
A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

unseen. The dead world having thus been made to live, life was greeted yet more divinely—a higher, a more erect living form was created with a countenance heavenward; with a spirit Godward; with a mind to comprehend the universe; with a soul, the tabernacle of the Eternal—man, the son of God. Man worships the Creator, the life-giving Redeemer, the sanctifying Spirit. Looking to the worlds of wondrous substance shining in their splendour; to the myriads and myriads of warm, moving, living creatures; to the vast powers, freedom, responsibility of moral beings—he elevates his intelligence to those inward processes by which, in the visible, he discerns the Invisible; in the serpent, beholds Satan; in the seed of the woman knows Christ. In creation, in trial, in redemption there is that trinity of operation by which the triune God will fill the world with splendour. Man, new in life, more wonderful; new in powers of freedom, grandly surpassing—will worship the one God. Son, Spirit, Father, being one God—the all in all (1 Cor. xv. 24-28).

JOSEPH W. REYNOLDS.

ART. V.—THOMAS BRADWARDINE.

THOMAS BRADWARDINE is a name which does not occupy any distinguished position in the roll of the Archbishops of Canterbury, but which, nevertheless, is well worthy of commemoration, being that of a humble, holy, and learned man, who lived in great honour and regard, and died under most tragical circumstances. According to his own testimony, he was born at Chichester, and as he was proctor at Oxford in the year 1325, his birth is probably to be placed about the middle of the reign of Edward I. He took his degrees at Merton College, proceeding Doctor of Divinity. To the study of Divinity he especially devoted himself, and on this he gave lectures in Oxford to the whole University, occupying, in fact, the position of a Divinity Professor. The subject on which he lectured was that mysterious one of the mode of the co-operation of the Grace of God with the soul of man; and when these lectures were afterwards brought together and printed in a folio volume, the title given to the work was "The Cause of God against the Pelagians." Bradwardine is therefore one of the very few English theologians of the Middle Ages whose works now remain to us. His treatise on Grace was edited by Sir Henry Savile in 1618. In addition to his theological work, Bradwardine had applied himself to the study of Geometry

and the properties of numbers. Among the treatises on these subjects attributed to him, we find one on the not very hopeful problem of "Squaring the Circle." Bradwardine was held in high estimation at Oxford, but it is said that his fame travelled far beyond the limits of the University, and that his able advocacy of the Augustinian doctrine procured for him from the Pope the title of the "Profound Doctor." His admiring fellow-students raised him to the dignity of Chancellor of the University, but this dignity, though it may have been highly valued, was not sufficient to retain him at the University.

At that time the princely See of Durham was occupied by a prelate who had gathered round him as a centre many of the leading Churchmen of England. There was Richard Fitzralph, famous for his war with the Friars, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Bentworth and Walter Seagrave, both afterwards Bishops, and many other well-known doctors, in whose conversation and learned arguments the Prince-Bishop, Richard de Bury, greatly delighted. To this Ecclesiastical Court, Bradwardine was attracted, and he became one of Richard de Bury's chaplains. The way of life of this prelate at his Palace is described by Godwin: "His manner was at dinner and supper time to have some good book read unto him, whereof he would discourse with his chaplains a great part of the next day, if business interrupted not his course." From these pleasant colloquies Bradwardine passed into a busier scene. He became Chancellor of London, and received now his earliest Church preferment in a Canonry of Lincoln.

As filling an important ecclesiastical office in the capital, Bradwardine would quickly become known to the young King Edward III. He received the appointment of Chaplain and Confessor to the King. In this capacity he accompanied Edward in his memorable French campaigns, and the chroniclers supply us with accounts of the excellent influence which he exerted over the King, and the effect which his earnestness and devotion produced on the army. "He edified," says Birchington, "both the King and his army with wholesome teaching and example."[1] It was thought and said by many that Edward's victories were greatly due to the salutary counsels and wholesome influence of his Chaplain, and it is certain that the King highly valued the effect of Bradwardine's presence with the army, as well as his good counsels to himself. For when, on the death of Archbishop Stratford, this well-learned and highly-esteemed man, secular clerk though he was, was elected by the Canterbury monks to the primacy of the English Church, the King refused to let him go, declaring that he could not spare so useful a helper. But how was it that the King

[1] "Anglia Sacra," i. 42.

