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THE

CHURCHMAN

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Art. I.—OXFORD BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

IT may with truth be affirmed that the inventor of the printing-press was the first reformer, and that the University was the first arena of conflict between the old and the new opinions. The struggle commenced in the University of Prague, while in the sixteenth century Wittenberg in North Germany, and Ingolstadt in South Germany, became the centres from which issued the hosts that did battle for reform and reaction. The first notes of the Reformation in France were heard in the halls of the University of Paris, where Lefèbre expounded the doctrine of justification by faith only to a crowd of wondering auditors. And even in those countries where the Reformation failed to maintain its ground, such as Italy itself, we find the University of Turin thoroughly stirred by the controversies then in progress on the northern side of the Alps, and the works of Luther, Melancthon and Zwingli eagerly read by the students.

It will hereafter be shown in detail that Oxford has played a leading part in the various religious movements that have passed over England ever since the Reformation. Here the Oxford reformers—Colet, Erasmus, and More—inaugurated the literary reformation which ushered in the reign of Henry VIII. Here the first Protestant graduates found a home in the newly-established college of Christ Church. Here the three bishops of the reformed Church of England, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, laid down their lives.

From Oxford came George Abbot, the "Puritan," and William Laud, the "Anglican," Archbishop. From Oxford came the sharpest resistance to the Romanizing policy of James II. At Oxford, Whitfield, Romaine and the brothers Wesley spent the most critical years of their lives, and laid the

foundations of the Evangelical Revival, while from Oxford have sprung both the High Church and the Latitudinarian movements of the nineteenth century. But in the present paper we shall be concerned with none of these, but with events which took place at a still earlier epoch than the Reformation itself. Our task will be to show that Oxford played as equally important a part in nurturing the long preparatory train of events which led up to the actual beginning of the conflict in the sixteenth century, as it was destined to do when the actual hour arrived. It must not be forgotten that the fourteenth century had a reformation as well as a renaissance of its own, a reformation which was quite as remarkable in its features as that of Luther or Calvin, and which bid fair to be in every respect as complete and as successful. It will be our duty to investigate the part which Oxford played in that earlier, and perchance too much neglected, Reformation.

We will begin by glancing at the condition of the University in the Middle Ages.

The Oxford of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was very different from the Oxford of the sixteenth. The collegiate system was as yet in its infancy, hardly more than six colleges having been founded. Although the supposed foundation of University College by Alfred the Great must be rejected as apocryphal, yet University was probably the oldest collegiate institution in Oxford, preceding Merton College, however, by a very few years. The great majority of the students were members of the University simply, were attached to no college or hall, and lived in "hostelries," often under circumstances of great penury and hardship. The better-class students were those who were strictly collegiate, and from 1230 to 1430 the college system was gradually gaining ground, until in 1432 the statute was passed making residence in private lodgings illegal. During this epoch chronic outbreaks of lawlessness between townsmen and gownsmen were perpetually occurring, culminating in the great riot of 1354, which placed the town completely under the control of the University down to the present century.

The number of students resident in Oxford during the Middle Ages is a much-disputed question. Doubts are naturally entertained as to the correctness of Richard of Armagh's statement that in his day the members had diminished from 30,000 to 6,000. We shall have occasion later on to speak of the document in which the assertion is contained. That the University declined in the fifteenth century, partly owing to its complete subjection to the hierarchy, partly to the Wars of the Roses, is an admitted fact, though by the foundation of All Souls and Magdalen College it was even then silently

maturing its strength. But that at any time there were 30,000 students in Oxford is wellnigh incredible. Two points, however, have to be borne in mind : first, that the University in the Middle Ages admitted to its ranks many who at the present day would at the corresponding period of their lives be members of our large public schools; and, secondly, that very many scholars wandered from one University to another, residing in Oxford but for a short time, and completing their studies elsewhere. The University of Oxford occupied a peculiar position ecclesiastically. There was no Bishop of Oxford till the time of the Reformation. It was subject, therefore, to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, a diocese which then embraced a considerable part of England. This distant diocesan would sometimes be the protector, and sometimes the over-rider, of its liberties. As regards the Pope, both Oxford and Paris had constantly asserted their freedom against Papal interference, but when Paris submitted to John XXII. in 1316, by soliciting his patronage, its influence in European estimation considerably declined. For two or three generations Oxford took the lead in its protest against Papal exactions, until the reaction from the Lollard movement again transferred the centre of anti-Papal University sentiment from Oxford to Paris, which period coincided with Oxford's comparative decline.

