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Knight, Samuel, ca. 1677-
1746.
The life of Dr. John Colet



Gul. Skelton, del.

Jac. Fittler, sculp.

EFFIGIES JOH. COLETI, S.T.P.

*in Schola Paulina
adscripta.*

THE LIFE
OF
DR. JOHN COLET,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S
IN THE REIGNS OF
K. HENRY VII. AND K. HENRY VIII.
AND
FOUNDER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL:
WITH
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MASTERS AND MORE EMINENT
SCHOLARS OF THAT FOUNDATION,
AND
SEVERAL ORIGINAL PAPERS RELATING TO THE SAID LIFE.

BY SAMUEL KNIGHT, D.D.
PREBENDARY OF ELY.

A NEW EDITION.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCXXXIII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present edition of the *Life of Dean Colet* has been undertaken by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, at the solicitation of several distinguished persons connected with St. Paul's School. The original edition having been long out of print, it was suggested, that a new one would be acceptable to the public at large, but particularly so to those persons educated on Dean Colet's foundation; and accordingly it has been deemed expedient to reprint Dr. Knight's *Life* without alteration. Manifest errors however have been corrected, the references verified, and the quotations, and records in the Appendix, collated. A few notes have been added from the margins of copies in the Bodleian Library, and the Index enlarged.

The Plates have been entirely re-engraved; and the Delegates have to acknowledge a donation of an hundred guineas from the Mercers' Company, for that purpose, which has materially lessened the price of the publication.

June 6, 1823.

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SPENCER COMPTON, ESQ.

SPEAKER TO THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR,

YOUR known affection to St. Paul's school emboldens me to beg your patronage to the ensuing Life of our great founder, dean Colet; who, as he deserved well of mankind in general, so of those more especially who have had the happiness of being educated in his school: the which, among other great names, has reason to boast of you, as one of its chief worthies. Your great abilities have rendered you very eminently serviceable to the public in a post of great honour; and how well you have acquitted yourself in it, the universal suffrages of a British parliament have abundantly testified, by choosing you this second time to preside over them. I know your great load of public cares will not allow you much time for reading the many books with which the press is continually teeming; but when your leisure will permit you to relax from your more weighty business, you will not perhaps think it labour quite lost, to look back upon that time when religion and learning did, after many and great struggles, get the better of ignorance and superstition, and in which you will find dean Colet to have made a glorious stand in defence of the

truth. But I shall not forestal any part of the ensuing narrative ; which, as I designed it for the honour of our school, so I hope it will not be ungrateful to our schoolfellows in general. We have lately lost two persons of the most exalted stations that our school could glory in, viz. the dukes of Marlborough and Manchester : from whom, as we have had many instances of favour, we might (if they had lived longer) have expected more. But we have still a patron in you, who (we doubt not) will go on to countenance every thing that tends towards the honour and benefit of St. Paul's school. In confidence of which, I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most obliged,

humble servant,

SAMUEL KNIGHT.

A
PREFATORY EPISTLE

TO THE
MASTER, WARDENS, AND ASSISTANTS OF THE
WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF MERCERS.

GENTLEMEN,

AS our good founder, dean Colet, thought you worthy of the patronage of one of the best endowed schools in this kingdom; and as you have all along with great care discharged that trust, and for above two hundred years have given sufficient proofs that your company have been ambitious of letting the world see, that dean Colet knew what he did when he chose you to this honour; I could not, upon so fair an opportunity, but make this honourable mention of you. It is a very melancholy reflection, that there should be so many charitable donations that prove abortive through the mismanagement (not to say worse) of those to whose care they have been intrusted: but amidst all the sad havock that has been made of such good designs, St. Paul's school has always kept up its reputation, and will (I hope) be always a lasting monument of your company's care and integrity. Who then can envy you the pleasure of seeing the happy fruits of your labour, and the plentiful harvest which the world hath received from this fruitful seminary of religion and learning by your means? And I doubt not, but that God's blessing, *which maketh rich*, has been plenti-

fully bestowed upon you, for your very great regard to the trust reposed in you by so great and so good a man: and that as your company have, so they always will, look upon the solemnity of those words in his statutes, wherein he commits this charge unto you, with that due regard, that you may not only avoid the horrid consequences of ever hereafter betraying your trust, but also reap both now and ever the blessings he mentions, as inducements to your faithfulness to that foundation; for which he was contented, even in his lifetime, almost to strip himself of his very patrimony, and to make himself poor for its more liberal endowment. His words are very expressive, especially where we find him “calling
 “ the dredefull God to loke upon them (the mercers)
 “ in all suche besynesse and exorting them to feare
 “ the terrible judgement of God which seeth in
 “ darknesse and shall render to every man accord-
 “ ing to his workes and finally praying the great
 “ Lorde of mercye for theyre faythful dealing in
 “ this matter now and alwaye to send unto them in
 “ this worlde mucche wealthe and prosperyte and
 “ after this lyfe much joye and glorye.” And of this he seemed so well assured, that in the paragraph wherein he gives liberty to declare the statutes, i. e. provide against their insufficiency, or, for good reasons, make any alteration for the better, (a power not often lodged in trustees’ hands,) he tells the world, that he did it “in consideration of the assured
 “ truthe and circumspect wisdome and faythfull
 “ goodnes of the most honest and substantial fellow-
 “ shippe of the mercery of London to whome I have
 “ (says he) commytted all the care of the schoole

“and also belevyng verely that they shall allwaye
“drede the great wrath of God.” The words are
so very weighty and solemn, that they need no com-
ment: may they be as effectual hereafter as they
have hitherto been, and your company can never
want the honour they deserve. As to my own part,
gratitude obliges me to make this public acknow-
ledgment, since I am not only descended from your
worshipful company, by my father’s having the ho-
nour to be free of it, but more especially for the in-
valuable benefit I have received by my education in
this your school. That you may live and flourish
under the auspicious guidance of a good Providence,
and as you bear the first place in rank and credit
amongst all the companies of the greatest trading
and most wealthy city in Europe, so that you may
hand down the same privileges and advantages to
your successors, when you are gone to reap the re-
wards of being faithful stewards in a better world,
is the hearty and sincere wish of

Your most obliged,

humble servant,

S. K.



THE
INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH it may possibly be thought, by some less curious persons, a needless undertaking to write the Life of Dean Colet, who lived above two centuries ago, even before the blessed reformation of religion in this nation, especially since there have been some short essays of this nature already published: to obviate any objection of this nature, I shall only observe, that if there were no particular obligations to revive the memory of him, by reason of the noble foundation of his school, yet he was so considerable a man in other respects, that we cannot think it will be unacceptable to the public, to give a more full character of him than has been done as yet by any that have undertaken it. Indeed we find only loose and scattered memorials of him, and withal so much conciseness, so many very material circumstances omitted, so many facts (if touched upon) yet not pursued or set in a proper light, that the writers seemed to have had nothing more in view than just to let us know that there was once such a person living. But sure so great a man, as he will appear to be by the following narrative, deserves more than a bare remembrance, and merited too well of mankind to be put off with so slight a history. So much is mentioned by some of these writers as may help us to form an imperfect idea of him, but not enough to satisfy an inquisitive reader. I have therefore ventured upon larger memoirs of dean Colet, collected from the most authentic accounts of that time; and have diligently searched into the writings of his contemporaries, and from them illustrated the following Life. And here I must own, with the utmost gratitude, that I have received great assistance and encou-

agement from the right reverend White, lord bishop of Peterborough ; who, by furnishing me with his very valuable collections, engaged me first in paying this debt of gratitude to the noble founder of St. Paul's school, wherein I had the happiness of a good part of my education. But this was not the only, though the chief motive to this work. There is no period of time deserves more, and yet is so little known in our English history, as the fifty years preceding the reformation, which include the latter part of Henry VII. and the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign : in which time true religion and useful learning were just dawning upon the world, and the great Erasmus and his friend dean Colet, the great forerunners of the reformation, flourished. Of this time there is little to be met with in any of our printed books. I thought therefore this defect might be in some measure supplied in the Life of Dean Colet: whom, though I cannot call a protestant, yet certainly he did great service towards the reformation ; and what he suffered by doing his duty, and speaking his mind freely, sufficiently testifies his sincerity : for it cannot possibly be thought otherwise, if we consider how warnily, in his sermon before the convocation, he attacks the corrupt clergy of his time ; for which freedom of speech he was never forgiven by them, though other reasons were pretended for their ill usage of him. One would wonder, that almost all the account that we have of so considerable a person is from that learned foreigner Erasmus, who had experienced his favours while he sojourned here in England : but as he had left England many years before Colet's death, and his friends were too slack in sending in their materials, we could not but fall very short of several things which we might otherwise have hoped for. Lupset was a person, by reason of his intimacy with him, that might have done good service in this affair ; but he was (as one styles him) *vir in omnibus festinabundus*, and too unmindful of his old patron. It must be owned, it is a loss to the world, that Erasmus did not pursue his design of more fully publishing the life of his friend ; but, as imperfect as it is, we are much

indebted to him for that small sketch he hath given us of him in his epistle to Justus Jonas, which is the best and most entire account that we have transmitted to us of him, though he doth very often occasionally make mention of him in several other parts of his works: these being carefully collected, I have inserted in their proper places. It is very plain, that the writing of lives was not the talent of that age, or for a considerable time after; as will be owned by any one that reads the very lean and jejune accounts we have transmitted to us of the greatest men of that time, even by their very best biographers: so that the most useful and delightful part of history seems to have been designed for the succeeding times. Peter Gassendus's *Life of Peireskius*, and Joach. Camerarius's of Melancthon, were the first that led the van in such essays; and how acceptable they and others of the same kind have been to the world, I need not say: but I must add, that as it is unpardonable in any writer of a modern life to take any thing upon trust, or without good authority, (this being writing a romance, and not a life,) so, it must be confessed, in one at so great a distance as this before us it is much more so, since there can be no reliance upon any matters of fact which cannot be supported by the testimony of coeval writers as vouchers to it. I have therefore carefully inserted the originals from whence I had my extracts: which being chiefly Latin, that I might not disturb the series of the history to the English reader, I have subjoined them to each page; being sure I should not be forgiven by the more learned, if I had deprived them of those valuable transcripts and authorities, digested under proper heads, and set in the fairest light, which cannot but be acceptable to all lovers of antiquity. I wish I could have exactly fixed some niceties in the chronology of a few particular circumstances: but this perhaps is almost an impossibility to compass, and therefore pardonable. From the whole it will appear, that dean Colet was a man that any age might value itself upon, though he lived in one wherein men seemed to *love darkness rather than light*, and wherein he was as a light shining in that

darkness: but the event shewed, that he did at last come off *more than conqueror* over all the opposition that was made against him, and the truth he espoused. The very opinion that Erasmus, the great restorer of learning through Europe, had of him, gives great weight to his character: he knew his worth, and valued him accordingly; and we find he never speaks of him without some preface of honour and esteem. May I add, that perhaps no single life can afford a more pleasing entertainment; there being many wonderful providences recounted in it, which deserve a place in history. I cannot here conceal my hearty wishes, that we would no longer suffer such bright characters of our countrymen to lie buried in oblivion. In our neighbouring countries, they think a man of moderate worth, or endued with some few good qualities, deserves a particular remembrance. Melchior Adamus's collection formerly, and Hen. Witten's lately, do abundantly confirm this observation: and shall we suffer so much of the history of religion and learning as falls in with this life to pass by unobserved by us? It is a carelessness not to be forgiven, that we are generally too negligent in this point; especially since there is one advantage, amongst other disadvantages, in transmitting any actions so remote from our own times, that we are in no fear of disobliging any one whatsoever, but may speak the truth without any reserve, or danger of offending, though the difficulty in getting together materials is greater than in more modern accounts: whereas in writing the life of any person nearer our time, we find, too often, that that impartiality is wanting which becomes an historian, and either the suppressing of some ungrateful truth, or the venting of some plausible falsehood, are the unhappy stumblingblocks that few get over. I shall add no more on this head, but leave the reader to judge of and reflect upon the supereminent worth of this great man: which must afford him this melancholy thought, that when so dark and ignorant an age as that was wherein dean Colet lived, did form a person of such excellent qualities, and furnish him out with such attainments, the succeeding ages

since have not been proportionably productive of many like him; though all the advantages, both from religion and learning, have concurred towards heightening the degrees of virtue and goodness in mankind to a more heroic pitch of piety than could possibly be expected in those times. And if the church of Rome would arrogate the honour of this great man to herself, because he died in her communion, yet the many passages in the following history will sufficiently evince, that Dr. Colet was at least a happy forerunner and promoter of the reformation, and alarmed this nation first toward the throwing off the yoke of superstition and popery.

As to the manuscripts which he left behind him, though he was an Oxford man, yet it so happens that there are none of them in that university, but are only to be found in that of Cambridge. The comments upon the Epistles to the Corinthians, now in Emanuel college in Cambridge, were given to that society by the reverend Dr. Anth. Tuckney, (first of that college, afterwards master of St. John's college in Cambridge.) The same comments are in the most incomparable library of Corpus Christi college in Cambridge, given by archbishop Parker, and has at the end thereof the beginning of a commentary on Genesis, no where else to be met with, and not so much as taken notice of in Dr. Bernard's Catalogue of Manuscripts, or in that more exact one of this library published by the reverend Dr. Stanley, one of the late masters of the said college: it begins thus; *Miror sane te, optime Radulphe, quum voluisti, &c.*; and yet, though this is an imperfect work, the fragments of this good man may be accounted a treasure. There is a note under bishop Tunstal's own hand upon this manuscript, which shews that the dean had writ many other things, but they were lost by the carelessness of his servants: his words are, *Supersunt multa ab eodem Joanne Colet scripta in D. Paulum, sed puerorum incuria perierunt.* This very valuable manuscript was writ by dean Colet's amanuensis, Pet. Meghen; of whom I shall make mention hereafter, when I shall have occasion to speak of

that very famous manuscript, and the curious picture in it, which is also in the same library.

The late reverend Dr. Tho. Gale left a manuscript of our dean's amongst his very valuable collection, now in the possession of Roger Gale, esq. and it is one of the fairest of his extant, as well as the only one of the kind: for as those others before mentioned are prolix commentaries upon the apostolical epistles, this is wholly in the analytical way, and seems to be a summary of his more larger comments. The doctor has, with his own hand, in the beginning of this manuscript, told us, that he had no reason to doubt of its being the genuine work of dean Colet; the style, manner, and phraseology of it agreeing with another manuscript in the chapter-house at St. Paul's, writ by dean Colet's own hand. And I cannot but remark, that there is not the least tincture of popery throughout the whole. What Mr. Tho. Smith says of the dean's comments on the Epistles, writ by his own hand, together with his last will and statutes of the school, as they are not now to be found, so it may be presumed that they were with the old fabric, both school and library, consumed together.

His comments upon St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, in the public library of the university of Cambridge, seem also to be the donation of archbishop Parker; and very probably were bought by him of the executors of dean Colet, who were ordered to dispose of them by his will. This book contains, besides his comments, several other pieces of his, which are no where else extant, viz. *De Angelis cœlestique Hierarchy*, and that epistle of his to the abbot of Winchelcomb; the latter of which is published in the Appendix: this also is a very fair and beautiful manuscript. His sermon to the convocation, though I have given an abstract of it in the body of the book, yet the original being not to be met with but in the Bodleian library, I have printed it at large; as also the English translation, printed the same year as the Latin, and very probably translated into English by the dean himself, for which I am beholden to the lord bishop of Peterborough. I should

have been glad that I could have given a plate of the old school, but there is not any extant. From a plan of London before the fire, it appears in a quite different form from that which is now rebuilt in a much more magnificent manner; a plate whereof is owing to the favour of John Bridges, esq. who is well known to be an encourager of every thing that tends to public service.

I could have enlarged my account both of masters and scholars of this school, but that would have been to have writ many lives instead of one. All that I have done then is only to keep up the remembrance of persons who have made any sort of figure in the world, though in different capacities; especially I have omitted none who have been writers. The continuation thereof may be hereafter undertaken with great ease, if the school-register be kept in a more perfect way than it hitherto has been. I have added at the end a catalogue of the school-library: which I hope will not be without its use, either as a direction to benefactors what books to give, or to the succeeding stewards of the feast what books to buy; or at least it may serve for a good model for a school-library, it containing an excellent collection of classical learning.

As to his effigies, it was taken by the best hand I could find, from a valuable painting, which was, many years ago, the reverend Dr. John Worthington's, (a great admirer both of dean Colet and his friend Erasmus;) after whose death it came into the hands of Dr. Stillingfleet, late lord bishop of Worcester; and after that bishop's decease, was recovered by my worthy friend the doctor's son, (Mr. John Worthington,) to whom I am obliged for this, as well as other kind offices. It seems there is another ancient picture of dean Colet, in the possession of Thomas Slater-Bacon, of Lynton in Cambridgeshire, esq. which resembles much that which Holland gives of him in his *Heroologia Anglica*.

I could have wished, that the reverend Mr. John Postlethwayte had gone through with his design in republishing the Life of Dean Colet by Erasmus, with his own remarks; which he purposed to have published in the original

Latin, with that of one of his successors, dean Barwick. The reverend Mr. Bedford has lately made public the latter of these, both in Latin and English. For what reason these two lives were to be joined together I know not, unless upon that of their being deans of the same church: both of them indeed were excellent men in their respective times; but the circumstances of their lives were so very different, that they cannot possibly admit of an exact parallel.

It were also to be wished, since Erasmus follows the example of Plutarch, and gives us a parallel between two very excellent persons, that he had chosen another of our countrymen, rather than gone to France for the character of Vitruvius: who, though it must be owned he was a very pious man, yet, considering the different way of life in which he was engaged from that of dean Colet, (the one being a recluse, and the other as active as any one of his function in the age he lived,) by no means is that parallel just or proper.

As to any opinions which may seem peculiar to the dean, and may either be observed in the following account of him, or in any of his manuscripts now extant, the following seem most remarkable, viz. that in his comment on 1 Cor. vi. he doth scarce allow going to law; and in the seventh chapter of the same epistle he allows not marriage to be lawful, but only as a remedy *contra incontinentiam; ut ubi non sentitur illa infirmitas, ibi illa ad nuptias licentia non est usurpanda*. Nor did he think it necessary that Christians should marry for the begetting of children; for “that,” saith he, “might be left to the Gentiles.” “But what if the Gentiles should be all converted?” “Then,” saith he, “the kingdom of God was come; then would the world be *sanctus et animo et corpore*; then would the end be, “and God all in all,” &c. These, and such like notions, must be looked upon as *nostrums*; without which we shall find few writers free, and therefore they ought to be judged of candidly and fairly.

I did design to have given in the following Life more of the history of the learned Erasmus, especially that part of

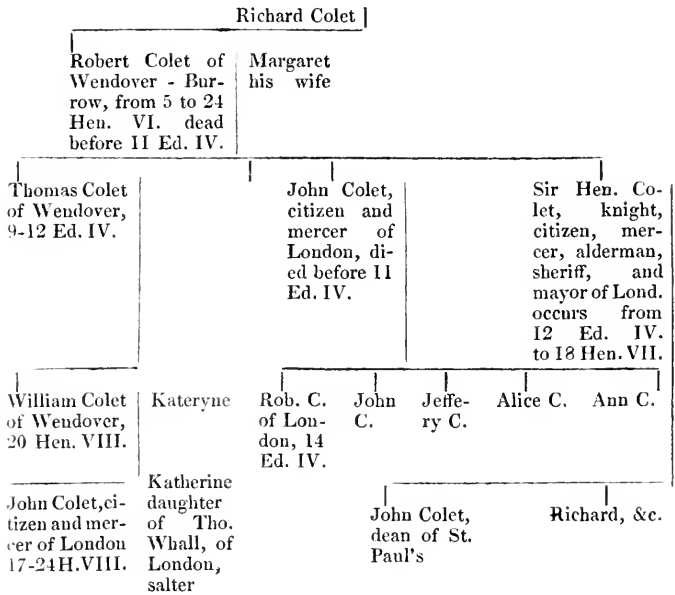
his life which he spent in England; but that being like to swell the volume beyond what I designed, I shall rather publish it by itself: and it may very well serve as a supplement to dean Colet's Life, since it will illustrate the history of the same time, and will afford a very pleasant, and even new, entertainment, to all who desire to have a fuller account than has yet been given of that prodigy of learning.