was able to effect so arbitrary an arrangement? Simply through the agency of the Pope, whom at this time he made use of for his ecclesiastical patronage, and against whose interference he was shortly afterwards to make so determined a stand. The year was 1348, the year of the capture of one French King, and his confinement in the Tower; the year of the surrender of Calais—two years after the battle of Crecy. The Pope was a French prelate at Avignon, and Edward had more power in France than the King of France. The Pope was ready to do his bidding, and his bidding was that the election of Bradwardine should be quashed, and that in place of him the Pope should nominate John de Ufford, Dean of Lincoln, the King's Chancellor. Clement VI. immediately obeyed, and John de Ufford was appointed by Papal authority, or, as it was technically called, "provided" for the Primacy of the English Church. And what sort of a person was he who was thus irregularly intruded into this high office, for which a worthier man had been regularly chosen? In body he was a paralytic, and in moral character he was a simoniac, having raised a large sum of money to bribe the Pope to make the nomination.[1] It is marvellous to contemplate how in those days both Popes and Kings were utterly regardless of the interests of the Church. Edward thought it of far more importance that he and his army should have the services of Bradwardine than that the Church should enjoy his wise superintendence. The Pope estimated the merit and fitness of the clerk recommended to him by the amount of money which he received. But poor John de Ufford was not to enjoy much fruit of his speculation. The Chapter of Canterbury, indeed, agreed to elect him, but before his consecration the Great Plague seized him and carried him off; so that, as the chronicler observes, "All the money he had raised was lost, and many of his creditors were pauperized and ruined." Then another election had to be made, and the Canterbury monks, not discouraged by their former ill-success, again elected Thomas Bradwardine. This time the result was more fortunate. Whether the tragical fate of Ufford and the prevalence of the dreadful Black Death had touched the King and induced him to withdraw his opposition, certain it is that he no longer opposed, but rather supported, the choice of the Chapter with the Pope. This was enough at once to bring about an effectual election. Clement VI. could not resist the will of the King of England. He is said to have exclaimed on a similar occasion, "If the King of England were to petition for an ass to be made Bishop, we must not say him nay."[2]

[1] W. de Dene, "Anglia Sacra," i. 375.
[2] Walsingham.

The Pope not only accepted Bradwardine for the English Primacy, but professed himself ready to consecrate him. It is evident that the "Profound Doctor," though a man of piety and learning, was not endowed with any great amount of spirit, and had no proper regard for the national rights of the Church of England. Otherwise he would have resisted the notion of being consecrated by a foreign prelate, and especially by one who had used him so scurvily. Nor would he have judged that corrupt Court of Avignon to be the most fitting place to enter upon his sacred office. Of the quality of the Avignonese prelates he was destined to have a sample. To Avignon, however, he went, as far as appears, without protest, and there he was consecrated—a man in humility and meekness, very different from those worldly and pleasure-loving Cardinals who surrounded the French Pope; and one, as it seemed to them, somewhat to be despised, and a fit subject for a practical joke. So, at the banquet held after the consecration, one of these Cardinals got up a little scene, which he doubtless thought would create huge merriment among his fellows, and as to which he little cared whether it would hurt the feelings of the new Archbishop or not. He introduced into the banqueting-room a buffoon, absurdly clad, riding upon an ass, and who with mock humility besought the Pope for nomination to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The originator of this farce was Cardinal Hugo, the Pope's brother, but he soon found that he had gone somewhat too far. Bradwardine might be awkward and humble, and have none of the worldly graces prized by the Avignonese prelates, but he was a well-known friend of the King of England, and any insult to him would be resented in a very practical manner. So Cardinal Hugo's emissary was turned out with contumely, and he himself received a severe reproof, and was frowned upon by his brother cardinals.

The "Profound Doctor," now appointed to the highest post in the English Church, at once made his way to his native land, leaving Avignon probably with but little regret. He reached England at a time when "men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking upon those things which were coming upon the earth," for a mighty and terrible pestilence was scourging the land. In comparison with the ravages made by the Black Death in the year 1349, the records of the Great Plague of 1665, and indeed of all other known pestilences, ancient or modern, are dwarfed to insignificance. The best authorities are agreed that not less than one half of the population of England perished in that year. The contemporary chronicler, Knighton, has given us a sketch of the ravages of this fearful scourge. It came, he says, by the way of the

sea, and first appeared at Southampton, from whence it quickly passed to Bristol, and there died in that city almost the whole of the healthy people. "Their death being, as it were, sudden, for there were few who kept their beds more than two or three days, and sometimes half a day, and then they died at the setting of the sun. At Leicester there died in the little parish of St. Leonard more than 380; in the parish of Holy Cross more than 400; in the parish of St. Margaret at Leicester, 700, and so in all the parishes a great multitude." "In some religious houses," says the continuator of Adam de Murimuth, "of twenty there survived but two." "There was so great scarcity of priests," writes Stephen Birchington, "that the parish churches went altogether unserved." Confessors were not to be had for the dying, and, in consequence, the Bishops published a gift of plenary absolution. The Rochester chronicler, W. de Dene, tells us that the Bishop of Rochester lost out of his small establishment four priests, five men-at-arms, ten servants, seven young clerks, and six pages, "so that there did not remain in any department any to attend upon him. He made two abbesses at Mallyngs, and they both of them died immediately. At this convent there only remained four professed and four not professed nuns." An extraordinary feature in the plague was that it extended to the lower animals, which died by hundreds in the fields, infecting the air with terrible odours. Knighton tells us of the point to which the prices of animals had sunk, so great was the risk of losing them, and so few being left to buy them. A cow could be bought for a shilling, a heifer for sixpence, a fat sheep for fourpence. The crops were utterly neglected. Such cattle as survived wandered at their will over the country and destroyed everything.