An instance of anti-Papal resoluteness on the part of the University occurred as early as 1238. The servants of Otho the Papal Legate, had come into conflict with a body of Oxford students near Osney Abbey. This affair, insignificant in itself, led to very serious results. The Legate laid the University under a Papal curse, and many of the students retired to Northampton and to Salisbury. Upon this a conflict ensued, in which Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, and other bishops, defended the rights of the University for a long time. They were worsted in the end: the authorities went from Oxford to London, and humiliated themselves before Otho, that the interdict might be withdrawn. But about this time the English nobility addressed a solemn protest to Gregory IX. on the subject of Roman interference. The rise of the Mendicant Orders in the early part of the thirteenth century was an event which at first tended considerably to strengthen the Papacy, although in their later corruption and declension they materially helped to precipitate its downfall. The Mendicant Friars were not long in finding their way to Oxford. The Dominicans appeared in 1221, and the Franciscans a little later. In 1261 we find the Dominicans permanently established in what is now the district of St. Ebbes. The Augustinian Friars settled on the site of Wadham College in 1251.

The Carmelites were located near the Castle in 1254; at the end of the century the Cistercians organized the community of Rewley, and the Benedictines had converted Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College) into a school for their younger members. The immediate advantages of these monastic bodies were immense. While the college system was in its infancy their establishments could attract students much more powerfully than the University system itself. Robert Grossetête was their resolute champion, while Adam Marsh and Roger Bacon both belonged to the Franciscan Order. In 1326 every Bachelor of Arts had to sustain a disputation once each year before the Augustinians.

But as time went on, a rivalry between the University and the Orders would be inevitable. As the colleges multiplied, the University authorities would more and more resent the influence of the Orders over the students. In 1358 we find an emphatic protest on their part against the enticing of the junior students from the colleges to the monastic schools. The English nobility were reluctant to send their sons to Oxford, lest they should be induced to become friars, and to take monastic vows before they were old enough to know their own minds. Penalties were enacted against such enticement if the neophyte were under eighteen. In fact, all through the fourteenth century the University was gradually passing from the monastic to the clerical influence, and the rise of the colleges involved the supremacy of the secular clergy over the regular. In this respect the Oxford of 1350 resembles the Oxford of 1850; as in the fourteenth century the clerics were gradually supplanting the monks, so in the nineteenth the purely secular element is (whether for good or evil we do not here attempt to decide) gradually supplanting the ecclesiastical.

The fourteenth century transition was accompanied by severe and protracted conflicts. By 1365 the Papal Court was aroused and alarmed, and the Pope commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury to procure the repeal of the anti-monastic measures. The result was a compromise, the measures were relaxed, but the friars were prohibited from making any attack upon the University before the Papal Curia. It was in 1274 that Walter de Merton finally edited his statutes for the regulation of Merton College. In the spirit of these statutes we discern a very strong tendency to withdraw the University from the control of the monastic Orders, and therefore, although this would not be directly, nor, indeed, indirectly, intended, it would weaken the Papal supremacy itself It aimed at the concentration in Oxford of a permanent body of clergy as distinct from monks and friars. The students of Merton College were not to be shackled by monastic vows; they were

to resist, in the interests of their body, all foreign interference; they were to apply themselves to philosophy before they approached theology. Special chaplains were to undertake in their stead the performance of the ceremonies of religion, so that the students themselves might be left free to pursue their studies. It is remarkable that such statutes should have been promulgated, when as yet the Mendicant Orders had not entered upon their period of decline; indeed, they had not long been established in Oxford, for the statutes, though finally edited in 1274, had been in existence some years earlier in a less perfect form.