As I have in this work spared no pains to make it as perfect as I could, so I must gratefully own, that besides those worthy persons before mentioned, I have received good assistance from my special friends, the reverend and learned Dr. Tanner, chancellor of Norwich; Roger Gale, esq.; and Mr. Sam. Gale; as also from Mr. Will. Colet, of Hale near Wendover, who, by the loan of an old family-book, furnished me with the particulars of the dean's spiritual and temporal revenues, and the settlement of his city estate upon St. Paul's school, which is very nice and curious, and whereof there is no mention in his last will and testament; which, however, with his father's, sir Henry Colet's, I have copied out of the Prerogative-office at full length, and inserted in the Appendix. Out of the aforementioned manuscript is also extracted a short Pedigree of the family of the Colets, delineated in the next page, which I could not with any certainty carry higher: and in the same manuscript, sir Tho. More, though not mentioned in dean Colet's will, appears to be a trustee in settling his lands after his death by a deed of feoffment made to John Colet, mercer, kinsman to the said dean.

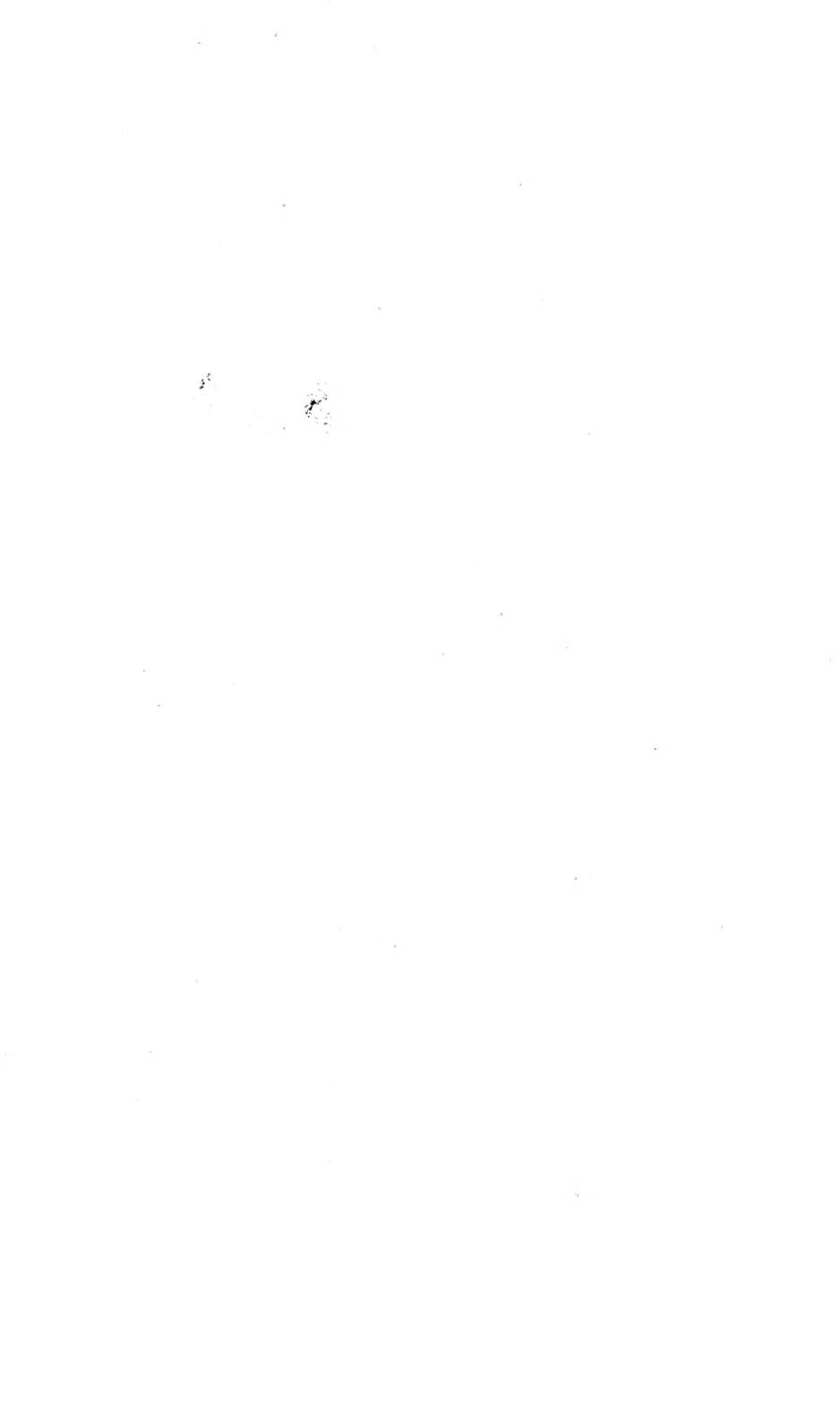
The faults that have escaped the press I hope will candidly be imputed to the negligence of the transcribers, or the author's frequent absence from the press.

I shall add no more, but conclude with wishing, that this essay may at least have the good effect of engaging some of the scholars of other great schools to do like justice to the memories of their founders, and the persons of note bred in their respective seminaries.

The Pedigree of the Colets, as far as can be discovered by the deeds in the old family book.



N.B. There was a Henry Colet, who occurs from 5 Hen. V. to 17 Hen. VI. and also a Mathew Colet of Kymbell 24 Hen. VI. who died before 29 Hen. VI. and left a widow named Margaret; and a John Colet of the Hale in Wendover, son of Robert Colet of the Hale aforesaid, husbandman, deceased 32 Hen. VIII.





Effigies IOANNIS COLETI DECLANI

S^t Pauli qui obiit 1519.

Dona vit Societas Mercatorum Loud:

THE
L I F E
OF
DR. JOHN COLET.

THIS excellent person was son and heir to sir Henry Colet, knt. a younger son of Robert Colet of Wendover^a, near Ailesbury, in the county of Bucks, esq. who was born in that county, at the manor of Hale; near which place some of his name still continue.

His father being bred a mercer at London, did by God's blessing upon his industry arrive to great wealth and honour; retaining always the more eminent character of a wise and honest man; and his good qualities made him soon taken notice of, and judged very fit for one of the chief offices in the city, in a time of trouble and confusion, when a great

^a We find a will of John Colett, citizen and mercer of London, dated May 5, 1461, wherein he gives to Wendover, Aston, and Clinton churches, 20s. each; and to Thomas Colet his brother, Alice his wife, Robert, John, and Jeffry, his sons, 100l. each, *probat.* Oct. 27,

1461. [Reg. Stockton, in Cur. Prærog. fol. 181. b.] This John Colet was, without doubt, a near relation to the dean; and perhaps that John Colet, whose monument in the church of St. Alban's, Wood-street, London, is mentioned by Stow.

pestilence reigned there, and the duke of Clarence was put to death by the contrivance of his brother the duke of Gloucester. He was the elder of the two sheriffs of London in the year 1477, 17 Edward IV^b. And by reason of the mayor's great weakness both in body and mind^c, a great part of the burden of the mayoralty fell to his lot; which he discharged with much credit and reputation to himself, as well as honour to the city. In the next short and tyrannical reign of Richard III. he made shift to escape his fury, though he was in the interest of his rival, Henry duke of Richmond, soon after the renowned king Henry VII. In the beginning of whose wise and happy reign he was elected lord mayor of London, and soon after knighted. The time of his mayoralty was distinguished by a double happiness, *viz.* by the marriage of king Henry and the lady Elizabeth, Jan. 18, 1486, which united the houses of Lancaster and York; and by the birth of prince Arthur in Sept. 1487, whom the king so named in honour of the British race. But it was his unhappiness to bear this honourable office in a time of rebellion, when the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, and Martin Swart, were actually in arms, though they were soon slain in battle. Before he left the chair, he was instrumental towards the rebuilding a new cross in West-Cheap in a very beautiful manner:

^bMCCCCLXXVII. xvii. Edward IV. mayor, syr Humphrey Heyforde goldsmith; sheriffes, master Henry Collet, master John Stocker. [Fabian, Grafton, Stow, &c.]

^cThe mayor, Humphrey Heyforde, gouldsmyth, pursued the reparation of the city walls;

but not so diligently as his predecessour dyd, wherefore it was not sped as it might have ben; and also he was a sycke and feable man, and had not so sharpe and quycke mynde, as that other had. [Fabian sub an. 1478.]

and he did himself and his office the honour of asserting the ancient privilege of naming a sheriff, by the ceremony of drinking to him: which he made more remarkable, in that he drank to his carver, by name John Percival^d; whom he made immediately to cover his head, (before bare,) and to set down at the table, where he was waiting^e. When he had been more than seven years above the chair, he had the honour to be called to it a second time, in the year 1495, 11 Henry VII. which rendered him still more famous for his loyalty, prudence, and courage: he keeping the peace and fidelity of the city, when an army of rebels from Cornwall were very near it, being got as far as Blackheath. This year was farther signalized by his justice upon a person convicted of perjury, whom he caused to stand at Paul's cross on a Sunday, at sermon time, a spectacle of shame, in a coat of painted paper, like that horrible disguise which is imposed upon penitents by the inquisition: as also upon another offender; who stood in a pillory at Cornhill for adulterating of wines^f. But that

^d Sir John Percival, kt. (afterwards lord mayor of the city,) and dame Thomasine his wife, were worthy benefactors to the parish of St. Mary Wolmoth. The several wills made by them both in ancient writing, are (to the parishes great commendation) very carefully kept and preserved in this church, in a goodly enclosure made for that purpose, and to be turned over like folding tables. I have not seen the like in any other church, saith Mr. Stow, in his Survey, ed. 4to. p. 387.

^e Grafton's Abridgement of

the Chronicles of England to the year 1572. sub anno 1486. Stow's Survey of London, p. 388.

^f — On Candlemasse daye stood at Powles crosse a man disguised in paper, which was convict of perjurye. And the xxv. daye of Marche stood upon the pyllory on Cornhyll, a cowper named John Gamelyn, for bryung of wyne, and for chaunging of wyn Grek into Candy buttes, where through wyne Grek were solde for Malveseys. [Engl. Chron. MS. Cotton, Vitellius, A. 16.]

which brought to him and his office more than ordinary reputation, both at home and abroad, was this: In February this year was concluded a treaty of peace and intercourse between England and Flanders; and as the custom then was, for the security and warrantry of the peace, besides the respective princes, the communities, or the chief trading towns and cities in each nation, were to be bound under their common seals for the mutual observation of it: London being one of the cities, and the chief on the part of England, a draught was therefore prepared for their common seal to be affixed to, (as had been in the conventions between England and Scotland, anno 1482, 22 Edward IV. by William Heryot, knt. and mayor, and the aldermen of the city of London ^g.) But the common council would by no means agree to the putting of the seal to it; and though the king's prime ministers came to Guildhall to persuade them to it, yet they still suspended their assent, and desired a respite of six days, in which time they would give their reasons in writing, to be laid before the king and his council: which was then granted; but the matter not well admitting of any such delay, it was afterwards contrived, that, instead of the body of the city, the mayor alone should give his personal security, and his single bond should be thought equivalent to the public faith of that whole community^h. His dutiful sub-

^g See Rymer's Fœd. tom. 12. p. 164.

^h In the moneth of Febr. xi. Hen. VII. was concluded an amye and entrecourse between this lande and Flaunders; and for the assurance of the same,

above and besyde both the seles of eyther prynces, was graunted to diverse townys of this lande to be bounde, among the whiche London was one: whiche seal-yng, when it sholde have been performed, the commons of

mission is very remarkable; that he should bind himself and his heirs to make good the faith and honour of the crown. And his loyalty and generosity made the king have so firm a respect for him, that he was protected from the artifices and insolences of Empson and Dudley, while several of the other mayors and sheriffs, near his time, were fined and imprisoned, under some pretence or other of exceeding their commission in the execution of their offices, or being obnoxious to forfeitures and other penalties of law, by straining of obsolete statutes to oppress the subjects, and fill the exchequer; as sir Thomas Kneysworthⁱ, Sir William Capell, and sir Lawrence Aylmer. It seems to have been in this

the cite wolde not be agreable theyr sele sholde passe: and albeit that my lord Derby, my lord tresorer, the chyef justyce of England, maister Bray, and the maister of the Rolls, by the king's commaundment came into Guyldhall, to extorte the sayd comons for the same; yet in no wyse they wolde not be agreable that the towne sele sholde passe, but besought the sayd lordes to graunt unto thym respite of vi. dayes, trustyng in that season to shew in writyng soche consyderaacyons unto the kings grace and his counsaill, that his grace sholde be therewith well contented: whiche was to thym graunted, and thereupon dyvers billes were dyvysed. Albeit that for the hasty spede of my lorde chamberleyne, whiche at that tyme was redy to departe to Caleys, to kepe suche appoyntment as was before concluded, the mayrs sele was taken only, as in the

maner folowith, &c. [See the deed in the Appendix.]

ⁱ Anno 1506. xxii. Hen. VII. was Thomas Kneysworth, late mayor, and his two sheriffs, condemned to the king in grete somes of money, over peynfull prisonment by them in the Marshalsea susteyned.

Anno 1507. syr Willyam Capell was agayne put into vexatyon by sute of the kyng for thynges doon by him in the time of his mayoraltie.

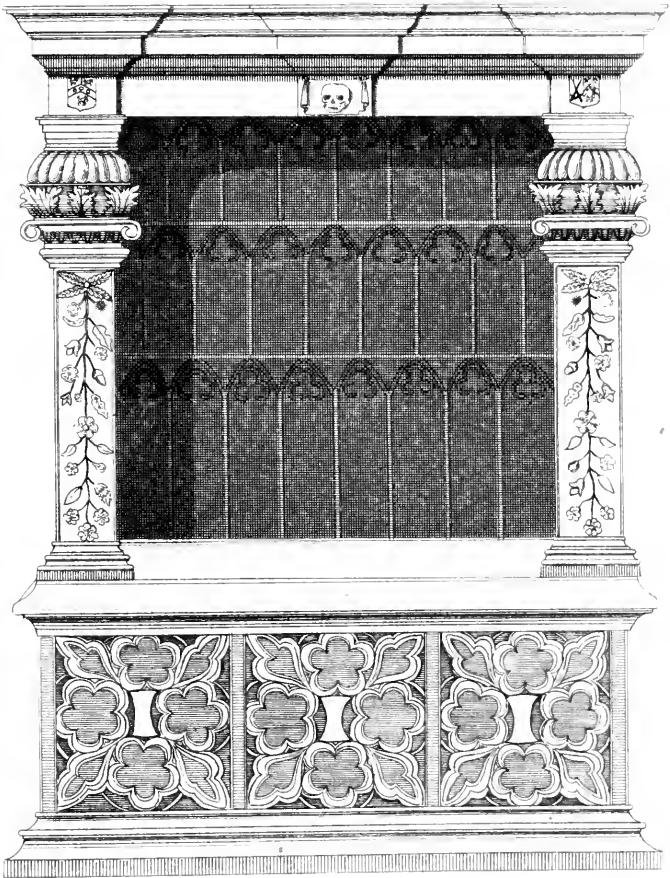
Anno 1508. syr William Capell, after his imprisonment in the counter and sheriff's house, was by the kynges counsaile commaunded to the Tower, wher he remayned tyl the kyng dyed. And in likewyse was syr Lawrence Aylmer delt with, and commytted to the warde or house of Rychard Smyth, shyreve, and ther remayned as prysoner by the space abovesaid. [MS. Cotton, Vitellius. A. 16.]

second mayoralty of sir Henry Colet, and under his direction, that the solemn charge was given to the quest of wardmote in every ward, as it stands printed in the Custumary of London: "Also yf ther be any " paryshe-clerke, that ryngeth curfewe after the " curfewe be ronge at Bow chyrche, or Saynt Brydes " chyrche, or Saynt Gyles without Cripelgat, all " such to be presented." Nor was sir Henry Colet only a good citizen and magistrate, but also parishioner. Mr. John Stow, in his Survey of London, mentions him as a great benefactor to St. Anthonie's, (now called St. Antlin's,) his parish church, and says, the pictures of him and his wife, ten sons and ten daughters, remain in the glass window on the north side of the church. And it must not be forgot, that in the year 1505, when the church of Great St. Mary's, in Cambridge, was building for the use of the university, his name^k occurs among the letters writ upon that occasion to divers of the prime nobility and persons of note, for contributions towards so good a work. After he had filled every relation with great reputation and honour, he died of a considerable age, and was buried at Stepney^l: where his monument, still remaining, shews this sir Hen. Colet, kn't. to have been third son of Robert Colet, esq. twice lord mayor of London, and free of the mercers company, and father to Dr. John Colet, sometime dean of St. Paul's. It was refreshed by the company of mercers in the year 1605, on the north side;

^k Literæ per diversos mercede conscriptæ ad regem, matrem regis, comitem Oxon. Hen. Colet, M^{rum} Fyndar, Jo. Mor-daunt Cancellarium, D^{um} Ab-

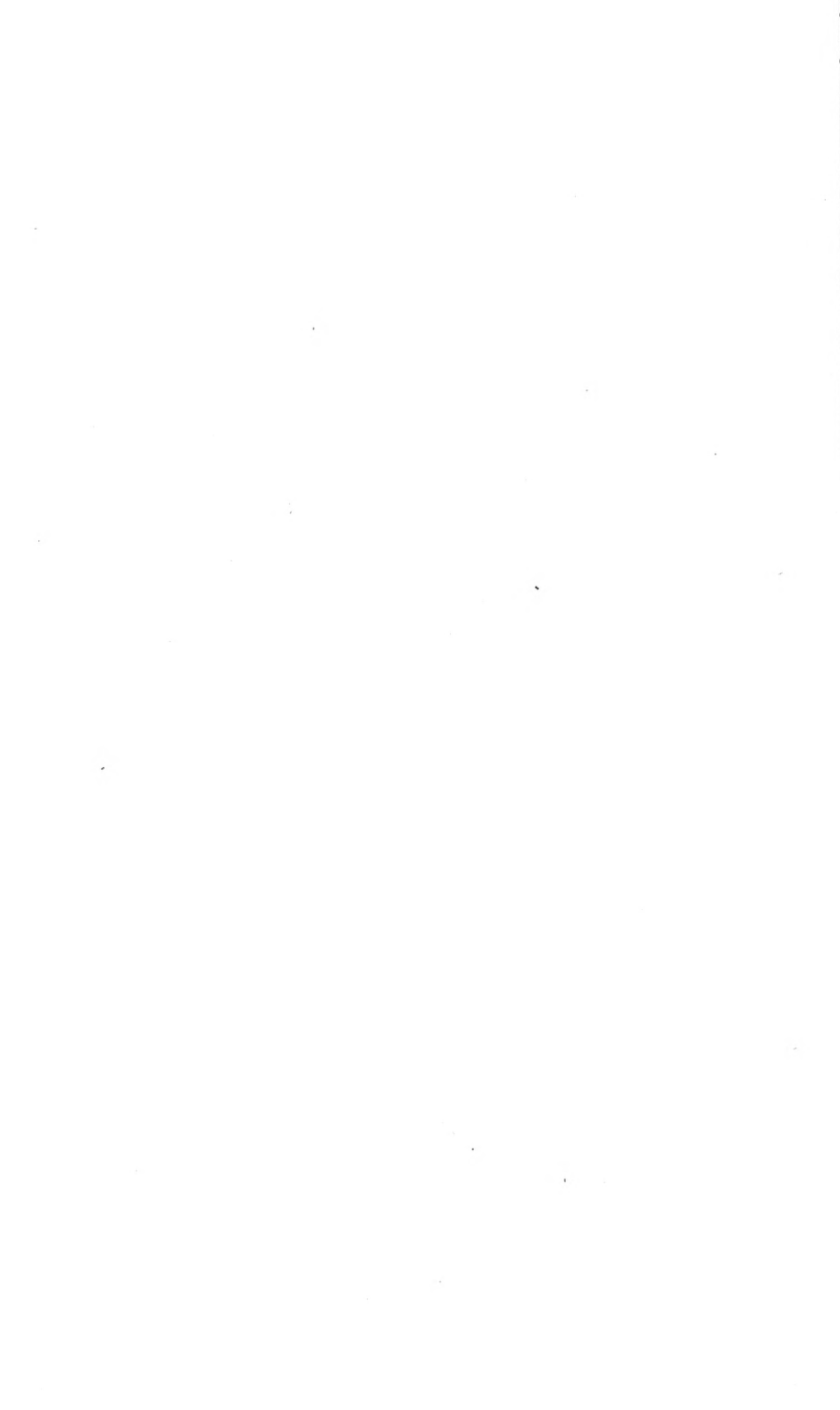
batem Westm. [Lib. Procur. Acad. Cantabr.]

