, and written anew by the Bishop. After the producing of these before his Grace, &c. the Bishop, we are told, went out of the King's council-chamber at Westminster.

18. The reasons why the lords temporal were so much set against our Bishop, we are told by the same writer, were, 1. That he wrote such profound matters in English, as were more likely to hurt the readers and hearers of them, than to do them good; for instance, that the law of nature is to be preferred above the written law, and even the sacred one; that a man is to adhere to his own reason; that the soul of Christ did not descend into hell;

^t Iste Pecock Episcopus, A. D. 1457, in sabbato infra octavas sanctissimi Martini Episcopi et Confessoris citatus et monitus per Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, Thomam Bourcher. *Dict. Theol. MS.*

and that the Apostles did not make our common Creed, &c. 2. That the Bishop had written a letter to Sir Thomas Cannynges, the Mayor of London, which letter the Mayor sent to the King, before whom and his lords it was read, and in it were found evidences, or conjectures, or probable persuasions, or suspicions of the changing or disturbance of the faith or religion, and of an insurrection in the kingdom, to the great disturbance of the people, and the scandal of the great lords of the kingdom, whom he represented in his letter as adhering to him and his English books. 3. That he had made a new and tedious creed of his own in English, and had changed our common Creed, which the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ had set forth, having denied several articles of it, both by word of mouth, and by his writings.

19. The great Doctors likewise were of opinion, that the books published by the Bishop, written in English and Latin, deserved to be kept from the reading and hearing of all men, for these following reasons. 1. That in this book of *Faith*, he asserted and wrote, that this saying of St. Gregory, *Faith hath no merit which is proved by human reason*, is false; and that St. Gregory contradicts himself. 2. That in the same book he says, that the subtle Doctor was deceived in saying, that Christ's descent into hell is an article of faith, because it is placed in the Creed; and that in St. Augustine's time this article was not in the Creed, and therefore it is not true, that the Apostles put it there. 3. That in a letter of the Bishop's directed to — Godard, a Doctor of the Order of the Friars Minorites or Franciscans, he called the modern preachers *pulpit-bawlers*. 4. That his Lordship preached at London at Paul's Cross, that Bishops paying to the Pope of Rome, before their admission by the Pope to be Bishops, 5000 marks, or a greater sum, do not sin on this account, nor do give any thing to the Pope by this payment, but only tender to him what is his own; as a bailiff does, when he accounts with his lord. 5. That he wrote, that no one is obliged to believe the determination of holy Church, but

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that there is a catholic Church. 6. That he affirmed, that the goods of Churchmen, and the riches of Bishops, are not the goods of the poor; but are as much their property, as are the temporal estates of those who have them by inheritance. Such, it seems, were the Bishop's crimes, that so highly exasperated the King and his Lords, and so many of the inferior Clergy, and set them so much against him, as never to leave off prosecuting his Lordship, till they had got him deprived of his bishopric.

20. But whatever provocation these opinions of the Bishop might give the Clergy thus to treat his Lordship, it seems as if the King and his nobles were offended with him on another account, *viz.* his speaking so freely of the King and the war with France, as he had done in his *Repressour*, &c, a book published by his Lordship about seven years before. Here the Bishop observed, that this war had then been continued thirty-four years, and had occasioned much murder of blood and of souls on both the English and French side; on which occasion his Lordship thus expressed himself: " Wolde God, that the King of Ynglond wolde sette so miche bisynes for to conquere and reforme his londe of Ynglond from this seid wickid scole, [*the Wiclifists*] and fro othere defaultis, as miche as he dooth about the conquest of his londe of Normandi and of Fraunce; and peraventure he schulde then have mo thanke and reward at his last comyng hoom to the King of blisse, and more noble flavour of digne fame among alle the princis of the world, and the wor-thi peeris of heven, then he schal have bi miche of his labour and cost doon about the worldli conquest of Fraunce." It is not improbable that the Bishop's enemies, who were glad of any opportunity of doing him an injury, might take advantage of these expressions of his, and represent his Lordship as intending by them to reflect on the King and his council, as not well affected to the Church, no wise zealous for its rights and privileges, and much more mindful of this world than of that which is to come.

21. However this be, we are told, that "our Bishop's
 "opinions, which he had propagated among the common
 "people, by publishing them in English, coming to the
 "ears of those men, who were the more valiant champions
 "of the faith, and bolder soldiers of the ecclesiastical
 "court, they resolved to nip this plague in the bud, and
 "provide themselves of such a remedy, as might effec-
 "tually stop the mouth of him who uttered such perverse
 "things; and cut off *his* hand, who wrote things not only
 "to be suspected, but which deserved to be burnt. That
 "going therefore to the Archbishop, the solid hinge and
 "stout pillar of the Church of England, they besought
 "him, that for the preservation of the ship of faith, now
 "in danger of being sunk, his Grace would cause the Bi-
 "shop to be cited, and appoint him the day, hour, and
 "place to appear before him, to answer those things
 "which should be objected to him in a cause of faith."

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Acta Johan.
Whetham-
stede, &c.
MS.

22. The Archbishop, to satisfy the importunity of these
 Doctors, &c. ordered the Bishop to be cited to appear be-
 fore him, and to bring with him the books which he had
 written and published, against which exceptions had been
 taken, that so they might be examined, according to a de-
 cree made and promulged some time before. This *decree*
 was a constitution of Archbishop Arundel's, made A. D. Lyndwood,
 1408; by which it was ordained, that no little book or Provia. p.
 tract compiled by John Wiclif, or any one else in his time 285.
 or since, or to be compiled hereafter, shall henceforth be
 read in the schools, halls, or inns, or in any other places
 whatsoever, within the province of Canterbury, &c. unless
 by the University of Oxford or Cambridge, or at least by
 twelve persons of each University chosen for the purpose,
 it be first examined, and being unanimously examined by
 the two Universities, be afterwards expressly approved by
 the Archbishop, &c. and in the name and by the authority
 of the University delivered to the *stationers* ^u to be copied,

^u This was the way of publishing books before the invention of printing, or
 the introduction of it into England.

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Lyndwood,
Provin. p.
286.

and a faithful collation being made of it, it be sold or given to those who desire to have it; the original for ever remaining in some chest of the University. Whoever acted otherwise was to be punished as a sower of schism and fautor of heresy, as the quality of the fault required.

The same Archbishop ordained, that nobody hereafter should by his own authority translate any text of holy Scripture into English, by way of a book, little book, or tract; and that he who acted otherwise should be punished as a fautor of heresy and error. This our canonist Lyndwood understood to mean the applying the text of holy Scripture, and translating it into English, in the compiling any treatise of the sayings of the Doctors, or their own. Now our Bishop's books being many of them written in English, and his Lordship having applied the text of holy Scripture to the several subjects which he treated, translating it into English, an advantage was given to his adversaries against him by these constitutions. For though Lyndwood understands by the words *own authority*, a man's private judgment, and intimates, that it is otherwise when any text of holy Scripture is so applied and translated into English by the authority of the Bishop, according to which interpretation our Bishop might possibly think himself secure, as being invested with that character; yet still his Lordship had not complied with the directions of the constitution, which ordained that no books should be published, till after they had been examined by twenty-four Doctors of both the Universities, &c.

23. This citation of our Bishop to appear before the Archbishop, and produce the books he had written, in order to their being examined as abovesaid, soon made a great noise; and it was presently published in the pulpits, by such of the Clergy as were prejudiced against the Bishop, at Paul's Cross and elsewhere, that his Lordship had written in the said books certain conclusions contrary to the orthodox faith, and did pertinaciously hold and defend them. Of this the Bishop seems to have complained to the Archbishop as very injurious to his state and good

fame, and an immense grievance of himself and his opinions. The Archbishop therefore issued forth his mandate, dated at his manor of Lambeth, October 22, 1457, and directed it, "to all and singular Parsons, Vicars, Chaplains, Curates, and not Curates, Clerks, and learned men whomsoever, throughout the province of Canterbury, commanding and enjoining them publicly and generally to admonish all and singular, who would oppose any thing against the Conclusions of the said Bishop, had or contained in his books or writings, freely to appear before the Archbishop, or his commissaries, on the 20th day after this monition made to them by *them*, where-soever the Archbishop, &c. should then be, in the city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, sufficiently and fully to propose and allege in writing, whatever heretical or erroneous things they have to say or propose against the conclusions of this kind in the books aforesaid: withal commanding them by his authority to inhibit all and singular those, who so preach as aforesaid, that they do not presume in any manner out of court to assert, judge, or preach any thing to the prejudice or scandal of the aforesaid Lord Bishop Reynold, whilst this affair of the examination and discussion of his books and conclusions before him, or his commissaries, was depending and unfinished." This was not only an act of justice to the Bishop, but what was necessary to preserve the power and authority of the Archbishop's court; since if the credit and reputation of men must fall or be condemned by the malice and prejudice of private persons, without their having any opportunity to answer their accusers and defend themselves, as the most innocent cannot possibly be safe, so it must make the judgments of courts or legal sentences of little weight or authority, when private persons thus presume to take the cause out of their superiors' hands, and prejudice for them.

Novem. 11.

24. The time appointed by this mandate appears to be near the same with that mentioned by Gascoigne, as the time of our Bishop's appearance in the King's council-

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house at Westminster, viz. November 11; which time likewise is intimated by the attestation of the notary at the end of the copy of the Bishop's book, called the *Repressour*, &c. though by that entry it is affirmed, that the Archbishop was in his chapel at Lambeth, and consequently that our Bishop was there to answer to the citation made of him. But indeed Gascoigne does not say that the Bishop appeared in the King's council-chamber on St. Martin's day, but that *about* that feast his Lordship was expelled from thence. And elsewhere he tells us, that the Bishop was cited and admonished by the Archbishop the Saturday before the octaves of St. Martin, &c. But whether the Bishop was expelled the council before or after his appearance before the Archbishop, it is certain that on the day mentioned before, his Lordship exhibited to the Archbishop in his chapel at Lambeth his books to be examined by the twenty-four Doctors above mentioned, who were to report to his Grace and his assessors or auditors the result of their examination, viz. William Waynflete Bishop of Winchester, John Chedworth Bishop of Lincoln, and John Lowe Bishop of Rochester. Accordingly our Bishop's books were by these Doctors declared to abound with errors and heretical pravity, which sentence of theirs they undertook to prove before the King and his nobles. If this offer of theirs was accepted by the Archbishop, it is not improbable that this was the occasion of the Bishop's being with the lords temporal in the King's council-chamber, as has been said before. But however this be, the Bishop, we are told, excepted to this sentence of the Doctors, as being passed by persons utterly unqualified to judge of such matters. But this exception of his Lordship's was over-ruled by the Archbishop.

25. It is observed, that at this time * whatever differed

* Nunc quæcumque ab scholæ placitis dissident, scholastico theologo sunt hæretica; quod crimen ita vulgatum est ut rebus quoque levissimis impingatur, quum sit ipsum per se atrocissimum. *Ludovici Vivis de Disciplina*, lib. i.

from the tenets of the schools was by the school divines reckoned heretical, and that this, though the most grievous crime in itself, was made so common, as that it was charged on the smallest matters: that heresy was at first the same with renouncing baptism, or turning Jew or Turk, or using sorcery; but that now the ordinaries enlarged the notion of heresy, extending it to the denial of whatsoever the Church or Clergy thought fit to determine, and took upon themselves to be sole judges in it: that accordingly the subjects of this realm were by the ordinaries, by suspicion conceived of their own fancy without due accusation or presentment, put in the infamy and slander of heresy; and that "the act for the punishment of heresy, 2 Hen. IV. c. 15. was conceived in such general and doubtful expressions, that scarcely the most expert and best learned man of the realm, diligently lying in wait upon himself, could avoid the penalties and dangers of the same act and canonical sanctions, if he should be examined upon such *captious interrogatories*, as had been accustomed to be ministered by the ordinaries, in cases where they would suspect any person of heresy." The like reflection has been made on Archbishop Arundel's constitution in particular, by which our Bishop was condemned, *viz.* "that it was a net made for the catching, or letting go, whomsoever or whatsoever the ordinaries pleased." By this we may see what care the rulers of the Church of Rome took, that their authority should not be in the least disputed.

26. Our Bishop however did not tamely, and without any defence of himself, submit to this sentence and declaration of the Doctors; though what his Lordship's defence was, we have at present no account. Only it is intimated to us, that it gave so little satisfaction to many of the standers-by, that they treated him very roughly for it; particularly George Nevil^v, then Bishop elect of Exeter,

^v He was brother to the Earl of Salisbury, and promoted to the see of Exeter by Papal provision, A. D. 1456, when he was not above twenty-three years old, on condition he should not be consecrated till he was twenty-seven. But

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we are told, with marks of indignation, (as commonly where is the least knowledge there is the most zeal,) corrected the Bishop in the following manner: "God," says he, "wills you to suffer these great reproaches, because you have very unworthily found fault with and denied the words of St. Jerome and St. Austin, and the opinions of the Doctor and holy Pope Gregory to be true, as likewise the works of the other saints." To which insult our Bishop is said to have made this mean reply: "I repent that I have so written, for I was not sufficiently knowing in these matters." An answer by no means consistent with the exceptions made by his Lordship to the capacity of his examiners, and the defence he made of his writings.

Acta Johan.
Wetham-
stede, &c.
MS.

27. A good deal of time having been spent in the examination of the Bishop's opinions, touching Christ's descent into hell, the authority of the universal Church, the power of councils, the sense and understanding of the holy Scriptures, and other various things, and in the Bishop's answers, and the replications made to them; the Archbishop is said at last to have spoken to the Bishop to this effect:

"Dear brother, Master Reynold, since as all heretics are so blind in the light of their understanding, that although they know they may conclude better, yet are wont, having once concluded, obstinately to contradict and oppose those who would reclaim them; we will not contend much nor earnestly with you, because we know you abound more in talk than in reasoning. We will however shew you briefly, and declare to you in short, how in the foresaid articles you presume plainly to go against the sayings of the more authentic Doctors. For as to the article of *Christ's descent into hell*, the ²Ta-

notwithstanding, as appears by the register of the church of Canterbury, *licentiam obtinet consecrationis extra ecclesiam Cant. penult. Novem. 1458*, two years before that time. A fit person to chastise and insult our ancient and learned Bishop.

² Doctor Tarentinus, who he was I am not sure. John Archbishop of Ta-

“rentum Doctor says, in a certain question of his con-
 “cerning the three Creeds, that the said article was left
 “out of the Nicene Creed, and that of the holy man Atha-
 “nasius; because in those times no heresy was risen
 “against it, nor was it usual to make any great question of
 “it. As to the article of *the authority of the universal*
 “*Church*, the Doctor Augustine says, in his *Epistle contra*
 “*Fundamentum*, that so great is its authority, that he
 “should by no means believe the holy Gospel of Christ,
 “unless it was approved by the authority of the Church.
 “As to *the power of Councils*, the Doctor Gregory says,
 “(and his saying is decreed in the canon *distinct.* 15.) as
 “those four sacred Councils, *viz.* the Nicene, Constan-
 “tinopolitan, Ephesine, and Chalcedonian, are not of less
 “honour or reverence than the books of the holy Gospel,
 “he would have them embraced and kept with no less de-
 “votion, or inferior approbation; because, as he asserts,
 “on *them*, as on a squared or corner stone, the structure
 “of holy faith is erected, and all the rule of life and good
 “conversation depends. The rest of the Doctors do also
 “all of them unanimously say, that though the sacred
 “Councils may err in matters of fact, they cannot yet be
 “mistaken in matters of faith; because in every general
 “Council, where two or three are gathered together in the
 “name of Christ, there forthwith is that good Spirit pre-
 “sent among them, who does not suffer them to err from
 “the faith, or stray from the way of truth. As to *the*
 “*sense and understanding of the holy Scripture*, the Doc-
 “tor Jerome says, that whosoever understands, expounds,
 “or clears it otherwise than the sense of the Holy Spirit
 “requires, by whose finger it was written, it is plain, that
 “he is to be taken for an heretic. The Lincoln Doctor
 “also agrees with him, writing to the purpose, and saying
 “after this manner: *Whosoever invents or devises any*

Bp. Groot-
head.

rentum flourished in 1482, and was in the Councils of Basil and Ferrara, on
 which occasion perhaps he might discourse on the question concerning the
 three Creeds. *Cave's Hist. Liter.* App. p. 108.

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IV. "teach it, and obstinately defend it, he is to be accounted
"an heretic. Wherefore, Master, seeing you are convicted
"of not only holding what is contrary to the sayings of
"all these Doctors, but moreover to be a contradicter of
"them; it behoves us, according to the doctrine of the
"said Doctor Jerome^a, to cut you off from the body of
"the universal Church, as rotten flesh, and to drive you
"from the fold as a scabbed sheep, that you may not have
"it in your power to corrupt or infect the whole flock.
"Choose therefore for yourself one of these two things;
"whether you had rather recede from your errors, and
"make a public abjuration, and so, for the future, agree
"with the rest of Christ's faithful ones in your opinions;
"or whether you will incur the penalty of the canons, and
"not only suffer the reproach of degradation, but also
"moreover be delivered over to the power of the secular
"arm, that because you have attempted by force to plun-
"der the treasury of faith, you may become, according to
"the saying of the prophet, *as well the fuel of the fire,*
"*as the food of the burning.* Of these two choose one for
"yourself, for this is the immediate division in the coer-
"tion of heretics."

28. In this speech of the Archbishop's it is observable,
1. That his Grace says not one word of the article where-
with the Bishop was now charged, *viz.* that *it is not neces-*

^a Igitur scintilla statim ut apparuerit extinguenta est, et fermentum a
massæ vicinis semovendum; secundæ putridæ carnes, et scabiosum animal a
caulis ovium repellendum, ne tota domus, massa, corpus, et pecora, ardeat, cor-
rumpatur, putrescat, intereat, &c. *Comm. in Epist. ad Galatas*, cap. v. ver. 9.

Ep. 62. ad
Theophi-
lum, &c.

And yet this same father could elsewhere observe, that the Church of Christ is
founded by shedding of blood, and by suffering reproaches, rather than by being
the author of them, that it grew by persecutions, and is crowned with martyr-
doms. Accordingly in explaining the parable of the tares he notes on those
words, *lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them;*
that "we are taught or advised by them, not soon to lop off a brother, because
"it may be, that he who to-day is corrupted with an hurtful opinion, may to-
"morrow repent, and be an advocate for the truth." To the same purpose else-
where, "we are taught, *saieth he*, never to despair of heretics, but to persuade
"them to repentance, and to desire their salvation with a brotherly affection."

Com. in
Hoseam,
cap. xi. ver.
1.

sary to salvation to believe in the Holy Ghost; which looks as if his Grace thought his Lordship falsely accused of holding that conclusion. 2. The Archbishop owns, that the article of *Christ's descent into hell* was not in the Nicene nor Athanasian Creeds; which latter has been guessed to have been composed between the year 426 and the year 430. A copy of this Creed, without this article, is given us by that prodigy of learning Archbishop Usher. It seems as if our Bishop had, in defence of his saying that this was an article not necessary to be believed in order to salvation, urged, that this article was not in the Nicene or Athanasian Creed, as we know he pleaded in those writings which we have of his, that it was not in the common Creed, or that which is called the Roman or Apostles. To this the Archbishop here replies, that the Tarentum Doctor had given this reason for the said article being left out of those Creeds, that, "when they were drawn up, no heresy was risen against it." But if the account we have of the reason of the addition of these words, *viz.* that it was occasioned by the heresy of Apollinarius the younger, Bishop of Laodicea, which was condemned at Alexandria, and the Bishop himself anathematized as an heretic at Constantinople, A. D. 381; and, that this article was first inserted in any public Creed about the year 400; this can never be the reason of its omission in the Athanasian Creed, which was not made till near thirty years after the insertion of this article in the common Creed, and almost fifty years after the dispute which occasioned this addition to be made.

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Dr. Waterland's Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, p. 116.

Critical History of the Apostles' Creed, p. 246, 248, 261.

29. The Archbishop's quotation from St. Austin is a trite argument, used by those of the Romish Church, for the authority of the Clergy, to prove that *they* are of more credit than is any Gospel; Dr. Wiclif mentions it as used in his time, and other of the Popish writers have produced it since. But Tho. Walden, a cotemporary of our Bishop, and Confessor to King Henry, gives the following answer to this famous passage of this celebrated Father of the Western Church. "I do not," says he, "approve the arrogance of some writers, who upon occasion of this place

August. c. ep. fund.