We may now pass on from general considerations to give a sketch of several prominent Oxford men in the period under review. The first of these is Bishop Grossetête. Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, is one of the most remarkable figures that rise before us out of the distance of the thirteenth century. He was an energetic Church Reformer of the practical type, and he was regarded with veneration by Englishmen of his own and of the next century. Grossetête was intimately connected with Oxford. There he was educated—at least, in great part. From 1200 to 1235 he resided permanently in Oxford, where he became Doctor of Theology and Chancellor. In 1232 he was attacked by a dangerous illness, and on his sick-bed he passed through a great spiritual crisis. He wrote to the Pope to know whether it was right that he should hold a number of sinecure offices in the Church which he could not personally discharge while remaining at Oxford. The Pope told him that a Papal dispensation would overcome the difficulty. But this did not satisfy Grossetête, and in that year he parted with all his Church emoluments except one, a prebend's stall in Lincoln Cathedral, Oxford being then in that diocese. In doing this he had to encounter opposition from his own sister, though she was a nun.

To Grossetête, in conjunction with Edmund Rich, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the introduction of Aristotelian philosophy in Oxford was largely due, and he was one of the first to graduate in divinity. He belonged to the Franciscan Order, and was their first theological lecturer in Oxford. He cannot justly be blamed for his steady support of the Franciscans, for he only lived to witness their first enthusiasm and zeal, and could not have foreseen the injury which their subsequent corruption was to inflict.

Grossetête became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, but his connection with the University would not be thereby dissolved. It is very probable that his commentaries on Aristotle and Boethius, and other works of a more strictly theological character, had their origin in his academical lectures.

His episcopate was a very troubled one. England was in a distracted condition, owing to the weakness of Henry III. and the incessant strife between the Crown and the nobility. In 1239 Grossetête had to travel to Lyons to obtain a personal interview with the Pope, in consequence of a serious dispute between himself and the Chapter of Lincoln. By his unwavering zeal for reform he had raised up a host of enemies, chiefly clerical, but in the main he triumphed over them. In the first year of his episcopate he visited every monastery in his diocese, with the result that seven abbots and three priors were at once deposed. He made it a practice to gather round him on stated occasions the clergy of the different divisions of his diocese, and would preach to them out of the Scriptures, in order that they might convey the instruction given to them to the people entrusted to their charge. This was a very remarkable step to take as early as 1240. The one object of his life was the reform of the pastoral office—in other words, the good of souls. A professor was once appointed to a benefice, but he delayed to come over to England to reside in it, preferring rather to lecture in the University of Paris. Grossetête wrote a letter of rebuke, telling him that he should choose rather to feed the sheep of Christ in his own parish than instruct other pastors. All his visitation sermons were appeals to under-shepherds to quicken their consciences to the performance of duty.

In 1250 we find him again at Lyons, presenting a written memorial to the Pope, in which he deplores the corruptions of the Church, and appeals to the Roman Curia to set its own house in order. This time he met with a very chilling reception, and after waiting many fruitless months at Lyons, he returned home weary and disheartened.

In 1253 Innocent IV. nominated one of his grandsons to a canonry in Lincoln Cathedral. The Papal brief was addressed not to Grossetête, but to an Archdeacon of Canterbury and to the resident Papal commissioner. If anyone objected, the intruding Canon was to cite his opponent to appear before the Pope. Grossetête, though eighty years of age, stood firm. He addressed a solemn appeal to the two commissioners, which was at once forwarded to Italy. The Pope is said to have been so enraged that he coarsely reviled Grossetête, but one of the Cardinals told him to his face that the Bishop was in the right. After this the appointment was withdrawn, and the last months of the prelate's life were passed in peace.

Such was Robert Grossetête, a reformer before the Reformation. While perfectly loyal to the Church of his day, he held principles that must have sooner or later brought him into conflict with the Papacy.

The next great character we select is Richard of Armagh.