^l See also Norden's Middlesex, p. 39. LEWIS.



Sepulchrum *HENRICI COLET Equitis.*

in Cancellis Ecclesie de Stepney.



and was repaired the second time at the charge of the company of mercers, London, 28th of July, 1697. But the ancient epitaph, preserved by Mr. Weever, in his book of Funeral Monuments, was this; “Here
“lyeth sir Henry Collet, knight, twice mayor of
“London, who died in the year of our redemption
“1510^m.”

Sir Henry Colet, by his wife Christian, a gentlewoman of good birth, (probably of the family of Knevet,) called *nobilis mulier* by a writer of that ageⁿ, had two and twenty children, in an equal number of sons and daughters; of whom the first-born was our John Colet, who within a few years was the only surviving comfort to his parents^o, and might seem to be an abundant compensation of Providence for the untimely loss of all the rest.

This Dr. John Colet was born at London, within the aforementioned parish of St. Anthony, in the year 1466. At which time it was reputed a sort of nobility to be born and bred in that great city^p, and

^m Letters of fraternity were granted by the prior and chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, to Christina Collett, dated Decemb. 1, 1510. LEWIS.

ⁿ Sane accidit, ut ex duobus et viginti filiis quos Henricus Coletus ejus pater, civis summa modestia et gravitate, ex Christiana uxore, nobili muliere, susceperat, solus ipse superstes fuerit, eique paterna hæreditas venerit. [Pol. Vergil. lib. 26.]

^o Natus est e claris et opulentis parentibus; idque Londini: siquidem pater bis in urbe sua præfecturam summam gessit, quam illi majoritatem appellat. Mater, quæ adhuc superest.

[1519.] insigni probitate mulier, marito suo undecim filios peperit, ac totidem filias: quorum omnium natu maximus erat Coletus; ac proinde solus hæres futurus, juxta leges Britannicas, etiamsi illi fuissent superstites: sed ex omnibus ille superfluit solus, cum illum nosse cœpisssem. [Epist. Erasmi Jod. Jonæ.]

^p Thomas Morus natus est Londini; in qua civitate, multo omnium celeberrima, natum et educatum esse, apud Anglos nonnulla nobilitatis pars habetur. [Ep. Erasmi Joanni Fabro, in Ep. lib. 27. edit. Bas. 1540. p. 1070.]

more was expected from such than from others⁹: and we have no reason to doubt, he had his first education there, in that school which bare the name of his own parish; a school which at that time was the most eminent of any in London, and soon after gave education to one of Colet's most familiar friends, sir Thomas More, knt. lord chancellor of England; as afterwards to Dr. Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England, Dr. John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, &c.[†]

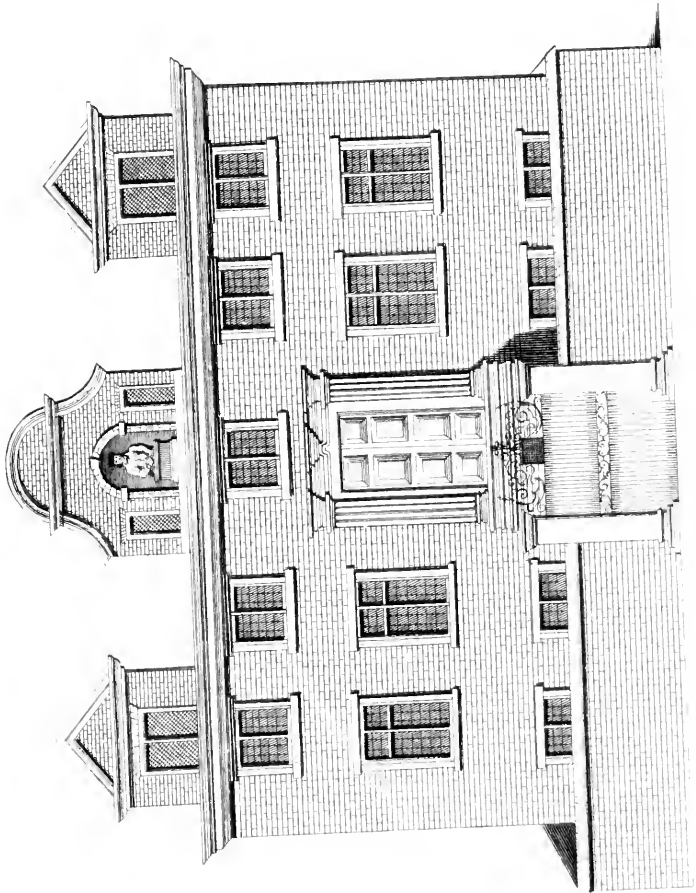
His mother, after the death of her husband, continued at Stepney; living retiredly in that house which her son gave afterwards for the safe abode of the master of Paul's school in the time of any pestilential sickness; and where a good house now stands, with the bust of Dr. Colet set on the front of it. The greatest pleasure she enjoyed there was to have the company of her son, and to entertain those learned friends he brought along with him; especially the polite and facetious Erasmus, whose conversation she delighted in, and used to talk of him in his absence with a particular air of mirth and pleasant freedom of speech. So her son tells him in a letter from that country-house, anno 1516^s. But alas! she there outlived all her comfort in this

⁹ Erasmus Joanni Moro adolescenti—dimittam te, si tibi adhuc unum Aristotelicum apophthegma recensuero. Cuidam jactanti sese quod amplæ celebrisque civitatis erat civis; noli, inquit, isthuc spectare, sed expe-
pende, num illustri civitate sis dignus. [Ibid. p. 1194.]

[†] Stow's Survey of London, in the chapter of Schools and

Houses of Learning.

^s Me, ut facis, ama; et si ad nos reversus fueris, habebis me tibi deditissimum. Vale ex rure Stepnetiano, apud genetricem; quæ adhuc vivit, et belle senescit, et de te sæpius hilarem et jucundam facit mentionem. [Epistola Coleti Erasmo suo. Edit. Basil. 1521. p. 91.]



.Edes Preceptoris apta Stepney.

world, this her son : which yet she bore like a good Christian ; with such contentedness and self-submission to the will of God, that Erasmus, many years after, cited her for a rare example of patience and acquiescence under the loss of children, when he comforted his friend Amerbach upon the death of his little daughter. “ I knew in England,” says he, “ the mother of John Colet, a matron of singular piety : she had by the same husband eleven sons and as many daughters ; all which hopeful brood was snatched away from her, except her eldest son ; and she lost her husband, far advanced in years : she her self being come to her 90th year, looked so smooth, and was so cheerful, that you would think she had never shed a tear, nor brought a child into the world ; and (if I mistake not) she survived her son, dean Colet. Now that which supplied a woman with so much fortitude was not learning, but piety towards God. Will you then, who are a man, and of so great learning and prudence, and even of courage in other matters, grieve, and talk of dying with a little infant ?”

† — Decessit tibi filiola— quid habituri sumus justæ querelæ adversus Deum ? Quod dedit, gratuitum est, quod, quum voluit, datum reposit, suo jure fecit ; neque enim id perpetuum esse voluit, sed commodatitium. Apud Anglos novi Joannis Coleti matrem, raræ pietatis matronam ; ex eodem marito suscepit filios undecim, filias totidem ; totus ille chorus ereptus est uno excepto Colet, qui fuerat natu maximus ; a-

demptus est et maritus senex anni : jam accedebat ad annum nonagesimum, facie tam integra, moribus tam alacribus, ut diceres illam non luxisse unquam, nec peperisse : denique, ni fallor, et Colet, supervixit. Tantum animi robur, fœminæ præstitit, non eruditio, sed pietas erga Deum ; et tu, vir, ista doctrina, ista prudentia, ista cæteris in rebus animi præsentia, infantulæ commoreris ? *Friburg. Brisgoiæ, pridie nonas Julii,*

Having mentioned Erasmus, I cannot forbear acquainting the reader, that as Colet and he were much of an age^u, (which he would sometimes modestly boast of, as an honour to be born about the time this great man was,) so afterwards they became the most familiar friends imaginable, to the very end of their lives. And therefore I shall very much rely upon his authority; who, being so very intimate with him, reported (no doubt) from full information and experience whatever account he gives of him.

What Polydore Vergil, another of his contemporary writers, says briefly of him is this: that he was by an early and natural disposition inclined to piety and religion; and therefore as soon as he grew towards a man, and was well instructed in all those arts and sciences that are called humanity, he applied himself to the study of divinity, choosing St. Paul as his particular master, and exercising himself perfectly in his writings, both at Oxford and Cambridge^x.

Erasmus (more fully) tells us, that while he was a youth, he run diligently through a course of all manner of scholastic philosophy, and deserved his title of master of the liberal arts and sciences, being perfectly versed in every one of them. Cicero's writings he had read with great eagerness: and he had

anno 1532. [Epist. Erasmi lib. 24. epist. 16. Lond. ed. Col. 1318.]

^u Oxoniæ—hominem nosse cepi—natus tum erat annos ferme triginta, me minor duobus aut tribus mensibus. [Epist. Eras. Jod. Jonæ.]

^x Natura sanctus ac religiosus, ut primum ex pueris ex-

cessit, atque ab his artibus quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informatur, se ad divinarum literarum studium contulit, et Paulum sibi præceptorem delegit; in eoque cum Oxonii et Cantabrigiæ, tum in Italia, ita exercuit, &c. [Pol. Verg. lib. xxvi. fol. ult.]

made some attempt upon the works of Plato and Plotinus; and gone, with attention, through every part of mathematics. Before his travels abroad, he had determined his studies to divinity; and in order to it, had searched into the ancient fathers, and was particularly delighted with Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome; but he had the least relish of all to St. Austin. He sometimes read Scotus and Thomas, and such like trash of the schoolmen, rather in compliance with the fashion, than from any true relish he found in them. He was also very industrious in consulting the best tracts in the civil and canon law. And there was no one book relating to the history and constitution of the church and state, which he had not diligently turned over. Nay, and he run through all the English poets, for the true use of them, to help, correct, and embellish his language and style, and to fit and prepare him for a more eloquent preacher *v*.

v Adolescens apud suos, quicquid est scholasticæ philosophiæ, diligenter perdidicit, ac titulum assequutus est, qui septem liberalium artium scientiam proficitur. Quarum nulla erat in qua ille non fuisset gnaviter ac feliciter exercitatus: nam et libros Ciceronis avidissime devorarat, et Platonis, Plotinique libros non oscitanter excusserat, nec ullam mathematices partem intactam reliquit. Post tanquam avidus bonarum rerum negotiator, adiit Galliam; mox Italiam. Ibi se totum evolvendis sacris autoribus dedit. Sed prius per omnia literarum genera magno studio peregrinatus, priscis illis potissimum delectabatur, Dionysio.

Origene, Cypriano, Ambrosio, Hieronymo: atque, inter veteres, nulli erat iniquior quam Augustino; neque tamen non legit Scotum, ac Thomam, aliosque hujus farinae, si quando locus postulabat. In utriusque juris libris erat non indiligenter versatus. Denique nullus erat liber, historiarum aut constitutiones continens majorum, quem ille non evolverat. Habet gens Britannica, qui hoc præstiterunt apud suos, quod Dantes ac Petrarca apud Italos. Et horum evolvendis scriptis linguam expolivit, jam tum se præparans ad præconium sermonis evangelici. [Erasmus Jodoco Jone, id. Jun. 1519.]

Mr. Wood says, he was educated in grammaticals partly in London or Westminster; and being fitted for greater learning, was sent to the habitation of the muses, the university of Oxon, about 1483, (at which time one or more of his surname were of St. Mary Magdalen college, as most probably he himself was,) where, after he had spent seven years in logicals and philosophicals, he was licensed to proceed in arts, being about that time so exquisitely learned, that all Tully's works were as familiar to him as his epistles. He was also no stranger to Plato and Plotinus; whom he not only read, but conferred and paralleled, perusing the one as a commentary to the other. And as for the mathematics, there was scarce any part of it wherein he was not seen above his years^z.

This account is to be depended on, so far as agreeable to the testimony of those aforementioned authorities. However, each consents, that he very early gave the world reason to hope, he would in due time become a very considerable person.

But here it must be remembered, that when he read Plato, Plotinus, Dionysius, and Origen, he was forced to read the Latin translations of them: for at school he had no opportunity of learning the Greek tongue^a; nor scarce in the university at his first coming thither.

^z Athenæ Oxon. vol. i.

^a About this time there were great discouragements from cultivating the study of the tongues. Quidam non verentur privatim ac publice, atque adeo in sacris etiam concionibus deblatterare, has literas [i. e. Græcas] esse fontes omnium hæreseon; non

animadvertentes hanc blasphemiam cadere in Hieronymum, Ambrosium, et Augustinum, aliosque complures, quibus doctoribus gloriatur ecclesia. Hujusmodi stolidissimas nugas inculcant auribus adolescentium in secretis confessionibus: "Cave a Græcis, ne fias hære-

Such was the infelicity of those times, that the Greek tongue was not taught in any of our grammar-schools^b; nor was there thought to be any great need of it in the two universities by the generality of scholars. It is worth notice, that Standish, who was a bitter enemy to Erasmus, in his declamation against him, styles him *Græculus iste*; which was a long time after the phrase for an heretic, or one falling under the suspicion of heretical pravity. And for this very reason, those very few that understood Greek were afraid to teach it, lest they should be thought to propagate heresy^c.

But Dr. John Fisher, reputed the best preacher and the deepest divine in those times, head of Queen's college in Cambridge, chancellor of that university, chaplain at court, and afterwards bishop of Rochester, was of another mind, and very sensible of this imperfection: which made him desirous to learn Greek in his declining years^d; and for that purpose

“ ticus. Fuge literas Hebræas, ne fias Judæorum similis”— [Erasmii Adagia. Op. tom. 2. p. 933.]

^b Hunc [Erasmum] lubentissime amplectebantur quotquot supra studiosorum vulgus sapiendum arbitrabantur: verum advertentibus monachis et fratribus quibusdam quod operam in Græca lingua (quæ quidem maligne admodum in Academia tum nostra florebat) promovenda poneret, tanquam si monstri quippiam aut scelerati aggredereetur, popelli literarii animos alienare ab illo nitebantur; Coletio licet et Linaero in contrarium laborantibus. Non destitit tamen Erasmus volentem

quemque ad linguæ ejus cognitionem, quamdiu nobiscum degebat (degebat autem annis aliquot, intercisit licet temporibus) sine pretio informare; qua in re tam feliciter desudavit, ut Græcas literas probe docti academicorum nonnulli alios deinceps erudirent. [Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. sub anno 1498.]

^c Me adolescente, in nostra Germania regnabat impune crassa barbaries; literas Græcas attigisse hæresis erat, &c. [Erasmus adv. Cursium. Op. tom. 9. p. 1440.]

^d Si de hæresi periclitatur, qui Græce et Hebraice novit, quod Lutherus harum linguarum ru-

he wrote to Erasmus, to persuade William Latymer, an Englishman, (who from his travels had brought home that language in perfection,) to be his instructor in it. Erasmus accordingly wrote to Latymer, and importuned him to it. But he declined the undertaking to teach the bishop at those years; alleging the long time it would require to make any proficiency in that tongue, from the examples of the greatest masters of it then in England, Grocin, Lincacer, Tostal, Pace, and Moore; and to excuse himself, advised that the bishop should send for a master out of Italy. And as there is no doubt but the consciousness of want of Greek in Colet, incited him not only to attain to some competent knowledge of it himself, but also to lay the foundation of his school, for the better accommodation of others, and to provide a master the best accomplished in that language; and so in effect to be the founder of the first Greek school in England: so not unlike to dean Colet was bishop Fisher in this point. For his want of Greek made him the greater patron and promoter of it in Cambridge; and his being chancellor of the university made it more eminent than Oxford in this respect: knowing therefore the abilities of Erasmus this way, he invited him thither, and supported him in professing that language, which he himself (at last) had made himself master of. And it would bear a general observation, that the worthy founders of colleges and schools have not been always the

dis non est; quir non potius in tuto esse dicitur, quod Joannes episcopus Roffensis, quod Hieronymus Aleander archiepiscopus Brundusinus, propugnatores sunt nutantis ecclesiæ: quorum

hic omnibus linguis excellit, ille tres linguas, ætate jam vergente, non vulgari studio amplectitur. [Erasmi Adagia. Op. tom. 11. p. 933.]

greatest clerks, though for the most part the wisest and best of men: there was sense and truth in that prelate^e, who, when accused of being no scholar, said, *he could make scholars, and that was greater*. The college in Oxford, that has raised up the greatest lights and ornaments in learning, was expressly founded for the three learned tongues: though the excellent founder^f, the oracle of his age, could be only skilled in the first of them, unless he recovered that defect of breeding in his old age: as it is certain bishop Fisher before mentioned did; who, under the impulses of Erasmus, was not ashamed, that his gray hairs should, as it were, go to school again. And so our Colet, being sensible how deficient he was in this tongue, and inflamed by Erasmus's great proficiency in it, expresses in an epistle to him, his willingness to be his scholar, though of an advanced age^g.

It would cast a greater glory on the present state of learning in our two universities, to look back upon the clouds of ignorance which hung over them in the times immediately preceding the Reformation.

As for Oxford, its own history and antiquities sufficiently confess, that nothing was known there but Latin, and that in the most depraved style of the schoolmen. Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, was the first who taught Greek in that university^h; and from

^e William Wickham, bishop of Winchester, founder of the college there, and New college in Oxford.

^f Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, founder of Corpus Christi college in Oxford.

^g Applicabo me, si patieris, et

adjungam lateri tuo; exhibeboque me tibi discipulum, etiam in discendo Græce, quanquam jam provecta ætate, et prope senex. [Epist. Coleti Erasmo suo, edit. Bas. 1521. p. 91.]

^h Antea enim Cornelius Vitellius, homo Italus Corneti,

him the famous Grocyné learned the first elements thereof.

In Cambridge, Erasmus was the first who taught the Greek grammar. And so very low was the state of learning in that university, that (as he tells a friend) about the year 1485, the beginning of Henry the VIIth's reign, there was nothing taught in that public seminary besides Alexander's *Parva Logicialia*, (as they called them,) the old axioms of Aristotle, and the questions of John Scotus, till in process of time good letters were brought in, and some knowledge of the mathematics; as also Aristotle in a new dress, and some skill in the Greek tongue; and, by degrees, a multitude of authors, whose names before had not been heard ofⁱ.

It is certain that even Erasmus himself did little understand Greek, when he came first into England, in 1497. (13 Henry VII.) and that our countryman Linacer taught it him, being just returned from Italy with great skill in that language: which Linacer and William Grocyné were the two only tutors that were able to teach it.

The first essay that Erasmus made of shewing his proficiency in the Greek tongue, was in translating three declamations of Libanius into Latin. Thus

quod est maritimum Hetruriæ oppidum, natus nobili prosapia, omnium primus Oxonii bonis literis juventutem erudit. [Pol. Verg. lib. xxvi.]

ⁱ Ante annos ferme triginta, nihil tradebatur in schola Cantabrigiensi, præter Alexandri *Parva Logicialia*, ut vocant, et vetera illa Aristotelis dictata, Scoticasque quæstiones. Pro-

gressu temporis accesserunt bonæ literæ; accessit matheseos cognitio; accessit novus, aut certe novatus, Aristoteles; accessit Græcarum literarum peritia; accesserunt auctores tam multi, quorum olim ne nomina quidem tenebantur, &c. [Erasmii Epist. Henrico Bovillo, dat. *Roffæ* cal. Sept. 1516.]

we read at the beginning; *Prima experientia in vertendis Græcis*. And he dedicated this version to Dr. Nicholas Ruter, bishop of Arras, chancellor of the university of Lovain. Dat. Lovanii, M. D. III. xv. kal. Decemb^k.

In the mean time Bern. Andreas, a native of Thoulouse, first opened a school for the Greek tongue in London. But the first Englishman, who in any public school taught the Greek as well as Latin, was master William Lilly, in St. Paul's school; the good founder whereof, dean Colet, seeing the necessity of having a tolerable share of the Greek tongue, towards the better proceeding in his theological studies, did shun no pains, nor thought himself too old to learn it; as was before hinted, p. 14.