Wiclif's Life, p. 154, 155.

Wharton's Preface to Bp. Pecock's Treatise of Faith, p. 23, 24.

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“ maintain the decrees of Bishops in the Church to
 “ be of greater weight, authority, and dignity, than is
 “ the authority of the Scriptures; which seemeth not so
 “ foolish, as mad. Unless such an one would say Phi-
 “ lip was greater than Christ, when he induced Nathaniel
 “ to believe that Christ was he of whom Moses wrote in
 “ the Law and the Prophets, although without his autho-
 “ rity (or admonition) he would not at that time have per-
 “ ceived it.—All ecclesiastical authority, since it serveth
 “ only to bear testimony of Christ and his laws, is of less
 “ dignity than the laws of Christ, and must necessarily
 “ submit to the holy Scriptures. Well therefore did St.
 “ Thomas (Aquinas) allegorize, when he introduced the
 “ Samaritan woman to represent the universal Church;
 “ which woman when the citizens of Samaria heard
 “ preaching Christ, they were induced to believe on him,
 “ &c.” “ This passage (as Mr. Wharton observes) clearly
 “ represents to us the opinion of Walden to have been,
 “ that by the attestation of the Church the divine autho-
 “ rity of the Scripture is known; which being once known,
 “ all matters of belief and articles of faith are to be learned
 “ from the Scripture: just as Philip induced Nathaniel, and
 “ the Samaritan woman her neighbours, to believe Christ
 “ to be a divine person; of the truth of which when once
 “ satisfied, they learned not the rules of life, or articles of
 “ faith, from Philip or the woman, but received both from
 “ Christ himself.” But to such extravagances were the
 Popes now running things, that in the *decrees* it is in-
 sinuated, that not only ^b the discipline of the holy canons,
 but the ancient institution of the Christian religion, is ra-
 ther to be had from *their* mouths, than from the sacred
 pages, and the traditions of their fathers; that Christians

^b Et revera tanta reverentia apicem præfate apostolicæ sedis omnes suspici-
 unt, ut nonnullam sanctorum canonum disciplinam, et antiquam Christianæ
 religionis institutionem magis ab ore præcessoris ejus, quam a sacris paginis,
 et paternis traditionibus expectant: illius velle, illius nolle, tantum explorant,
 ut ad ejus arbitrium suam conversationem et ipsi remittant, aut intendant.
Decreti prima pars, dist. 40. c. 6.

ought to consult *their* will only, and at *their* pleasure to relax, or be more regardful of their conversation. CHAP.
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28. Pope Gregory's decree concerning the authority of the four Councils seems misrepresented by the Archbishop, since certainly there is some difference betwixt affirming, that those four Councils are not less to be honoured and revered than the four books of the holy Gospel; and saying, that as he received and revered the four books of the holy Gospel, so he confessed he received and revered those four Councils; which is all that the Pope there says.

29. The Archbishop's saying that it was the unanimous opinion of all the Doctors, that though the sacred Councils may err in matters of fact, they cannot yet be mistaken in matters of faith, is a misreporting them or mistaking them; since that the catholic or universal Church, in a general Council, may err even in matters of faith, was the opinion of the following eminent Doctors, *viz.* Occam, Peter de Alliaco Cardinal of Cambray, Thomas Walden before mentioned, Panormitan, Antoninus, Cardinal Cusanus, Nicholas de Clemangis, and many others in this age. Though indeed, if, as the Archbishop represents this opinion, such sacred Councils may mistake in matters of fact, it seems inconsistent with the argument used by his Grace before, to prove the authority of the Church or Clergy greater than that of the Gospel; since how can they be depended on as keepers and witnesses of holy Writ, who may be mistaken in a plain matter of fact? Mr. Wharton's Preface to Bp. Pecock's Treatise of Faith, p. 39.

30. His Grace's observation, relating to the understanding the sense and meaning of the holy Scriptures, seems no way to affect the Bishop; whose opinion it was, that the Clergy ought not to induce or constrain other people in the belief and faith of any other points and articles, as upon the faith of which dependeth our salvation, than are expressed in the literal or grammatical sense of the holy Scriptures, or follow them so expressed. What is this but in other words to say as St. Hierome does, that holy

CHAP. Scripture is to be understood as the sense of the Holy
IV. Spirit requires, by whose finger it was written ?

Acta Johan-
Whetham-
stede, MS.

33. But however weak the Archbishop's reasoning and arguing might be, the threats with which it was concluded proved, it seems, too strong for our Bishop; insomuch that we are told he was so thoroughly terrified with them, as to be struck quite dumb, and after a little recollection to make the following low abject answer. "I am in a strait on all sides, and for a little while under a distrust which of the two offers it is best for me to accept; for if I should defend my opinions and positions, I am sure to suffer death and be burnt; and if I do not defend them, I shall as surely be made a gazing stock by the reproaches of men, and not go off without scandal. It is better however for me to suffer the reproaches of the people, than to desert the law of faith, and to be sent after my death into hell-fire and the place of punishment. I make it my choice therefore to abjure, and intend for the future so to live, as not to deserve any such citation as has now been served upon me, nor to give any even the least suspicion at any time hereafter."

34. The opinions or positions of the Bishop, here referred to, were thus represented by the Doctors, who examined his books, in the six following articles or conclusions; which they censured as savouring of heretical pravity, and which the Archbishop condemned as erroneous and heretical.

I. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ after his death descended into hell.

II. *Item*, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Ghost.

III. *Item*, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholic Church^d.

^c Nunquam Pauli sensum ingredieris, nisi Pauli spiritum imbiberis—
Nunquam Davidem intelliges, donec ipsa experientia Psalmorum affectus indueris. *Bernardi Sermo ad Patres de Monte.*

^d This seems to have been the common reading of this article at this time,

IV. *Item*, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe *in* the communion of saints.

V. *Item*, That the universal Church may err in those things which are of faith.

VI. *Item*, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe and hold, that what a general Council and the universal Church appoints, approves, or determines in favour of the faith, and for the salvation of souls, is to be approved of and holden by all the faithful members of Christ. Likewise, that what she reprobates, determines, or condemns to be contrary to the catholic faith, or good manners, is therefore by the same faithful ones to be believed and held as reprobated and condemned.

35. These conclusions we may observe contained none of those assertions with which our Bishop is charged by Gascoigne and Bury; but being condemned by the Archbishop and his assessors as erroneous and heretical, the Bishop was obliged, according to the choice given him, either to make a public abjuration of them, and acknowledge their falseness; or else to be degraded from his episcopal office, and delivered over to the secular arm to be burnt to death. And here we have an unhappy instance of human weakness and frailty, by which the Bishop was induced to yield, and give way to the terrors which were made use of to frighten him into a submission to that unjust authority, which was usurped over him. He there-

the better, I suppose, to prove that infallible authority of the Church or Clergy, which was now become the fashionable opinion. Thus on a tombstone in the high chancel of the church of Feversham in Kent, on which is the effigies of William Thornbury in brass, a Vicar of that church, who died 1408, I find this inscription in a semicircllet of brass over his head: *Credo in sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem*. However it was afterwards altered, or read otherwise, as appears by an exposition of the Creed in English, printed by de Worde, 1531, wherein this article is thus read, *I believe a holy Chirche catholical*. On which the author thus expounds, Pope Leo Fol. 218, b. saith, and Alexander de Ales reciteth the same, it should not be said, *I believe into the holy Chirche catholical*, but rather thus, *I believe the holy Church catholical*.—And although St. Anselm and other Doctors expound this article otherwise, yet I suppose this manner of exposition to be *most common* among holy Doctors of the Church.

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fore, though with great reluctance and unwillingness, submitted to abjure the above-mentioned conclusions before the Archbishop in his court of audience. In the form prescribed to him for this purpose (which was in Latin^e) he

• *Abjuratio Peacoci in Foro judiciali.*

In Dei nomine, Amen. Coram vobis reverendissimo in Christo Patre et Domino, Domino Thoma Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiscopo totius Anglie Primate et apostolice sedis Legato. Ego Reginaldus Peacock indignus Ecclesie Cicestrensis Episcopus, pure sponte, simpliciter, et absolute confiteor et recognosco, quod ego retroactis temporibus, videlicet per viginti annos proxime preteritos et amplius, de ecclesiasticis sacramentis et articulis fidei aliter sensi, tenui, docui, scripsi et dogmatizavi quam sacrosancta Romana et universalis Ecclesia docet, predicat, et observat: nec non contra veram catholicam, et apostolicam fidem multa et diversa pernicioso dogmata, libros, codices, opuscula et scripta, hereses et errores fidei catholice et bonis moribus contrarias in se continentia feci, scripsi, edidi, et publicavi: et specialiter hereses et errores infra scriptas, videlicet: I. *Quod non est de necessitate salutis credere, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos.* II. Item, *Quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in Spiritum Sanctum.* III. Item, *Quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam.* IV. Item, *Quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in sanctorum communionem.* V. Item, *Quod Ecclesia universalis potest errare in his que sunt fidei.* VI. Item, *Quod non est de necessitate salutis, credere et tenere, quod illud quod concilium generale et universalis Ecclesia statuit, approbat, seu determinat in favorem fidei, et ad salutem animarum, est ab universis Christi fidelibus approbandum et tenendum: etiam, quod reprobat, deserminat seu condemnat esse fidei catholice vel boni, moribus contrarium, hoc ab eisdem pro reprobo et condemnato esse credendum et tenendum.* Unde ego idem Reginaldus miserabilis peccator, qui diu in tenebris ambulavi, nunc ad lucem et semitam veritatis, Deo misericorditer disponente, reductus, et ad unitatem sancte matris Ecclesie rediens, hereses, et errores supradictos, et alios quoscunque in libris, codicibus, opusculis seu scriptis meis contentos solenniter et publice revoco, atque eosdem, ac omnem aliam speciem heresis detestor, anathematizo, et per sanctam et homousiam Trinitatem, et per hec sacrosancta Dei Evangelia abjuro: ac etiam simpliciter juro, quod penitentiam condignam, mihi, occasione premissorum injungendam, humiliter subibo. Nec non, quod errores et hereses hujusmodi, cujuscuque generis seu speciei censeantur, de cetero, verbo, nutu, vel facto non fovebo, seu alios vel alium ad credendum illis, verbo vel facto publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte vel alias quovis modo inducam. Atque omnes et singulos qui contra veram catholicam et apostolicam fidem venerunt cum dogmatibus et connectatoribus suis eterno anathemate dignos esse pronuntio. Quod si ego ipse aliquem contra eandem fidem aliquid sentire, tenere, docere aut predicare presumpsero, canonum severitati subjaceam. Et huic scripto, per me lecto et perlecto, sponte subscripsi manu propria in fidem et testimonium premisorum.

styles himself "the unworthy Bishop of Chichester, and positively confesses and owns, and, as he is made to say, purely and of his own accord, that for above twenty years last past he had taught, written, and dogmatized concerning the Sacraments of the Church and the articles of the faith, otherwise than was held and taught by the Church of Rome; that he had maintained many and diverse pernicious opinions, contrary to the true catholic and apostolic faith, and had made, written, set forth, and published books and writings containing in them heresies and errors, contrary to the catholic faith and good manners;" particularly the heresies and errors contained in the six articles above mentioned: "wherefore he the said Reynald, a miserable sinner, who had long walked in darkness, and was now by the mercy of God brought back to the light and path of truth, and was returning to the unity of holy mother Church, did solemnly and publicly revoke the abovesaid heresies and errors, and all others whatsoever contained in his books, works, or writings, and did detest, anathematize, and by the holy and consubstantial Trinity, and those holy Gospels which he then handled, abjure them and every other species of heresy; and did also positively swear, that he would humbly submit to the penance canonically to be

The Roman Creed in Greek in old English Writing and Translation.

Pisteuo eis theon paterpa pantokratopa, cai eis criston ihu yion autou ton monozenee ton cupion mou, ton zennebenta ec pneumatou agiou cai mapias papbenou, ton epi pouñtiou pilatou rtaurobenta, tapinta, te epte imepa anastanta eis tous oupanous, cað imepon indexia tou patros oðen ephchetai cpinaì zone-tas te nicpouo. cai eis pneuma agion, agian ecclesian, apisin amaptione, sapcos anastasin. amin.

N. B. *Literæ e, i, y, ejusdem sunt potestatis apud Anglo-Saxones.*

By this form of the Creed it appears, that in the old English Church the article of Christ's descent into hell was not in the common Creed, nor did they profess to believe in the holy Church.

Quod Symbolo Apostolico interseritur *de descensu Christi ad inferos, de Ecclesia catholica, et communione sanctorum, sequioris est ævi, et explicationis magis dubia. Thom. Burnet de Fide, &c. Christianorum.*

CHAP. IV. “enjoined him on account of the premises; and that for
 “the future he would not, by word, signs, or deed, encour-
 “age such errors and heresies, of whatsoever kind or sort
 “they be, or directly or indirectly, by word or deed, pub-
 “licly or secretly, or otherwise by any means, induce others
 “to believe them; and that he pronounced all and singu-
 “lar who went against or contrary to the true catholic
 “and apostolic faith, together with their opinions and fol-
 “lowers, to be worthy of being eternally anathematized;
 “that he himself, if he should discover any one to think,
 “hold, teach, or preach, any thing contrary to the same
 “faith, would execute on him the severity of the canons;
 “and that he did of his own accord subscribe with his
 “own hand, in testimony of the premises, this writing by
 “him now read, and read through.”

36. The teaching or holding concerning the Sacraments of the Church otherwise than was held and taught by the Church of Rome, was at this time a common note of heresy, and sufficient of itself to denominate a man an heretic, though he was never so sound in the faith. Thus when some of the Waldenses came over hither in the reign of King Henry II. the historian tells us, that “they
 “being examined^f in order concerning the articles of the
 “holy faith, answered right as touching the substance of
 “the supreme Physician; but as for his remedies, by
 “which he vouchsafes to heal human infirmities, that is,
 “the divine Sacraments, they spoke perversely of them, de-
 “testing holy Baptism, the Eucharist, Matrimony, &c.”
 Thus we are told of our Bishop, that he affirmed that
 “Pope Gregory’s saying^g, Hom. 26, that *the faith has no*

^f Interrogati per ordinem de sacræ fidei articulis, de substantia quidem superni Medici recta, de ejus vero remediis, quibus humanæ infirmitati mederi dignatur, id est, divinis sacramentis, perversa dixerunt. *Gul. Neubrigensis Historia*, lib. ii. c. 13.

^g Scribitur etiam de eodem Reginaldo Episcopo, quod in libro suo, quem ipse intitulat *de Fide*, dicit et scribit, quod hoc dictum B. Gregorii (Hom. 26.) *Fides non habet meritum, cui humana ratio præbet experimentum, est falsum. Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. p. 502. v. Fides.*

“ *merit which is proved by man’s reason, is false.*” By which is insinuated, that our Bishop thought very perversely of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, or did not believe the legend of transubstantiation. Pope Gregory’s words are, “ How was the Lord’s body after the resurrection a true body, that could enter the house when the doors were shut? But we must know, that a divine operation is not wonderful, if it may be comprehended; nor has faith any merit to which human reason gives experiment,” or which can be proved to be agreeable to man’s reason. Of this foolish saying of this Pope’s the Papists are grown very fond, since the invention of that absurd and nonsensical doctrine of transubstantiation: as if because *that* fancy is a direct contradiction to not only our reason, but our senses; therefore faith must oblige us to believe things contrary to all sense and reason, and there is no faith so meritorious as a nonsensical and irrational one. Hence that fanatic prayer in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin: *Peto, Domine Jesu Christe, largire michi in amore tuo modum sine mensura, effectum sine modo, languorem sine ordine, ardorem sine discretione. Amen.* A nonsensical faith and indiscreet devotion, or an ardour without discretion, are very fit to accompany one another. Akin to this are the raptures of a more modern devotionist of theirs in our own language:

*Down busy sense, discourses dy,
And all adore faith’s mystery:
Faith is my skill, faith can believe,*

Faith is my eye,

Devotions
in the an-
cient way of
Offices, p.
185, ed.
Rouen,
1684, p.
209, ed.
London,
1701.

37. Such rants as these could be no way agreeable to our Bishop, who had so often declared for the obedience of all God’s creatures by the judgment of reason; and affirmed, that neither the determinations of the Angels in heaven, or of the Clergy on earth, against or contrary to it, are to be assented to. However, from hence the Bishop’s adversaries seem to have taken occasion to repre-

CHAP. sent his Lordship as teaching concerning the Sacraments
IV. of the Church otherwise than it was taught by the Church
of Rome.

38. It is further insinuated in this abjuration of the Bishop's, that he had published in his books other heresies and errors, besides those contained in the six Conclusions now condemned. What these were is not here particularly specified, but it is not improbable they were the Conclusions mentioned by Gascoigne, and those which Bury opposed, at the command of the Archbishop, as has been said before. But however this be, this abjuration of the Bishop was made by him at Lambeth, November 28, 1457, as was before hinted.

39. These matters being thus transacted, our Bishop, we are told, was sent down to Canterbury, to do penance for his offences; where, it is said, he used to repeat the following verses to those who visited him during his short stay there :

Historia,
&c. Univ.
Oxon.

^h Wit hath wonder that reason cannot skann,
How a moder is maid, and God is man.

This, I suppose, was intended as a reflection on what the Bishop had writ of the force and obligation of reason. And therefore Gascoigne, who tells us this of him, immediately subjoins ^k :

Leve reason, beleve the wonder,
Belef hath mastry, and reason is under.

However this be, our Bishop could not continue long at

^l Under a wooden cut of Joseph and Mary, and the infant Jesus lying in a manger, these rhymes are thus printed.

Reason doth wonder how faith tel can,
That a maid is a mother, and God a man ;
Let reason go and believe a wonder,
Faith is above, and reason is under,

quoth antiquity.

ⁱ The editor of the History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford thus represents this ; *Quibus in hunc modum pie subjecit Gascoignus noster.*

Canterbury, since the day fixed for his more public abjuration, which is said to be either Novem. 29, the day after his abjuring at Lambeth, or at farthest ^k Dec. 4, was but five days to come. This consideration is indeed enough to make us suspect the truth of his Lordship's being sent down to Canterbury at all, for that the time was little more than enough for him, at that time of the year, to go from London to Canterbury, and from thence back again. However this be, when the day appointed for the Bishop's more public and solemn abjuration at Paul's Cross was come, he was brought thither, we are told, habited in his stole^l, or episcopal habit, and placed at the Archbishop's feet. Besides many thousands (Gascoigne says 20,000) of people, which were then got together on this occasion, there were present, it is said, as the Archbishop's assessors or auditors, Thomas Kempe Bishop of London, John Lowe Bishop of Rochester^m, and Lawrence Booth Bishop of Dunholm, before whom, as judges, were produced fourteen of the Bishop's books, of which three were in folio,

^k Acta fuerunt ista et peracta in anno Domini 1457, mensis Decembris die 4^o, et regni Regis Henrici VI. anno 36. *Joh. Whethamstede, Acta, &c.* MS.

^l The stole worn by the Bishops was a scarf of black silk, which was put about their necks, and hung down before them over their rochet. *Stola autem propria est diaconorum vestis.* Du Fresne, Glossar.

^m Of this Prelate Bury takes particular notice in his dedication to the Archbishop, where he speaks of him in the following manner. *Adeat utique vobis ille reverendus in Christo dominus meus, dominus Roffensis, stabilis columpna in templo Domini, vir Benjamin, vir genuinus ab adolescentia sua utraque manu ut dextra utens; qui nec sic institit Scripturis, ut humilitatis in se studia aliquando vacasse credantur; nec sic humanas literas amplexatus est, quin semper eas divinis exegerit subservire.* His tomb of gray Sussex marble is still remaining on the north side of the choir of Rochester cathedral, with these inscriptions in old church text.

Round the edge of the top-stone west, south, and east.

Miserere Deus anime Fr. Joannis Lowe Episcopi. Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium. Sancte Andrea et Augustine, orate pro nobis.

On the middle of the south side of the tomb are cut seven escutcheons, in five of which are these six words:

Jesus est amor meus, Deo gratias.

Round the edge of a verge at the bottom:

Quam breve spatium haec mundi gloria? Ut umbra hominis sunt ejus gaudia.

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and the rest in quarto, all which the Bishop was obliged to deliver with his own hands, to a man provided for that purpose, to be thrown into a large fire ⁿ made at the Cross on this occasion. Which being done in the presence of the Bishop, he made the following abjuration in English at the same Cross.