Richard Fitzralph was educated at Oxford under Blakenthorpe, who seems to have been an opponent of the Mendicant Orders. Fitzralph rose to high eminence. He was some time Fellow of Balliol, in 1333 he was Chancellor of the University, and in 1347 Archbishop of Armagh. He was thus Wycliffe's older contemporary. Like Grossetête, he based his literary work upon the lectures he had delivered at Oxford, but, unlike him, he was a theologian exclusively, not a writer of philosophical treatises. He wrote against the errors of Judaism, while in his master work he exposed the heresies of the Armenian Church, largely contributing to an attempt on the part of the latter in 1346 to effect a union with Rome. It has been also thought that he edited an Irish translation of the Bible, but this is by no means certain.

But the most celebrated controversy in which Fitzralph was engaged was the famous question, which agitated the mediæval Church after the rise of the Mendicants, as to whether Christ Himself had been during His earthly life a mendicant. The Franciscans claimed the right to be supported by alms voluntarily given, and in defence of this they pleaded the supposed example of Christ. It was in 1324 that the Dominicans had tried to brand as heretical the doctrine that neither Christ nor yet His Apostles possessed property. The Franciscans stoutly maintaining it, both parties appealed to the Pope, and John XXII. decided in favour of the Dominicans. This was not remarkable, as twenty-five millions of gold crowns were found in that Pontiff's treasury on his decease. Some of the Franciscans yielded; the leaders, who remained obdurate, left Avignon, and withdrew to Bavaria.

Fitzralph, at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, preached eight sermons in English at St. Paul's, London, in which he argued that, though Christ was poor, yet He never chose mendicancy nor taught anyone to practise it, that such a life is neither prudent nor holy, and that the parish priest is far superior to the Mendicant Friar. Fitzralph was in a very peculiar position. He was supporting a Papal decision against unruly Franciscans; he could not, therefore, be censured by the Papal Court. But he was undermining the influence of the most useful allies of Rome, and therefore he stirred up a violent hostility against himself on the part of both Orders, and not one only. The result was that he had to appear in person at Avignon in 1357, and justify himself before Innocent VI. and his Cardinals. This led to a most important address, delivered in the presence of the Pope and the Curia, in which he strongly defended the rights of the clergy against the monastic Orders. In the course of this he stated that an

English gentleman had been obliged to go to Avignon to obtain from the Cardinals an order for the release of his son, whom the friars had inveigled into their society at the age of thirteen at Oxford. He said that English laymen preferred to make farmers of their sons rather than allow them to be taken away in such a manner. The Mendicants had bought up all the valuable books at Oxford for their own libraries. He instanced the cases of several parish priests who had to leave Oxford and abandon their studies because neither a Bible nor any theological books could be procured. It is in this address that he alludes to the once enormous number of Oxford students, for the diminution of which number he holds the friars responsible.

Richard Fitzralph died at Avignon in December, 1359. He had the same practical piety and reforming zeal as Grossetête, and the difference of his attitude towards the friars from that of the Bishop was due to the altered condition of the Orders themselves. In 1250 they were in the fervour of their early enthusiasm, but in 1350 a century of Papal and Episcopal patronage had done its work. Fitzralph's position was that of Walter de Merton, with this one difference, that the former resisted a present evil, while the latter sought to guard against one that was mainly future.

A greater name than that of Fitzralph now comes before us. Thomas of Bradwardine (supposed to be identical with a small village in Herefordshire, near the Welsh border), born about 1290, came to Oxford as a student, entered Merton College, and became Proctor in 1325. As Doctor of Theology he lectured to large and admiring audiences, and, after many years of sojourn in the University, he was made Chancellor of St. Paul's in London. This brought him into close connection with the Court, and on the breaking out of the French wars of Edward III., he accompanied the King all through the memorable campaign of Crecy. When Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1348, the Chapter elected Bradwardine, but Edward refused to part with him, for it was a common opinion in the English army that its successes in the battlefield were largely due to his piety and prayers. Delays therefore followed; another candidate was chosen, but died before he could be consecrated. The Chapter renewed their entreaties for Bradwardine, and Edward consented. The Archbishop-elect went to Avignon, and was consecrated by the Pope in July, 1349. He received a gross insult at the Papal Court. A jester mounted an ass, rode into the hall, and asked of the Pope to be enthroned in Bradwardine's place, because the new Primate was more imbecile than himself.