When Colet had taken his degrees in arts at Oxford, he was at years, and at liberty to choose his profession, or to take up with the life of a gentleman; having a sufficient estate to support him, and a fair interest to recommend him at court for any suitable office and employment; with the advantage of a tall and comely personage^l. And this turn to a courtier might perhaps have been the advice of his father, sir Henry Colet; who in so many public offices of the city had been used to gaiety and splendour, and had gained a very particular interest in

^k The original MS. is in Trinity college library in Cambridge, given to it by Hugh Peters, the regicide. It is both in Greek and Latin, with a dedication to Nic. Ruter, bishop of Arras; before which are his arms illuminated. Erasmus is there styled *canonicus ordinis D. Augustini*. Declamatio prima

sub persona Menelai, tertio Nov. 1503. Quum nuper essem declamationes aliquot Græcas nactus, præsumplissime, eisque vertendis periculum de meipso facere statuissem, &c. [*Lovan.* 15 cal. Dec. 1503.]

^l Accesserat his fortunæ commodis corpus elegans ac procerum. [*Eras. Jod. Jon.*]

the king, by being a faithful and serviceable subject. But the pious young man, determined by his own spirit of religion, was resolved to enter into holy orders, and so renounce the temptations of his birth and fortune: which choice, and his fixed adherence to the service of God in his church, Erasmus thought very commendable^m.

Being thus unmoved in his resolution, he was presented to the church of St. Mary Denyngton, in the diocese of Norwich, within the county of Suffolk; which made Cambridge a convenient road between Oxford and his benefice, and might well entitle him to that relation unto both universities, which Pölyd. Verg. ascribes to himⁿ. He was presented to this living by sir William Knevit, knight, and dame Joan his wife; instituted August 6, 1485^o, and kept it to his dying day.

Another of his preferments was the prebend of Botevant, in the church of York; to which he was admitted in the year 1493, upon the resignation of the famous Christopher Urswicke.

^m Ac fortasse Coletus hoc nomine plus laudis meretur, quod nec indulgentia fortunæ, nec impetu naturæ longe alio trahentis, potuerit ab evangelicæ vitæ studio depelli. [Ibid. p. 573. edit. Bas.]

ⁿ Coletus — se ad divinarum literarum studium contulit, et Paulum sibi præceptorem delegit; in eoque cum Oxonii et Cantabrigiæ, tum in Italia ita exercuit, ut homo factus ad unguem, &c. [Pol. Verg. Hist. Ang. lib. 6.]

^o Sexto die mensis Augusti anno Dom. [1485] per dominum reverendum patrem apud Thor-

negge, institutus fuit personaliter Johannes Colet acolitus in ecclesiam parochialem de Denyngton suæ diocæs. per liberam resignationem M. Milonis Thorpe, ultimi rectoris ibidem rite factam et admissam, vacantem ad præsentationem domini Will. Knevet militis, et dominiæ Johannæ uxoris suæ, verorum ipsius ecclesiæ patronorum, receptoque ab eodem instituto juramento canonicæ obedientiæ, scriptum fuit archidiacono Suffole. seu ejus officiali ad inducendum. [Ex registro domini Jacobi Goldwell, epis. Norvicensis, lib. xii. fol. 116.]

He was also presented by his own father, sir Henry Colet, to the church of Thrynning^p, (or Thyrning,) in the diocese of Lincoln and county of Huntingdon; to which he was instituted October 2, 1490. But he resigned it the latter end of 1493, and was succeeded in it by John Smith, chaplain, presented by John Peck, Jan. 20, 1493^q. He resigned also the prebend of Goodeaster, in the church of St. Martin le grand, Jan. 26, 1503, having in 1502 been admitted to the prebend of Durnesford in the church of Sarum.

He was scarce nineteen years old, when he was preferred to the great living of Denington: which practice of taking livings, while a novice, has generally (though very irregular and indecent) prevailed in the church of Rome; and was one of those many abuses which have been since removed by the blessed reformation. But if he did enter upon a cure of souls before he could sufficiently consider the weighty charge belonging to it; yet by his care when he came to a more mature age he atoned for it: and we may see by his excellent sermon to the clergy in convocation, that this matter had great weight upon his mind; as well as every thing that tended towards bringing on a reformation in the church.

It will therefore be no surprise to find, that master

^p — Henricus Colet miles — præsentamus dilectum nobis Johannem Colet, A. M. rectorem eccles. paroch. B. Mariæ de Denyngton, Norvic. dioc. ad ecclesiam de Thyrning diocesee vestræ, modo vacantem per mortem Richardi Squyer ultimi rectoris. Dat. ult. die mensis Sept. 1490.

[Reg. Russel, ep. Linc.]

^q Literæ Johannis Peck de præsentatione Johannis Smyth capellani ad ecclesiam S. Nicholai de Thyrnyng in com. Hunt. vac. per resignationem M. Joh. Colet clerici, nuper rectoris. Dat. 20. Jan. 1493. [Autogr. in reg. Buckden.]

Colet was possessed of the benefices beforenamed, and was canon of St. Martin's le grand in London, as also of York^r, when he was in the very lowest orders of the church; if not only acolyte, or colet, (which title seems to have given name to his family,) yet sub-deacon at most. Nor was he ordained deacon till above seven years after^s; soon after which (the same year) he was made priest^t, A. D. 1497.

These dilatory steps seem owing, not so much to the custom of the church at that time, as to the tender regard which Mr. Colet had to the dignity of his sacred office and function, that he might not invade it before a maturity of years, and a due preparation of studies.

In order to improve himself more completely in the circuits of learning and the knowledge of the world, he left Oxford about the year 1493, and seems to have been travelling abroad till 1497, or thereabouts. And though we cannot tell every stage he passed through during his recess, yet he was surely always so careful a husband of his time,

^r Mr. Wharton has thus entered his preferments. Ad præbendam de Botevant in ecclesia Eboracensi admissus est, 1493. Ad præbendam de Durnesford in ecclesia Sarum, 1502. Præbendam de Goodastir in ecclesia collegiata S. Martini magni Lond. resignavit, 1503, Jan. 26. Dein ad præbendam de Mora in ecclesia Paulina, 1505, Maii 5. Ad decanatum Paulinum eodem anno, eodemque (ut videtur) mense ascitus. [De Decanis London. p. 234.]

^s Johannes Colet, Lond. dioc. artium magister, canonicus in ecclesia S. Martini magni

Lond. et præbendarius præbendæ de Godecestre, ordinatus diaconus per Johannem Olo-nensem episcopum, ex licentia Thomæ Lond. episc. 17. die Dec. 1497. [Reg. Sav. Lond. episc.]

^t Magist. Johannes Colet, canonicus ecclesiæ collegiatae S. Martini magni Lond. et præbendarius præb. de Godecestre in eadem, ordinatus presbyter a Thoma episc. Acha-densi in capella B. Mariæ Magd. infra eccles. cathedr. Linc. in festo S. Annæ, A. D. 1497. [Ex registro W. Smith, ep. Linc.]

that none slipt from him without due improvement abroad as well as at home.

Part thereof he spent at Paris, (then the grand mart of letters,) where he met with very agreeable conversation from Robert Gaguinus, the famous historian of that kingdom, who had been ambassador of Charles the French king, A. D. 1490, to Henry VII. And it was this person that raised an earnest desire in Colet to be acquainted with Erasmus; having shewn him a specimen of his parts and abilities, in a letter sent to him upon his publishing the History of France. Here also he became acquainted with the memorable Deloine^u and Budæus^x; the former of which recommended him to the friendship of Erasmus, and upon many occasions spoke honourably of him.

He made also a tour into Italy; where he could not but contract an intimacy with some learned foreigners, as well as his own countrymen, *viz.* Grocyne^y and Thomas Linacer^z; who were per-

^u Erasmus D. Francisco Deloino — Cum ante paucos menses apud Coletum tui facerem mentionem, protinus agnovit nomen Deloini, ac recordatione veteris consuetudinis visus est admodum delectari—*Antw.* ix. cal. Mart. 1516. [Erasmi epist. edit. Bas. 1521. p. 36.]

Jam vero non possum non deamare plurimum Coletum illum tuum, virum doctrina vitæque sanctimonia clarissimum; qui te, ut scribis, veteris amicitiae, ac consuetudinis commouit; quæ mihi cum illo non vulgaris olim intercessit, quum Aureliæ studiorum causa ageremus. [Fran. Deloini epist. Eras-

mo, edit. Bas. 1521. p. 36.]

^x Erasmus Budæo—Jam in operis calce mire philosopharum cum tuo Deloino, viro jam olim mihi cognito ex Coleti prædicatione, deinde ex congressu quoque prius Aureliæ, mox Parisiis—Dat. 5. cal. Nov. 1516. [Ibid.]

^y Gul. Grocinius—qui prima Græcæ et Latinæ linguæ rudimenta in Britannia hausit, mox solidiorem eisdem operam, sub Demetrio Chalcondyle et Politiano præceptoribus, in Italia impendit, &c. [G. Lillii elogia quorundam Anglorum, &c. p. 91. Svo.]

^z Tho. Linacer—Eodem fere

fecting their skill in Greek at Florence, under the instruction of Demetrius and Politianus; or at Rome, under Hermolaus Barbarus: and there he seems to have been some months; in which place, by reason of frequent embassies, there was always an English court. William Lilly here first fell under his notice: for having learned the Greek at Rhodes, he was improving himself in the Latin tongue at Rome, under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus^a, and William Latymer, who was about the same time settled at Padua, for the further advancing himself in the knowledge of the Greek tongue.

An English antiquary may be apt to observe, that at this time of the great instauration of learning, our students and travellers were so intent upon the attaining the Greek and Latin tongues, and so inquisitive after the purest writers in them, that they had no leisure to search after our own historians, and the national antiquities of Britain: and indeed they had no appetite to them. They thought (as some since with less reason think) that they were the trash of a barbarous age, and would only serve to stuff a good memory, and corrupt a good style. And this made our young gentlemen confine their

tempore quo et Grocinius, Tho. Linacrus perdiscendi studio ex Britannia in Italiam venit, Florentiæ Demetrio et Politiano præceptoribus usus, atque a Laurentio Mediceæ familiæ principe viro, præclari ingenii admiratione, familiariter acceptus, Romam inde, optimarum artium cognitione auctus—profectus, cum aliorum, tum et Hermolai Barbari, docta consuetudine usus est. [Ibid. p. 92.]

^a Gul. Lilius—qui mira peregrinandi cupiditate, ingenuus puer, Hierosolymam usque pietatis studio pervagatus, mox inde rediens, Rhodi aliquandiu literarum causa substitit, ibique Latine pariter et Græcæ linguæ rudimenta perdidit. Romæ denique inter felicissima ejus seculi ingenia Sulpitium atque Pomponium docentes audivit. [Ibid. p. 89.]

travels to France and Italy; when it had been more happy, if some of them had taken a view of Germany and the more northern parts; where, as also in Sweden and Denmark, they had noble monuments of antiquity. Erasmus in his time observed, that in colleges and monasteries amongst the Germans, French, and English, there lay dormant many ancient books, which they were not willing to communicate, and which in a short time would be eaten up by moths and dust, or at least be stolen and lost ^b.

After Mr. Colet was returned from his travels, he rested himself some few months with his father and mother at London and Stepney: and he had possibly now a greater temptation to appear at court, that he might shew the accomplishments he had brought home with him, to the world. Besides which, he was endued with some natural propensities, that seemed fitter for a public life at large, than for the confinement of a college or a gown. For he had naturally a spirit exceeding high, and impatient of the least injury and affront. He was also by the same bent of nature too much addicted to love and luxury, and sleep, and mightily disposed to an air of freedom and jocoseness; and had a tincture of avarice in him ^c.

^b Latitant in collegiis ac monasteriis Germanorum, Gallorum, et Anglorum, pervetusti codices; quos, exceptis paucis, adeo non communicant ultro, ut rogati vel celent, vel pernegent, vel iniquo pretio vendunt, usum decuplo aestimatorum codicum: tandem pulchre servatos, vel caries tineæque corrumpunt, vel fures auferunt. [Eras-

mi ep. edit. 1542. p. 355.]

^c Siquidem animo præditus erat insigniter excelso, et omnino injuriæ impatientissimo, ad venerem, ac luxum, ac somnum mire propensus, ad jocos ac facetias supra modum proclivis: hæc ipse mihi fassus est; nec omnino tutus a morbo philargyriæ. [Eras. ep. Jod. Jon.]

Had he followed these inclinations, which were the alloy of natural corruption and a degenerate age, he had been fitter for any course of life than that of a student and divine. But he gave full proof that true virtue is neither an inability to do evil, nor any natural aversion to it; but a voluntary restraint of the innate tendencies and impulses of flesh and blood to vice and immorality. He conquered, and then commanded himself^d, and brought his high spirit to be subject to reason; so that he could bear a reproof even from his own servant. His disposition to love, sleep, and luxury, he restrained by a continual abstinence from suppers, a strict sobriety, a close application to his studies, and by serious and religious conversation. So that by his philosophy, his divinity, his watchings, and fastings, and devotions, he preserved every step of his whole life from the pollutions of the world; and (as far as Erasmus could possibly gather from their familiar discourses) he was perfectly chaste, and died in virgin purity^e.

And yet whenever opportunities offered themselves, either of jesting with facetious persons, or talking familiarly with the female sex, or of appearing at feasts and great entertainments, there nature would break forth, and you might see some little signs and tokens of it. For which reason he very

^d Explorata est hominis [Coleti] ingenua pietas, cujus minimam portionem debebat naturæ suæ.—Opes in pios usus dissipavit, adversus animi celsitudinem ratione pugnavit; adeo ut a puero quoque moneri se pateretur. Venerem, somnum, ac luxum, abstinentia cœnæ perpetua, jugi sobrietate, indefessis laboribus studiorum, sanctis-

que colloquiis profligavit. [Ib.]

^e Adversus hæc ita pugnavit philosophia sacrisque studiis, vigiliis, jejuniis, ac precibus, ut totum vitæ cursum ab hujus seculi inquinamenti purum pegerit: nam quantum mihi licuit ex illius consuetudine, colloquiisque familiaribus colligere, virginitatis florem ad mortem usque servavit. [Ibid.]

much forbore acquaintance with laymen, and especially all public entertainments : where, if necessity brought him, he picked out some learned friend, and talked Latin with him, to avoid the profane discourse of the table : and in the mean time he would eat but of one dish, and take but one or two draughts of beer ; refraining commonly from wine : which yet he relished with delight, if very good ; but drank it in the most sparing manner. Being always jealous of himself, he would therefore be constantly upon his guard, and cautious, to the last degree, of offending any body : and he so behaved himself in all the minute circumstances of human life, as if he well knew the eyes of all people were fixed upon him. There never was a more flowing wit ; which for that reason delighted in the like society : but even then he chose rather to divert to such discourse as savoured most of religion and eternal life. And if ever he indulged himself in any light and pleasant stories, he would still give some turn of philosophy and serious application to them. He was a great lover of little children ; admiring the pretty innocence and simplicity in them : and he would often observe how our Saviour had set them for our example ; being wont to compare them to the angels above ^f.

^f Et tamen si quando sese obtulisset occasio, vel jocandi apud facetos, vel colloquendi cum fræminis, vel accumbendi in opiparis conviviis, vidisses aliqua naturæ vestigia. Et ob id fere a laicorum consuetudine abstinuit, sed præcipue a conviviis ; ad quæ si quando cogebatur, me, aut mei similem, adhibebat, quo Latinis fabulis declinaret prophana colloquia.

Atque interim sumpto ex uno tantum genere cibi pusillo, uno aut altero cerevisiæ haustu contentus erat ; a vino temperans, quo tamen delectabatur eleganti, sed temperatissime utens. Ita se sibi semper habens suspectum, cavebat ab omnibus, quibus esse possit offendiculo cuiquam. Nec enim ignorabat omnium oculos in se coniectos. Nunquam vidi in-

With this excellent spirit young Mr. Colet, as a man of understanding, would not trust himself among the allurements of the city and of the court; but after he had staid a sufficient time to shew his duty and respect to his friends, he retired to Oxford, for the happy opportunities of a studious and pious life; yet not to be buried, but to let his light shine: and therefore, without reward, he read public lectures in the university, by way of exposition on the epistles of St. Paul^g: where (though he had neither taken nor desired any degree in divinity) there was not a doctor in divinity or law, nor abbot, or any other dignitary in the church, but came gladly to hear him, and brought their books along with them. Whether this commendation is owing to the fame and authority of Mr. Colet, or to the ingenuity of the hearers, who, in more honourable degrees and years, were not ashamed to learn from a younger and inferior person, I will not say^h. But though the novelty of these exercises might at first gather an

genium felicius; atque ob id similibus ingeniis unice delectabatur: sed ad hæc se malebat demittere, quæ præpararent ad immortalitatem vitæ futuræ. Nulla in re non philosophabatur, si quando se laxarit fabulis amœnioribus. In pueris ac puellis delectabat naturæ puritas ac simplicitas; ad cuius imitationem suos vocat Christus, angelis eos solitus comparare. [Eras. epist. Jod. Jon.]

^g Jam reversus ex Italia, relictis parentum ædibus, Oxoniæ maluit agere. Illic publice et gratis Paulinas epistolas omnes

enarravit. Hic hominem nosse cœpi; nam eodem tum me Deus, nescio quis, adegerat. [Ibid.]

^h In theologica professione nullum omnino gradum nec assequutus erat, nec ambierat; tamen nullus erat illic doctor, vel theologiæ, vel juris, nullus abbas, aut alioquæ dignitate præditus, quin illum audiret, etiam allatis codicibus; sive hoc laudis debetur Coleti autoritati, sive illorum studio; quos non puduerit senes a juvene, doctores a non doctore discere. [Ibid.]

audience, yet nothing could keep it up but the abilities of the performer.

About this time it was almost come to a custom for men of distinguished parts and learning in that university to set up voluntary lectures, by way of exposition or comment on some celebrated writer; to which the students would repair more or less according to the opinion they had of the men and their performances. Amongst others, we are certain Mr. Thomas Moore did read upon St. Austin's books *de Civitate Dei*, while a very young man, to a great auditory; the seniors and grave divines not being ashamed to learn divinity from so young a laymanⁱ. And it ought to be here remarked, extremely much to the honour of Mr. Moore, that while he was hard at his studies in Oxford, he could not be discouraged nor called away by his father; who, designing him for the common law, had a wrong notion, that the learning he was gathering would be of no service in that profession; and therefore straitened and half starved him in the university, to bring him away the sooner to the inns of court^k.

This exercise was also set a foot at Cambridge. We are told by a learned author, that Dr. Warner, afterwards rector of Winterton in Norfolk, and who assisted Bilney at the stake, read there publicly^l.

ⁱ Thomas Morus—Augustini libros *De Civitate Dei* publice professus est, adhuc pene adolescens, auditorio frequenti, nec puduit, nec pœnituit sacerdotes ac senes a juvene prophano sacra discere. [Eras. ep.]

^k Tho. Morus—bonas literas a primis statim annis hau-

serat, juvenis ad Græcas literas, ac philosophiæ studium sese applicuit, adeo non opitulante patre, viro alioqui prudente proboque, ut ea conantem omni subsidio destitueret, ac pene pro abdicato haberet, quod a patrii studiis desciscere videretur. [Erasmi epist.]

^l Coletus Paulinas epistolas

George Stafford read also a lecture in the same place, upon St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans^m: being probably induced thereto by the example more especially of Dr. Colet at Oxford, and afterwards in his own cathedral.

But to return to Mr. Colet at Oxford: his great happiness there was, that he became, in a little time, acquainted with the learned and immortal Erasmus, one of the restorers of good letters and good sense to Europe. Erasmus had lived at Paris, and there had been tutor to several of our young nobility and gentry; particularly to the honourable Thomas Greyⁿ, of the Dorset family, and the lord Montjoy, by whose means probably he was induced to see England the first time: who, while he was thinking of a journey to Rome, stepped over from Calais to Dover, about the latter end of the year 1497, but seems to have made little or no stay in London; hastening down to Oxford, as the better mart of learning; being thither recommended by the prior and canons of St. Genovese at Paris, to father Richard Charnock, prior of the regulars of the order of St. Austin, in the college of St. Mary the virgin, where he was received, and accommodated with diet and lodging, in the most courteous and hospitable manner. Father

Oxonii publice interpretatus est; simileque scripturas declarandi institutum Cantabrigiæ sequutus est doctor Warner, postea rector Wintoniæ in Norfolciâ; qui etiam Tho. Bylney flammis Norwici combusto supremum consilium adhibuit. [Antiq. Brit. sub Gul. Warham.]

^m See Latimer's Sermon, p. 174.