In the midst of all this desolation and misery, the newly-consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury reached Dover, about the beginning of August, 1349. He at once proceeded to the King, who was staying at Eltham, and obtained restitution of the temporalties of the See. There remained nothing now but his enthronement to put him in complete possession of the exalted office of Primate of the English Church. But how utterly unable is man to calculate what even a day may bring forth! Bradwardine repaired from Eltham to Lambeth, with a view, doubtless, of making preparations for his enthronement. At Lambeth he found the Bishop of Rochester, who, having lost, as we have seen, the whole of his establishment in the Great Plague, had settled himself, probably by the Royal permission, in the Primatial House; the close connection between the Sees of Rochester and Canterbury naturally suggesting this arrangement. This Bishop, far from

being dismayed or frightened away by the ravages of the plague, had boldly stuck to his post, and compelled such of his clergy as survived to perform their duties. We read in the chronicle of W. de Dene, "Many chaplains and curates refused to serve without an excessive salary. The Bishop compelled them to do their duty at the same salaries as before. Many beneficed clerks, inasmuch as the number of their parishioners was so diminished that they could no longer live upon the oblations, deserted their benefices. The Bishop sent them back to their parishes, and to the rectors or vicars of very small benefices whose revenues were under ten marks, he gave a license to receive one annual, or such a number of masses as would produce an equal sum, each year, so long as the deficiencies in their revenues lasted."[1] The new Primate could not have had anyone better suited than this vigorous and strong-minded Bishop to strengthen his courage in this trying time; but how quickly were his ministrations and consolations needed! On the fourth day after his arrival at Lambeth, Bradwardine was struck by the Great Plague, and before the evening of that day (August 18) was dead. Thus a second Archbishop of Canterbury had fallen within the year, and before the year closed another (Simon de Islip) occupied the post.

The sudden death of this great and eminent scholar, who had, after so much difficulty and delay, at last reached the Primacy, must have affected all those in England who had any power of sympathy left amidst the universal wail of sorrow which was going through the land. Few men have reached the Primacy who might seem to have deserved it better than Bradwardine, if deep learning and earnest piety are to be considered as the most fitting qualifications for it. It may be assumed, however, from the humility of character of the Profound Doctor, and from his ready subserviency to the Papal authority, evidenced by his consecration at Avignon, that Bradwardine would hardly have made a good *English* Archbishop, as was Stephen Langton and Edmund Rich, but would have been inclined to hold too cheap the claims of the English Church for national life and independence. As it is, we dwell upon his memory with satisfaction as a good specimen of the Churchman of the Middle Age. The fact of his selecting for the subject of his learned labours no frivolous or unworthy theme, but the great and all-important topic of the operation of the grace of God on the soul of man, evidences the seriousness of his character. Whether in the fourteenth century there had been any recrudescence in England of the

[1] "Anglia Sacra," i. 375.

heresy of Pelagianism, originally due to this island, we have no means of judging. But, as far as we know, Bradwardine's treatise was the first formal refutation composed *in England*, and it takes rank now with the folios of Cardinal Norris, Father Garnier, and numerous others in the lists of that controversy, which is probably destined never to be closed. From the time of its first stormy commencement in the fifth century, the Augustinian theology may be said to have held the ascendant in the Church. But it has never been without its vigorous assailants, and in some points it has been worsted and almost driven from the field. Bradwardine may fairly lay claim to be one of its learned defenders, according to the formal, and, to us, most perplexing fashion of the scholastic writings of his day.

As Bradwardine died before the opinions of John Wycliffe were developed, there is no means of judging his estimate of these views, which, while they inaugurated a new theology, that has borne such happy fruit, were yet not free from crude and indefensible theories. As a fellow-chaplain with Fitzralph, the great opponent of the Friars, we may hazard a guess that the Profound Doctor was not over-fond of these meddling and arrogant intruders, who were especially troublesome in his University of Oxford. As Chancellor of the University, he must have had abundant experience of the troubles and disputes stirred up by them, though he could reverence the learning of the greater men among them, one of the foremost of whom was a distinguished member of his own College of Merton.[1] Mr. Hallam assigns Bradwardine a high place among the geometricians of his day,[2] and if he did not succeed in squaring the circle, he may yet have been fairly and highly distinguished in this branch of learning.

GEORGE G. PERRY.

ART. VI.—ST. PAUL'S "INFIRMITY."

IN the twenty-third chapter of the book of the Acts of the Apostles we read words concerning the great Apostle of the Gentiles not in keeping with the usual conduct of that remarkably courteous man, and especially not in harmony with his respect and reverence, so often manifested, for the higher and ruling powers. Moreover, in the same chapter we read words in which St. Paul stands before us, either as

[1] William de Ockham, who was probably contemporary with Bradwardine at Merton, as he died in 1347.

[2] "Literature of Middle Ages," i. 112.