F. coll. R.
R. White,
Episc. Pe-
trubur.

40. *In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, unworthy, of my own pure and free will, without any manner of coercion or dread^o, confesse and acknowledge, that I have before time, presuming upon my own natural wit, and preferring^p the natural judgment of reason before the Old Testament and the New, and also above the determination of our modre, the holy catholic Church, have holden, sealed, written, and taught otherwise than the holy ^q Roman and universal Church teacheth, preacheth, and observeth. And over this, against the true catholic and apostolic faith, I have made^r, written, taken out, and published, many and divers perillous and pernicious doctrines, books, works, and writings, containing in them heresies and errors contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of the holy Church; and especially these errors and heresies following, that is to say; Quod non est de necessitate salutis credere; Quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus descendit ad inferos. Item, Quod, &c. as before. — Wherefore I, miserable sinner, who heretofore have walked in darkness, and now by the mercy and infinite goodness of God am reduced into the right way, and light of truth, considering my self grevously to have synned,*

ⁿ This seems inconsistent with a copy of the Bishop's book called the Re-pressour, &c. which is attested by the notary or actuary to be exhibited to the Archbishop in his chapel at Lambeth, Nov. 11, 1457, being still preserved. But the books which were burnt might be other copies.

^o Or compulsion.

^p The judgment of my natural reason.

^q Holy Roman Church holdeth, teacheth, &c.

^r Set forth, written, and taught, and also published many perilous and pernicious doctrines; and also books, containing in them heresies and errors, contrary to the catholic faith, and the determination of the whole Church.

and wyckedly to have ynformed and infected the people of God, return and ^sturn again to the unity of our mother, holy Church; and all the heresies and errors above rehearsed, and also all other heresies and errors written and contained in ^tmy books, works, and writings, here solemnly and openly revoke and renounce; which heresies and errors, and all ^uother spice of heresy, I have before this time, before the most Reverend ^xFather in God, my Lord of Canterbury, in due and lawful form judicially abjured; submitting myself (being then and also at this time a ^ycontrite and penitent sinner) to the correction of the Church, and of my said Lord of Canterbury. And over this ^zexhorting and requiring, in the name and virtue of Almighty God^a, into the salvation of your souls and of mine, that no man ^bhereafter give faith or credence to my said pernicious doctrines, heresies, and errors, neither my foresaid books keep, hold, and read in any wise; but that they all such books, works, and writings suspect of heresy, and deliver in all ^cgoodly haste unto my said Lord of Canterbury, or to his commissaries, or deputies, in eschewing of many inconveniencies, and great perils of souls, the ^dwhich ills might ensue of the contrary. ^eTo this declaration of my conversion and repentance, I here openly assent that my said books and writings, for consideration and cause above rehearaid, be delivered and deputed to the fire, and openly burnt ^finto example and terror of all other.

41. By another writer of those times we are told, that when the Bishop had ended this his open and public ab-
Johan. Whethamstede.

^a Come again to the unity of holy mother Church.

^t My foresaid books and works I do here.

^u All other opinions savouring of heretical pravity.

^x Father in Christ—in canonical form judicially.

^y Truly penitent and truly contrite.

^z I exhort and require.

^a For the salvation of all the souls that are here, and also of my own soul.

^b From this time forwards.

^c Possible haste, or to some commissary of his deputed for this purpose.

^d Which might otherwise be caused and happen.

^e And moreover for a plain.

^f For an example and the terror.

CHAP. IV. juration, a great many of his books were immediately brought forth and cast into the fire which was then made for that purpose, for their utter destruction, and for a sign of perpetual condemnation. To which Gascoigne adds, that the Bishop said publicly, *My pride and presumption have brought these calamities and reproaches upon me.*

42. Thus ingloriously did this great man fall, being overcome by his own fears, and not having courage and resolution enough to hazard the poor remainder of a life almost worn out already and come to an end; and thereby has given to others this useful lesson, when they think they stand, to take heed lest they fall, and always to remember, that however willing the spirit of a man may be, his flesh is weak. But so far were the Bishop's enemies from thus recollecting themselves, and treating his memory with a spirit of meekness, considering that *they* themselves might be so tempted; that they treated him with all possible rudeness, and reflected on his memory with the utmost inhumanity. Thus one of them closes the account which he gives of his Lordship: "And thus," saith he, "that most wretched Pastor (and by how much "the more wise he was in his own conceit, by so much "the more he played the fool, and was the more unsound "as he seemed to himself to be more sound) was convicted to be of an unsound opinion. Now he thinks "humbly of himself, is humbly wise for himself, and humbly, nay most humbly, confesses that he was mistaken, "and that he was more wise than he ought to have been. "Thus also that most impious intoxicator, who had imbibed the poison of perfidiousness, that he might pour it "out again, and infectiously inform the simple people in "the faith, now spewed it out and vomited it up in such "a manner, that whilst the sun darts forth a ray, or Mars "wears a sword, he shall never dare to drink and swallow "it any more. Thus moreover that horrible monster,

Whetham-
stede, Acta,
MS.

§ Et dixit etiam idem Episcopus publice, *Superbia mea et præsumptio meo induxerunt me ad hæc mala et opprobria.* Gascoigne, &c.

“ which the kingdom of England now lately produced by
 “ a miscarriage, the archiepiscopal authority reformed for
 “ the better, and of a rude and deformed mass made him
 “ to be the habitation of the Holy Ghost, and the recep-
 “ tacle of better grace.” And thus yet farther, that the
 remembrance of his name may be more freshly kept in
 mind, it is written of the Bishop in verse, in the following
 words :

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“ Sic deplumatus pavo fuit et spoliatus,
 “ Sicque sibi siluit vox, quia rauca fuit ;
 “ Sic dudum volucris que nomen habebat honoris,
 “ Bubo non pavo dicitur esse modo.
 “ Nomine privari vult atque gradu spoliari,
 “ Qui violat fidei dogmata sive Dei.
 “ Ne sic priveris, hec qui legis, aut spolieris ;
 “ Néc basse tendas, neç nimis alta petas.
 “ Dum medium tenuit currum patris bene rexit,
 “ Alta sed ut petiit, Pheton ab arce ruit.”

43. In this manner did the zealots against what was called heresy exercise the very lowest sort of wit to abuse the Bishop, and reflect on his memory. They made puns, we see, on his name, which because it was Pecoek, they therefore very wittily, as they imagined, compared him to that bird, and represented him as stripped of all his fine feathers, and changed from a *peacock* to an *owl*. But indeed the Bishop had given but too much occasion for this despiteful treatment, in yielding to declare in so public and solemn a manner, that he abjured the Conclusions before mentioned *of his own pure and free will, without any manner of coercion, or dread, or compulsion*; when it was very visible, that had it not been for fear of the flames with which he was threatened, he had never made any such confession or abjuration. This, however, shews the consequence of the use of force and violence in matters of conscience or religion: that though it is impossible to write the truth on men's minds with the points of swords, or to enlighten their understandings with making bonfires

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of their bodies; yet they may be so far terrified by the apprehensions of the cruelties with which they were threatened, as for the sake of avoiding them to profess outwardly what they do not inwardly and really think and mean. How far this was our Bishop's case may be judged by what has been already said. And indeed one would think it could not be otherwise than his case; since it is notorious that some of the conclusions, for holding which his Lordship was convicted of heretical pravity, or however of error, were maintained by many of the Doctors of even the Roman Church; and that in particular the third and fourth of them have been since established and authorized by their famous Council of Trent. But to proceed in the account of the prosecution of the Bishop.

Reg. Geo.
Nevil, Ep.
Exon. fol.
38.

March 9,
1457.

44. These revocations and recantations of our Bishop the Archbishop transmitted to the several Bishops of his province, requiring them to publish them in their respective dioceses. Towards the latter end of this year his Grace issued out his archiepiscopal mandate to Thomas Kempe, Bishop of London, in which he tells his Lordship, that "he had heard there were some of both sexes be-
"longing to his province of Canterbury, who would fain
"be *more wise than they need*, who had books of diverse
"works, not only of brother Reginald Bishop of Chiches-
"ter, written in the vulgar tongue, but some others by
"the same brother, and others against ecclesiastical pro-
"hibitions, and the decrees of the holy Fathers, translated
"out of Latin into English; certain of which having been
"exhibited before him, judicially sitting on his tribunal,
"and specially examined; he had condemned, as contain-
"ing heresies, errors, and things sounding ill, contrary to
"the determination of holy mother Church and to the
"orthodox faith, and had decreed them to be burnt, jus-
"tice so requiring. Wherefore by the tenor of the pre-
"sents he committed it to him, and commanded him that
"with all fitting dispatch, he, by his letters, containing the
"contents of this mandate, admonished, or caused to be
"admonished, all and singular his fellow Bishops and suf-

“ fragans within the province of Canterbury, and their
 “ vicars general in spirituals, if there were any, that they
 “ and every of them in their respective dioceses do make
 “ inquisition, or cause it to be made, concerning the
 “ names and surnames of those in their dioceses who
 “ have such books, and that they admonish, or cause to
 “ be admonished, all and singular who have such books,
 “ of whatever state, preeminence, degree, order, sex, or
 “ condition they be; that within fifteen days after admoni-
 “ tion made to them on this account, they effectually de-
 “ liver the said books to his said brethren or to their offi-
 “ cials, on pain of the greater excommunication. The Bi-
 “ shop is likewise required to do the same in his own dio-
 “ cese, and to enjoin his brethren and fellow suffragans
 “ aforesaid, that every one of them do for himself, before
 “ the 21st day of May next, distinctly and plainly certify
 “ by their letters to the Archbishop or his commissaries,
 “ what they have done, and the names of those who have
 “ such books.”

45. The Archbishop adds, on account of the civil dis-
 turbances with which the kingdom was now infested, by
 the Duke of York's aspiring to the crown, that it is his
 “ command, that the Bishop by his letters enjoin all and
 “ singular his brethren and fellow Bishops of the province
 “ of Canterbury, that they and every of them in their ca-
 “ thedral churches, and other churches conventual and
 “ collegiate, as well secular and regular, and in the parish-
 “ churches of their cities and dioceses, on the Lord's days
 “ and festivals, do effectually move and induce their sub-
 “ jects, both Clergy and Laity, that they first of all being
 “ returned from their evil thoughts and ways by confes-
 “ sion and penance, do with all devotion of heart make
 “ solemn processions every Wednesday and Friday, with
 “ chanting of the Litany in their churches or about them,
 “ as the custom is, for the peace, unity, tranquillity, and
 “ prosperity of the King and kingdom of England; ^h that

^h *Ut Deus consolator in adversis, cunctos in se sperantes nec despicit, universalem Ecclesiam Anglicanam, Regem et regnum, conservare dignetur.* This

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“ *it may please God, who is the comforter of all in adversity, and does not despise those who trust in him, to pre-serve the universal Church of England, the King, and kingdom.*” His Grace concludes this his mandate with a grant of an indulgence of forty days, and a request to his suffragans, that *they* would bestow the like; which grant, he says, he concedes, that he might rouse the minds of the faithful to repentance and prayer.

46. Of the execution of this mandate we have the certificate of William Grey, Bishop of Ely, who certified, that he had by the authority of the abovesaid letters caused an inquisition to be made in his city and diocese of Ely, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the sixth, seventh, and A. D. 1458. eighth days of the month of April, concerning all and singular the things contained in the said letters; and on the Sunday following had caused a public and general monition to be made in his cathedral church, and every other church of his city and diocese, to all and singular who had such books, to deliver them up within fifteen days after this monition, &c. but that he could find no one in his city and diocese who had such books, or any book of this sort, or who did relish such things, or hold, teach, or preach these sorts of errors or heresies.

47. His Lordship likewise in his mandate to Master Roger Ratclif, LL.D. his official to execute the Archbishop's letters, grants forty ⁱdays of indulgence, as the Archbishop had desired him to do, to all those who are present at and devoutly preach up the processions before mentioned.

Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. vol. i. p. 223, col. 1.

48. The University of Oxford was more forward, since we are told that Novem. 17, 1457, above a fortnight be-

suffrage being on this occasion by the Archbishop's order inserted in the common Litany, shews the weakness of the insinuation, that before the Reformation there were no prayers composed suitable to the particular occasions of a fast or thanksgiving.

ⁱ Adscripta erant nomina episcoporum a suffragiis, qui lac illud invisentibus non absque munusculo tantum impartierunt relaxationis, quantum ex suo dimenso largiri possunt. M. Quantum id est? Oo. Dierum quadraginta. Erasmi colloquium cui titulus, Peregrinatio religionis ergo.

fore the Bishop's books, &c. were burnt at Paul's Cross, as many copies of them as could be found at Oxford were burnt at the cross-way commonly called Quatervoix, or Carfax, Master Tho. Chandler^k the Chancellor, and all the scholars of the University, going thither in a solemn procession. In this they seem to have outstripped the zeal of even the Archbishop himself. And yet it is said, that in less than a month after, the Chancellor, &c. certified the Archbishop by their letters of what they had done; at the same time declaring their abhorrence of the Bishop's opinions, and begging his Grace's pardon for their being so long silent about them.

49. The Archbishop likewise, in imitation of Archbishop Arundel, who ordered Wodford to defend the condemnation of the Conclusions taken out of Dr. Wiclif's *Triologus*, commanded John Bury^l, a provincial Friar of the Order of the Friars Heremites of St. Augustine, in the province of Canterbury, to write against the Conclusions maintained by the Bishop in one of his books, called the *Repressour*, &c. though it does not appear to me that they were judicially condemned. And so zealous was the King, or those about him, that, by way of appendix, a clause was added to the statutes of King's College, founded by his Majesty about fourteen years before, in the following term. "*Item statuimus, ordinamus, et volumus, quod quilibet scholaris in admissione sua in collegium nostrum regale predictum, post annos probationis juret, quod non favebit opinionibus damnatis, erroribus, aut heresibus Johannis Wiclyfe, Reginaldi Pecock, neque alicujus alterius heretici, quamdiu vixerit in hoc mundo, sub pena perjurii et expulsionis ipso facto.*" And yet so it happened, that this college was one of the heretical colleges, notwithstanding all this caution.

^k Warden of New College, and afterwards Dean of the King's chapel and of the church of Hereford.

^l Inter quos et me pusillum vestra dominatio irritandum duxit—Intuens ergo librum ejus, quem *Repressorem* vocat, non singulas hereses discutere, non errorum que in conjuncta sunt annotare vestigia cupiam; sed ad totius, ut arbitror, sui mali radicem. *Bury, Epist. ad Archiep.* MS.

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50. As to the Bishop himself, he had not yet received his final sentence, but was ^mordered to be carried to Maidstone in Kent, where the Archbishop then was at his palace in that town, there to wait for and expect it. How long he continued here, before this sentence was pronounced, I do not find. But by the Archbishop's letters for inquiring after the Bishop's books, &c. which have been before recited, it appears that he was acknowledged Bishop of Chichester almost four months after his abjuration at Lambeth and Paul's Cross. However at length his definitive sentence was given, which was, that he should be deprived of his bishopric. This was a part of the punishment of one condemned of heresy, or of being a fautor of it, that he should be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice. But, it seems, such was the Bishop's interest at the court of Rome, that he had from thence bulls of restitution, by which the Archbishop was required to put him again in possession of his bishopric, of which he had now deprived him. The constitutions, on which the Bishop seems to have been tried, allow of persons being absolved from the greater excommunication on their publicly owning their fault; nay, do not require the sentence to be denounced in case they repent and abjure in the accustomed form of the Church. Now to this the Bishop had submitted. He had revoked his books and errors, and publicly abjured them, not only before the Archbishop sitting in court, but in a more public manner at Paul's Cross. It seems therefore to have been a stretch of the canonical sanctions to inflict the penalty of them on the Bishop, and deprive him of his bishopric, notwithstanding he had receded from his errors, and made a public abjuration of them.

51. But be this as it will, on the Bishop's procuring these bulls of the Pope to be restored to his bishopric, application was made by the Archbishop to the King, to whom it was represented as follows: That Reynold Pe-

Lyndwood,
Provin. p.
286, c. 2.
293, c. 1.

^m Postea Archiepiscopus Cantuar. Thomas Bourcher mandavit eum ad Maidstone judicium expectaturum. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol.* MS.

cock, Minister of the see of Chichester, had been detected and convicted of certain errors and heresies, and had abjured and taken his penance; that yet nevertheless he had surreptitiously purchased and obtained from our holy Father the Pope certain bulls for his declaration and restitution, contrary to the laws and *statutes provisors*, and to the great contempt and derogation of his Majesty's prerogative and estate royal. By these statutes it was recited, that the Bishop of Rome did accroach to himself the seigniority of the possessions and benefices assigned to Archbishops, Bishops, &c. (in offence and destruction of the laws and rights of the realm, and to the great damage of the King's people, and in subversion of all the estate of his said realm,) and gave and granted them, as if he was the patron or advowee of them; when as the kings, earls, barons, and other nobles, as lords and advowees, have had and ought to have the collation of such benefices. It was therefore enacted, that the said oppressions, &c. should not be suffered in any manner, and that in case of disturbance to patrons by *provisions*, the *provisors*, &c. shall be attached, and make fine and ransom to the King at his will, and before that they be delivered make full renunciation of all the words in the Pope's bull which are contrary or prejudicial to the King and to his crown, and find sufficient surety that they shall not attempt such things in time to come; and that they who have obtained, or shall obtain in the court of Rome, dignities, offices, chapels, or benefices of holy Church, pertaining to the gift, &c. of the King, or of other lay-patron of his realm, shall be arrested, and being convicted shall be punished as aforesaid. But now, to shew the partiality of this representation, it so happens, that not only the Archbishop, but two however of his assessors, *viz.* Kempe and Lowe, were all promoted by Papal provision. But this was no way reflected on as being to the great contempt and derogation of his Majesty's prerogative, &c.

52. On this representation made to him of the conduct

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Certificat.
super mandato regio
in causa heretici Pe-
cock, M.S.
e coll. R. R.
Ep. Petre-
burg.
25 Edw. III.
Stat. 6.

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E Collect.
White, Ep.
Petrobur.

of our Bishop, his Majesty issued out his royal mandate to the Bishop of St. Asaph, and to Robert Stillingtonⁿ, Clerk, "to put them in their devoire to know and understand the effect and contents of the said bulls, and to call to them such and as many most famous Doctors in Theology and Law, as they should think most necessary, and have this matter communed among them; and thereupon to certify his Majesty by writing, articulaly subscribed with their own names and signs manual, of such direction maintainable by law, as he ought to use, take, and write farther, &c." Which mandate is

A. D. 1458. dated at St. Albans, the 17th day of September.

53. In obedience to this mandate the Bishop and Doctor called in to their assistance twenty Doctors of Divinity and Law, who all subscribed the certificate required, in which they certify his Majesty, that "it is considered and thought by them all, that his Highness might take and use lawfully, godly, and meritoriously in this matter or affair such directions, ways, and means, as be comprised in the articles underwritten, viz.

54. "I. That his Highness should send an ambassador to the Pope, who should represent to him the Bishop's pernicious *heresies*, and the dangers accruing to the Church from them; and should desire, that he would cassate his bull of restitution, and appoint to the see a pious and learned Bishop to be nominated by the King.

"II. That since by the process and recantation of Pecock, they think he was infected with heresy long before he was translated to the see of Chichester, that translation was *ipso facto* null; and so it was lawful for

ⁿ He was LL.D. and Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford; admitted Canon of Wells, August 2, 1445; Chancellor of Wells, June 6, 1447; Archdeacon of Taunton, April 20, 1450; Canon of York, 1451; Dean of the free royal chapel of St. Martin le Grand, London, 1460; Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1461; Archdeacon of Colchester, 1462; was elected Bishop of Bath and Wells, and consecrated by George Nevil, Archbishop of York, in the chapel of his palace of Whitehall near Westminster, 1465; and was Lord Chancellor of England, 1468.

“the King, and expedient for the Church, that the possessions of the see, which they call *temporalities*, should immediately be seized by the King, and detained by him until a catholic successor be appointed.”

55. This advice was, it seems, well taken; the King returned the deputies thanks for their labour and diligence, and commanded them to meet again, to certify him of the principal points of *heresies, blasphemies, and detestable doctrines*, that the said Reginold Pecock was convicted of; but what their return was, I have not yet found.