ⁿ He seems to be son of Tho. Grey, marquess of Dorset, who had sent his son to the grammar school of Magdalen college in Oxford, to be under the care and instruction of Mr. Tho. Wolsey, then master of that school. Another of the brothers was Geo. Grey, admitted B. LL. Oxford, 1511. [Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i.]

Charnock, after a short trial of the parts and good qualities of his new guest, gave a character of him to master Colet, that he was, in his opinion, a very excellent person, and of singular worth and goodness: which did so please him, (having also before heard of his fame abroad,) that he had not the patience to wait for an opportunity of seeing this learned stranger; but would make his first address with his pen, and wrote immediately to him from his own chamber an elegant and agreeable epistle, in such a turn of obliging thoughts and words, as shewed the writer to be a scholar, a traveller, and a gentleman^o. He tells him that his friend Brome had heartily recommended him by letter, but that

^o Joan. Coletus Erasmo suo, S. D. Brumus meus, Erasme, in epistola sua, te mihi valde commendat. Commendavit te mihi tum fama tui nominis, tum quorundam scriptorum tuorum testimonium. Parrhisiis quando eram, Erasmus in ore doctorum non erat incelebris. Epistola quædam tua ad Gaginum scripta, in qua illius operam et artem in Gallica historia admiraris, a me lecta, erat mihi quasi specimen quoddam et degustatio perfecti hominis, et magnæ literaturæ, et multarum rerum scientiæ. Commendat autem te mihi maxime, quod venerandus pater, apud quem es isthic, prior domus et ecclesiæ Jesu Christi, heri mihi affirmavit; te, suo judicio, virum optimum esse, et bonitate præditum singulari. Quamobrem quantum possunt literæ, et rerum cognitio, et sincera bonitas apud hominem, qui magis hæc

vult, et optat, quam profitetur; tantum tu mihi, Erasme, ex jure istarum in te virtutum, et debes esse semper commendatissimus. Quem cum videro, agam præsens, pro mea persona, quod alii egerunt pro te absente: commendaboque me tibi, tuæque sapientiæ; quem indigne alii mihi commendaverunt: nam minor majori commendari debet, indoctior eruditiori. Verum si quid est in mea parvitate, in quo tibi vel gratus, vel utilis esse potero, id erit in te tam promptum, et liberale quam vult ista tua et exigit præstantia; quem jam venisse in Angliam gaudeo: cui velim tam jucunda esset Anglia nostra, quam te utilem ei tua doctrina arbitror esse posse. Ego vero sum in te, et ero is qui debeo esse in eum, quem opinor tum optimum, tum doctissimum. Vale. Ex cubiculo Oxoniæ. [Epis. Eras. ed. Bas. 1497. p. 255.]

he stood before highly commended to him, as well by the fame of his reputation abroad, as by the testimony of his writings: that while he was at Paris, he well remembers the name of Erasmus was in the mouths of the learned; and that he had there particularly read over an epistle of his to Gaguinus, wherein he had celebrated his industry and skill in drawing up the history of France, which seemed to him to be the specimen of a perfect writer, both for learning and the knowledge of the world. But still the best recommendation of him was, that the venerable prior, with whom he now sojourned, had yesterday told him, that his new guest, in his opinion, was a very excellent person, and endowed with singular virtues. “For this reason,” says he, “my Erasmus, as far as learning and insight into things, and a sincere goodness can make impression upon one, who rather wishes for these talents, than he dares pretend to them; so far, in right of those accomplishments, you are and must be always most acceptable to me. As soon as I can see you, I shall, in my own person, do for myself what others have done for you in your absence, commend myself to you with a better grace, than others have commended you to me: for in truth the less ought to be commended to the greater, and the ignorant to the more learned. But if there be any thing in a person so inconsiderable, wherein I can be any way agreeable or useful to you, I am entirely bound to be at your service. I congratulate your arrival in this island, and wish our country could be as pleasant to you, as I know you, by your great learning, must needs be useful to our country. I am, sir, and shall

“ always be most devoted to one, whom I think to
 “ be the most learned and the best of men. Farewell.
 “ From my chamber in Oxford.”

To this Erasmus immediately returned a very apposite answer^P: that could he find any thing commendable in himself, he should be proud of being commended by such a worthy person, to whose judgment he allowed so great a weight, that his silent esteem alone had been preferable to all the applauses of a theatre at Rome. But however, the commendations given him by such a person were so

^P Si quid omnino in meipso agnoscerem, Colete humanissime, vel mediocri laude dignum, lætarer profecto, cum Hectore illo Næviano, laudari abs te, viro omnium facile laudatissimo: cujus ego judicio tantum tribuo, ut longe mihi sit jucundior tacita tua unius existimatio, quam si vel universum forum Romanum et acclamet, et applaudat. Verum tuæ laudes, mi Colete, tantum abest ut mihi cristas erexerint, ut homo natura putidulus vehementius etiam mihi displicerim. Videor enim admoneri qualem me esse conveniat, quum ea de me prædicantur quæ in aliis veneror, in me desidero. Novi, novi ipse, optime, qua me parte calceus stringat.—En meipsum tibi describam; tanto quidem melius, quanto sum ipse mihi, quam aliis notior. Habebis hominem tenui, imo nulla fortuna; ab ambitione alienum, ad amandum propensissimum; literarum tenuiter sane peritum, sed tamen admiratorem flagrantissimum; qui probitatem

alienam religiose veneratur, suam habeat nullam; qui doctrina facile omnibus cedat, fide nemini; simplicem, apertum, liberum; simulandi et dissimulandi juxta ignarum; animo pusillo, sed integro; sermonis parci, eum denique a quo præter animum nihil expectes. Hujusmodi hominem si tu, Colete, potes amare, si tua familiaritate dignum judicas, ita Erasmum in tuo ære numerato, ut nihil æque tuum existimes. Anglia vero tua mihi quam multis nominibus, tum hoc præcipue nomine jucundissima est, quod iis rebus abundat, præter quas nihil mihi solet esse jucundum; hominibus bonarum literarum scientissimis, inter quos (nemine reclamante) facile te principem numero; qui quidem ea sis doctrina, ut nulla morum probitate commendatus, tamen omnibus admirandus esse debeas; ea vitæ sanctimonia, ut citra doctrinæ commendationem, nemini tamen non charus, colendus, venerandus haberi possis, &c.

far from exalting him in his own conceit, that he was rather mortified by them: for they only put him in mind what he ought to be. That for his part, he best knew his own failings; and therefore would presume to give a character of himself. “ You have “ in me,” says he, “ a man of little or no fortune, “ a stranger to ambition, a mighty well-wisher to “ love and friendship; a sort of novice in learning, “ but yet a great admirer thereof. One who has a “ profound veneration for any excellence in others, “ as conscious of the want of it in himself; who can “ easily yield to any one in learning, to none in in- “ tegrity; a man sincere, open, free, a hater of fals- “ hood and dissimulation; of a mind lowly and up- “ right, from whom nothing is to be expected besides “ an honest heart. If, my dear Colet, you can love “ such a man, and think him worthy of your friend- “ ship, you may account me your own as effectually “ as any thing you can call your own. Your coun- “ try of England is most pleasant to me upon many “ accounts, but especially on this; that it abounds “ with those blessings, without which nothing would “ relish with me, men of admirable learning, among “ whom no mortal will grudge that I reckon you the “ chief,” &c.

After which he commends the style of his letters, as easy, smooth, unaffected, flowing from a rich vein, as waters from a clear fountain-head; even, and in every part like itself, open, plain, modest, having nothing in it rugged, or rattling, or turbid; so that he could see the image of his soul in his letters⁹.

⁹ — Quid ego nunc dicam, placidus, sedatus, inaffectedus; vir optime, quantum me affecerit, delectaritque stylus ille tuus fontis limpidissimi in morem, editissimo pectore scatens; æ-

And then he thus concludes : “ You speak whatever
 “ you mean, and mean all you speak : words arise
 “ from your heart, rather than your lips ; they fol-
 “ low your conception, not your conception them.
 “ In short, you have that happy facility, that you
 “ can deliver without pains, what another could
 “ hardly express with the greatest labour. But to
 “ yourself I refrain from your praises, that I may
 “ not offend against decency ; knowing how un-
 “ willing they are to be praised, who deserve the
 “ greatest praises. Farewell. Oxford, 1498^r.”

This foundation of friendship laid in writing, ended in the strictest intimacy imaginable ; which continued to the end of their lives. Nor can we conceive, that the high character given to Colet in the preceding letter could proceed from any thing but the greatest esteem of him, either from what he had heard of him abroad, or from father Charnock’s character of him there. Erasmus was under no temptation to flatter him ; nor do we find that he was inclined to this piece of servility to any person whatever. He was quite the reverse of such a character ; too open and free in his speaking, which often caused him more trouble and uneasiness than otherwise probably he would have met with.

qualis sui undique similis, apertus, simplex, modestiæ plenus ; nihil unquam habens scabri, contorti, conturbati ; ut mihi plane visus sim animi tui simulacrum quoddam tuis in literis agnovisse !

^r — Loqueris quæ vis ; vis quæ loqueris. Verba in pectore nata, non faucibus, sententiam sponte sequuntur ; non illa

voces sequitur. Denique felici quadam facilitate, ea sine cura effundis, quæ vix alius summo studio possit exprimere. Sed temperabo a laudibus tuis apud te duntaxat, ne recentem tuam in me benevolentiam offendam : scio quam nolint laudari ii, qui soli laudem merentur omnium. Bene vale. Oxoniæ, 1498. [Eras. Ep. p. 255.]

These two friends being now happy in each other's acquaintance, were not wanting to improve it to the mutual benefit of one another, particularly at a public dinner in the university, after a Latin sermon; where the table-talk was scholastical and theological, master Colet sitting as moderator. Among other discourse Colet said, "that Cain's greatest offence, and " the most odious in God's sight, was his distrusting " the bounty of our great Creator, and placing too " much confidence in his own art and industry; and " so tilling the ground, while his brother Abel, content with the natural productions of the earth, " was only feeding sheep^s." Upon this argument

^s Quam vellem nuper, ut expectaram, ita nostro illi convivio interfuisses; vero, inquam, convivio, non symposio. Mihi quidem omnino nullum unquam fuit suavius, lautius, mellitius: deerat nihil. Belli, ut inquit ille, homunculi, tempus lectum, locus lectus, apparatus non neglectus: iis lautitiis, ut vel Epicurum ipsum; iis sermonibus conditum erat, ut vel Pythagoram delectare potuerit. Homunculi non belli solum, verum etiam bellissimi: et ejusmodi qui academiam possent facere, non modo convivium. Quinam, inquires? Accipe, quo magis te doleas abfuisse. Primum Richardus Prior, ille charitum antistes; tum theologus is, qui eodem die Latinam habuerat concionem, vir tum modestus, tum eruditus; deinde Philippus ille tuus, homo lepidissimæ festivitatis. Præsidebat Coletus, veteris illius theologiæ vindex atque assertor. Accumbebat dextro prior, homo (ita

me Deus amet) non minus mirabili mixtura, ex omnium literarum generibus omnibus, quam ex summa humanitate, summaque item integritate conflatus: ad lævam recentior ille theologus; cui nos quidem lævum latus clausimus, ne poeta convivio deesset; ex adverso Philippus, ne non adesset jurisperitus: accumbit deinceps mixtum, et sine nomine vulgus. His ordinibus ita digestis, statim bellum oritur inter pocula; non tamen ex poculis, neque poculentum. Cum variis de rebus parum conveniebat, tum de hac pugna erat acerrima: dicebat Coletus, "Cayn ea primum " culpa Deum offendisse, quod " tanquam Conditoris benignitati diffusus, suæque nimium " confusus industriæ, terram primum proscederit; quum Abel, " sponte nascentibus contentus, " oves paverit." Contra nos pro se quisque niti; theologus ille syllogismis, ego rhetoriis. Ne Hercules quidem contra duos,

the whole company engaged; the divine arguing by strict syllogisms, while Erasmus opposed in a more loose and rhetorical manner: "but in truth," saith Erasmus, "this one divine, (Master Colet,) was more than a match for us all. He seemed to be filled with a divine spirit, and to be somewhat above a man: he spoke not only with his voice, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole demeanour." When the disputation grew too long, and was too grave and severe for such a cheerful entertainment, Erasmus broke it off, by telling an old story of Cain, from a pretended ancient author, though purely of his own invention upon the spot; and so they parted friends. Erasmus, the same year, gives this account of the result of that meeting, to one who was invited to it, Johannes Sixtinus, a learned Phrygian, who then studied in the university of Oxford, and was afterwards incorporated Dr. of Laws, in the year 1510.

Mr. Colet, as he was ambitious of contracting acquaintance with any person of note for virtue or learning, so he obliged Erasmus in bringing him to the acquaintance of his fellow-citizen, Mr. More; of whom he was used to say, that he was the only wit in the island^t. And as to Mr. More's opinion

aiunt Græci. At ille unus vincebat omnes. Visus est sacro quodam furore debacchari, ac nescio quid homine sublimius augustiusque præ se ferre. Aliud sonabat vox; aliud tuebantur oculi, alius vultus, alius aspectus, majorque videri afflatus est numine quando. Tandem quum et longius processisset disputatio, et esset quam ut

convivio conveniret, gravior atque severior, tum ego meis, hoc est poetæ, partibus functurus, ut et eam contentionem discuterem, et festiviore fabella prandium exhilararem; res, inquam, perantiqua est, et ex vetustissimis auctoribus repetenda, &c. [Eras. Ep. Joanni Sixtino. ed. Bas. 1521. p. 252.]

^t Johannes Coletus, vir acris

of Colet, it was so great and lasting, that after he was preferred to the deanery of St. Paul's and himself at Lincoln's-inn, he constantly attended on his excellent lectures; of which more fully in another place.

Erasmus (who made up one of the happy triumvirate) was so well pleased with the air and conversation of Oxford, that, like many other students, he staid till he had spent all his money, and was indebted for his commons. Upon this exigence, he writ to the lord Mountjoy, to send him that little money he had in his hands, that he might be just to father Charnock, who had treated him with all possible civility and bounty^u.

In this letter, dated from Oxford in 1498, he remembers the humanity of Colet, as well as of the prior Charnock, and says, that nothing can be more sweet, lovely, and charming, than the temper and conversation of these two men: he could live even in Scythia, or any the remotest part of the world, with two such agreeable friends and companions^v.

Towards the end of the same year, Erasmus, ex-

exactique judicii, in familiaribus colloquiis subinde dicere solet, "Britanniæ non nisi unicum esse ingenium," cum hæc insula tot egregiis ingeniis floreat. [Eras. Ep. Uld. Hutteno de Vita Mori.]

^u — Pecunias meas, annulo tuo diligenter obsignatas, mitte. Priori jam sum multis nominibus obærat. Ministrat ille quidem tui benigne, tui prompte. Verum quando ille humanissimi hominis officio functus est, par est nos invicem gratorum hominum munere fungi; et quam

ille libenter dedit, tam nos libenter reddere. Ut rara supellectile, ita bonis amicis parcus utendum esse censeo. [Eras. Ep. Gul. Montjoio.]

^v — Dici non potest, quam mihi dulcescat Anglia tua; idque partim consuetudine, quæ omnia dura lenire solet; partim Coleti, Charnocique prioris humanitate, quorum moribus nihil fingi potest suavius, mellitius, amabilius: cum his duobus amicis, ego vel in extrema Scythia vivere non recusem. [Ib.]

tremely well pleased with his enjoyments at Oxford, being supplied with money, returned to London, to wait upon his pupil, the lord Mountjoy; and to gain and cultivate a better acquaintance with the men of studies and travels, who at that season of the year resorted to the court and city.

The next summer (if his epistles were right dated) he seems to have made a second visit to the university of Oxford, in attendance upon his scholar the lord Mountjoy; who left his young lady for a while, to go down and study at Oxford, under the direction of his old master. From thence Erasmus often wrote to his friend Mr. Tho. More of Lincoln's-inn; and wished he would put the men of letters, who were then in London, in mind of writing to him, that he might enlarge and fill up the number of learned friends, and maintain an useful correspondence with them. And it seems to have been at this time that Erasmus, and his admired friend Master Colet, held first their learned conferences upon our blessed Saviour's reluctances and fears before his last passion; the substance of which Erasmus put afterwards into writing^w.

Mr. Colet did by no means approve of the common opinion of divines, that our Saviour, upon a prospect of his agonies, did in his human nature shrink from them; and as true man, was afraid of the cross, and would have declined his sufferings on it: and that from the natural desire of escaping the trial and cruel torments, he let fall that expression,

^w Des. Erasmi Rot. disputati-
uncula de tædio, pavore, tris-
titia Jesu, instante supplicio cru-
cis, deque verbis quibus visus

est mortem deprecari, *Pater, si
feri potest, transeat a me calix
iste.*

as it were, of human weakness; *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.* He thought this avoidance of the shame and punishment was unworthy of our Saviour's ardent desire of mankind's redemption. He would rather have the signs of reluctance to be only a way of recommending his resolution to bear all for the sake of souls, and giving the better trial of his obedience and fortitude; that within the view of his cross, and bitter agonies upon it, it might the better become him to say, *Nevertheless, not my will, but thine, O Lord, be done:* and for this sense of the scripture, he cited St. Jerome, &c.

The other opinion, that of the schoolmen, was maintained by Erasmus, who thought it did not derogate from our Saviour's patience or love of souls, to suppose, that as he was become man, he would be subject to human infirmities, and exert that nature by flying from pain, and earnestly deprecating a deliverance from it, &c.

As Erasmus has himself stated the arguments on both sides ^x, it is plain that Colet had the advantage

^x Heri, quum in pomeridiana conflictatiuncula nostra, Colete, multa quidem abs te tam acute, tam graviter dicerentur, nec tuam mihi sententiam satis probares; a qua tamen dissentire magis poteram, quam refellere; mihi que viderer non tam causa esse inferior, quam facundia, contentionem tu quidem in præsentia, pro tua modestia, remittebas: verum digredientem, ut rem mecum attentius, amussatiusque perpenderem, orabas, negans te dubitare quin si ita facerem, illico pedibus in tuam

iturus essem sententiam. Ac meo quidem iudicio faciebas prudenter. Sciebas enim (ut graviter dixit Mimus ille nobilis) nimium altercando nunquam amitti veritatem; præsertim si disputatio peragatur his testibus, apud quos doctrinæ nostræ opinionem periclitari credamus. Aderat autem Richardus Charnocus præsul, vetustissimus amicus tibi, mihi recens hospes; sed utriusque nostrum pene ex æquo tum amans, tum admirans. Itaque monitis tuis, mi Colete, libenter

of the best meaning and of the greatest courage, in departing from the common sentiments of the schools and the church, in that credulous age: and it is further evident, that in this controversy those two friends were an example of fair disputants; their contention being for what each of them thought the truth, without the least upbraiding or exposing one another. And Erasmus concludes his epistle concerning this dispute in the most friendly and respectful manner^y. He calls himself a rash fellow for presuming, and a raw soldier for entering the lists with such an experienced general as Colet: he ought to have remembered, that a rhetorician (as Colet loved to call him) was no match for a divine, especially one who had brought out of Italy the most elegant and ancient learning, the treasure of both languages Greek and Latin, &c. And therefore he might well be afraid of receiving any answer from Mr. Colet upon this subject, lest he should not be able to bear the weight and force of it. Mr. Colet

sum obsecutus; remque totam mecum animo repetens, paulo sum fixius pressiusque contemplatus, deposito omni studio, rationes utriusque componens atque expendens, imo permutatione facta, ut tuis perinde ac meis faverem, et meas non minus acriter quam si tuæ fuissent, excuterem. Experiar igitur si possim pugnam illam universam literis repræsentare.

^y — Sed O me temerarium, qui vix dum tyrunculus tanto cum imperatore audeam congressi, præsertim homo, ut tu vocas, rhetoricus, in re tam theologica, hoc est, in arena non mea. Verum nihil non au-

dendum mihi putavi apud te, qui quidem elegantiores vetustioresque omnem cruditionem ita scite calleas, tantas utriusque linguæ opes ex Italia deportaris, ut isthoc uno nomine Coletum vix dum satis agnoscant theologî. — Sed jam tuam illam ferratam aciem, Nestoreaque instructam arte, expecto. Expecto classicum illud ingens. Expecto tela illa Coletica, vel Herculanis certiora; interin et ipse vires ingenii explicabo, contraham copias, librorum auxilia comparabo, ne primam tuam impressionem sustinere non queam.

had likewise proposed to Erasmus some doubts and queries about several darker passages in the epistles of St. Paul, which Colet understood in a sense different from the common acceptation of the church. "These matters," saith Erasmus, "since it is dangerous to dispute openly of them, I had rather reserve them to our private conversation; as fitter for word of mouth than writing. Farewel, Colet, thou best of men, the ornament of this university, and my singular delight and pleasure. At Oxford^z."