Bradwardine at once set out for his own country to take

possession of his see, but he died a few weeks later, in August, 1349.

Wycliffe, though he could hardly have known him personally, everywhere speaks of him with admiration and respect. His writings must have had a great influence upon the English reformers, for Bradwardine was the constant champion of the Augustinian doctrine of grace against the Pelagian tendencies of mediæval theology; he did not hesitate to defend Augustine against Peter Lombard himself. Bradwardine tells us that, when a young student of philosophy, he was a Pelagian, and the doctrines of Divine grace were utterly distasteful to him. When he heard passages from St. Paul's Epistles read in church, they only excited his repugnance, and he even accused St. Paul in his own mind of holding erroneous doctrine. This latter point gives a striking proof of how much latent unbelief there was even in the Middle Ages, a fact to which St. Anselm's "Cur Deus homo?" bears remarkable testimony. But when he began to apply himself to theology, his objections vanished. "The truth," he says, "struck upon me like a beam of grace, and it seemed to me as if I beheld in the distance, under a transparent image of truth, the grace of God, as it is prevenient both in time and nature to all good deeds." His work "On the Cause of God," against the Pelagian views of his time, is pervaded by a deep current of piety, though accompanied, as was inevitable, by some of the defects of the scholastic system. In it he expressly refutes the Roman doctrine that a man can acquire merit before God. Towards the close of his work, he thus addresses the Redeemer: "Thou who hast led me into the profoundest depths, lead me also up to the mountain height of this inaccessible truth. Thou who hast brought me into this great and wide sea, bring me also into the haven. Thou who hast conducted me into this wide and pathless desert, lead me also unto the end. . . . When Thou liftest the light of Thy countenance upon Thy servant, I believe I see the right understanding of Thy Word."

It has been suggested that he was called "the Profound Doctor" because this particular epithet "profound" was so often applied by him to Divine grace.

Another Oxford scholar of the period was Robert Longland. He was born at Cleobury Mortimer, in Shropshire, and after the completion of his Oxford studies he became a member of the Benedictine priory of Great Malvern, in Worcestershire.

From internal evidence it appears that the date of his famous work, "The Vision of Piers Plowman," was 1362. In this work, written in the dialect of the people at the time when the English language was fast assuming a definite form, Longland embodies the popular yearning after a better con-

dition of things both in Church and State. His poem is allegorical, and betrays a considerable acquaintance with classical literature. The writer accepts all the doctrines of the Church, but severely satirizes the lives and morals of the clergy. Thus, he introduces a priest who knows nothing of the cardinal virtues, but owns that the only cardinals he has heard of are those who are created by the Pope. The Pope has an official at Avignon whose office it is to seal the Papal Bulls, and his name is Simony. There is one very remarkable fact in the work. If Huss is said to have predicted Luther, Robert Longland certainly predicted King Henry VIII., for he tells all unruly monks, nuns, and canons that a king will arise who, in concert with his nobles, will reduce them to order by force.

One name stands out pre-eminent, that of John Wycliffe, the incidents of whose life, even of whose Oxford life as Fellow and Master of Balliol, cannot be detailed in this paper, but of whom a few words must be said as to the importance of the man himself and of his mission.