56. His Majesty likewise commissioned P John Derby and Gilbert Haydock, S. T. P. to repair to our Bishop, and tell him how “he had been addressed by many Prelates and Doctors of the Church, to send ambassadors to the Pope to remove him from the see of Chichester, as being of late detected and convicted of certain great and detestable crimes of heresy, the which intendeth to the final subversion of the faith of Christ’s Church, and to the great infamy and jeopardy of the realm, without that he be put from the said see, or else renounce his present title that he hath in the said see, &c. and to notify to him in the King’s name, that if he would resign, the King would grant to him a competent pension; but that if he forced his Majesty to send ambassadors to the Pope, he would inflict on him the punishment imposed on him with the utmost rigour.”

57. Whether the Bishop, finding it not practicable to keep his bishopric, chose to resign, and to enjoy the benefit of the King’s offer to allow him a competent pension, does not appear; but the Bishop’s being sent to a monastery, and there put under a very strict confinement to do penance for his offences, with only an allowance of eleven, or, as some say, forty pounds to the abbey, for fitting up his apartment, and providing him a maintenance, looks

* *Temporalis vocant prædia illa et possessiones, quæ ex principum aliorumque liberalitate obvenerunt. Duareni de Benef. lib. ii. cap. 2.*

† He was prebendary of Hoxton, in St. Paul’s church.

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Fasti.Thorney
propter con-
densitatem
dumorum
vocata. W.
Mahmsbu-
ry, lib. iv.

as if he persisted in his claim, and forced the King to send to Rome to get his bull of restitution revoked and cassated. However this be, John Arundel, M. D. was promoted to this see a few months after this, the temporalities being restored to him March 26, 1459.

58. Our Bishop being thus deprived of his bishopric, was sent to the abbey of Thorney, in the isle of Thorney in Cambridgeshire, with the following instructions from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Abbot, how he should be there treated; viz. 1. That he have a secret closed chamber, with a chimney and an house of easement, and that he pass or go not out of the said chamber. 2. That he have but one person, that is serious and well-disposed, to make his bed and fire, as he shall have occasion; and that no one else speak to him without leave, and in the presence of the Abbot, unless the King or Archbishop send to the abbey any man with writing specially in that behalf. 3. That he have no books to look on, or to read in, but only a mass-book, a psalter, a legend, and a Bible. 4. That he have neither pen, ink, nor paper. 5. That he have competent fuel or firing according to his age. 6. That the first quarter after his coming into the abbey, he be contented to fare no better than a brother or Monk doth, only of the freytour, or to have the same commons as the Monks have in their common hall; but afterwards that he be served daily of meat and drink, as one of the Friars or Monks when he is excused from the freytour; and somewhat better afterwards, as his disposition, &c. shall require. For all which, and for fitting up this close apartment for the Bishop, the Abbot is ordered to have

¶ The freytour was that part of the abbey where the Monks or Friars used to eat and drink. Thus is it described in Pierce the Plowman's Creed:

*Thanne fer'd I into fraytoure, and fond there another,
An hall for an hygh kynge an household to halden,
With brode bordes abouten y benched well clene,
With wyndowes of glass wrought as a chirche.*

Our Bishop was, after the first quarter, to eat as a sick or aged Monk used to be allowed, who was indulged eating in his cell or chamber, and not obliged to come into the common hall.

eleven^r pounds. How long the Bishop continued in this melancholy state of confinement, we have no account; but it is not improbable that the rigour of it soon put an end to the life of one of the Bishop's advanced age; though very different accounts are given of his death.

59. Thus fell this great and learned Prelate a sacrifice to the doctrine of the infallible authority of the Church or Clergy; a doctrine but newly invented to oppose the reasons and arguments of condemned heretics, since heresy^r began to be punished with death; but, however, now esteemed the great bulwark of the Church against the Dissenters. For to so great a length was this authority now extended, as to make whatever was determined by it of equal importance with the articles of the Christian faith; insomuch that whosoever impugned any of these determinations, or even supposed them fallible or mistaken, was reckoned as much an heretic, as if he had opposed any necessary article of faith. Thus we see a part of our Bishop's crime was, that he affirmed it was not necessary to salvation to believe that *Christ descended into hell*, or to believe *in* the holy catholic Church, or that these additions, made by the Clergy to the common Creed

^r So it is in the copy of these instructions, communicated to me by the R. R. the Bishop of Peterburgh; but in another copy, which was sent me by the learned Mr. Thomas Baker, transcribed by John Anstis, Esq. from Mr. Wharton's collect. Y. E. 82. *e libro formularum temp. H. VI. penes El. Ashmole*, or rather at the end of it, it is said, that *forty pounds were assigned to the said abbey for his finding*. This is not so likely as *eleven*, since according to the value of money then, eleven pounds are equal to one hundred and ten pounds now. The instructions indeed suppose, that *all* the money allowed would not be expended about the Bishop, and therefore order, that what was left of it should be disposed of for the common benefit of the abbey. But it is scarce consistent with the frugality of this age to suppose an allowance of forty pounds, which is equal to four hundred pounds now.

^s That the ancient Doctors of the Church never proceeded so far, as to desire the assistance of the civil magistrate to take away life, or shed blood for mere error, or what they condemned as heresy, has been attempted to be proved, *Origines Ecclesiast.* vol. vii. cap. 2. §. 4. particularly he observes, that St. Chrysostom declared, that if heretics were to be put to death, there would be nothing but eternal war in the world. An observation which the event has sufficiently shewn to be too well grounded.

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Wharton's
Preface, &c.
p. 25.

in the latter ages of the Church, were of the same importance with the other articles of it which were from the beginning. Our Bishop was one who had obtained a very great reputation for his uncommon eloquence and singular learning, particularly his study of the law of nature and of nations. Both these are evident, not only in what we have left of his writings, which, if put into modern English, would appear to the meanest capacity both rational and elegant, but also from many other plain and manifest indications. His Lordship had read the works of the Fathers with no small care and diligence, and, as it should seem from what he says upon the article of Christ's descent into hell, had made critical observations on them, far beyond the genius and vulgar learning of that age. He was acquainted with the genuine epistles of Ignatius, and in the first part of his *Treatise of Faith* citeth the *Acts of his Martyrdom*, written by his cotemporary Philo, and published in the last age by the learned Archbishop Usher. Our Bishop likewise well understood the school divinity, and the philosophy then in vogue, and was perfectly skilled in the subtilties and niceties of those sciences. Of these, as has been already observed, the first part of his *Treatise of Faith* is full, and upon that account very obscure; so that his demand of the Archbishop was not unreasonable, that such might examine his books as had studied the school divinity and philosophy, as he had done.

60. As to the particular articles which our Bishop was forced to retract and abjure, it has been observed, that they were taught and believed by the greatest divines of the Church at that time; which shews that our Bishop knew the doctrine of the Church far better than his judges, and although he was condemned by them as guilty of the great and detestable crimes of heresy, blasphemy, and holding detestable doctrines, was yet no less orthodox than they. The *first* article was indeed otherwise taught by the subtle Doctor Scotus, who, as the Bishop himself tells us, said that this article, *Christ in his death of bodie descended into hell*, is an article of neces-

*Treatise of
Faith*, p. 41.

sary faith; in which conceit, the Bishop very truly observes, the Doctor was beguiled. For this reflection his Lordship gave this reason, that in St. Austin's time, above three hundred years after the Apostles' time, the common Creed had not in it this article. The same, we have seen, was owned by the Archbishop to be true of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, that they had neither of them these words.

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See Bp. Pearson on the Creed. Critical History of the Apostles' Creed.

61. Of the *second* article, that *it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Ghost*, I do not find the least hint in any of the Bishop's writings which are left. But it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that they, who through ignorance or zeal concluded, that because in the common Creed we profess to believe *in* the Holy Ghost, therefore we are obliged to believe *in* the holy catholic Church, and *in* the communion of saints, condemned the Bishop as holding it not necessary to believe in the Holy Ghost, because he affirmed that there was no necessity of believing *in* the holy catholic Church.

62. The *third* article or conclusion, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe *in*, or, as the Bishop himself expressed it, *to* the catholic or universal Church, was generally maintained by others who were reputed orthodox. St. Augustine, as he is quoted by Bishop Bonner, observed, *quod Ecclesiam credere, non tamen in Ecclesiam credere debemus quia Ecclesia non Deus, sed domus Dei est*. Accordingly, the Bishop himself thus explains this article of the Creed; *This manner of belief, that is to saye, I beleve in, we ought to have onelye in God, and not in any other creature of God elss, be it never so excellent; and therefore in the Crede, that said manner of speaking (I beleve in) is used only in the three articles which concerne the three persons in, Trinitie.—Concernynge the catholike Church we must beleve it, geve credit to it, but not beleve in it, for to beleve in it were to make it God*. To the same purpose Erasmus intimates, that he dreaded to say, *I beleve in the holy Church*; because St. Cyprian had taught him, that we ought to believe in God only, in quia.

A profitable and necessary Doctrine, &c. 1555.

Inquisitio de Fide inter colloquia.

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whom we absolutely place all our confidence. But as to the Church, properly so called, although it consists of the faithful only, yet they are men who may of good become evil ones; who may be deceived themselves, and deceive others. The anonymous writer of the *Pilgrimage to Perfection*, printed by De Worde, 1531, tells us, that Pope Leo^t and Alexander de Hales observed, it should not be said in this article, *I believe into*, but rather thus, *I beleve the holy Chirche catholicall*; and, that although St. Anselm and other Doctors expound this article otherwise, yet he supposed this manner of exposition to be most *common* among holy Doctors of the Church. Even the Trent^u Ca-

^t "Pope Leo saith, and Alexander de Ales reciteth the same, it should not be said in this article, *I beleve into the holy Chirche catholicall*, but rather thus, *I beleve the holy Chirche catholicall*; for the first maner of speaking (as St. Cyprian sayth) is appropriate to God. For whan I say, I beleve into God the Father, the Sone, and the Holy Goost, in such maner of speaking or thinking, I knowledge by faith these three persons to be my God and my Maker, my begynning and my end, my glory and blisse; for whom and to whom I order, or at least should order all my life, all my study and love. And although St. Anselme and other Doctors expoundeth this article otherwise; yet I suppose this manner of exposition, as is abovesaid, to be most *common* among holy Doctors of the Church." It does not appear who was the author of this treatise, nor when he lived. But by the following expressions in the prologue ["*after my entrance to religion*—Whatsoever secret doctrine of perfection you take or learn of this poor treatise, that ye have not heard nor known before in reading other workes, ye never by way of curiositie be busy to attempt any person therein, nor to ask any question thereof, and *espicially of seculars*, be they never so well learned; except in case wherein you understand not that ye read therein, then with meekness for your learning ask your doubt of them only whom ye suppose to be perfect and ghostly."] he seems to have been one of the Religious, as they were called, and very probably a Carthusian. However, he tells the English reader, that "he begun after his poor manner to write in Latin, but his charitie prevailed and letted him. For anone as he had set the pen to the book, it was put into his mind to draw it in the English tongue."

^u Nunc autem, mutata dicendi forma, *sanctam, et non in sanctam Ecclesiam credere* profiteremur, pars ii. sect. 28. Notwithstanding the disguised author of the Essay for Catholic Communion, printed here about 1704, thus represents this article of the Creed. "This article of our Christian faith," says he, "*I beleve in the holy Catholic Church*, shews, that we should be always in readiness to submit ourselves to the judgment of the Catholic Church." But in the Ethiopic version of the Nicene Creed, inserted in that Liturgy as it is

techism instructs us, that we profess not to believe *in* the holy Church, but only that there is a holy Church. The Bishop indeed thus explained his meaning; that it is not necessary to salvation to believe, that the holy universal Church saith and teacheth truth; or, that it is not thus necessary to believe as the Church believes. For he laid down this as a maxim, that “the^x sayings of the saints or holy fathers are not of so great authority, but that it is lawful to be of another mind in those things which are not determined by the holy Scripture.” And this was the opinion of Aquinas, that “the authorities of holy Scripture concluded *necessarily*, but the authorities of the Doctors of the Church, only *probably*.” As to what our Bishop observes: *⁊ We ben taught, says he, for to beleve one holy universal Chirche, or, that one holi universal Chirche is; and what foloweth therof, viz. the communion of seintis: even as by like tenour of wordis we are taught one baptiam to be, forgiveness of sins to be, everlastyng lyfe to be; and not bi those articles for to beleve to one baptism, and for to bileve to forgiveness of sins, and for to bileve to everlasting lyfe.* But it appears by the acts against the Lollards in the diocese of Ely, that it was an usual interrogatory put by the ecclesiastical judges at this time, to those whom they suspected of Lollardy, *An in Ecclesiam credis? Dost thou believe in the Church? The fourth article, that it is not necessary to believe to or in the communion of saintis, it is plain our Bishop asserted in the same sense. The fifth and sixth conclusions are said to have been*

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Faith.

Wharton's
Pref. to the
Bishop's
Treatise of
Faith.

published by Nisselius and Petrus, is this article thus read; *And we believe in one holy house of Christians, which is on the universal congregation apostolical.*

^x *Dicta sanctorum non sunt tantæ auctoritatis, quin liceat sentire contrarium in his, quæ non sunt per sacram Scripturam determinata.*

[⁊] See Pilgrimage to Perfection, printed by Winkin de Worde, 1581.

CHAP. *Writ is chieffer and of more authoriti or power than the*

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Faith, part
ii.

*Chirche, our Bishop himself sheweth by this reason; that whatsoever any council of Clergie, or ani Clergie without gathering into council teachith as feith, even the Clergie referreth their so made teaching of feith into holy Scripture; therefore, saith he, needs the holy Scripture is more worthi ground of our feith, than is the Clergie of the whole Chirche on erthe. As to our Bishop's being charged with holding, that the universal Chirche may err in those thingis which are of feith, it seems not to be very fair usage. The Bishop, so far as appears by his writings yet remaining, never formally asserts, that the Chirche may erre (much less that it has errid) in matters of feith. Only for argument sake, and in hopes the more easily to reduce the dissenting Wiclifists, he was willing to go upon that supposition that the Chirche may erre, &c. in his dispute with them; being confident, that notwithstanding this concession, he should be able well enough to cope with them, and to beat them at their own weapons; and this, because they never had, and never could prove, that the Chirche had actually errid in matter of feith. Thus his Lordship argued: *If it so be that the Chirche errith in the maters into whiche he is so bisi for to knowe arigt, and that bi manye yeeris, and bi manye kilpis of persoonys, and bi meenys leding into kunnyng aboue al that laymen mowe streeche to; the Chirche muste nedis be excusid of God: for whi, the Chirche dooth al that he can do thereynne, and al that he may do thereynne. For whi, he seeth not, neither can se, where and how he schulde seeke fether or better for to come into the trew kunnyng, than he now seeth, and widdingli he takith not to him any lette, whiche he knoweth to forburre the way into sufficientli to be haalde trewe kunnyng.* From hence he concluded, that we ought to believe and stand to some teacher, who may fail, or be deceived or mistaken, so long as it is not known that he is mistaken; and that all the ancient heretics, as well as the modern Wiclifists, are to be condemned on this ac-*

count, that (to use the Bishop's own words) *noon of hem couthe prove that his opinioun, for whiche he agenstode his Prelatis, was trewe.* CHAP.
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68. By what has been said it appears, that our Bishop was very severely used in being condemned as an heretic. Since besides that some of the Conclusions pretended to be extracted from his writings were really none of his, or never maintained by him, they were most of them asserted by many eminent Doctors, who never were censured by the Church as erroneous; and some of them so far true, that no learned man of even the Church of Rome will at this day deny them. But to such a height was the authority of the Church, or Romish Clergy, carried at this time, being asserted to be the chief and principal ground of saving necessary faith;—and this was reckoned of so much use to stop the mouths of the poor dissenting Lollards, especially when backed with the last reason of kings, fire and sword and hanging, that the least appearance of either questioning or denying it was punished as criminal, by the then ruling Clergy, with the utmost severity. We need not therefore wonder at our Bishop's incurring their displeasure. By the cavilling exceptions which were taken at his preaching, almost as soon as he was promoted to the Episcopacy, it is plain that he had a great many enemies among the Clergy, who were glad of any handle to expose him. Of this the Bishop seemed very sensible by his being so cautious in expressing himself, and guarding against misrepresentation. Thus in his *Repressour*, speaking of the *donation of Constantine*, as a proof of the fiction of it, he observes, that many hundred years after the death of Pope Silvester, to whom this grant of Constantine's is supposed to have been made, the election of the Pope made at Rome was sent to Constantinople to be confirmed or admitted of the Emperor. But knowing this to be a tender point, and that advantage might be taken against him for writing thus, he adds, *This I say not for this, that it so done was well done.* So in his *Treatise of Faith*, it is observable, that he is so cautious, as never

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stles' Creed.

formally to assert that the Church *may* err, much less that it *hath* actually erred. But his supposing, though but for argument's sake, that the Church might err, and affirming that the authority of the Church or Clergy, the chief part of it, was not sufficient to make necessary articles of faith, or such articles as are of necessity to eternal salvation; this incensed them, and set them against him. His Lordship's denying that it was necessary to salvation to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, after he died, descended into hell, because long after the Apostles' time this part of the article was not in the common Creed, but placed there by the Clergy since, seemed plainly to shew that it was the Bishop's opinion, that the Clergy, either in council or out of it, have no power to make articles of faith which are necessary to be believed for Christian men's salvation. That they had such an authority was, it seems, what the Bishop's adversaries had a mind the people should believe, as serving to magnify the sacerdotal powers, and exalt the mystical and hierurgical rights of the Priesthood, and causing their determinations to be quietly submitted to without examination. Accordingly they chose to make an example of his Lordship, (who had been so unhappy as always to be thought ill of by them, notwithstanding his unwearied labours in defence of the Established Church,) to terrify others of inferior rank, and make *them* beware how they attempted to deny, or even to suppose, that the Church or Clergy hath not of itself principally, groundly, and fundamentally, all the faith which is contained in holy Writ.

64. By the Archbishop's mandate for inquiring after our Bishop's books in the several dioceses of his province, it is intimated, that the reason of his Grace's calling them in was, because they were composed in English, and contained translations of the holy Scripture from Latin into English, contrary to the ecclesiastical prohibitions, and the decrees of the holy Fathers. By which I have before shewn to be meant the constitution of Archbishop Arundel against the translation of the Scriptures, and publish-

ing little books and tracts in the English tongue. It is added, that these books contained heresies, errors, and things sounding ill against the determination of holy mother Church, and contrary to the orthodox faith. So that our Bishop seems to have been prosecuted on this constitution, which, as has been already observed, was intended as a net to catch whomsoever the ruling Clergy did not like.

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65. Father Parsons charges our Bishop with *denying expressly three articles of the Creed*, and Archdeacon Harpsfield accuses his Lordship of *taking away four articles from the holy Creed*; the falseness of both which disagreeing testimonies is very obvious, by what has been already said. The former of these writers accuses Mr. Fox in very coarse language of *great impudence and folly*, for intimating that our Bishop *repented him afterward of his recantation*. But it is very plain that his Lordship's abjuration was the effect of force, and not of choice; and so it seems to have been then understood by the Bishop's adversaries. Otherwise they would not very probably have been so zealous for his deprivation, as to assert, that *it would be to the great jeopardy of the realm, if he was not put from his see*. But thus do the delegates, commissioned by the King to advise him in this matter, represent our Bishop almost a year after his abjuration. "Foras-
" much as the damnable doctrine and pestiferent sect of
" Reginolde Pecock exceedeth in malice and horribility all
" other heresies, and sects of heretics, to us here before
" known by hearing or writing, in the which the said Re-
" ginolde destroyeth not only the power and jurisdiction
" of *regalia* and *priesthood*, and so subverteth all order
" and direction of the law positive and politic governance
" among Christian people, as well in spirituality as tem-
" porality; but also despiseth and annulleth the authority
" of all holy Scripture, as well of the Old Testament as
" the New, impugning the principles and ground of the
" religion and doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom,
" among other blasphemies and detestable heresies, he

Third Part
of a Trea-
tise, &c. p.
266.
Hist. Wic-
lif, p. 719.

Certificatio
super man-
dato regio,
&c. MS. e
Collect.
Ep. Petro-
burg.