To this letter, master Colet made a very agreeable answer, telling him, that his epistle, as it was of a good length, so it was the more affecting and pleasant to him: he saw in it a very tenacious memory, and a very faithful recapitulation of what had passed between them: he found in it likewise a style worthy a philosopher, apt, just, significant; setting things in a true light, and even sweetening them as much as the severe subject would allow: so that the more he read it over, the more he was instructed and delighted by it "But," says he, "though it be full of forcible arguments and of authorities that are powerful in their weight, as well as in their number; yet they can never wrest from me, or any way diminish, that opinion which I have deeply imbibed from St. Jerome. Not that I would be obstinate and hardened in any inveterate error; but because I verily think, that I follow and defend that opinion which is true, or most like the

^z — De reliquis, quæ proponas ex epistolis Paulinis, quoniam sunt periculosa disputatu, malo coram, in nostris

illis δειλινοῦς περιπάτοις, voce quam literis agitare. Vale, decus hujus scholæ, et mea voluptas, Colete optime. Oxoniæ.

“ truth. In the mean time hear with patience : and
 “ when, like two flints, we are striking one another,
 “ if any spark of light flies out, let us eagerly catch
 “ at it : we seek not for our own opinion, but for
 “ the truth ; which in this mutual conflict may per-
 “ haps be extorted, as fire out of steel^a.”

The answer to the arguments of Erasmus follows in such a manner as might be expected from a gentleman of sense and good nature. First he confutes a notion of Erasmus, held by many others, that the holy scriptures were so full and abounding, that they might contain several senses in the same words and expressions. “ Not,” says he, “ that I deny the ful-
 “ ness of the scriptures : no, I admire the exuberant
 “ fruitfulness and plenitude of them. But I think it
 “ becomes a fruitful womb to have its birth of one
 “ kind, full and perfect ; not of various kinds, loose
 “ and undetermined in the nature of them^b.”

^a Tua epistola, eruditissime Erasme, ut est bene longa, ita est eadem vel multo magis certe et disertissima, et jucundissima. In ea vidi memoriam tenacem, et nostræ altercationis fidelem recensionem : in ea acumen istud tuum, quo vis tam facile penetrans, quam feliciter : in eadem etiam stilum philosopho dignum, aptum, verum, significantem, educentem in lucem res ipsas, et easdem, quatenus materiæ acrimonia patitur dulcorantem. Itaque et docuit me tua epistola lectitantem valde et delectavit. Tamen quanquam et argumentis impetuosa est, et postea exemplis potentibus, certe tam pondere, quam numero violenta ; tamen meam

mihî opinionem, quam ex Hieronymo alte imbibi, nihil adhuc nec extorquet, nec diminuit. Non quod sumus protervi nos, et improba pertinacia indurati : sed quod (haud scio an recte) tamen quod vel verum, vel quod verisimilius est, nos sequi et tneri arbitramur. Tu interea patienter audi ; ac nos ambo, collidentibus inter se silicibus, si quis ignis excutiat, eum avide apprehendamus ; veritatem enim quærimus, non opinionis offensionem ; quæ forsai, argumento argumentum recutiente, ut ignis ex ferro, a ferro percusso elucebit.

^b—Primum quidem non possum assentire tibi cum multis aliis id dicenti, et meo iudicio er-

After this, he was going on to answer his arguments in order. "But," says he, "other business calls me now away, and I must abruptly end this letter. Consider in the mean while how to defend your cause; for I shall certainly attack you in my next letter, till then farewell^c."

Mr. Colet kept his word, and sent a confutation of all the foregoing arguments of Erasmus: but it seems the remaining papers were lost or stolen away^d.

While Erasmus made some stay at Oxford, the occasions of master Colet called him to some other part of England: but whatever was the distance, those two friends kept a constant correspondence, and Colet used to send his own servant to carry and bring back the letters that passed between them.

In one of them^e master Colet had kindly reproved

ranti, sacras literas, saltem uno aliquo in genere, suapte fecunditate plures sensus parere. Non quod nolim ipsas quam fecundissimas esse, quarum exuberantem fecunditatem plenitudinemque unice admiror: sed quod opiner, fecunditatis esse ipsius non parturire plura, sed unum aliquod, et ipsum verissimum.

^c — Nunc ex proposito descendendum esset in campum, et cum tuis argumentis confligendum. Sed alia me avocant; ut nunc cogar huic epistolæ finem ponere. Quapropter causam nostram tecum, et cum ista instructa acie argumentorum, dimicationem in alia epistola expecta. Vale interea.

^d — Bis ad hæc respondit Coletus; toties rursus Eras-

mus: verum ea non quibant haberi, cum hæc imprimerentur. [Ep. edit. Argentorati anno 1515. 4to.]

^e Quam lætabar antea vel falso laudari a viro omnium laudatissimo, tam nunc admoneri gaudeo ab amico sincerissimo. Igitur posthac pro tuo arbitratu tuum Erasmus vel laudato, vel objurgato, modo quotidie literarum tuarum aliquid huc advolet; qua re nihil possit accidere jucundius. Quod neotericum theologorum genus, qui meris argutiis et sophisticis cavillationibus insenescent, tibi negas placere; ne tu mecum vehementer, mi Colete, sentis. Non quod illorum studia damnem, qui nullum omnino studium non laudo; sed cum sola sunt ista, nec ullis antiquioribus

Erasmus for some fault and omission in him : which though not mentioned by Erasmus, yet we find how well it worked with him ; and that he thought these kind monitions were rather an establishment than a breach of friendship, and without which plain dealing it was impossible it should subsist long. Then he freely expressed his great dislike of that new theology, which was unhappily brought into the church by the modern schoolmen, and was in effect nothing but the art of trifling and wrangling : telling him that he had set himself against those scholastical divines ; and would, if possible, restore the theological studies that were founded upon the scriptures and the primitive fathers. That it was upon this view he had publicly in Oxford expounded the epistles of St. Paul ; and should be glad of a partner in that labour of searching the scriptures. And he earnestly pressed Erasmus to join with him, and to undertake a like public exposition of some part of the Old Testament, (while he himself was employed in the New,) either a book of Moses, or the eloquent Isaiah, that he might so warm the minds and affections of the students in those cold winter months that were now coming on ^f.

This excellent letter of Mr. Colet is lost : but the

elegantioribusque condita literis, ejusmodi mihi videntur, ut sciolum et contentiosum hominem reddere possint ; sapientem an possint, viderint alii. Quo cum hominum genere inexpugnabili quum tu, Colete, dimicationem susceperis, ut veterem illam ac veram theologiam, istorum spinis obsitam implexamque tu pristinum nitorem ac dignitatem pro tua virili resti-

tuas ; provinciam (ita me Deus amet) sumpsisti multis modis pulcherrimam, ipsius theologiæ nomine piissimam, &c.

^f— Hortaris enim, imo pene convicio eflagitas, ut quemadmodum tu Paulum, itidem ego vel priscum illum Mosen, vel facundum Esaiam enarrans, hibernis his mensibus frigentia (uti scribis) hujus gymnasii studia coner accendere.

answer of Erasmus shews the contents of it. Wherein, among the excuses made for not complying with the advice of it^g, the best excuse of Erasmus was, that he must soon return to Paris. In the mean time, while he was detained in England, partly by the winter season, and partly by an embargo laid on shipping, upon the flight of a certain commander, [*i. e.* an escape out of the Tower, made by the pretender Perkin Warbeck,] he had retired for a few months to that famous university, to converse with scholars and divines, rather than with courtiers. He would have Colet go on with his laudable endeavours of reforming the studies of divinity, and says: “As soon as I am conscious to myself of strength and ability sufficient, I will readily come in to your assistance; and be diligent at least, if not useful, in that excellent work. In the mean time, nothing can be a greater pleasure, than either in discourse, or by letter, to inquire into the sense and right meaning of the holy scriptures. Farewell, my

^g — Ego vero, qui mecum habitare didici, nec ignoro quam sit mihi curta supellex, neque doctrinæ tantum arrogo, quæ tantis obeundis rebus sufficiat; neque tantum animi robur mihi reor adesse, ut tot hominum sua fortiter tuentium invidiam queam sustinere. Quod si maxime par sim, ne liceat quidem: nam mox Lutetiam relictam repeto; interim, dum me partim hyems hic alligat, partim recens cujusdam ducis fuga non sinit exire, tuto in hanc laudatissimam academiam me contuli, ut unum aut alterum mensem, cum tui similibus potius, quam cum torquatis istis aulicis

agerem. Cæterum ubi mihi conscius ero, adesse robur et vires justas, accedam et ipse tuis partibus, et in asserenda theologia, si non egregiam, certe sedulam operam navabo; interim nihil mihi possit esse dulcius, quam (ita ut cœpimus) quotidie vel coram, vel per epistolas, de sacris literis inter nos confictari. Vale, mi Colete. Humanissimus præsul, Richardus Charnocus, hospes meus, communis mihi tecum amicus, jussit tibi suis verbis multam salutem adscribi. Oxoniæ, e collegio canonicorum ordinis divi Augustini, quod vulgo dicitur S. Mariæ.

“ Colet. The most courteous prelate, [all heads of “ religious houses were so called,] Richard Char-
 “ nock, my host, and our common friend, bids me
 “ give you his wishes of health and happiness. Ox-
 “ ford: from the convent of canons of the order of
 “ St. Augustine, commonly called St. Mary’s.” Thus
 ends the epistle which is prefixed to the first im-
 pression of the dispute, *De Tædio et Pavore Christi*;
 though it seems to have no relation to it, but to have
 been upon some other subject.

In this epistolary intercourse, Colet and Erasmus,
 like true Christians and divines, consulted and in-
 structed one another. And their conversation, while
 together in England, was to promote their mutual
 studies and endeavours for the public good: which
 they continued to do many years after this: for when
 Erasmus was here preparing his immortal work, the
 New Testament in its original, and a new Latin
 version, he was very much assisted by Dr. Colet;
 who lent him two very authentic Latin copies^h, of
 so great antiquity, that he was at first a stranger to
 the literature of them, and was forced to learn their
 alphabet, that he might understand themⁱ.

^h The two first Gospels were copied out of them by Peter Meghen, a rare scribe with one eye, born at Brabant in Flanders. He was kept by Dr. Colet, in the dean’s house at Paul’s: and his most fair transcript is now kept in the public library at Cambridge. [Smith’s Life of Colet. 1662.] Habui duos codices vetustissimos ex bibliotheca collegii quod est Londini sacrum divo Paulo, ex his quam multa restitui. [Eras. Apolog.

adv. Sutorem. Op. tom. ix. p. 613.]

ⁱ Testamentum quod vocant Novum, omni qua licuit diligentia, quaque decuit fide, recognovimus; idque primum ad Græcam veritatem: ad quam, seu fontem, si quid inciderit, confugere, non solum illustrium theologorum exempla suadent; verum etiam toties monent Hieronymus et Augustinus, et ipsa Romanorum pontificum decreta jubent: deinde ad fidem

After the departure of Erasmus, master Colet had still his common residence at Oxford, where he went on with his useful exposition of the apostolical epistles; and did it in such a clear affectionate way, that he gained much upon his audience.

At this time it was a new thing to have any readings upon the scriptures, even in that place where a public divinity lecture was founded by king Edward IV^k. And though theological disputations were frequently had in many houses, (especially of the religious,) yet the scholastical divinity, (which then generally prevailed,) did very little concern itself with scripture. Their readings were ushered in with a text, or rather a sentence of Scotus and Aquinas: and the explication was not trying it by the word of God; but by the voice of other scholastic interpreters, and the intricate turns of what they called logic; which was then nothing but the art of corrupting human reason and the Christian faith. It may be noted here, that the use and study of the scriptures was so low at that time, and even in this university of Oxford, that the being admitted a bachelor of divinity, gave only liberty to read the Master of the Sentences, [Pet. Lombard,] and the highest degree of doctor of divinity did not admit a man to the reading of the scriptures: which made Mr. Colet so careless as to those degrees; who would not take them several years after he was capable of

vetustissimorum Latinæ linguæ codicum, quorum duos exhibuit eximius ille divinæ philosophiæ mystes, Johannes Coletus, Paulinæ apud Londinum ecclesiæ decanus; adeo priscais literarum typis, ut mihi ab integro dis-

cenda lectio, et in noscendis elementis fuerit repuerascendum. [Erasmus lectori, in Annot. N.T.]

^k Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. lib. xi. p. 32.

them, till at last (by the importunity of his friends) we find him doctor of divinity in the year 1504, (as Mr. Wood says,) a degree very becoming one who had such preferments as he then enjoyed; and greater he was designed for; though his thoughts were so much engaged, that he could hardly attend to any thing else but the destruction of that idol of ignorance, the cobweb divinity of the schools, and to exalt the scriptures and Jesus Christ in its room; which was all the honour he sought.

He had observed these schoolmen to be a heavy set of formal fellows, that might pretend to any thing rather than to wit and sense: for to argue so elaborately about the opinions and the very words of other men, to snarl in perpetual objections, and to distinguish and divide into a thousand niceties; this was rather the work of a poor and barren invention than any thing else¹.

It all along appears that Colet was a great despiser of the Scotists; and even sometimes an abhorrer of them: chiefly because they would be divines, without so much as reading the scriptures; as Erasmus observed with some indignation^m. And that he thought them as bad as even Colet himself did, is very plain from an epistle he wrote to one of his pupils, (Mr. Grey,) wherein he sets them out in their

¹ Scotistas, quibus hominum vulgus ceu peculiare tribuit acumen, [Coletus] aiebat sibi videri stupidos, et hebetes, et quidvis potius quam ingeniosos: nam argutari circa alienas sententias, ac verba, nunc hoc arrodere, nunc illud, et omnia minutatim dissecare, ingenii esse sterilis et inopis. [Eras. Jod. Jon. ed. Bas. p. 176.]

^m — Audivi ego nonnullos, qui sibi usque adeo humanis illis commentatiumculis placebant, ut veterum interpretamenta pene pro somniis contemnerent; tantumque illis fiducia Scotus faciebat, ut ne lectis unquam sacris literis, se tamen absolutos theologos putarent. [Erasmi Enchiridion. Op. tom. v. p. 8.]

proper colours. He had at Oxford (sometime before) conversed much with them, and now at Paris he was so much in their company, that it might (as he writes) be thought he had almost commenced one of them; “a sleepy surly fellow, of a frowning countenance, heavy eyes; a sort of walking ghost, and perfectly another man. The mysteries of their profound science, they affirm, cannot be attained by any one who holds a correspondence with the muses or graces. Their followers must unlearn all good letters, and cast up whatever they have drunk upon the banks of Helicon. I will endeavour,” says he, “to talk no pure Latin, to say nothing smooth or smart, and by degrees I may be fit to be owned by them, &c. Yet I would not have you think that I say any thing against the profession of divinity, (which I entirely love and honour,) but only against the mongrel divines of the present generation; a sort of wretched creatures, whose brains are rotten, their language barbarous, their apprehension dull and stupid, their knowledge abstruse and knotty, their manners very rough, their lives a mere scene of hypocrisy, their speech virulent, and their hearts as black as hell. Farewell. Paris, 1499ⁿ.”

ⁿ — Rem oppido quam prodigiosam audies, sed veram. Ego, ille vetus theologus, nuper Scotista esse cœpi. Quam rem ut superi bene vertant, tu quoque debes apprecari, si mihi faves. Contrerranei tui somniis (nam Scotum, ut olim fuit Homerus, a diversis regionibus certatim adoptatum, Angli potissimum sibi vendicant)

adeo sumus immersi, ut vix ad Stentoris vocem videamur expectecturi. Quid si videres Erasmus inter sacros illos Scotistas κεχρηότα, sedentem, e sublimi solio prælegente Gryllardo? Si cerneres frontem contractam, oculos stupentes, vultum sollicitum? alterum esse diceres. Negant hujus discipline mysteria percipi posse ab

This mean opinion of Scotus, and his rigid disciples, Erasmus had borrowed chiefly from the good judgment of master Colet; who despised those schoolmen while they were in the greatest vogue with the common people: and even the most celebrated Aquinas was not more favoured by him than the rest. “When I,” says Erasmus, “once took occasion to commend Thomas Aquinas, as not contemptible among the later schoolmen, because he seemed to have studied the scriptures, and to have consulted the primitive writers, &c. he held his tongue, and seemed purposely to take no notice of it. But when afterwards, in another discourse with him, I said somewhat more in praise of Aquinas, he looked wistly upon me, to observe whether I spoke in jest or earnest: and taking me to be in earnest, he raised himself into some warmth, and said; Why are you so fond of commending that schoolman, who, without a great deal of arrogance, could never have reduced all things into such positive and dogmatical definitions; and without too much of a worldly spirit, he could never have so much corrupted and defiled the pure doctrine of the gospel with his mixture of profane

eo, cui quicquam omnino commercii sit cum Musis, aut cum Gratiis. Dediscendum est, si quid bonarum literarum attigeris; revomendum, si quid haueris ex Helicone. Aditor pro virili, ne quid Latine dicam, ne quid venuste, aut salse: et videtur res procedere; spes est fore, ut Erasmus agnoscant aliquando, &c. Verum ne quid erres, mellitissime Greie; nolum hæc interpreteris in ipsam

dicta theologiam, quam, ut scis, unice semper colui: sed in nostræ tempestatis theologastros quosdam joculari libuit, quorum cerebellis nihil putidius, lingua nihil barbarius, ingenio nihil stupidius, doctrina nihil spinosius, moribus nihil asperius, vita nihil fucatus, oratione nihil virulentius, pectore nihil nigrius. Bene vale. Lutetiæ, anno 1499. [Erasmii Ep. ed. Bas. p. 311.]

“ philosophy ? I admired this freedom of Colet in
 “ censuring the head and father of the Thomists :
 “ and it made me look a little more narrowly into
 “ the writings of that celebrated schoolman ; which
 “ when I had done, it abated very much of my for-
 “ mer esteem for him °.”

That Mr. Colet by his own strength of judgment, and Erasmus by his example, should have, in those dark days of ignorance and superstition, such sense and courage as to despise the schoolmen on both sides ; this was a good sign and token of their soon opening a way for the reformation. For indeed those scholastical divines, on both sides of the church of Rome, had made themselves the pillars and buttresses of it ; and when they were pulled away, the mighty fabric could not but appear weak and ready to fall.

Erasmus tells his friend Colet, in another epistle, (from Cambridge,) that he was forced to fight for him with the Thomists and Scotists of that place ^P: being the more angry with those fellows, for hinder-

° — Thomæ tamen, nescio quâ de causa, iniquior erat quam Scoto. Etenim cum hunc apud illum aliquando laudarem, ut inter recentiores non aspernandum, quod et sacras literas, et autores veteres videretur evolvisse (cujus rei suspicionem mihi fecerat catena quæ vocatur aurea) et aliquid haberet in scriptis affectuum, semel atque iterum dissimulavit obticescens. Verum ubi rursus, in alio colloquio, inculcarem eadem vehementius, obtuitus est me, velut observans serio ne hæc dicerem, an *εἰρωνεύων*, cum animadverteret me ex animo loqui, tanquam afflatus spiritu quodam.

Quid tu, inquit, mihi prædicas istum, qui nisi habuisset multum arrogantiae, non tanta temeritate, tantoque supercilio definisset omnia ; et nisi habuisset aliquid spiritus mundani, non ita totam Christi doctrinam sua prophana philosophia contaminasset. Admiratus sum hominis *ἐθνοσιτισμῶν*, cœpique diligentius ejus viri scripta evolvere. Quid verbis opus est ? omnino decessit aliquid meæ de illo æstimationi. [Eras. Ep. Jod. Jon. ed. Bas. p. 576.]

^P — Est mihi nonnunquam dimicatio pro te cum his Thomistis et Scotistis ; sed de his coram. [Erasmii Epist.]

ing the progress of learning; especially of the Greek language, at that time making its way into the world: which they were so mad at, that they could not forbear flying out against it even in their pulpits^q; and endeavoured to run it down, under the notion of heresy, as hath been before hinted^r.

But for all the good precautions of great and wise men, polite learning and the true use of the learned languages made slow advances in the world. And this calls to mind a pleasant passage of one of the clan before spoken of.