Wycliffe is essentially England's great reformer. In the actual period of the Reformation there did not arise any one commanding personality. The *work* of Tyndale as the giver of the English Bible to the English nation was of incalculable value, but the *man* was hidden from view in obscurity and exile. And even as a Bible translator Tyndale only trod in the footsteps of Wycliffe. But the latter is chiefly remarkable in his solitariness. He has been called the English Elijah or John the Baptist, and the comparison is so far true that he stood alone among his contemporaries from the moment that he aroused the hatred of the hierarchy. He had no Elector of Saxony to stand by him, no Melancthon to share his literary labours or systematize his views. Even at Worms, Luther was never so absolutely unbefriended as was Wycliffe when he became a thorough-going reformer. Not till he was forty did he appear on a public arena and become known to the world of action as opposed to that of thought. The next period was from 1360 to 1376. In this period he was a political and moral reformer. Here, indeed, he did not lack patrons; but when in 1378 he ventured to assail the prevailing doctrinal errors, John of Gaunt and the nobility fell away from him. He stood opposed to the hostility of Archbishop Courtenay, one of the most skilful, implacable, and persevering of adversaries, and his supporters in the University either maintained his views unwisely or recanted them faint-heartedly. One by one, Repyngdon, Aston, the Chancellor himself, made submission to the ruling powers. Nicholas Hereford had the boldness to appeal to the Pope, and went to

Rome, where he was imprisoned, afterwards escaping in a popular Roman tumult, for the Romans were perpetually banishing the Pope and then recalling him. When, in 1382, the heresiarch himself appeared at Oxford, his fate seemed inevitable. In short, it is one of the most perplexing problems in his career how it was that, while his followers were reduced to silence, he himself was allowed to die in peace in his Lutterworth retreat in 1384. May not this have arisen from the knowledge that he had a far greater hold on the affections of the English people than many in later times have been ready to admit?

Indeed, the struggle at Oxford was more severe than is generally imagined. Rigge, the Chancellor, had the boldness to invite Repyngdon, a Bachelor of Theology, and a known partisan of the reformer, to preach before the University on Corpus Christi Day, though it was certain that he would defend Wycliffe's views on the Real Presence. When Courtenay sent down Dr. Stokes to intimidate, the Chancellor resisted, and Repyngdon preached, openly defending the orthodoxy of Wycliffe. Not until the Chancellor had been cited to London did he give way. But at the end of 1382 Wycliffe's voice was silenced at Oxford.

We may close with a brief mention of two events that happened in the University in the course of the years that followed Wycliffe's death.

There is a very remarkable document, dated October 6, 1406, which professes to be a declaration on the part of the University in favour of Wycliffe. The Hussite movement was already commencing at Prague, and Huss had openly advocated many of the English reformer's opinions, though he did not agree with his views on the Real Presence. A report was soon circulated in Bohemia that Wycliffe was, by the deliberate verdict of the English Church, an excommunicated heretic. The document in question solemnly affirms the orthodoxy of Wycliffe. It was signed by the Chancellor and doctors, and sealed with the University seal. For several years the document passed unchallenged, but in 1411 it was denounced by the Convocation of Canterbury, and was branded as a forgery in 1415 by the Council of Constance.

The forgery was attributed to one of Wycliffe's friends—Peter Payne. Peter Payne was a noted Oxford figure. From 1410 to 1415 he was Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. He afterwards settled in Bohemia, was appointed one of the Hussite delegates at the Council of Basle in 1433, and died at Prague in 1455.

It is not at all certain that the Convocation of Canterbury affirmed the *falsity* of the document, but only that they stig-

matized its *contents* as heretical. And it is a curious coincidence, that the second event to which we have alluded occurred in this very year (1411). Arundel, who had succeeded Courtenay as Archbishop, was a vigorous champion of Rome, and had largely contributed by his political machinations to the triumph of the House of Lancaster in the revolution which dethroned Richard II. in 1399. The Wycliffe party seemed to have much cause for hope in the accession of the son of Wycliffe's former patron, but Henry IV. owed his crown very largely to the Church, and Arundel urged him to repay the debt by the repression of heresy. In 1408 Arundel held a visitation at Oxford for the repression of Wycliffe's partisans. Heads of colleges and halls were ordered every month to ascertain whether the students under their care had imbibed erroneous doctrines, and every recalcitrant offender was to be excommunicated and expelled. These arbitrary mandates were disregarded. In 1411 Arundel appeared again. Seated under a canopy, he halted before the gates of Oxford, where he was met by the Chancellor at the head of a University deputation. The Chancellor told him that as a visitor in the ordinary sense he was welcome, but that if he were a visitor in the ecclesiastical sense he was an intruder, as, by the declaration of a Papal Bull, Oxford was exempt from such visitations. Arundel went away in a rage. He appealed to the Crown, and in consequence the Chancellor and proctors were expelled from their offices. Upon this the students refused to attend any more lectures, and threatened in a body to dissolve. After a severe struggle, however, the Papal policy triumphed, and Pope John XXIII. revoked the exemption granted by his predecessor.