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“ ascribeth ignorance and imperfection, and namely in
 “ making the holy prayer of the *Pater-noster*: and over
 “ that of his arrogant presumption reproveth the doctrine
 “ of Moses, and other Prophets of God, and also of the
 “ Apostles, Evangelists, and Disciples of Christ, contemn-
 “ ing also the decrees and ordinances of general Councils,
 “ with the edicts and holy expositions of holy Doctors,
 “ and Fathers of Christ’s Church, as well upon the *Ten*
 “ *Commandments*, comprised in the two tables of Moses,
 “ and the *twelve articles of the faith*, and *seven Sacra-*
 “ *ments* of the Church: and to speak summarily, he in-
 “ tendeth by his blasphemous and detestable doctrine ut-
 “ terly to destroy the honour and name of Christ, and to
 “ confound finally the authority and state of Christian re-
 “ ligion.” This shews, that in these deputies’ opinion our
 Bishop was so far from having changed his mind by his
 abjuration, to which he was compelled by the Archbishop,
 as rather to wax worse and worse. Any one must ob-
 serve, that the accusation here brought against the Bishop
 is much more heinous and criminal, than the Conclusions
 for which he was convened before the Archbishop, and
 sentenced by him to lose his bishopric, &c. But how
 much stretched and overloaded it is will be seen in the
 next chapter.

Collier’s
 Eccles.
 Hist. vol. i.
 p. 675. col.

66. A late ecclesiastical historian very rashly, and with-
 out any authority, pronounces on our Bishop, that “ he
 “ seems to have been a person of a *floating desultory hu-*
 “ *mour*, and *unsettled in his judgment* to that degree, as
 “ sometimes to *preach and write counter to himself*, and
 “ *contradict his former opinions.*” For proof of this he
 tells us, that “ about *two years* after his maintaining the
 “ *seven* propositions in defence of the Bishops, mentioned
 “ before, he *declaimed against* the Bishops (whom he had
 “ before *defended*) in the pulpit, in very warm intempe-
 “ rate expressions; and notwithstanding he had lately dis-
 “ charged them from the *exercises of the pulpit*, he now
 “ reproaches them for their *omissions* of this kind: is so
 “ hardy as to affirm, that it was either their *ignorance* or

“ their *luxury* that occasioned this negligence; and that, if they *would* do any good in preaching, they must commend those good qualities they had not the honesty to be masters of.”

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67. But this declamation this historian *made* for the Bishop, against whose memory, as a supposed heretic, he is very zealous; and interest and inclination, he knew, have a strange power in deceiving us. The good man, it is plain, has quite mistaken his own author, and blunders in reading, or, however, in representing what he writes. Anthony a Wood, whom the learned historian quotes, relates from Gascoigne, that they were the *common people* who with so much vehemence, passion, and ill language, in the open streets reproached the Bishops with laziness and neglect of preaching, and insulted their character on that score. Wood indeed represents it, as if this rage of the populace against the Bishops was occasioned by our Bishop's sermons. But Gascoigne tells us, that the sermons of the Bishop were no otherwise the occasion of these affronts, which the Prelates of that time met with, than as they were in defence of their Lordships, and to shew that they were by their office exempted from *preaching*; the subject of them being in Gascoigne's own words, *de Episcopis concionandi munere liberandis*. But was this otherwise, where is the probity of the historian, and his not daring to say any thing that is false, to transcribe, or rather to frame a rude invective made by the mob in the streets, and call it a declamation of our Bishop's in the pulpit? So far was his Lordship from deserving the character of a person *unsettled in his judgment*, that, if we may judge of him by those few of his writings which are preserved out of the common destruction of them, he was very consistent with himself. It was indeed his unhappiness to live in such troubled and disordered times, and to have such for his judges, who, it appears, were not only very partial, but really ignorant of what they ought to have known. This was intimated by our Bishop, when he desired his writings might be examined by those who were

Collier's Essay on the Weakness of Human Reason. Hist. Oxon. vol. i. p. 222, col. 1.

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well skilled in the questions debated in them. His Lordship's resolution indeed failed him at last; he had not courage and constancy enough to resist unto blood. But, as Father Paul used to say, every one has not the spirit of Martin Luther. This behaviour of our Bishop therefore does not shew that he was of a floating desultory humour, or of an unsteady and inconstant temper, but only, that when perhaps he thought he stood, he was not resolute enough not to fall.

68. Our Bishop being thus deprived of his bishopric^z, the Archbishop thought it proper to encourage such, as he thought fit for such an undertaking, to write answers to the Bishop's books, or however to the principal of them. Among these was John Bury, who styles himself a poor son and provincial Friar of the Order of the Friar Heremites of St. Austin, of which the Archbishop was the most benign conservator. He was commanded by his Grace to answer the Bishop's book called the *Repressour*, &c. of which I have before given so large and particular an account. This answer he proposed to divide into *two* parts, or books: the *first* of which, to use his own words, *quandam disputationis formam induens mores eos, quibus Deo vivitur, e Scripturarum sanctarum visceribus ostendet exortos*, should shew, that those morals, by which we live to God, do spring from the bowels of the holy Scriptures. The *second* was to discuss the several books of the *Repressour*, and to shew, that whatever is there said in the

^z Quum nuper ille Reginaldus Pecoche Cicestrencis—*Respon. Bury*, MS. in Bibl. Bodl. B. 1. 1960. 18. being sixteen sheets of vellum in quarto, ill written with abbreviations. Bury, in his dedication of this his first book to the Archbishop, styles the Bishop *nefandus ille Reginaldus*: and says of him, that he brought the Archbishop and the Church into fresh danger, *vobis ovilique vestro nova discrimina intulisse visus est: that exacuit calamos, libellos pinxit, grandia etiam tonavit in caelum usque*; but that at length he is justly allotted a place among the inhabitants of wretched Babylon. As to the Bishop's book called the *Repressour*, &c. he gives this character of it, that there are in it several heresies, and the footsteps of many errors; that he prefers the dictates of human reason in the direction of our manners to those of the holy Scripture, and blasphemes the Sacraments, corrupts the divine commands, shews a contempt of gifts, and confounds the articles of our belief.

behalf of drowsy reason, is nothing to the purpose. The *first* part being finished, he dedicated it to the Archbishop, assuring his Grace that the *second* should follow with God's leave; but whether it ever did so, I do not know.

69. In this first book Bury tells the Archbishop, he had given sentence in the suit or cause by the sword of Solomon, which is the word of God; and observes, that the mutterers in behalf of the Bishop do almost every where blame our divines and jurists, that they so perversely expound or interpret, what in the Bishop's own words is very rightly expressed. Being therefore, he says, made more cautious by this instance, he had not translated the Bishop's writings word for word, but had mixed *his* English as he writ it himself, with his own Latin; so, he says, he has answered an imprudent man according to his folly, lest he should be wise in his own conceit; and yet he has not studied to answer him in the mother tongue, which *he* uses, lest he should be thought like unto him.

70. Bury takes notice of thirteen Conclusions of our Bishop's, which he first sets down in English, and then answers in Latin. The first of these he thus represents.

71. "The *ferste* conclusion of Reynold Pecocke, in hys book namyd the *Repressor*, laboryng effectually agens the liberte of holy Scripture, ys this. It longyth not to holy Scripture, nethir it is parte, for to grounde ony governance, or dede, or servyse of God, or ony lawe of God, or ony trouthe, whiche manys resoon be nature may fynde, lerne, or knowe. Thys conclusion he provyth thus: Every fundament shewet suffyciently by the self for that thing, to whom it is fundament: but holy Scripture only shewet not thus for swich laws, vertues, and governances, wch mannys resoon may fynde: wherefore holy Scripture is not to swich a sufficient fundament. Example of this: My place ys founded here, and not in anothir place; for if it were in anothir, it scode and shulde not be here. And in lyke maneere, if this trouthe and governaunce, that eche man schuld kepe meeknesse, were knowe be some othir thyng than be

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“ Scripture, and as weel and as sufficiently as be Scrip-
 “ ture, thilke governance or vertue were not grounded
 “ yn holy Scripture. Also thus: Ther may nothyng be
 “ fundament of a wall, or of a tre, or of an house, saf that
 “ upon wych all the hool substance of the wal, of the tre,
 “ or of the house stondeþ; and ought of whiche oonly
 “ the wal, house, or tre cometh. Wherefore be lyke skele
 “ so thing is ground or fundament to ony vertue or con-
 “ clusyon, governance or trouthe, saf that upon which
 “ alon all the governance, trouthe, or dede stonidith and
 “ ought, of which alon all the same trouthe and governance
 “ cometh. And that deom of resoon doth so, I prove thus:
 “ Whateverè thing deom of resoon dooth as fully and as
 “ parfithly, as holy Scripture it dooth, holy Scripture it
 “ doth not alone. But so it is, that whatsoever lernyng
 “ holy Scripture yeveth up ony of the seid governances,
 “ troothis, and vertues of Godys lawe, into whos fynd-
 “ yng, lernyng, and kennyng mannys resoon may come;
 “ mannys resoon may and kan yeve the same kennyng,
 “ as experience shewet; wherefore holy Scripture is not
 “ ground to hem.”

72. To this Bury frames his answer in Latin, which he thus introduces: “ Since the late Reynold Pecokke of Chi-
 “ chester, snatching the direction and governance of æen’s
 “ manners from the Scripturae, has ascribed them to the
 “ judgment of human reason, and brought in his *Repres-*
 “ *sor* thirteen Conclusions for the proof of this error; we,
 “ God being our guide, and being supported by catholic
 “ verity, shall dispute against him in an equal number of
 “ conclusions. Against his first conclusion this our first
 “ conclusion is determined. It belongs to holy Scripture,
 “ and is a special office deputed to it of God, to ground
 “ the five governances, acts, laws, verities, and divine
 “ obediences, even those which man’s reason can natu-
 “ rally and of itself find out and teach.” This he attempts
 to prove thus: “ It is the proper office of that science to
 “ found every governance and act directing to the obedi-
 “ ence of God, which is sufficiently ordained of God to

" this purpose, and has received from him a name. As
 " grammar grounds all the congruity, which contains the
 " doctrine of all congruity, and has its name from it; as
 " holy Scripture, which is called theology, is sufficiently
 " ordained for the direction of governances, and all the
 " actions of men, and takes its name from thence: there-
 " fore the ground or foundation of acts, governances, or
 " regimens of this kind, although they may be found out
 " otherwise by natural reason, is the proper special of-
 " fice of holy Scripture itself, and primarily deputed to
 " it. For theology is so called, because it is a speech
 " or discourse of God; and that in it the morals of men
 " are sufficiently taught, is plain from hence, that in Ec-
 " clesiastes xii. Solomon said ^a, *The words of the wise*
 " *are as goads, and as nails fastened by the masters of*
 " *assemblies, which are given from one shepherd; my son,*
 " *require no more than these.* For if they are the words
 " of very wise men which are given from one shepherd,
 " concerning whom Paul says, *God, who at sundry times,*
 " *and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fa-*
 " *thers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken*
 " *unto us by his Son,* we are to seek no farther. There-
 " fore these words of the wise, given by the pastor himself,
 " are ordered sufficiently for the direction of men; or be-
 " ing ordained for the direction of men are sufficient." To
 the Bishop's argument from the nature of a foundation,
 Bury answers, that " the minor is false; for that holy
 " Scripture of itself sufficiently shews the nature of every
 " governance, verity, and virtue, directing men unto God."
 As to the Bishop's example of a house, that is founded
 here, because " it cannot be founded elsewhere, &c." Bury
 answers, 1. That it is incongruously chosen, and 2. That it
 is frivolously and vainly applied; since we are to discourse
 much otherwise, or very differently of houses and of the

^a Verba sapientum sicut stimuli, et quasi clavi in altum defixi, quæ per ma-
 gistorum concilium data sunt a pastore uno, his amplius, fili mi, ne requiras, esto, i. e. ab
 Ecclesiast. xx. aliis cave.

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foundation of sciences. The foundation of sciences is a foundation of reason, but a foundation of a thing or place is another thing. One corporeal thing can no wise be founded in diverse places; but a thing of consideration and reason has a respect to one and another foundation, as often as it admits an alteration about the different modes of science. This, says he, is evident, if we consider the bounds of natural science, and of astrology, or astronomy. Astronomy measures the course of the stars very accurately, which navigation measures more rudely and ignobly; and yet the motion, face, and aspect of the stars have reference to both. As navigation and astronomy treat of the motions of the stars, so the holy Scripture and human moral philosophy treat of humility and the other virtues. He further observes, that the Bishop describes reason to be that very thing which the law of nature is. And that so reason does not mean that force or power which is opposed to irrational; but is the law of nature itself, or an inclination towards natural good, consequent on the formation of man. That reason in this sense has a twofold meaning. For the law itself of human nature is properly the inclination itself of the same nature derived from the eternal law, according to whose likeness the first man was created, or according to which men are renewed by repentance. And this law of nature, or natural reason, is in those only who love and fear God. For of every vicious man the Psalmist says, *Man, when he is in honour, does not understand; but is compared to foolish beasts, and made like them.* And Ecclesiast. xii. *Fear God, and keep his commandments; this is every man, i. e.* for this was every man first created. Otherwise the law of nature, or natural reason, is wont to be called the inclination itself of human nature towards what is good, generally consequent to the nature of man after it became obnoxious to sin. Reason, according to the first mode, is always concomitant to that moral philosophy which the Scriptures revealed by God's command: according to

Psal. xlviii.
according to
the Vulgate.

Hoc est om-
nis homo.

the second, produces a sort of moral philosophy, which is weakly founded on ignorance itself or nature; whereas the other philosophy has an invariable certainty from its foundation in the holy Scripture revealed by God. To shew further how vain the application is of an example of the foundation of an house in one place, to the foundation of moral governances in reason only, he observes, that this may be manifested from these three considerations. 1. That the similitude or comparison of the foundation of houses and sciences is not general, nor does the adversary conclude any thing by that example; only he endeavours to deceive simple and illiterate men, who do not know the difference betwixt the foundation of sciences and the foundation of houses. 2. That by a special prerogative it is granted to holy Scripture, that as the spiritual man judges all things, and is judged of nobody; so also does it examine the causes and principles of all morals revealed by God, which are to be found out without human industry. 3. Because holy Scripture can operate on that which is more, as on the foundation of infused virtues; and therefore can operate also on what is less, namely, on the foundation of acquired ones. To explain this, he produces the following example.

^b He supposes, that a piece of a place and a whole place are not two places. For example: The city of Damascus, and its street called Strait, are certainly not two places; and therefore the house therein, in which Paul dwelt, was so founded in the street, that since the street was in the city, of necessary consequence was the said house founded in the city of Damascus. I suppose moreover, says he, that holy Scripture contains a threefold law, to wit, of nature, the synagogue, and of the Church. The law of nature it contains from its beginning to Exodus, the law of the synagogue it contains from Exodus to the Gospel,

Locus partialis, et locus totalis.

^b Suppono, quod locus partialis et locus totalis non sunt duo loca. *Exemplum.* Civitas Damascenorum, et vicus ejus qui vocatur rectus omnino sunt duo loca. So my transcript of the MS. is; but I suppose it should be *non omnino sunt duo loca, &c.*

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and the law of the Church contains the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. These things being supposed, it may be thus argued: As a house built in a street is to the street and the city, so are traditions and moral doctrines, which are founded in the law of nature, to the same law of nature and to the holy Scripture, to which the said law of nature is the chief part; but a house founded in the street of a city is likewise founded in the city itself; therefore traditions and moral doctrines founded in the law of nature are also founded in holy Scripture: which we grant, understanding that to be founded in some part of a thing which has a foundation in the whole.

74. This I suppose sufficient to give the reader a taste of the manner of Bury's answering the Bishop's book. As to the remainder of this *first part* of it, it is employed in maintaining the twelve remaining Conclusions in opposition to the Bishop, *viz.*

II. Although holy Scripture founds moral governances, yet *humano more* natural reason can or may recite them.

III. It is the proper and special office of the holy Scripture to render the moral of those who travel on the stage of this world deiform.

IV. It is not the office of the moral law of nature to ground any article of faith; and that the law of nature and moral philosophy are not the same.

V. Notwithstanding, articles of faith may be recited in the law of nature and moral philosophy.

VI. It is the office of catholic philosophy to express the truths founded in the law of nature, and certain truths of faith.

VII. No part of the divine law of Scripture wants a foundation.

VIII. A man may know the whole law of God, although he be ignorant of acquired moral philosophy.

IX. A man may understand the holy Scripture, where it treats of moral virtues, so far forth as he is ignorant of acquired philosophy.

X. A man may serve God without acquired moral philosophy.

XI. The illiterate are obliged to magnify or make much of the servants of God, by whom they have learned the most certain laws of living. CHAP.
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XII. Illiterate men should highly detest the books of Reginald, meaning our Bishop.

XIII. That it is not unreasonably asked or inquired, where all the doctrine of morals is founded in Scripture.

75. Such were the Conclusions which Bury laboured to maintain, in express contradiction to the Bishop, as was pretended by him; of the truth of which the reader is left to judge, who has before had an account of what it was the Bishop asserted in behalf of the Established Church, in vindication of which his Lordship wrote. But however zealous Bury was in opposing the Bishop, it does not appear to me that the Conclusions he finds fault with were either condemned by the Archbishop, or retracted and abjured by the Bishop.

CHAP. V.

Of the Bishop's Opinions.

1. **THESE** I have occasionally given some account of before, in what I have said of his books and writings yet remaining. But because the enemies of his person and memory have represented them as so very wicked and dangerous, I think it not improper to give the reader a view of them together. This I shall do from his book of *Faith*, from which the Conclusions which the Bishop was forced to abjure seem to have been taken.

Treatise of
Faith, p. 6.

P. 16.

P. 15.

P. 23.

2. In the *first* place therefore our Bishop affirmed, that "holy Writ is such a ground and foundation of our Christian general faith, that there is no greater, or better, or surer ground or foundation to us for our Christian general faith; and that this writing, containing our all whole faith, is precious, and ought not to be set little by, neither be faintly and unworthily received." By *holy Writ* he declared he meant the writing of the Old Testament and the New, in which he did not include the stories of Tobie and Susannah, and the additions to Daniel; all which he styled Apocryphas. He likewise rejected as *a feigned thing, and worthy to be laid aside*, the tradition that Esdras by inspiration wrote, without any copy, all the five books of Moses, and all the other books of history and of prophecies to his days.

P. 27.

3. He likewise observed, that "the Scripture of the New Testament is not through each part of it like in authority, in worthiness, and dignity. For why? some parts of Scripture teach us faith, and some teach us the law of nature, and of natural reason, as the text itself sheweth, and Austin witnesseth. Some parts of the Scripture teach us positive ordinances of Christ, as are the Sacraments; and some parts thereof teach us ordinances of some Apostle, as the law of bigamy, or St.

1 Tim. iii.
2, 12.

“ Paul’s ordaining, that a ^a *bigam* should not be a Deacon or Priest, and that a woman ^b vow not chastity before the sixtieth year of her age.” Which positive ordinances of the Apostle’s, the Bishop said, the Clergy and Pope that now is may dispense with; because “ the Pope is of like authority and jurisdiction with each, or with the greatest of the Apostles. Yet hereof followeth not,” he said, “ the Clergy now living, or the Pope now living, may *dispense* with this, that Scripture teacheth as the *positive ordinance of Christ*, or, that he may *revoke any of those ordinances*. For why? so *revoke* or *dispense* might none of the Apostles.” So that it was with some distinction and qualification that the Bishop allowed holy Scripture to be the primary or only rule of faith and manners. For elsewhere his Lordship, to use his own words, “ rebukes and adauntes the presumpcioun of tho ley per-^{Repressour, &c. p. i. c. 7. MS.} soones, which weenen bi her reding in the Bible for to come into more kunnyng than thei or alle the men in erthe, Clerkis and others, mowe come to bi the Bible oonli, withoute moral philosophie and lawe of kinde or nature.”

4. Our Bishop was very earnest in exhorting and per-^{Poor Man’s Looking-glass, MS. apud Usserium de S. Scriptur. Vernacul.} suading the people to study the Scriptures, to read them, to meditate on them, and to be constant in the use of them; and advised that they who cannot read themselves should hear others read and explain them; meaning the Scriptures in the Latin Vulgate. Accordingly he observed, that “ ech thrifty and well-sped studente in divinity has ^{Treatise of Faith, p. 28, 29.} power to declare and expound holy Scripture; yea and ech good grammarian hath power to construe Scripture,” or to turn it into English. “ That very often

^a One who has been twice married, or has been married to one widow. Duran. de Sac. Benef. lib. iv. c. 8. ll. Pontificalium, Gregorii IX. Pentateuchus, Mesnartii lib. i. tit. 20.