Though the knowledge of the Greek tongue was at this time very low, yet there was a comment on Aristotle ventured upon for the sake of the schoolmen; wherein, (as ill-luck would have it,) by the mistake (or rather ignorance) of the commentator, instead of ψυχὴ ἐστὶν ἄυλος, *anima est immaterialis*, was read ψυχὴ ἐστὶν ἀυλὸς and so it was rendered *anima est tibia*, instead of *immaterialis*. This put the good man's brains, while reading upon that author, on the tenters to clear his text: but at last he thought he had done notably, when he brought no less than fifteen reasons (such as they were) to prove that odd assertion, that the soul was a pipe, which Aristotle never so much as dreamt of.

This was the case with all of them, as to their

^q — Peccant qui odiose vociferantur in hactenus recepta studia, licet infantia: sed gravius peccant, qui conscenso suggesto, unde solet audiri tuba evangelica, Christi gloriam personans, seditiose clamitant; ardeteliberos vestros a Græcis literis, hinc nascuntur hæreses; ne tangite libros illius et illius (neque enim a nominibus tempe-

rant) qui corrigit precationem dominicam, qui castigat canticum Magnificat, qui emendat evangelium S. Johannis. Adeste præfecti, succurrite cives, tantam pestem arcete rebus humanis. [Eras. Epist. ad Laur. Campag. Card. præfixa Paraph. in ep. ad Ephes.]

^r Page 13.

ignorance in the Greek tongue. But yet they hugged themselves under this venerable mantle, and proclaimed every one an heretic, who understood that tongue; especially if he made use of his skill in translating or criticising upon the New Testament. And this aversion to good literature remained all the reign of Henry VII. and the beginning of Henry VIII. About which time, even at Oxford, a preacher de-claimed openly at St. Mary's against the pernicious innovation of the Greek tongue; and raised such a ferment about it among the students, that the king, then at Woodstock, (having had the matter rightly stated to him by Mr. Thomas More and Richard Pace,) sent his royal letters to the university, to allow and commend that study among the young men^s.

It was not long after this, that a divine, preaching at court, presumed to rail plentifully at Greek learning, and new interpretations of the scripture. Dr. Pace cast his eyes upon the king, to observe how his majesty was affected with such stuff. The king smiled upon Pace by way of contempt of the preacher; and after sermon sent for him, and appointed a solemn disputation, wherein he himself would be present, to debate the matter between the

^s —Anglia duas habet academias, haudquaquam incelebres, Cantabrigiam et Oxoniam. In utraque traduntur Græcæ literæ: sed Cantabrigiæ tranquille, quod ejus scholæ princeps sit Johannes Fischerius, episcopus Roffensis, non eruditione tantum, sed et vita theologica. Verum Oxoniæ, cum juvenis quidam, non vulgariter doctus, satis feliciter Græca profiteretur; barbarus quispi-

am, in populari concione, magnis et atrocibus convitiis debacchari cœpit in Græcas literas. At rex, ut non indoctus ipse, ita bonis literis favens (qui tum forte in propinquo erat) re per Morum et Pacæum cognita, denunciavit, ut volentes ac lubentes Græcanicam literaturam amplecterentur. Ita rabulis illis impositum est silentium. [Eras. Ep. Pet. Mosellano, Lovan. 1519.]

preacher opposing, and Mr. Thomas More defending the use of the Greek tongue. When the time came, Mr. More began an eloquent apology in favour of that ancient language. The divine, instead of answering to the purpose, fell down upon his knees, and only begged pardon for giving any offence in the pulpit. And excusing himself, that what he did, was by the impulse of the Spirit: not the spirit of Christ, says the king, but the spirit of infatuation. His majesty then asked him, whether he had read any thing of Erasmus? He said, No. Why then, says the king, you are a very foolish fellow, to censure what you never read. I have read, says he, something they call *Moirā*. Yes, says Pace, may it please your highness, such a subject is fit for such a reader. At last the preacher, to bring himself the better off, declared, that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. The king, amazed at the ignorance of the man, dismissed him, with a charge that he should never again preach at court^t.

^t — Accipe et alteram, huic similem fabellam. Theologus quidam, cum in aula concionaretur apud eundem regem, cœpit in Græcas literas, et novos interpretes, non minus impudenter quam stolidè debacchari. Pacæus in regem coniecit oculos, observans quo vultu hæc audiret. Is mox Pacæo suaviter arrisit. Peracta concione, jussus est adesse theologus. Datum est Moro negotium, ut adversus hunc tueretur Græcas literas. Rex ei disputationi voluit interesse. Ubi Morus multa facundissime dixisset;

jamque theologi responsio expectaretur: is, flexis poplitibus, nihil aliud quam veniam deprecatus est: sic tamen extenuans admissum, ut diceret se inter concionandum Spiritu quodam afflatum, hoc in linguam Græcam effudisse. Tum rex, Atqui, inquit, spiritus iste non erat Christi, sed stultitiæ. Deinde rogat, num quid legisset Erasmicum; neque enim latuit regem, quod in me torserat quædam. Negat legisse. At isto, inquit, argumento, declaras te palam esse fatuum, qui damnes quod non legeris. Sub hæc

It ought to be looked upon as a singular providence, that king Henry VIII. was bred a scholar, and became a good judge in divinity; and likewise that some of his prime ministers were men of letters and languages: otherwise the court about this time might have been deluded by those old bigots, without ever seeing their hypocrisy and profound ignorance.

To dispute with those old theologues, was like fighting with beasts at Ephesus: and yet these were the monsters our Colet often engaged with; and did easily vanquish, though not convince. For they always looked upon him with a jealous eye; who, besides his love of Greek learning, had some other violent symptoms of heresy upon him: and his friend Erasmus owns, that he had much more heretical pravity in him, than he himself had.

Indeed Colet thought some usages in the church were intolerable, which Erasmus could more easily bear: but both agreed in the necessity of a reformation; for which all good and pious men could not but sigh out their wishes. And it is certain, that both these great men did jointly promote and forward it; not only in pulling down those strong holds of ignorance and corruption, the scholastical divinity, and routing entirely both the Scotists and Thomists, who had divided the Christian world be-

theologus: Legi, inquit, rem quandam, quæ vocatur Moria. Hic Pacæus interloquens, Hoc, ait, argumentum, serenissime rex, huic maxime congruit. Denique commentus est theologus et aliud entymema, quo leniret factum; Græcis, inquit, literis non perinde sum infensus,

quod originem habeant ex lingua Hebraica. Rex, admiratus insignem hominis stultitiam, jussit abire: sed hac lege, ne unquam rediret in aula concionaturus. [Eras. Ep. Pet. Mossellano, &c. edit. Bas. 1540. p. 241.]

tween them ; but also in discovering the shameful abuses of monasteries, and houses called religious, and the perils of imposing celibacy on the clergy : to which places Colet gave little or nothing while he lived, and left not a farthing when he died ; yet not so much disliking the orders themselves, as their way of living ^u.

These houses had by this time so far lost their reputation, that a new abbey or priory had not been founded for above thirty years ; and very few and slender benefactions had been made to any of the ancient foundations. It was in contempt and despite of them, that public charities began now to run in another channel, that of schools and colleges ; of which a greater number had been erected and endowed within that time, than for a hundred years before.

And it is certain, the restoration of languages, and the learning of the ancients, was now owing to a disrelish of the barbarous schoolmen, and a new taste of classic authors, old Greeks and Romans. But the students in Scotus and Aquinas had got such a rude style, and such an intricate way of puzzling the world, that they had much to unlearn before they could attain to any benefit in those politer studies. And this was not only the case in England, but in other countries. At Florence, the first academy of tongues and arts, we find the noble Jo. Picus Mirandula complaining of his blind and slavish way of education ; and his grievous loss of time, in

^u — Eisque aut nihil, aut quam minimum largiebatur ; ac ne moriens quidem aliquid illis decedit : non quod invisos ha-

beat ordines ; sed quod homines professioni suæ non responderent. [Eras. Jod. Jon.]

being so laboriously idle among the schoolmen: to no purpose, but to gain an ill habit of mind^x.

But to return to Colet. Notwithstanding the odium he had gained amongst the generality of the churchmen, and his freedom from ambition of any sort, unless to do good, and to be serviceable to the world; he was, without one single step of his own, made dean of St. Paul's^y, upon the promotion of Dr. Robert Sherburne to the see of St. David's; who^z had the temporalities delivered, 12. April, 1505, and the restitution of the spiritualities the 4th of May following^a.

This preferment that wise king, who (as Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter, remarks) loved to give unexpected and undesired favours, thought very proper for him, upon the account of his being a most emi-

^x — Expertus sum ego, cum semper alias, tum hac proxima tua ad me epistola; in qua dum barbaros hos philosophos insectaris, quos dicis haberi vulgo sordidos, rudes, incultos; quos nec vixisse viventes, nedum extincti vivant; et si nunc vivant, vivere in pœnam et contumeliam: ita Hercule sum commotus, ita me puduit piguitque studiorum meorum (jam enim sexennium apud illos versor) ut nihil minus me fecisse velim, quam in tam nihili facienda re tam laboriose contendisse. Perdiderim ego, inquam, apud Thomam, Johannem Scotum, apud Albertum, apud Averroem, meliores annos; tantas vigilias quibus potuerim in bonis literis fortasse nonnihil esse. Dat. Florentiæ, III. nonas Junias, MCCCCLXXXV. [Illustr. Virorum Ep. 1526: 4to.]

^y — Ab his sacris laboribus [i. e. Paulinis epistolis Oxoniæ enarratis] regis Henrici ejus nominis septimi favore, Londinum est revocatus, ac decanus apud divum Paulum factus, ut illius præesset collegio, cujus literas sic adamabat. Est autem ea dignitas ejus nominis apud Anglos prima, tametsi sunt aliæ proventu magis opimo. [Eras. Jod. Jon. id. Jun. 1521.]

^z Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xvi. p. 115.

^a After three years he was translated from St. David's to Chichester; where, having sat twenty-eight years, he died 21. August, 1536, aged ninety-six, and was buried in his cathedral church; which had been curiously beautified and adorned at his own charge.

ment divine and excellent preacher, and this the chief church in his capital city; as also his being a native of, and the son and heir of one who had been twice chief magistrate of that city.

Such an advancement of Colet did much rejoice all good men, who knew his fitness for so eminent a station: and his friend Erasmus was sure to take the first opportunity of letting him know how grateful to him the news was of his honours and preferments. For being at this time in the house of an Englishman at Paris, Mr. Christopher Fisher^b, a singular friend to Dr. Colet, and a special promoter of all sorts of good literature, was soon informed from the English court, of this intended disposal of the deanery of St. Paul's, and of the degree of doctor of divinity taken by Mr. Colet, in order to it: so he writes him a congratulatory letter^c; which be-

^b Soon after bishop of Elphin in Ireland, and prebendary of Hustwayl in the church of York; employed as the king's agent in the court of Rome, from whence he brought the pope's trifle, a golden rose, anno 1510.

^c Erasmus Joanni Coletto, S.P. Si vel amicitia nostra, doctissime Colete, vulgaribus causis coiisset, vel tui mores quicquam unquam vulgi sapuisse visi essent, vererer equidem nonnihil, ne ea tam longa tamque diuturna locorum ac temporum sejunctione, si non interisset, certe refrixisset. Nunc quoniam te mihi doctrinæ cujusdam singularis admiratio, amorque pietatis, me tibi spes fortasse nonnulla, vel opinio potius harum rerum conciliavit; non puto metuedum esse, quod vulgo videmus

accidere, ne ideo desierim esse in animo, quod absim ab oculis. Quod autem compluribus jam annis nihil a Coletto redditur litterarum, vel occupationes tuas, vel quod certum non scires ubi locorum agerem, denique quidvis potius in causa fuisse mihi persuaserim, quam oblivionem amici. Sed ut de silentio nec debeo, nec velim expostulare tecum, ita majorem in modum te oro obsecroque, ut posthac tantillum otii suffureris studiis negotiisque tuis, quo me nonnunquam literis tuis compelles. Miror nibildum tuarum commentationum in Paulum atque in evangelia prodiisse in lucem. Equidem non ignoro tuam modestiam; verum ista quoque tibi aliquando vincenda, et publicæ utilitatis respectu excutienda. De doctoris titulo, ac de-

gins with an apology for the long silence between them: supposing that a friendship first laid in the love of learning and religion, cannot easily be dissolved by any distance of time and place, nor by any casual intermission of correspondence; and being persuaded the reason, why he has had no letter for some years from Mr. Colet, was either his continual crowd of business, or his not knowing how to direct a letter, (or was indeed any thing rather than a forgetfulness of his old friend,) he would not now expostulate with him for his past silence; but would only adjure him, from henceforward, to steal now and then an hour from study and business to write to him. He wonders Colet had not yet published his commentaries on St. Paul's epistles, and on some of the four evangelists; knowing the reason of it to be his great modesty, which ought to yield and give place to the public good. And as to his doctor's degree, and the honour of a deanery, and some other distinguishing rewards of his virtue and merit; he could not so much congratulate his person, who would have nothing but the labour and the burden of them, as he did the world, which would have the benefit: and the honours themselves, which then seemed worthy of their name, when they fell upon a man of merit, without his own seeking.

To this judgment of Erasmus, which proceeded from one who knew him so intimately before his advancement, accords the account he gives of him af-

canatus honore, neque non aliis quibusdam ornamentis, quæ tuis virtutibus ultro delata esse audio, non tam tibi gratulor, quem, certo scio, nihil inde sibi præter laborem vendicaturum,

quam iis, quibus tu ista gesturus es, quam ipsis honoribus, qui tum demum hoc nomine digni videntur, cum inciderint in promerentem, neque tamen ambientem. [Eras. Ep. Coletio.]

terwards. "For this excellent man," says he, "as if
 " he had been called to the labours, not to the dig-
 " nity of his office, restored the decayed discipline of
 " his cathedral church, and brought in what was a
 " new practice there, preaching himself upon Sun-
 " days and all solemn festivals. In which course of
 " preaching, he did not take a desultory text out of
 " the gospel or epistle for the day; but he chose a
 " fixed and larger subject, which he prosecuted in
 " several successive discourses, till he had gone
 " through the whole; as suppose, the gospel of St.
 " Matthew, the creed, or the Lord's prayer. And
 " he had there always a full auditory; and amongst
 " others, the chief magistrates of the city."

The frequent preaching of dean Colet, in his own cathedral, set a good example to some other deans, to do the same good office in their respective churches^d: as particularly at Litchfield, Dr. Collingwood introduced the pious practice of preaching every Sunday; being the first and only preacher of all the deans^e there.

That St. Paul's church might be constantly sup-

^d Hic vir optimus, tanquam ad opus vocatus, non ad dignitatem, collegii sui collapsam disciplinam sarcit; et quod erat illic novum, singulis diebus festis in suo templo concionari instituit, præter conciones extraordinarias quas nunc in regia, nunc aliis atque aliis locis habebat. Porro in suo templo non sumebat sibi carptim argumentum ex evangelio, aut ex epistolis apostolicis; sed unum aliquod argumentum proponebat, quod diversis concionibus ad finem usque prosequeretur;

puta evangelium Matthæi, symbolum fidei, preceationem dominicam. Et habebat auditorium frequens; in quo plerisque primores suæ civitatis. [Eras. Ep.]

^e Magister Radulphus Collingwood, S. T. P. et præbendarius de Dorset, decanus Litchfield præfectus, eodem anno (1512.) inchoavit residentiam in primo Januarii. Is primus et solus omnium decanorum in more habuit, concionem ad populum quolibet die dominico habere, ad tempus horæ dimidiatæ. [Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 456.]

plied, the dean called in to his assistance other learned and able persons; amongst whom was master William Grocyn; whom he prevailed upon to read divinity lectures upon some part or other of the holy scriptures, as I conceive: for though Mr. Wood seems positive, either from Erasmus, or at least from Mr. Fox, that his lectures were upon the book of Dionysius Areopagita, commonly called *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*, even in dean Colet's time; yet this seems not probable, if we trust even to the computation of Erasmus himself; who answering the divines of the faculty of Paris, about 1530, where he mentions Grocyn's ingenuous and open retractation of his opinion^f in relation to that author, (accounting him altogether spurious, though he had a little before with great vehemency asserted the contrary,) he says expressly, that those lectures upon Dionysius were *ante annos triginta*; which must carry it back to dean Sherborn's time, Dr. Colet's predecessor. However, it is plain that the public lecturers, both in the universities and in the cathedral churches, took the liberty of reading upon any book rather than upon the holy scriptures; till Dr. Colet reformed that practice, and both in Oxford and in St. Paul's, brought in the more useful way of reading

^f Londini, in æde Divo Paulo sacra, magna celebritate cœpit profiteri Hierarchiam Ecclesiasticam: atque in præfatione stomachatus est in eos, qui negarent esse illum Areopagitam: notaus, opinor, Laur. Vallam; verum ubi jam aliquot hebdomadas esset professus, atque ut fit, propius ac familiaris introspexisset autoris ingenium,

non dubitavit apud eosdem auditores, *παλιωδέειν* priorem sententiam, profitens sibi nequam videri Dionysii Areopagitæ. Recens adhuc est Grocini memoria; facile possum redargui, si quid mentior. [Eras. Declarat. ad Censuram Facultatis Theol. Parisien. Op. tom. ix. p. 743.]

and expounding St. Paul's epistles, or some other parts of scripture. The said Grocyne, after he had continued some time to be so publicly useful, was preferred to the wardenship of Maidston in Kent, and the rectory of Newinton-Longvill in co. Bucks, and perhaps some other place; but though one of the best scholars and most judicious divines of the nation, had only these small preferments, (far below the worth of so great a man,) and was so bare in them, that he was forced to pawn his plate to the master of the rolls, Dr. John Yonge; who, dying before him, did, by will, restore it, and remit the principal debt and interest upon it.

After Grocyne, dean Colet procured other learned men, to go through a like course of divinity lectures in his cathedral, for which he made them a generous allowance. And among others, there was a very learned Scot, (probably John Major, D. D.) who (as an historian of that age relates in his *Annals*, 23 Hen. VII.) interpreted the epistles of St. Paul in that cathedral, with the attendance and approbation of a great number of the ecclesiastics, who had that benefit gratis; it being well known, that the reverend dean maintained that lecture by a suitable exhibition, or salary allowed for it^s.

Another (no less famous) person encouraged to take his part in these labours, was father John Sowle, a Carmelite, in the White-friars in Fleet-street: who

^s Mense Jan. xxiii. Hen. VII.
 — Sub idem tempus ad sanctum Paulum quidam doctor theologus, Scotus natione, epistolas — magna doctissimorum virorum ecclesiasticorum cum approbatione atque frequentia, gratis interpretaba-

tur; quam quidem lecturam reverendus ejusdem ecclesie decanus, Colet, omnibus palam exhibuisse dicebatur. [Bern. Andr. Tholosatis *Annales*. xxiii. Hen. VII. MS. Cotton, Jul. A. 3.]

was a great admirer and preacher up of the doctrine of St. Paul, as well as of an unblameable life and conversation, and upon both accounts much valued and esteemed by our religious dean ^h.

Nor can I forget to put Erasmus himself amongst these divinity readers: he having prepared some lectures according to the direction of the dean, by way of commentary on the epistle of St. Paul to the Romansⁱ; which he at first undertook by the suggestion and example of Mr. Colet at Oxford, and afterwards enlarged by his advice, with an intention to read them in St. Paul's church at his second coming into England: but his meeting with a great many avocations, (such as visiting old friends, contracting new acquaintance, writing various epistles, revising and preparing several things for the press; and above all, his accepting the invitation of Dr. John Fisher, to spend some time in Cambridge,) prevented him from putting in practice what he had fully designed.

After dean Colet had retained several learned men successively, to read these theological lectures in his church, he at last procured a settlement for ever, for such a lecture to be constantly read there

^h Johannes Souule Carmelita London. magnus apostoli Pauli æstimator ac propalator, doctor doctori Coletto valde familiaris, &c. [Balei Centuriæ.]

ⁱ Deinde liber atque toto pectore divinas literas aggrediar, in his reliquam omnem ætatem insumpturus. Quanquam ante triennium ausus sum nescio quid in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, absolviq[ue] uno quasi impetu quatuor volumina: progressurus, ni me quædam avocas-

sent, quorum illud præcipuum quod passim Græca desiderarem. [Erasmi Jo. Coletto ep. dat. Lutetiæ, MD IIII. ed. Bas. 1521. p. 415.] Sunt adhuc apud me nonnulla jam olim cæpta, quorum de numero sunt commentarii in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. Cujus operis absolveramus libros quatuor, ante annos, ni fallor, viginti duos. [Cat. Lucubrationum. dat. 3 cal. Feb. 1522.]

three days in every week, by the chancellor of the church, or his sufficient deputy^k.