Arundel had triumphed. It was the beginning of the end. In 1412 the governing body had been so far changed that the Papal influence predominated. And in 1414, on the accession of Henry V., the University presented a memorial to the King promising to correct and punish Wycliffe's followers with the utmost rigour. So quickly had resistance been followed by reaction.

That the work attributed to Peter Payne was largely instrumental in accelerating the final conflict can hardly be doubted. But the violent measures which were taken both by Church and State to overawe the University go far to prove that the memorial was genuine. And in any case the hold that Wycliffe's opinions maintained over Oxford for exactly thirty years after his death witnessed to their power and intensity.

Our task is completed. The annals of the fifteenth century after 1414 offer very little additional material as far as Oxford

is concerned. When the century is nearing its close, when "Greece has awaked to life holding the New Testament in her hand," a small group of scholars fresh from the schools of Italy will make their appearance at Oxford, revive the buried Reformation of the fourteenth century, and lay the literary foundations of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

C. J. CASHER.

ART. II.—SOME CURIOSITIES OF PATRISTIC AND MEDIÆVAL LITERATURE.

PART II.—DOCTRINAL (*continued*).

WE need do no more here than refer to the logical subtleties by which scholastic divines sought to succour and support the theology of mediæval superstition, bidding men to believe in properties from which substance had been withdrawn, in accidents remaining when their subject had ceased to exist.

The question whether or not these accidents (remaining by miracle without a subject) are capable of nourishing was answered by some of the earlier transubstantiationists, and perhaps by the earlier scholastics generally,[1] in the negative; but by the Tridentine Catechism (it would appear) in the

[1] Dr. Pusey says: "The Schoolmen thought that with the 'change of substance' that power of nourishing ceased" ("Eirenicon," p. 24). But this statement needs qualification. Thomas Aquinas maintains the contrary. He says: "Homo diu sustentari posset, si hostias et vinum consecratum sumeret in magnâ quantitate." And he concludes: "Quod species sacramentales, quamvis non sint substantia, habent tamen virtutem substantiæ" ("Summa," pars iii., vol. ii., quæs. lxxvii., art. vi.).

Nicolaus de Niisse also says distinctly: "Per sumptionem istarum specierum homo nutritur" (Tract. V., pars iii., "De Eucharistia," quæst. x.; "Resol. Theol.," f. 509; Paris, 1574).

And the author of the "Fortalitium Fidei" not only contends for *nourishment*, but argues from 1 Cor. xi.: "Vino etiam inebriari." And he adds: "Mirandum videtur cur negent homines hoc sacramentali cibo posse nutriri; refugientes hoc sacramentum in carnem et sanguinem posse converti." He supposes that the accidents have conferred upon them certain properties of substance (lib. iii., consid. vi., imposs. xvii.). He says also: "Remanent accidentia panis et vini inter quæ sunt qualitates sensibiles" (*ibid.*).

Bonaventura says: "Communior est opinio, quod percipiens sacramentum alitur et nutritur." "Concedendum est, quod recipiens hoc sacramentum alitur, et nutritur, non quia accidentia in substantiam convertantur, sed quia aliquid convertitur in substantiam comedentis, non inquam accidens, sed substantia" ("In Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., art. ii., quæs. i.; Op., tom. v., p. 139; Lugduni, 1668).

Thomas Waldensis (himself an Essex man) relates: "In parte Aquilonari Angliæ, dicta Norfolchia, revera opulentissima rerum et spiritualium