^b So the Bishop represents the Apostle’s words, 1 Tim. v. 9. *Let not a widow be chosen into the number under threescore years old: which the Bishop thus expresses; Poul ordeynyd a widowe to not take perpetual widewite unadir boond err sche be of sixty winter, and but if sche hadde be wyf of oon man.*

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“ Scripture expoundeth itself, inasmuch as by the reading
“ of Scripture in one part, a man shall learn which is the
“ true understanding of Scripture in all other parts, where-
“ in he doubted, or was ignorant before. Certain,” says
he, “ it may be, that one simple person, as in fame, or in
“ state, is wiser for to know, judge, and declare, what is
“ the true sense of a certain portion of Scripture, and
“ what is the truth of some article, and that for his long
“ studying, labouring, and advising thereupon, than is a
P. 14. “ great general council.” So again: “ The writing made
“ and found by God, and by the Apostles,—may ground
“ sufficiently the same faith in every Clerk or layman
“ notably reasoned for to understand what he readeth in
“ the New Testament, though he learne not the same faith
“ by any general council, or any multitude of Clerks to
Repressour, “ be gathered together.” Hence in another place he says,
&c. part i. that “ he does not understand it to be unlawful to lay-
o. 7. MS. “ men for to read in the Bible, and for to study and learn
“ therein, with help and counsel of wise and well learned
“ Clerks, and with licence of their governor the Bishop.”

5. The Bishop further declared against a submission to
unexamined decisions. “ It was,” saith he, “ a full shame-
Treatise of “ ful thing for the Christian Church to hold such a faith
Faith, p. 2. “ for substance of its salvation, and yet not to dare to
“ suffer it to be examined, whether it is worthy to be al-
“ lowed for true faith or no; it were imputing a villany to
“ Christ, that he should give such a faith to his people,
“ into which faith he would his people should turn all
“ other people, and yet would not allow his faith to be at
“ the full tried, and durst not be aknowe his faith to be so
“ pure, and so fine from all falsehood, that it might not by
“ strength of evidence be overcome.—Lord Almighty,”
says he, “ thou forbid that any such prisoning of thy faith
“ be made in thy Church.”

6. He disputed against *unwritten verities*, as they are
termed, or oral traditions being the rule of saving faith.
P. 18. “ The Apostles,” saith he, “ nor any other Clerks, might
“ or could have taught sufficiently the said faith without

“ Scripture; all the whole faith written in the Gospel being too long a tale to be sufficiently learned without writing of it.” For this purpose, his Lordship observes, that “ a tale or tiding, by the time that it hath run through four or five men’s mouths, taketh patches and clouts, and is changed in divers parts, and turned into lesyngs, and all for defaulte thereof the writing.” And therefore his Lordship concludes, that “ the Apostles intended not to give any catholic faith, necessary to Christian men’s salvation, by word *only*, to be kept without writing and remembrance. That they betoken not, and besides holy Scripture, any articles unwritten to be believed for necessary faiths.”

7. He observed that the articles, that we should pray towards the east; bless ourselves with a cross; that Priests should make three crosses upon the bread and wine offered on the altar before consecration; that the font of Baptism shall be blessed with oil, and baptized persons anointed with it; are every one of them governances, which took their beginning and ordinance, not of the Apostles, but of the Fathers only. That the same is to be judged or thought of holy water which Pope Alexander II. ordained of holy bread, of the most part of the observations or ceremonies in the Mass, and of the fasting of Lent, and of many other such observations, which were all ordained by the holy Fathers since the Apostles, and were not to be kept and believed for necessary faiths.

8. He shewed that St. Basil divided those things which all Christian men ought to hold and believe into three parts: *viz.* Things delivered to us by apostolic ordinance, things delivered in holy Scripture, and things or articles which are derived to us through devout use or custom of the generality of the people; from whence, he said, it followed, that not such a fourth member is to be taken and kept of the people, *viz.* which the Apostles left and delivered for substantial faith without writing.

9. His opinion of the authority of the Church or Clergy, in matters of faith, our Bishop thus expressed. Faith,

- CHAP. V. he observed, is taken in two senses; "*first*, to signify the
 " knowledge by which we know the true article; *secondly*,
 " the same true article in itself known by faith. Or thus :
 P. 33. " Faith is a knowing, wherein we consent in our under-
 " standing to a truth being above our capacity to find and
 " know, and therefore we know it by this, that God
 " affirmed it; and it is the article or the truth in this now
 " said manner known. Now neither of these two faiths,"
 his Lordship said, " may the Clergy, or the whole Church,
 " make new at their own will: for why? it is not in the
 " power of the Clergy, or whole Church, to make such an
 " article to be true or untrue; as it is not in the Church's
 " power to make this to be true or untrue, *that Mary con-*
 " *ceived a child in her maidenhood*, or this, *that Christ*
 " *was dead and rose again unto life*, and so forth of other
 " articles of faith in this said manner and kind. And
 " therefore he concluded, all that the Clergy or whole
 " Church may do hereabout is *denouncing*, and *declaring*,
 " and *defining* to the simpler part of the Church what is
 " faith in either of these now said manners; and that *this*
 " is to be taken for such said faith, and *this other* is to be
 " taken for such faith, and so forth of other like. But all
 " wise men may soon see, that far is this from a power to
 " *make* any thing to be such said faith; and that the
 " Church *maketh* not a thing to be such faith, in this that
 " it *decreeth*, *discerneth*, *judgeth*, *determineth*, *witnesseth*,
 " and *publisheth* a thing to be such a faith." A little fur-
 P. 35. ther the Bishop shews, " that whatever article the Clergy,
 " or the whole Church, believeth as faith, and hath not
 " upon the same article the process of evidence and proof,
 " that God affirmed or revealed it, they in so believing are
 " over-hasty, and presume further than they should." For
 which his Lordship gives this reason; that " the Apostles
 " delivered not, *out* and *besides holy Scriptures*, any arti-
 P. 37. cles unwritten to be believed for necessary faiths; that
 " they did not let run any articles under necessary faith,
 " to be believed without proof of Scripture." From all
 P. 34. which his Lordship concluded, that " holy Writ is a more

“worthy ground of our faith, than is the Clergy of the whole Church on earth; and that the Clergy ought not to induce or constrain the other people into the belief and faith of other points and articles, as upon the faith of which dependeth our salvation, than are expressed in the literal sense of holy Scriptures, or following them so expressed.” So far was our Bishop from being so weak as to imagine the holy Scriptures only a parcel of un-sensed characters, and that there is need of a certain human authority to fix and ascertain their sense and meaning, and that such an authority is given to and vested in the Clergy of the Christian Church. CHAP. V.

10. His Lordship indeed allowed, that “the Clergy, or some of them, by their great learning, have power or skill to declare to simpler folk which is the true sense and understanding of the Scripture. Reason,” says he, “will that the wiser part of all the whole multitude of Christian men take upon them for to teach and inform authoritatively the simpler part, which thing ought to be taken for faith, and which not; and *that* so doth the Clergy to the laity.” To the same purpose his Lordship observed, that “peradventure a man shall have need at some time, and in some texts of Scripture, to have exposition had by the eldest party of the Church, joined to the Apostles, and living in the time of the Apostles.” But then he declared, that “of more strength than this he saw not that the determination of the Church is; and that hereof followeth not, that the Clergy so *declaring or teaching* is worthier, in way of grounding what Scripture was ordained to ground, by their due understanding of truth, than is the same Scripture in itself for to ground.” P. 41. P. 14. P. 34.

11. His Lordship further shewed, that the determinations of the Clergy, or Church, ought not to be against or contrary to reason; and that if they were, no one was bound to believe them or submit to them. “Reason,” says he, “which is a syllogism well ruled, after the craft taught

CHAP. V
 " in logic, and having two premises openly true and to be
 " granted, is so strong and so mighty in all the kinds of
 " matters, that though all the angels in heaven would
 " say, that this conclusion was not true, yet we should
 " leave the angels, saying and should trust more to the
 " proof of that syllogism, than to the contrary saying of
 " all the angels in heaven. For that all God's creatures
 " must needs obey the judgment of REASON, and such a
 " syllogism is nothing else than the judgment of REASON.
 " If the Church in earth determines against what such a
 " syllogism concludeth, we should rather trust and hold
 " us to that syllogism, than to the determination of the
 " Church in earth."

12. As this supposed that the Clergy or Church in
 earth may err, or that it might be so understood, as if the
 Bishop allowed that the determinations of the Church
 might possibly be against reason; he thus guards against
 any such meaning in the following words: " Nevertheles,
 " sone, of this part I now have granted to thee, followith
 " not, that the Church in erthe *errith* or *may erre in*
 " *matter of faith*; no more than folowith of my graunt,
 " that the Chirche now in heaven erreth or may erre."

Treatise of
 Faith, MS.

13. Accordingly his Lordship contended, that every
 man is bound to obey the determinations of the Church,
 unless he can demonstrate her determinations to be
 wrong. " I dare," says he, " wel this say and avowe, and
 " this reverence I give to the Church in earth, that when-
 " ever the Church of God in earth holdith any article as
 " faith, or hath determined thilk article to be faith, every
 " singular person of the same Church, how wise ever he
 " be, and how digne and worthy ever he be, is bounden
 " under pain of damnation for to believe thilk same article
 " as faith, and so therin to obey the Church, yea though
 " the Church therein believed or determined falsely or
 " amiss; but if he can evidently and openly without any
 " doubt shew, teach, and declare that the Church beleev-
 " eth, or hath determined thilk article wrong and untruly,

Ibid. c. 7.

“ or else that the Church hath no sufficient ground for so
 “ to believe and determine. If thou canst not prove CHAP.
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 “ cleerly and undoubtably, that the Church errs against
 “ thy party, thou art in damnation to hold agenst the
 “ Church: and agenward, if thou canst prove it cleerli
 “ and undoubtably, thou art in damnation for that thou
 “ conquerest not other men and the Church; sithen it is
 “ proved, that thou maist so do, if it be true that thou
 “ canst prove clearly and undoubtably, what thou pre-
 “ tendest and acknowledgedst thee kunne so prove, or that
 “ thou knowest so to prove. Yea,” says his Lordship,
 “ though the Church should *believe* or *determine amiss*,
 “ yet thereof should not this person, who obeys and sub-
 “ mits to what it has determined, be blamed of God, but
 “ should be fully excused. Since by this obedience to the Treatise of
Faith, p. 14.
 “ Clergy, in case of their erring, whilst we know not that
 “ they do err, nor desire nor cause their erring, none hurt
 “ shall come, but the same good which should come to
 “ us thereby, if the Clergy in teaching us had not erred.”
 His Lordship therefore puts this case. “ If,” says he, “ a
 “ Parish Priest should teach his parishioner some gross he-
 “ resy instead of an article of faith, it were the parishion-
 “ er’s duty to receive it,” *i. e.* in case the parishioner is
 not notably reasoned for to understand the New Testa-
 ment himself, and cannot evidently and openly without any
 doubt shew, that what the Priest teaches him is a gross he-
 resy; in such a case, the Bishop says, the parishioner would,
 in receiving what the Priest teaches him, “ not only be ex-
 “ cusable before God, but be as meritorious, and equally
 “ rewarded with the belief of any true article. Nay, if that
 “ man should lay down his life for defence of this gross
 “ heresy, he would be a true and undoubted martyr.”

14. As to matters of *order* and *discipline*, our Bishop
 shewed, that “ the Pope is of like authority and jurisdic- P. 47, 28.
 “ tion with each and the greatest of the Apostles; that
 “ the Church now living is even in authority and power
 “ with some parts of Scripture: as in this, for to *make*

CHAP. V. *positiv. ordinances*, like as holy Scripture by power of the Apostles made; and for to *revoke* that positive ordinance of holy Scripture made by the Apostles. Thus the Clergy may make now first a *fasting-day*, and an *holy-day*, which never were before." But then his Lordship adds, that "hereof it followeth not, that the Clergy now living, or the Pope now living, may dispense with this that Scripture teacheth as the positive ordinance of Christ, and that they may revoke any of those ordinances:" or, that though the present Pope or Clergy are equal in power, and have the same authority with *such parts* of holy Scripture as teach us the ordinances of some Apostle; they are equal in authority with *all* the Scripture of the New Testament, or with many other parts thereof, which teach us the positive ordinance of Christ.

P. 85, 86. 15. Though our Bishop allowed the Church or Clergy to have power to canonize saints, or to "declare that this holy liver, for whom the miracles done be well examined and tried by witnesses sworn after his death, is accepted into salvation, and is to be revered, worshipped, and followed as for a saved soul, and much loved and worshipped of God;" yet he does not scruple to own, that pretence-miracles, inspirations, and appearings of God, or of angels within forth and without, and legends or lives of saints and other stories, which are written and had in fame, are full *uncertain* and *unsure grounds* for to ground upon them faith; that is to say, a truth surpassing nature and revealed by God, without passing great trial of them. For certainly among them a *diligent wise ensearcher* shall find sometime *superstitions*, sometime *errors against sure known truth*, and sometime *contrariety betwixt themselves*.—And therefore though the Church suffer many such to run forth and be read, and be taken *as wise men will judge and feel of them*,

^c Quisque Episcopus diem festum velut peculiare quoddam sui monumentum adjicit. *Erasmii Epist.* col. 2025.

“ the Church is not so hasty as to *determine authorita-* CHAP.
tively them to be true.” V.

16. As our Bishop thus pleaded for men's use of their reason and judgment in matters of religion, and their searching and examining the truth of what was determined by the Clergy; so he affirmed, that “ the Clergy ^{P. 3.} shall be condemned at the last day, if by clear wit they draw not men into consent of true faith, otherwise than by fire, or sword, or hanging.” This was an usage to recover Dissenters, which had not been long introduced into the English Church. But King Henry IV. being afraid of breaking with the Pope, and desirous to ingratiate himself with his angry Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, who was violently set against the poor Wiclifists, instructed his ministers, the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, whom he sent to the Con-
October 6,
1399.
 vocation, which met in the first year of his reign, to ^{A. D. 1400.} certify to or assure them, that the King would to the utmost of his power destroy all heresies and heretics. Accordingly, to be as good as his word, in the next parliament it was enacted, that any one who preached or wrote contrary to the catholic faith, or determination of the holy Church, should be arrested by the diocesan, and proceeded against according to the canons, and being convict should be kept in prison, and fined at the diocesan's discretion; and if he refused to abjure, or relapsed after abjuration, he should be delivered to the secular arm, and by the Sheriff ordered to be burnt before the people in some high place, that such punishment might strike in fear to the minds of others. This was so much shorter a way with the Dissenters than conferring with them, and by plain sense and argument manifesting the truth to their consciences, that after this law no other method seems to have been much thought of, to stop the mouths of sup-

⁴ — Certificare eisdem Dominis Prelatis et Clero, quod ipse Dominus noster Rex omnes libertates Ecclesie sustineret, nec non hereses et hereticos destrueret juxta posse. *E Collect. D. White, Episcopi Petroburg.*

CHAP. posed heretics, and satisfy their doubts and scruples. In-
 V. somuch that the learned Andrew Ammon, in the begin-
 A. D. 1511. ning of the next century, wrote to his friend Erasmus,
 then at Cambridge, that the price of wood was considera-
 bly advanced about London, by the daily burnt sacrifices
 which the heretics afforded in Smithfield. Accordingly we
 may observe even our Bishop himself, notwithstanding his
 insisting on the kind treatment of Dissenters, and the en-
 deavouring to reclaim them by argument and persuasion,
 yet owns, that he will not deny these second means of
 fire, or sword, or hanging to be *lawful*, provided the for-
 mer means be first used. So cautious was the Bishop of
 offending the Clergy then living.

Rhemish
 Translation
 of the New
 Testament,
 p. 324. edit.
 1592. 4^o.

Treatise of
 Faith, p. 31.

17. Our Bishop likewise shewed his dislike of a thing
 being called *catholic*, because it is *orthodox*. It seems to
 have been an opinion entertained by some in our Bishop's
 time, that the Holy Ghost imposed this name *catholic*
 upon the believers, which in all points were obedient to
 the Church's doctrine; and that this word *catholic* is the
 proper note, whereby the holy Apostles in their Creed
 taught us to discern the true Church from the false here-
 tical congregation of what sort soever. In opposition to
 this our Bishop observed, that "all true faith, though it
 be *particular*, ought to be called *orthodox*;" but that it
 was a contradiction in terms to style *each* faith, or every
particular faith, catholic or general faith. As to the word
orthodox, he derived it from *ὀρθός*, *right* or *true*, and *δόξα*,
glory, as much as to say right glory, or the thing which is
 worthy right or true glory. Which shews how little
 Greek was then understood.

18. Further, our Bishop approved of the Council of
 Nice's ordaining, that those Priests who had wives should
 not leave them and be divorced from them, since the
 Apostle Paul allowed Priests to marry. "This deede,"
 says he, "a Prest for to freli take and chese of alle mai-
 dens to him a wiif, (so that he wedde not eftsoone if his
 first wiif die him lyvyng,) and for to bigete children, and

“for to have meyne, and holde house, and for to nurische
 “and bringe up hise children, and for to reule his wiif,
 “meyne, and children, and for to purveie for hem, was al-
 “lowed of Poul, and bi liik skile of the othere Apostils, as
 “is open of Paul bi what is writtun, 1 Cor. vii. c.”

CHAP.
 V.

19. His Lordship likewise granted, that the Apostles established no distinction of meats and drinks, or did not appoint fish to be eaten at some times and seasons, and flesh at others. “Whatever deede,” says he, “eny Apostle
 “or his writing allowith to be in a Prestis moral conver-
 “satioun, thilke same dede is not agens resoun to be in
 “the same Prestis moral conversatioun; for ellis the
 “Apostle and his writinge schulde reule agens resoun,
 “which is not to be grauntid. But so it is, that this
 “deede a Prest and ech other Cristen man, for to *frely*
 “*receyve, take, and uce alle maner of metis, and alle*
 “*maner of drinkis, into his sufficiencie with thankings to*
 “*God, holi Writ weel alowith, as it is open, 1 Tim. iv.*
 “*cap.*” His Lordship also allowed, that *“over greet*
 “*multitude of mennys posytive lawis* oughten not to be
 “maad; but Prelatis and Princis ougten to be **weel* * Well aware.
 “*waar*, that over manye positive lawis be not goven to
 “her peplis. For,” says he, “sotheli therof comuth causeli
 “nedis ful myche yvel, more than y see men considere it
 “so to come; of which yvells y desyre in my herte for to
 “have leiser and space to write my conseite.” But then
 he added by way of caution, that “to holde that it is un-
 “leeful or unexpedient for eny suche posytyve lawis to be
 “maad and be goven to the peple, was fer fro his witt
 “and his resoun.”

e De ciborum generibus dixit Dominus Jesus: *Quod intrat in os, non coinquinat hominem.* Et Paulus a præceptore non dissentiens, *Regnum,* inquit, *Dei non est esca et potus.* Cæterum in ciborum delectu quanto nostrorum onus videtur durius quam illorum (Judæorum.) *Erasmii Epist. lib. xxxi. 43.*

f Sunt in quibus boni et cordati omnes doleant Christi gregem nimium involvi Judaicis ceremoniis, et opprimi vel autoritate vel indiligentia procerum quorundam ecclesiasticorum; qua de re queritur et Augustinus in epistolis suis, clamitans Judæorum conditionem tolerabiliorem esse propemodum, quam Christianorum. *Ep. 43.*

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V.

20. Lastly, our Bishop styled Christ the head of the Church, which is founded on earth; which Church, he said, is always and at all times one and the same, or cannot fail. But then, as I have shewn at large before, he asserted the Papal supremacy, which was then at its height, and said all he could in defence of it against the objections of the Wiclifists.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Bishop's Friends and Followers.

1. **T**HE main thing for which our Bishop was condemned was, as I have shewn, his disputing against or denying what Waldensis, a contemporary of our Bishop's, called *the arrogance of some writers*, viz. that *the decrees of Bishops in the Church are of greater weight, authority, and dignity, than is the authority of the Scriptures*: or, ^{Doct. Fid. Antiq. tom. ii. lib. 9. c. 20.} in other words, that the authority of the Church or Clergy is infallible. Thus, it is plain, they who condemned our Bishop maintained, that *it is necessary to salvation to believe and hold, that what a general council and the universal Church doth appoint, approve, or determine, in favour of the faith, and for the salvation of souls, is to be approved and holden by all the faithful of Christ*; as on the contrary, that *what a general council disapproves of, determines, or condemns to be contrary to the catholic faith or good manners, is to be believed and holden by the same, for a thing reprobate, and condemned*. But these high and extravagant principles, espoused by men who had more heat than light, were directly contrary to the judgment and opinion of the most sober and learned writers even of that age; however our Bishop was so unhappy as to be condemned for opposing them, by the hasty sentence of two or three partial Bishops. It has been shewn at large, that even then it was generally agreed, “ that ^{Mr. Wharton's Preface to Bp. Pecock's Treatise of the Rule of Faith.} the representative Church, or general councils, were not only fallible, but had sometimes actually erred; that the decrees and definitions of the Church ought to be submitted to the examination of every private Christian; that no article of faith was to be received which was pugniant to the principles of reason; and that not the belief and acceptance of the Church caused any doctrine to be accounted true, and an article of faith, but the

CHAP. VI. "presupposed truth of the doctrine rendered the belief of
VI. "it rational and justifiable."

Wood, Hist.
Oxon. vol. i.
p. 222.

2. We need not therefore wonder at our being told, that the ^agenerality of the Bishops favoured Bishop Pecock, notwithstanding the opposition which he met with from some of the zealous Doctors of the two Universities. It is to call both their learning and judgment in question, to suppose that they did otherwise. Not only so, but they would have been highly ungrateful to desert the Bishop in his present distress, when they knew his falling into it was partly on *their* account, his vindicating them and their Order from the aspersions cast upon them. Not but that things had now taken another turn in the University of Oxford, where till almost this time the memory of Doctor Wiclif had been very much revered, and his principles defended; but now by the raw and young Regents, who were of a very forward zeal, and more warmly than wisely affected, it was become very fashionable to run down that truly great man, to defame his memory, and misrepresent his tenets. The cry of the Church drowned all sober and impartial thinking and reasoning, and nothing almost was now heard but boasts of its authority, and very warm defences of the infallibility of its determinations.

8. Of the Bishops, which took the part of our Bishop, *two* are particularly named, *viz.*

I. ^b Walter Hart, Lyhert, or Le-Hert, S. T. P. who was first a scholar of Exeter College in Oxford, and from thence, I suppose, elected Fellow of Oriel, the same College of which our Bishop was, of which he was afterwards chosen Provost; he was some time after made Confessor to the Queen, and by the Pope's bull of provision, dated

^a Episcopi ei favebant. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS.*

^b Ego Thomas Gascoigne novi, quod iste Pecock provisus tunc in Episcopum Cicestresem per media Willielmi Ducis Suffolciæ, et Walteri Hart Episcopi Norwicensis. — Tradidit eas scriptas in Anglico, Episcopo Norwicensi suo fautori. *Gascoigne, Dict. Theol. MS.*

Jan. 24, 1445-6, promoted to the see of Norwich, where he was instrumental by his good conduct in pacifying a commotion which was in that city the next year against the Prior of that place, on account of certain new and unaccustomed exactions, which the Prior claimed and took of the citizens, contrary to their ancient freedom. He died May 17, 1472. Weever tells us, that he paved the church, and during his life maintained twelve students at *Cambridge, with all things necessary for them, at his own charges. A later writer assures us, that he built the transverse stone partition, or rood loft, on which the great crucifix was placed, and beautified the roof of the body of the church; that accordingly towards the north side of the said wall are the Bishop's arms, and towards the south side his rebus, viz. a hart in water; and that upon the door, under the rood loft, was a plate of brass with Latin verses on it. This, it seems, was in being in Mr. Weever's time; though the inscription was maimed, as follows:

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Le Neve's
Fasti.
Holing-
shed, p.
1256.

* Oxford
rather.
Sir Thomas
Browne.

Hic jacet absconsus sub marmore presul honestus,
Seclo defunctus, olim pastor quoque sponsus
Istius ecclesie, cum digno culmine morum
Prefuit egregie _____

Dictus Walterus Lyghert cognomine notus.

Evellens acriter mala *germana* fructus acerbi
Dispersit pariter divini semina verbi,
Anno milleneo centum quater septuageno
Annexis binis instabit ei prope finis.
Septima cum decima lux Maii sit numerata,
Ipsius est anima de corpore tunc separata.
Fili Christe Dei, fons vitæ, spes medicinæ,
Propitieris ei donans requiem sine fine.

Germina.

II. Adam Molins, or de Molineux, who was of noble parentage. Being Doctor of Laws, he was promoted to the bishopric of Chichester A. D. 1445; he was also Lord Privy Seal, and murdered at Portsmouth, by some sailors

Leland de
Scriptori-
bus Britan.

CHAP. VI. hired for that purpose, (as has been said before,) June 9, 1449. Both these Prelates have very great characters given them for their learning, piety, wisdom, and probity; particularly Bishop Molins is represented as a great encourager of learning^e.

Gascoigne,
Dict. Theol.
MS.

Cestriae in
MS. vid.
Murimuth
contin. p.
112.

Ibid. pars i.
p. 343, V.
Episcopus.

4. It is intimated as if, besides these two Prelates, William Askew, or Aiscough, Bishop of Sarum, and William Buthe, or Boothe, Bishop of Coventry, favoured our Bishop; with whom is joined Doctor Vincent Clement, of Oxford, whom Gascoigne calls *insolens Doctor*, because he obtained his grace in an unusual way. For, as the abovesaid writer informs us, "he was Inceptor in Divinity at Oxford, when he was only in Deacon's or Subdeacon's orders, and obtained his degree of Doctor by threats and promises, and divers letters and briefs sent by the King against or to compel those, who in a full congregation of Regents at Oxford had, out of a principle of conscience, denied him his grace." By this it seems probable, that this Doctor was in some favour at court, which was enough to cause Gascoigne to have an ill opinion of him, and give him a disparaging character. In Archbishop Kemp's register he is styled—*Venerabilis et egregius vir, Dominus Vincentius Clement — fructuum cameræ apostolicæ in regno Angliæ collector*. p. 222; and by Archbishop Parker, *Romanus quidam, Papæ subdiaconus et quæstor*. *Antiq.* p. 434.

Literæ Regiæ ad Univ.
Oxon. MS.
inter coll.
White Ep.
Petrobur.

5. To these I ought to add one John Harlowe, though I know no more of him, than that he having a mind to proceed, and commence Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, the King's letters of *mandamus* were sent to the Chancellor, Regents, and Non-regents of that

* Inter quos et amicus noster Adam de Molineux, secreti Regis signaculi et custos, et literarum cultor, amisso capite, truncatus jacuit. *Hermannus Schedelius apud Leland de Scriptor. Britannicis*, p. 454.

Circa Epiphaniam Domini Magister Adam Moleyns, Episcopus Cicestrensis, apud Porteamothe in hospitali ibidem, portando ac solvendo *soldariis* aliisque nautis regios denarios, clamando eum proditorem regis et regni, unumque venditorem Normanniæ, miserabiliter interemptus est. *W. Wyrcester, Annales Rerum Angl. ad æm.* 1449.

University, whereby they were “prohibited the conferring any degree on him, or any other suspected of the heresy which he was noised to hold and favour, *viz. the superstitious, erroneous, and damned opinions of Reynold Pecock, Minister of the see of Chichester.*” The foundation of this suspicion was, it seems, a report, that he had preserved a great many of our Bishop’s writings, and therefore the Chancellor, &c. are required by the same letters to search his house, and if they find any such books to take them away, and transmit them either to the King, or the Archbishop, Primate of England, and Ordinary in the same.

6. ^dGascoigne tells us, that “a youth of twenty years old, who went to the grammar school at Oxford, and wore a secular habit, was accused to the King of England, Henry VI. of divers and the worst heresies, particularly that he eat flesh on Fridays; that on this he was put into the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln, the Lord William Alnwicke, who committed him to Wallingford jail, by which means he was induced afterwards to abjure or retract his opinions before the Bishop; and professing himself a Monk at Abendon, to own before William the Abbot, that he had received and learned all his heresies and errors from the mouth of Pecock alone, and from no one else.” But any one, I think, of tolerable sense may be left to judge of the falseness and partiality of this relation; since he cannot but have observed from the account given even by this writer of the Bishop’s opinions, how our Bishop defended against the Lollards the usages of the Church, which they condemned, and particularly shewed, that the Church or Clergy had autho-

He died Dec. 5, 1449, eight years before our Bishop was convened before the Archbishop for heresy, and was a violent persecutor of the Lollards.

^d Fuit nuper unus, qui 20 annorum scholaris in grammatica Oxonia, qui existens in habitu seculari accusatus fuit Regi Anglie Henrico VI. de diversis et pessimis heresibus, et qui comedebat carnes omni feria sexta; et traditus Episcopo Lincolnensi, Domino Willielmo Alnwicke, incarceratus fuit in Wallingforth, et coram Episcopo abjuratus factus est monachus Abendone, et ibi confessus est manifeste coram Abbate Willielmo, quod omnes hereses suas et errores recepit et didicit ab ore predicti Reginaldi, et a nullo alio. *Dict. Theol. MS.*

CHAP. rity to appoint *new fasts* and *holy days*, or such as were
VI. never ordered before.

Dict. Theol. 7. The same writer informs us, that John Orle, Bache-
p. 382, MS. lor of Divinity, was his Lordship's Chaplain, and defended
his Lord from the false aspersion cast on him, in relation
to his opinion of the obligation which Bishops are under
to preach.

Wood, Hist. 8. In the year 1476, complaint was made to the King
Oxon. vol. i. [Edward IV.] that not a few of the members or students
p. 230. of the University of Oxenford were in a great many things
of the opinion of Doctor Wiclif and our Bishop. For it
seems at that time their opinions were reckoned to be
very like, if not the same. Accordingly the royal mandate
was procured to be sent to the University, requiring them
to search for both Doctor Wiclif's and Bishop Pecock's
books in the several Colleges and Halls, and to punish
those who had embraced their opinions. In answer to
these letters, the University wrote back again, that "with
" an unanimous consent they had condemned those books
" to be burnt, and had put that sentence in execution the
" day before; and that if any more of these two men's
" writings should be found hereafter, they likewise should
" be burnt." As for the men who were found to have fa-
voured the opinions of Dr. Wiclif and our Bishop, they,
the historian tells us, were either expelled the University,
or excommunicated, or some other way punished. Among
these was one Thomas Smyth, who being suspected of
heresy was afterwards obliged to purge himself before the
King. On this account, I suppose, because Dr. Wiclif and
our Bishop are both mentioned together, as holding here-
tical opinions, the Spanish authors of the *Index Expur-
gatorius*, printed 1667, have styled our Bishop "a false
" Bishop and a Lutheran professor at Oxford." Archdea-
con Harpsfield says much the same of our Bishop, *viz.*
"that he was entangled in the opinions of Wiclif." The
same mistake is transcribed by Holinshed and our other
historians, who are too often implicit followers of one an-
other. But the direct contrary is very plain; for though

our Bishop contended for the holy Scriptures being the rule of Christian faith, and opposed that authority which was then claimed to the Church, according to which the determinations of the Clergy or Church were placed on a level with the holy Scriptures, and affirmed to be of the same authority; he yet did not side with the followers of Doctor Wiclif, but thought them in many things very much mistaken. But to return.

9. Notwithstanding all these wholesome severities or devout rigours, as these persecutions of reputed heretics were then called, it does not appear that the zealots of those times were able effectually to compass their ends, and entirely to root out those opinions to which they gave so hated a name. Though the difficulties and discouragements which they invented to suppress them were so terrible, there were yet a great many in the University of Oxford, and elsewhere in the kingdom, who were no ways awed by them; but chose rather to encounter them, than subject their necks to a yoke so intolerable as that of Popery, and to hold such superstitious vanities as are contended for by that sect. Nay, so zealous were even the common people for the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, (which had been ^e translated into English by Dr. Wiclif and his fellow-labourers not many years before our Bishop's time,) that we are told, one Nicholas Belward gave for only the New Testament in English four marks and forty pence ^f, or 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* a sum equal,

Fox's Acts,
&c. vol. i.
p. 927.

^e This translation seems to have been dispersed in small written parcels, because of the expence in writing them, and their being the more easily purchased, viz. the four Gospels, St. Paul's, St. Peter's, St. James's Epistles, &c. See Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. i. app. p. 88. I have one of these little books, written on fine vellum of the size of our books in twelves, in which are contained, 1. The Gospel according to St. John. 2. The Epistle of St. James. 3. The two Epistles of St. Peter. 4. The three Epistles of St. John. 5. The Epistle of Jude. 6. The book of the Revelations, &c.

^f Not long after, when printing was invented and in use, the New Testament of Mr. Tindale's translation was sold for 3*s.* 2*d.* notwithstanding its being prohibited, and the danger on that account of selling it.

CHAP. at least, to ten pounds, according to the present value of
VI. money.

- A. D. 1512. 10. Not many years after our Bishop's death lived William Tindale. Being educated in Magdalen Hall in Oxford, he there became acquainted with some of those who favoured Doctor Wiclif's and our Bishop's opinions, in relation to the authority and sufficiency of the holy Scripture, with which he entirely closed. Thus does he express himself: "Christ, and all the Apostles, with all the angels in heaven, if they were here, could preach no more, than is preached of necessity unto our souls: we cannot receive a new article of the faith without Scripture, as profitable unto our souls: all things necessary to salvation are comprehended in Scripture, ever to endure: by this Scripture the councils general have concluded, such things as were in them determined." In consequence of this he argued against the infallibility of the Church, or the impossibility of the Pope and Clergy's erring in their determinations; and very smartly exposed the folly and absurdity of such fictions and vain pretensions. In these points he agreed exactly with our Bishop, although in others he rather followed the sentiments of Doctor Wiclif. But as correction is very grievous to them that forsake the way, Mr. Tindale was so hated for these his endeavours to convince men of their sin and folly, and to persuade them to search the Scriptures, and make *them* their guide and rule, that his enemies never left him till they had got him to be destroyed; which was done A. D. 1536, by his being first strangled at a stake, and then burnt at Filford Castle in Flanders, to which country he had retired, as to a place of more liberty at that time than his own native land was. At his death he prayed, that *God would open the King of England's eyes*; which
- A. D. 1540. prayer of his was so far answered, that in a few years the King was graciously pleased to allow the use of the holy Scriptures in English, and of the Hours in the same language.
- Mr. Tindale printed without the name of any place, and without any date,

Works, p.
256.

guage, which indulgence was soon followed by a more thorough reformation in the next reign.

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the New Testament in English, translated from the original Greek, which had never been done before; and in 1530 the Pentateuch, translated from the Hebrew, with marginal notes. In 1535 was the whole Bible with the Apocrypha printed at Hamburgh, translated into English by Will. Tiudale, Miles Coverdale, and George Joye; and in 1587 another edition by John Rogers, but called Thomas Matthew's Bible, in the title-page of which was printed one line in red letters; *Set forth with the King's most gracious licence*. About the same time, if not before, was the New Testament printed in Latin and English by Miles Coverdale, and dedicated to the King. See History of the English Translations of the Bible, &c.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Bishop's Writings.

1. **O**UR Bishop having spent, as he assures us himself, more than twenty years in writing controversial books against the Lollards, or Wiclifists, (who, as has been said, were very numerous, notwithstanding the sanguinary laws then in force against them, and the rigorous execution of them,) must have written a great many. Accordingly we have seen, that no fewer than fourteen volumes of our Bishop's works, viz. three in folio, and eleven in quarto, were burnt at St. Paul's. Of the titles of some of these our Bishop makes mention in two of his books yet remaining, viz. *The Repressour of overmuch blaming the Clergy*, and his *Book of faith*. These were written in English and Latin, and are as follows.

In English.

1. *The Forcrier*, alias, *The bifore crier*.
2. *The book of Cristen religioun*, alias, *The rule of Cristen religioun*. A copy of this is yet remaining in the Bodleian Library. It is a fair parchment MS. in quarto, consisting of about two hundred pages; it contains two parts, and is written in a catechetical way in a dialogue between a father and his son, the son asking, and the father answering the question. In it the Bishop treats of man, his body, soul, senses, and faculties, in a very distinct and orderly manner; of the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; of prayer, the Pater-noster, the seven virtues, and seven deadly sins. He protests most earnestly and often against maintaining any heresies, professes to submit all his writings to the Fathers of the Church, and complains grievously, that some of his books have been published by the forwardness and indiscretion of his friends, before he had revised them himself, and committed them to the Bishops for their approbation. He owns

no articles of faith to be contained in Scripture, but the twelve of the Apostles' Creed, in reciting which he quite leaves out the declaration of Christ's descent into hell. This book is said to have been written by him A. D. 1457, which must be not long before his troubles.

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3. *The donet into Cristen religioun.* A transcript of this on paper, made by Doctor Richard James, is in the Bodleian Library; it is in quarto, and consists but of thirty-one pages. It seems to be a reference to his larger book of Cristen Religioun, and written by way of supplement and appendix to it; but it refers to seven or eight of his other books besides. In it the Bishop repeats with great vehemence the complaint he had made before in his *rule of Cristen religioun*, of the too hasty publication of some of his writings by his friends. In the first page are these words, which shew the reason of its title, *the donet*. *As the comoun donet^a berith himsilfe towards the full kunninge of Latyn, so this booke for Goddis laws; therefore this booke might be conveniently called the donet or key to Cristen religioun.*

Collectanea
R. Jamesii.
40.

4. *The folewer to the donet.* In the Oxford catalogue of the manuscript books here in England, this book is mentioned, among the MSS. of Charles Theyere in Gloucestershire, No. 6627, 257. Only *devout* is there misprinted for *donet*.

5. *The booke of matrimonie.* The design of this might possibly be to defend, in opposition to the Wiclifists, the practice of the Church in making contracts by words *de presenti*, and the Priests taking fees for marriage, both which were found fault with by Dr. Wiclif.

6. *The filling up of the four tables.* This seems to

^a In the account given by John Andrews to Pope Sixtus IV. of the books printed by Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz, by his direction, the first mentioned is, *Donati pro puerulis*, of which he says they had printed 800. *Ut inde principium dicendi sumamus, unde imprimendi initium sumpsimus.* Cotgrave thus explains the French word *donat*, The name of a certain grammarian read in some schools, whence the proverb, *Les diables étoient encore à leur donat*, The devils were then but in their accidence, or grammar.

CHAP. VII. have been elsewhere called by the Bishop, *The spreading of the four tables*. However this be, the author informs

Repressour, us that the third part of this book is chiefly upon usury.
part ii. c. 8.

7. *The just apprising of holi Scripture, in three partis.*

The design of this book seems to have been to shew, in opposition to the Wiclifists, the use and authority of holy Scripture. Two principal faults he finds with the Lollards: 1. Their *overmych leenyng to Scripture, and in such maner and wise as it longith not to holi Scripture for to receyve*. 2. *Setting not bi for to folowe the determynations and the holdingis of the Chirche in mater of faith*. The first of these, the Bishop tells us in his *book of faith*, he had sufficiently removed in this book and his *Repressour*. The other very probably he undertakes in the following book.

8. *The just apprising of Doctours, or, of the use of the Fathers.*

9. *The provoker of Cristen men.*

10. *The book of counceilis.*

11. *The proving of Cristen faith.*

12. *The book of signis^b in the Chirche, alias, The booke of worschipping*; the subject whereof the Bishop expresses a little more fully, *Repressour*, part ii. chap. 12, viz. that it treated of the *uce of worschipping down bi seable rememoratif signes*. By which, I suppose, he means the images of saints. In this our Bishop seems to have been of the same opinion with Doctor Wiclif, that *imaxis moun be worschipped in a manere, as for signis of seyntis, or as bookis of lewid men, or as a wyfe kepith cherli the ryng of her weddinge for love of her husbonde*.

No. 190. fol. 13. *The represser of ouer myche witting the Clergie*. A copy of this is still in being in the public library of the University of Cambridge. At the end of it is written in a hand different from that of the book itself; *exhibit. coram Domino in capella sua apud Lamhith xi Novembr. anno*

^b Among William Tindale's works is a tract with this title; *A Treatise upon Signes and Sacraments*.

Domini mccccclvii^{mo}; which very probably is the entry of the notary after reading this book before the Archbishop, &c. in order to its examination.

14. *The boke of leernyng.*

15. *The boke of presthode.*

16. *The boke of bapty m.*

17. *The boke of faith, in two parts.* Of this book I have given an account before. The copy we have of it certainly wants a considerable part at the latter end, where it breaks off abruptly.

18. *The boke of the Chirche*, mentioned in the *boke of faith*, part ii. chap. 2, as so schal be taught in the book of the *Chirche*.

Of some of these English books the Bishop more than once speaks in his other writings with a good deal of satisfaction, as of performances deserving very highly to be valued and esteemed; however, by such as are ignorant, and have not better opportunities of informing themselves of the things treated of in them. "Full weel ougten," says he "alle persoones of the lay parti not learned ougwhere ellis—for to make miche of bookis maad to hem in her modiris langage, whiche ben clepid thus: *The donet into Cristen religioun; The folwer to the donet; The book of Cristen religioun*, namelich the first parti fro the bigynnyng of the iii treti forthward; *The book filling the iiiii tablis; The book of worschiping; The book clepid the just appriseing of holi Scripture; The book clepid the provoker of Cristen man; The book of counceiles*, and other mo pertenyng to the now seid book of Cristen religioun.—Miche ougten lay persoones for to make, and apprise, and love the now spoken bokis. And ferther more ouer this now seid, the now spoken bokis techen ful clereli and bihoue fulli the treuthis and governauncis of Goddis laws, whiche ben groundid in holi Scripture; and also other treuthis of feith, which ben not lawis, and ben groundid in holi Scripture. And also thei treten ful nobili the positiif lawis of Criste aboute the newe Sacramentis.—Of this same mater it is quikli and

Repressour,
part i. c. 10.
MS.

CHAP. VII. " smertli spoken in a litil book thereto, and therefore
 " maad, whiche y clepe *the provoker of Cristen peple*, and
 " therfore no more therof here."

In much the same manner does the Bishop recommend these books to the Wiclifist laity, and bespeak *their* kindness to him in his *Book of faith*. " If ye asken," says he, " who y am, which makith him so bisi here agens you; " forsothe he is the man, which hath more labourid and " done into youre goostli auaile, as of trewe kunnyng, to " be had of you, and errour to be remoued fro you, than " ye you silf ben of kunnyng and of power for to so do to " you silf. In more special for to seie, he is the man " which for you, and for alle lay-men, hath write in lay- " mennys langage these bokis: *The forcrier; The donet " into the book of Cristen religioun; The provoker; The " represser; The book of signis in the Cherche*, which y " clepe *The book of worschipping; The boke of leernyng; " The book of filling the iiiii tablis*; this present *boke of " feith; The boke of Presthode*, with summe other mo. " Whiche bokis if ye wolen rede diligentli, and attende " therto studioseli, and be wel acqueyntid with hem, and " not for to take an hasti smel, or smatche in hem, and " soone leie hem aside; ye schullen fynde in hem so greet " witt and leerning of Cristen religioun, that ye schulen " holde you bigilid, in the trust which ye had bifore in " youre othere studies and laboris for leernyng: and ye " schule se, that so fer the wittis and kunnyng of Clerkis " passen youre wittis and youre leernyng in maters of " Cristen religioun, that ye schulan not truste so moche " to youre kunnyng as ye now doon. And ye schulen " truste more to the kunnyng of Clerkis, and seche bisili " to have her helpe and counselling in tho maters, than ye " have bifore this doon. And ye schulen chastise you silf " ful wel, and ful vertuoseli, fro pride and presumpcioun " bifore had, in setting and apprising youre leernyng and " kunnyng in maters of Cristen religioun bifore the leern- " yng and kunnyng of Clerkis, and of the Chirche, as ye " bifore this han doon."

In this manner did our Bishop try to gain the affections of the Dissenters, and to incline them to hearken to and consider the reasons and motives which he used to abate their prejudices, and reconcile them to the Church. What success his Lordship had in these his labours, he himself tells them, for whose sake he took so much pains. "Forsothe," says he, "summe of the kunnyngist men of youre soorte, aftir that thei han red of summe of these spokun bokis, and han take bi notable tyme assaie and acqueyntance in hem, han hungrid and thirstid for to have hadde the copie and the contynuel uce of tho bokis to hem, as moche as euer thei hungriden and thirstiden aftir mete and drinke." Elsewhere in the same book he tells his readers, that "the wittiest and kunnyngist men of thilk seid soort contrarie to the Chirche, and which han beholde as dukis amonge hem, han loued him, for that he wolde speak oft tyme and bi long leiser with them, and pacientli heere her euydencis and her motyves without exprobracioun."

English Tracts promised by the Bishop, and which, so far as appears, were never published by him.

1. *A schort compendiose logik.* Of this he says as follows, after expressing the great need there was of such a thing in *her modires langage*, and the excellent use it might be of: *Into whos making, if God wole graunte leue and leyser, y purpose sumtyme aftir my othere bysynnessis for to assaie.* Repressour, part i. c. 2.

2. *A book of legendis.* Of this design our Bishop thus speaks: *In legendis ben founde manie ful untrewre fables, as in a book therof to be maad schal appeere.* Ibid. part i. c. 12.

3. *The book of eukarist.* By an uncertain author of a Chronicle in the library of Lincoln College in Oxford we are informed, that our Bishop entertained wrong opinions of the Eucharist. But this seems scarce credible, that his Lordship should be allowed by such severe judges to do so with impunity; or that they should omit mentioning this among the Conclusions which they condemned.

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Besides these English books, our Bishop wrote and published the Latin ones following.

1. *De fide et sacramentis*, mentioned by him, *Repress.* part i. c. 8, and *Boke of Faith*, part ii. c. 2: *as so schal be taught in the booke of feith in Latin.*

2. *De baptismo*,
3. *De pœnitentia*, } mentioned *Repress.* part iv. c. 2.

4. *Justa doctorum æstimatio*. The same in Latin as the English book before mentioned, with this title, *The just apprising of Doctors.*

Latin Treatises promised only, so far as appears.

1. *Lectiones e cathedra academica*, *Repress.* part v. c. 6.

2. *Demonstratio Christianæ fidei*. Book of Faith, part i. c. 2: *y hope to make in Latin, and to be clepid the proof of Cristen faith.* He refers to the same again, c. 10.

3. *De Ecclesia*, promised in the same book to be made in Latin, part i. c. 10.

4. *De prædicatione*, mentioned in his allegation to the Archbishop in behalf of his seven Conclusions; *prout satis clurus patebit in 9º decimo libro de prædicatione super ipsis conclusionibus scribendo.*

Besides these, Bishop Bale ascribes to our Bishop the following books, but by what authority I do not know.

1. *The defender.*
2. *The folower of it.*
3. *The declaratory.*

Dict. Theol.
MS.

Acta, &c.
MS.

4. *Of the Creed*. Dr. Gascoigne tells us, that the Bishop forged a new Creed very tedious, and published it in English. The same, or to this purpose, we are told by Abbot Whethamstede, *viz.* that our Bishop "added to the three Creeds a fourth of his own in the vulgar tongue, in which, together with the article of Christ's *descent into hell*, he set aside divers other articles, as if he had no faith nor credence in them." This seems inconsistent with what Gascoigne reports, that this Creed was

very tedious; since if several articles of the common Creed were by our Bishop laid aside, the Creed, which he published in English, must be far enough from being very tedious. As to his Lordship's setting aside the article of *Christ's* ^c *descent into hell*, it is no more than what was done in the old Roman Creed, used by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, which run thus: *Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried, rose again the third day from the dead, &c.* It may not be improper perhaps here to observe, that the Bishop's setting aside this article, and reading that of the Church, not as it was commonly then read, *Credo in sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam*, but *Credo sanctam Ecclesiam*, was not done out of opposition to Doctor Wiclif; who, so far as it appears by his translation of the Apostles' Creed, never found fault with the article of the descent into hell. But besides this surmise, it was suspected, that our Bishop by his thus differing from the common Creed then in use, in his translation of it, *male sensit de sanctionibus Ecclesiæ*, or was not for submitting to the determinations of holy Church. For so zealous and industrious were the rulers of the Church in the times of this ignorance to keep the people from knowing better, that they absolutely forbade them the use of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in their own language, or the tongue wherein they were born. Accordingly, we find it one of the articles exhibited against the poor Lollards, as they were called in contempt, that they declared, that *every man is bound to know the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English; and that they had the Lord's Prayer, and the Salutation of the Angel, and the Creed, and the Epistles and Gospels in that language; and said that according to them they would live, and thereby believed to be saved.* For this, by the fore-mentioned constitution of Archbishop Arundel, they were

Usser. de
Romane
Ecclesiæ
Symbolo,
&c. p. 8, 9.

^c Au. Credis hujus animam descendisse ad inferos? Ba. Hanc particularem non fuisse quondam additam nec in symbolo Romano, nec in symbolo orientalium ecclesiarum, testis est Cyprianus; nec recensetur apud Tertullianum vetustissimum scriptorem. *Erasmii Colloq. tit. Inquisitio de Fide.*

CHAP. VII. to be punished as fautors of heresy and error; *i. e.* purgation might be ordered them at the pleasure of him who suspected them to be heretics, in which if there was any failure they might be condemned as heretics; also they were liable to the penalty of excommunication *ipso jure*, and after they had been so excommunicated were made infamous, and intestable actively and passively, or incapable of giving or receiving any legacies, and interdicted from performing any lawful acts, or receiving any benefit from the law, &c. Insomuch that when Dean Colet, some time after 1505, made a paraphractical translation of the Lord's Prayer, which was afterwards printed in the Primer of Salisbury use 1531, Fitz-James, Bishop of London, would have made him an heretic, or prosecuted him on this constitution, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, holpen the Dean.

Incapable of making a will.

William Tindale's Works.

5. *To William Godharde the Franciscan, Epist. 1.* This letter seems to have been relating to the preachers of those times, who were commonly the preaching Friars; who, as has been hinted before, made it their business to *preach themselves*, and instead of preaching to the people Christ Jesus, and the doctrine of the Gospel, to entertain them with trifling tales and insipid stories, invented on purpose to keep them in profound ignorance of their duty, and to make them stand in fear of, and live in an absolute dependance on their Priests, and their pardons. A writer therefore of this time complained of the Prelates, that *they prechen not Christ's Gospel in worde and dede, but senden new hypocrites, i. e. the begging and preaching Friars, or other Religious, to preche fables and lesings; that there were many unable Curates, that kunnen not the Ten Commandments, ne read their Sauter.* To give a specimen of their preaching, I need only refer to the *Festival*, a book composed on purpose for the help and assistance of those ignorant Priests, who were to read out of this book, on the several festivals, the sermons here provided for each of them.

Mr. Strype's Memorials Ecclesiast. vol. i. p. 189.

Impensis

Joannis Richardi, 1499.

church holy-day or wake, speaking of church-yards, and burying the dead, the writer has these words. "Church-yards," says he, "were appointed by the fathers to bury in for two causes, one to be prayed for as our holy Church useth, and another for the body to lie there at rest, for the fiend hath no manner of power within Christian burials. No burying in the church, except it be the patron, that defends it from bodily enemies, and the Parson, Vicar, Priest, or Clerk, that defend the church from ghostly enemies with their prayers. Some have been buried there, and cast out again on the morrow, and all the clothes left still in the grave. An angel came on a time to a warden of a church, and bade him go to the Bishop, to cast out the body he had buried there, or else he should be dead within thirty days; and so he was, for he would not do as he was bidden."

So again: "Many walk on nights, when buried in holy place, but that is not long of the fiend, but the grace of God to get them help. And some be guilty and have no rest. Four men stole an Abbot's ox to their larder; the Abbot did a sentence, and cursed them; so three of them were shriven, and asked mercy; the fourth died, and was not assoiled, and had not forgiveness. So when he was dead, the spirit went by night, and feared all the people about, that none durst walk after sun down. Then as the parish Priest went on a night with God's body to housel a sick man, this spirit went with him; and told him what he was, and why he went, and prayed the Priest to go to his wife, that they should go both to the Abbot, and make him amends for his trespass, and so to assoil him, for he might have no rest. And anon the Abbot assoiled him, and he went to rest and joy for evermore."

Such were the fables and idle tales which were then delivered from the pulpits as Gospel truths, and for which our Bishop censured them as *pulpit bawlers*.

6. *Of divine offices.*

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7. *A manual.*

8 *Of the providence of God.*

9. *Of the liberty of the Gospel.* This was what Dr. Wiclif pleaded for, in opposition to the being bounden by sinful men's jurisdiction, or their statutes, privileges, and wayward customs. If this was therefore the Bishop's book, it is probable the design of it was to shew wherein the liberty of the Gospel consisted, and that in some things we are obliged by men's statutes and ordinances.

10. *Of the power of seculars.*

11. *Against Constantine's donation.*

12. *Of the equality of ministers.* This tract might possibly be to shew, that all ministers are not equal; but that there are different degrees in the order of Priesthood.

13. *Of the laws and doctrines of men.* To shew, perhaps, that they should not infringe that liberty which the Gospel allows; or that men should not be punished more for acting contrary to the laws and doctrines of men, than for open breaking God's commandments. Doctor Wiclif complained, that *the Church that wandrith here is made thral by man's law, that it was then more thral than in time of the old lawe.* And therefore he advised to *get agen our former freedome, and trowe no Prelate in this Church but if he grounde him in God's lawe; since thus men should shake away all the law that the Pope hath made, and all rules of the new orders, but inasmuch as they been grounded in the law that Gad hath given.* What our Bishop's opinion was of the multitude of ceremonies introduced into the Church has been shewn before, *viz.* that though the burden of them was grown excessively great, to the prejudice of our Christian liberty, yet that some of them ought to be retained.

Homily on
Gal. iv. MS.

14. *Of communion under both kinds.* It does not appear that ever Doctor Wiclif contended for administering the Communion in both kinds. But his followers, it is plain, asserted, that "the Priests ought to carry to the sick the *blood* of Christ, as well as his body." If this

tract therefore was our Bishop's, it might be perhaps his design in it to justify the usages of the then Church, in carrying to them the host or wafer only. CHAP.
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15. *Against unlawful begging.* Whoever was the author of this tract, it seems to have been designed against the begging Friars, and to expose their roguery.

16. *An account of his own recantation.* This does not seem likely to be our Bishop's, because in the instructions given by the Archbishop to the Abbot of Thorney, it is expressly provided, that the Bishop *should have nothing to write with, nor stuff to write upon.*

However this be, it is certain that the greatest part of all these books are now lost, they being studiously suppressed by the Archbishop, by whose order as many of our Bishop's writings as could any where be found were wholly destroyed.

Our historian, John Stow, in his Annals tells us, that our Bishop had laboured many years in translating the holy Scriptures into English: but there is no good authority for this. Our Bishop himself, it is sure, in those writings of his which are yet left, and in which he mentions a good many of his works, takes no manner of notice of his making, or intending to make, any such translation. Nay it does not appear, that he so much as thought it lawful to have the Scriptures in the vulgar or mother tongue; however he allowed them to be read in the Vulgate Latin version by such of the laity as were able to read and understand them in that language; though in his books he translates very large parcels of them into English. P. 666, ed.
1602.

Abbot Whethamstede on much better grounds intimates that our Bishop translated the Lord's Prayer into English, and commented or paraphrased on it in the same language: "So ^dproud," says he, "was he of his knowledge " in his own conceit, that over and above that saving

^d In tantum in suo sensu de sua scientia superbiat, taliter se supra se in

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“ prayer, which the most learned Doctor of doctors, our Lord Jesus Christ, composed with his own mouth, he set forth no less than *three* other prayers, and published them to the people, that they might say them :” unless he meant, that the Bishop published three forms of prayer of his own composing in English, besides his translation of the Lord’s Prayer into that language. However this be, here is another instance of the care which was then taken to hide from the people the means of greater knowledge, lest they should discover the follies and superstitions which were then practised, and no longer give credit to those fabulous legends and romantic stories, which they were so commonly made to believe for truth.

Mr. Henry Wharton.

A much later writer mentions another English tract of our Bishop’s, in the late Archbishop Tenison’s library, entitled *The poor man’s looking-glass*; at the end of which is added another little tract called, *Some counsels for humane instruction*, in which the author advises his readers to be diligent in perusing the Scriptures, and to have frequent commerce with those divine books. But so far as I can see, we have no reason to ascribe either of these tracts to our Bishop.

Thus have I endeavoured to give the best account I could of the life and actions of our Bishop. He was certainly a person of very great parts and abilities, and was much superior in learning to even the generality of those of his own order at that time. But he seems to have been a little too confident^e in these rare endowments, of which

altum elevabat, quod ultra oracionem illam salvificam, quam Doctor doctorum doctissimus, Dominus videlicet Jesus Christus, proprio suo ore composuit, ederet in suo vulgari nedum alias tres, et populo ad dicendum propalaret. *Acta, &c. MS.*

^e In this manner does the Bishop express himself in his first part of the *Book of Faith*. “ I have spake oft tyme and bi long leiser with the wittiest and kunnyngist men of thilk seid soort contrarie to the Chirche, and which han beholde as dukis amonge hem, and which han loued me for that y wolde pacientli heere her evydencis and her motyues without exprobracioun; and

he was so great a master, and to have trusted too much to them; whilst he hoped to be able by pure reason and argument to defend a very corrupt Church, in all its main doctrines and usages, against all opposers or assailants. It is very plain to any one who peruses those writings of his Lordship's which are yet remaining, how he was forced to sweat and labour hard in performing the difficult task which he undertook. So that however confident he was of success, and that, as his Lordship expressed himself, "the wittiest and most knowing men of that sort, contrary to the Church, and which have been held as dukes among them, knew right little to do for their party;" he was yet forced here and there to drop many a concession, such as the warm and violent men of the Church could by no means brook or consent to. Our Bishop seems to have hoped, that in doing this he might have been safe enough from censure, since he was writing on the Church's side, defending her Bishops and Clergy from the clamours and invectives used against them, and shewing to those who scrupled the obligation of her determinations the lawfulness and reasonableness of their conformity to them. In this his Lordship judged too kindly of other men's moderation and candour by his own, and soon found himself mistaken. Under so severe judges, as the Prelates and Clergy of that time generally were, it was not indeed likely that one of our Bishop's

Leland de
Script. Brit.
p. 379.

"verilí noon of hem couthe make eny motiue for her parti so stronge, as y
"myself couthe have made therto. And noon of hem couthe make eny mo-
"tiue, which schulde meue a thrifti sad Clerke nedis into concent; but ech
"thrifti sad Clerk in logik, philosophie, and divinitie schulde soone schewe
"her motive to be ouer feble, to be a cleer and undoutable proof. And if y
"may not herynne be bileeued of hem, write thei her euydencis and motyves
"in which thei trusten, and thei schullen se by writyng agen, that thei kunne
"rigt litil maistris do for her party: ghe, moche lasse than good Clerkis kun-
"nen for her parti do. Ceese thei therefore, and leue thei werk; for y wote
"weel thei hewen above her heedis, and weenen that thei han more and clerer
"sight in kunning thanne thei han, or mowe haue, without Clergie or greet
"helpe of Clerkis."

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Book of
Faith, MS.
part i.

spirit should be suffered to escape unpunished. The infallible authority of the Church, and lawfulness of terrifying Dissenters by wholesome severities and pious rigours, were favourite opinions, the opposers of which were not to be suffered to act with impunity. Besides, it was a tacit reproach of the cruel proceedings then used against the poor dissenting Wicklifists, for our Bishop to treat them with so much gentleness and goodness, *as patiently to hear their evidences, and listen to their motives without exprobration, or using any insulting or upbraiding language to them.* This was such a reproof to the thoughts of those who shewed no bowels of compassion towards Dissenters, but reckoned they did God service by tormenting and killing them, that we need not wonder at their lying in wait for our Bishop, because *he was not for their turn, and clean contrary to their doings.* Accordingly we see, that so much was our Bishop's enemies set against him, as in opposition to him to espouse the principles of those very people whom they called and treated as heretics. But it was for the everlasting honour of our Bishop, that he preferred the rational way of dealing with Dissenters, or the manifesting the truth to their consciences, before that cruel and inhuman method of making them a gazing-stock by reproaches, spoiling their goods, and tormenting their bodies with fire and faggot. This shewed by how Christian a spirit our Bishop was acted, and that he was not like the men of this world, who hate those that are of God, and persecute such as are born of the Spirit. I shall conclude with the following prayer of the Bishop's own composing in English.

O thou Lord Jesu, God and man, head of thy Christian Church, and teacher of Christian belief, I beseech thy mercy, thy pity, and thy charitie, far be this said peril (of implicit faith) from the Christian Church, and from each person therein contained, and shield thou, that this venom be never brought into thy Church, and if thou suffre it to be any while brought in, I beseeche thee, that it be

*soon again outspit ; but suffer thou, ordaine, and do, that
the law and the faith, which thy Church at any time
keepeth, be received and admitted to fall under this ex-
amination, whether it be the same verry faith, which thou
and thine Apostles taught or, no, and whether it hath suf-
ficient evidences for it to be very faith or no.*

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