It is true, divinity lectures had been read in Latin within many other cathedral churches, for the benefit of the priests and clerks belonging to them: but the subject of them (as of all sermons *ad clericum* in the two universities, and in all ordinary visitations of the rural clergy) was commonly a question in scholastic theology, running into frivolous doubts, and elaborate resolutions out of the oracles of Scotus, and his puzzling interpreters; not to edification, but to a confounding the thoughts of God and religion; though I find one instance to the contrary^l.

It therefore redounds much to the honour of dean Colet, that he first engaged to purge away that barbarous divinity out of the capital church of St. Paul, and to introduce the more Christian practice of interpreting and expounding the holy scriptures; and especially the epistles of St. Paul, which contains the fundamental doctrines of salvation; and with which he was to that degree enamoured, that he seemed to be wholly wrapt up in them; as may be seen in an excellent epistle of his in the appendix, which was never before published. And it is very plain, that this way of his in expounding the scriptures,

^k Vide statuta, ordinationes, et decreta Ricardi London. episcopi, cum assensu decani et capituli, et magistri Willelmi Lychfelde cancellarii, pro lectura in theologia jam denuo restauranda, et debite observanda, in ecclesia S. Pauli Lond. a dicto ecclesie cancellario, vel alio ejus deputato per 3 dies sing. septiman. Registr. Fitz. James. 1518. p. 128.

^l Acta visitationis eccles. cath. Linc. per Willielmum Lincoln. episcopum, die xxix. Martii, anno MD — post concionem Latine habitam per Edwardum Powel, sancte theologie doctorem, super hæc verba, Gen. xxxvii. *Vade, et vide, si cuncta prospera sint erga fratres tuos, &c.* [Memorand. Smyth episc. Linc. MS.]

though in a tongue unknown to the people, did begin to raise in them an inquiry after those oracles of God; and by degrees inflamed that love and zeal to search the scriptures, which soon opened a way to the blessed reformation. But till this time (to say nothing of those portions of scripture which were recited in the Latin offices) there was scarce so much as a Latin Testament in any cathedral church in England. Instead of the gospel of Christ^m, there was, forsooth, the gospel of Nicodemus affixed to a pillar in the nave of the church; as Erasmus himself says, and admired at it, in the metropolitical church of Canterburyⁿ.

What helped farther to open a door to the reformation, was Dr. Colet's discovering the shameful abuses of monasteries and houses called religious; and the perils of imposing of celibacy on the clergy; for which reason he gave little or nothing to them while he lived, and he left them not a farthing when he died. Not that he hated any one of their several orders; but because he found few or none of them lived up to their vows and professions. As to his own person: he had a great desire to extricate him-

^mNo wonder that the gospel of Christ was in so low esteem in that church; seeing bishop Morton, in his Appeal, observes from the old books remaining in the church of Canterbury; that whereas there used to be three offerings, one to Christ, another to the virgin Mary, and the third to Thomas Becket; that oblation made to Thomas Becket did *communibus annis* amount to 800*l.* or 1000*l.* that to our lady, to 200*l.* that to

Christ, sometimes to five marks, and sometimes to twelve marks, *hoc anno nihil.*

ⁿCantuarie templum divo Thomæ sacrum — Ingressis aperit spatiosa quædam ædificii majestas. Ea pars quoslibet recipit. Nihil illic visendum præter structuræ molem, et libros aliquot columnis affixos; in quibus est evangelium Nicodemi, et sepulchrum nescio cujus. [Erasmi Colloquium, *Peregrinatio religionis ergo.*]

self out of the affairs of the world, if he could but enter into any society, that would combine to live according to the rules of the gospel of Christ : and it seems when Erasmus first returned from England, with full intention of going towards Rome, he spoke to him to find out some truly religious cell for him in Italy ; where he had known some monks to be really wise and pious men : but in England, he could by no means think that to be religion, or a religious life, which the common people so called, when it was often foolishness, and want of parts. He commended likewise some monks in Germany ; among whom there were some footsteps of the ancient institution of Hermits. But he used to say, that he never found better or purer manners than among the married men, whose natural affection to their wives, and care of their own children, and government of their own families, did keep them within the bounds of moderation and chastityⁿ.

As for the religious orders : though he himself led a most unspotted life ; yet among the men who

ⁿ Cum nemo magis faveret Christianæ pietati, tamen erga monasteria, quæ nunc falso nomine pleraque sic vocantur, minimum habebat affectus, eisque aut nihil, aut quam minimum largiebatur : ac ne moriens quidem aliquid illis decedit. Non quod invisos habeat ordines ; sed quod homines suæ professioni non responderent. Nam ipsi in votis erat, se prorsus ab hoc mundo extricare, sicubi reperisset sodalitiū vere conjuratum in vitam evangelicam ; atque id negotiū mihi delegarat Italiam adituro, narrans

sese apud Italos comperisse quosdam monachos vere prudentes ac pios. Nec enim ille judicabat esse religionem, quam vulgus judicabat ; cum sit aliquoties ingenii penuria. Laudabat atque Germanos aliquot, apud quos residerent etiamnum priscae religionis vestigia. Dicitare solet, se nusquam reperire minus corruptos mores quam inter conjugatos ; quod hos affectus naturæ, cura liberorum, ac res familiaris, ita veluti cancellis quibusdam dstringerent, ut non possint in omne flagitiū genus prolabi.

took more liberty, and were any way vicious, he had more charity for those priests or monks who offended only in that way. Not but that he did abominate their sins of uncleanness: but still, he said, they were better than those other of their order, who being proud, envious, railers, and backbiters, hypocrites, vain-glorious, ignorant, and given up to avarice and ambition, did yet set a mighty value upon themselves; while the other frailer brethren, conscious of their own infirmities, were made more humble and modest by it. He said, for a priest to be habitually proud and covetous was worse than to keep a hundred lewd women. But let none infer from hence, that Colet thought such impurity to be a venial sin in a priest or a monk: he only thought that those other spiritual sinners were more vile and impious men. He was angry with no sort of mortals more than with many of the bishops, in his time, who, instead of shepherds, acted the part of so many wolves: and he thought none more execrable, because under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themselves to the veneration of the people, while in their own hearts they were perfect slaves to the world, and minded nothing but the glory and gain of it^o.

^o Cum ipse castissime viveret; tamen inter illaudatos, minus erat iniquus his, qui tametsi sacerdotes essent, aut etiam monachi, venere duntaxat peccarent. Non quod impudicitiae vitium non detestaretur; sed quod hos experiretur multo minus malos, quoties eos cum aliis conferret; qui cum essent elatis animis, invidi, maledici, obtrectatores fucati, vani,

indocti, toto pectore pecuniae et ambitioni dediti, tamen sibi magnum quiddam esse viderentur; cum alteros infirmitas agnita redderet humiliores ac modestiores. Aiebat magis execrandam in sacerdote avaritiam, et superbiam, quam si centum haberet concubinas. Ne vero quisquam haec huc rapiat, ut putet leve crimen esse in sacerdote, aut monacho libidi-

This way of thinking, and his free communicating of such thoughts to his friends, were out of the road of the church, and did not fail to expose Dr. Colet to the jealousy and hatred of the inferior clergy, and to a persecution from the then prevailing powers. But however, by the strength of his own parts, and the integrity of his conscience, he went on boldly in detecting the enormous corruptions of the Roman faith and worship.

He had gathered up several authorities from the ancient fathers against the current tenets and customs of the church: and though he did not care to fly in the face of the governors; yet he could not but favour those who utterly disliked the way of worshipping images in our Christian temples. As to those who questioned, whether the wickedness of the priest did not take away the efficacy of the sacrament administered by him; though he could not agree with them, yet he had great indignation at those of the clergy, who, by their scandalous lives, gave occasion to such a wrong notion. The colleges in England, which were built and endowed with great magnificence and bounty, he said, rather hindered than promoted the right course of studies, and the quick progress of learning; being then little better than the nests of drones, or the cells of slothful idle fellows. Nor did he think much better of our public schools and universities in those times, when

nem, sed ut intelligat, alterum genus longius abesse a vera pietate. Nulli mortalium generi erat infensor, quam episcopis, qui pro pastoribus lupos agebant; nec ullos magis execrabatur, quod cultu sacro, ce-

remonii, benedictionibus ac venioliis sese venditarent populo, cum toto pectore servirent mundo, hoc est, gloriæ et questui. [Eras. Jod. Jon. Ep. ed. Bas. p. 576.]

the ambition of professors, and their trade of getting money, corrupted the simplicity and plainer way of teaching arts and sciences. Though he well approved of private confession, receiving himself a great deal of comfort and inward satisfaction from the use of it; yet he could not but condemn the popular custom of the frequent repetitions of what they called *auricular confession*^p. And though the

^p — E Dionysio cæterisque priscis theologis quædam hauserat; quibus non ita favebat, ut usquam contenderet adversus decreta ecclesiastica; sed tamen ut minus esset iniquus iis, qui non probarent sic passim in templis adorari imagines pictas, ligneas, saxeas, æreas, aureas, argenteas. Item iis, qui dubitarent an sacerdos insigniter ac palam improbus conficeret aliquid sacramentali functione, haudquaquam favens istorum errori, sed indignatus iis, qui vita palam et indigne contaminata, præberent causam hujusmodi suspicionis. Collegia quæ multo magnificoque sumptu sunt apud Anglos instituta, dicebat officere bonis studiis, nec aliud esse quam invitabula ociosorum; neque scholis publicis perinde multum tribuebat; quod ambitio profitendi, et quæstus omnia vitians, corrumpere sinceritatem omnium disciplinarum. Ut confessionem secretam vehementer probabat, negans se ulla ex re capere tantundem consolationis ac boni spiritus; ita anxiam ac subinde repetitam vehementer damnavat. Cum apud Anglos mos sit, ut sacerdotes fere quotidie faciant rem divinam; ille ta-

men contentus erat diebus dominicis, ac festis sacrificare; aut certe pauculis diebus extra hos; sive quod sacris studiis, quibus se parabat ad concionandum, et ecclesiæ suæ negotiis distineretur, sive quod compireret se majore cum affectu sacrificare, si id ex intervallo faceret. Haudquaquam tamen improbat illorum institutum, quibus placeret quotidie adire mensam dominicam. Cum esset ipse doctissimus; tamen anxiam hanc et laboriosam sapientiam non probabat, quæ ex omnium disciplinarum cognitione, et ex omnium autorum lectione, velut ansis omnibus absolvitur; dictitans ita deteri nativam illam ingenii sanitatem, ac sinceritatem, hominesque reddi minus sanos, et ad Christianam innocentiam, puramque ac simplicem charitatem minus idoneos. Plurimum tribuebat epistolis apostolicis, sed ita suspiciebat admirabilem illam Christi majestatem, ut ad hanc quodammodo sordescerent apostolorum scripta. Omnia fere Christi dicta miro ingenio revocarat ad terniones; unde et librum instituerat scribere. Quod sacerdotes, etiam occupati, quotidie tam prolixas preces ex-

custom in England was for the priests to say mass daily; yet he was content to do it only upon Sundays and great festivals, or at least upon very few intervening days: either because he thought himself better employed in his studies, (especially in preparing sermons,) or was detained by the necessary business of his church; or because he found himself more intent upon that sacred office, after some intermissions. And yet he did not condemn the practice of those devout persons, who loved every day to frequent the Lord's table. Though he was himself an excellent scholar, yet he could by no means admire that anxious and laborious sort of learning, that was to be gained by the running through all sorts of books. He said this did but wear away the natural edge of human understanding, and made men the less capable of a true Christian simplicity, and the right evangelical charity. He had a mighty esteem for the apostolical epistles; but was more affected with the admirable words of our Saviour in the gospels: which he thought infinitely exceeded the other; and therefore he selected all the sayings of our Saviour under certain heads, and intended to write a book upon them. He disliked very much, that

haurire cogerentur, etiam domi atque in itinere, vehementer admirabatur; nam cultum ecclesiasticum magnifice fieri valde probabat. Innumera sunt hodie in publicis scholis receptissima, a quibus ille plurimum dissentiebat; de quibus inter amiculos soleta liquando conferre, apud alios dissimulabat; ne geminum caperet incommo-

dum, ut et nihil proficeret, nisi in pejus, et existimationis suæ jacturam faceret. Nullus erat liber tam hæreticus, quem ille non attente evolveret; dicens se plus aliquotiens ex illis capere fructus, quam ex horum libris qui sic omnia definiunt, ut frequenter adulentur coryphæis, nonnunquam et sibi ipsis. Ibid.

priests should be enjoined to run over every day a course of prayers and psalms, though at home, or in their journeys: for he would have all divine service performed in the most serious and solemn manner. There were many opinions commonly received in the schools, from which he dissented very much in his own private judgment: and he would sometimes debate them among his familiar friends; though he was more reserved in common conversation, to avoid a double inconvenience; it being to expose himself, and yet work no good upon others. There was no book so heretical, that he did not read over with great attention: and he said, that he often learned more out of these, than from such as they called orthodox writers; those who go on in the road that others lead them.

It is not to be wondered that the greatest and the best of men, are often wedded to some little peculiarities of error: but as we are not obliged to subscribe to all their opinions, so likewise not to think the worse of them for them, if they are not destructive of love and good works.

Thus it is very plain, that the dean was got clear of many of the grossest errors and rankest superstitions of the Romish church: which (considering the age he lived in) was as much as could be expected; and much more than was commonly practised at that time. But either out of conformity to the common usages of the church, or thinking some of the rites and ceremonies not in themselves sinful, he complied with them in other things. And yet the bigots of that church gave him a great deal of disturbance for his swerving from those very palpable errors,

which make up the main of their religion; such as worshipping of images, auricular confession, &c⁹. before mentioned. And as for the doctrine of purgatory, (which of all others is the most gainful amongst them,) it appears by a passage in his comment on the epistle to the Corinthians, he did by no means approve of it. He very honestly interprets that great text, 1 Cor. iii. 13, 14. quite contrary to the whole current of their own interpreters: his gloss upon *cujusque opus, quale sit, ignis probabit*, being thus; *Idem spiritus purgatorius viri cujusque opus, quale sit, probabit: i. e. The Spirit of God, which is of a purging or purifying nature, shall discover, or make manifest, every one's work, what it is.* And he adds; *Spiritus ille bonus et sanctus est, &c. It is the good and holy Spirit of God* (not the fire of purgatory, which these men are so fond of, and which brings no small gain to such craftsmen) *that will make this discovery.*

Erasmus, who was very intimate with the dean, and often entertained by him, and thereby had a full opportunity of knowing his ways, and methods of living, and governing his family, &c. hath transmitted the following relation as an example to posterity. And it is more than probable that most of

⁹ Auricular confession must needs been the more odious to him, if it was now made such an engine of state, as I find related by an English writer. In kynge Henryes dayes the VII. the cardynal Murton, and byslope Foxe of Wynchestre, delyvered unto the kynges grace the confessions of as many lordes as his grace lusted. Whosoever

was mistrusted, if he shrove himself at the Chartre-house, Syon, Grenewhyce, at Seynt Ihons, or wheresoever it was, the confessor was commaunded by the autoryte of the pope to delyver his confesyon wrytten, and sworn that it was all. [Cited in the Practyce of Prelates, 1530. 8vo.]

the observations he made in relation to his learning and way of living, were more from his own knowledge, than from any informations from others. He often tells us so, more particularly in one of his epistles, wherein he has these words: "There is at London, Dr. John Colet, dean of Paul's; a man who has happily conjoined the deepest learning with the greatest piety, and therefore is of the highest esteem and authority among all sorts of people. He loves my conversation so well, that he would live with me above all mankind^r." No doubt then, such familiarity made him privy to all his ways and methods of living; particularly such as follow.

"^s The dean's table," says he, "which, under the name of hospitality, had before served too much to pomp and luxury, he contracted to a more frugal and temperate way of entertaining. And it having been his custom, for many years, to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himself. When he dined privately with

^r — Est Londini Joan. Coletus, decanus apud D. Paulum, vir qui maximam eruditionem cum admirabili pietate copulavit, magnæ apud omnes auctoritatis. Is me sic amat, ut cum nemine quam mecum vivat libentius. [Eras. Ep. Servatio.]

^s — Mensam decani, quæ antea sub hospitalitatis titulo luxui servierat, contraxit ad frugalitatem. Nam cum et ante annos aliquot, in totum abstinisset a cœna, caruit vespertinis convivis. Porro, quum cum servis pranderet, etiam tum

minus habuit multos; sed hoc pauciores, quod et frugalis apparatus esset, tametsi nitidus, et brevis accubitus; denique sermones qui non delectarent nisi doctos ac bonos. Consecrata mensa, mox puer aliquis, clara voce, distincte pronuntiabat caput aliquod ex Epistolis Pauli, aut Proverbiis Solomonis. Ex eo delectum locum ipse fere repetebat, ac sermonis occasionem sumebat, sciscitans ab eruditis, ac ingeniosis etiam idiotis, quid hoc aut illud dictum sibi vellet. Atque ita sermonem temperabat, ut quanquam et

" his own family, he had always some strangers for
 " his guests; but the fewer, because his provision
 " was frugal; which yet was neat and genteel. The
 " sittings were short; and the discourses such as
 " pleased only the learned and the good. As soon
 " as grace, before meat, was said, some boy, with a
 " good voice, read distinctly a chapter out of one of
 " St. Paul's Epistles, or out of the Proverbs of Solo-
 " mon. When he had done reading, the dean
 " would pitch upon some particular part of it, and
 " thence frame a subject-matter of discourse; ask-
 " ing either the learned, or such as were otherwise
 " of good understanding, what was the meaning of
 " this or that expression: and he would so adapt
 " and temper his discourse, that though it was
 " grave and serious, yet it never tired, or gave any
 " distaste. Again, toward the end of dinner, when

pius et gravis, tamen nihil haberet tædii, aut supercilii. Rursus sub convivii finem, quum jam utcunque satisfactum esset, non voluptati, sed necessitati, aliud argumentum injecit, atque ita convivas dimisit et animo et corpore refectos, ut meliores discederent, quam venerant, et stomachum minime cibis onustum referrent. Impense delectabatur amicorum colloquiis, quæ sæpe differebat in multam noctem; sed omnis illius sermo, aut de literis erat, aut de Christo. Si grati confabulonis non erat copia (nec enim quibuslibet delectabatur) puer aliquis e sacris libris aliquid pronunciabat. Me nonnunquam et peregrinationis comitem as-civit. Nihil erat illic eo festivius; sed semper libellus erat itineris comes, nec alii ser-

mones, quam de Christo. Impatiens erat omnium sordium, adeo ut nec sermonem ferret solæcum, ac barbarie spurcum. Quicquid erat domesticæ supellectilis, quicquid apparatus in cibis, quicquid in vestibus, quicquid in libris, nitidum esse volebat; de magnificentia non laborabat: non nisi pullis vestibus utebatur, cum illic vulgo sacerdotes et theologi vestiantur purpura. Summa vestis semper erat lanæ ac simplex; si frigus hoc postulabat, interulis pelliciiis se muniebat. Quicquid e sacerdotiis redibat, id in usus domesticos œonomo suo dispensandum reliquit; quod erat patrimonii (erat autem amplissimum) ipse in pios usus distribuebat. [Eras. Ep. Jo. Jonæ. id. Jun. 1521.]

“ the company was rather satisfied than satiated, he
“ would throw in another subject of discourse : and
“ thus he dismissed his guests with a double repast,
“ refreshed in their minds as well as bodies ; so that
“ they always went away better than they came,
“ and were not oppressed with what they had eat
“ and drunk. He was mightily delighted with the
“ conversation of his friends ; which he would some-
“ times protract till very late in the evening : but
“ all his discourse was either of learning or religion.
“ If he could not get an agreeable companion, (for it
“ was not every body he did like,) one of his ser-
“ vants read some part of the holy scriptures to him.
“ In his journeys he would sometimes make me
“ (says Erasmus) his companion ; and he was as
“ easy and pleasant as any man living : yet he al-
“ ways carried a book with him ; and all his dis-
“ course was seasoned with religion. He was so im-
“ patient of whatsoever was foul and sordid, that he
“ could not bear with any indecent or improper way
“ of speaking. He loved to be neat and clean in
“ his goods, furniture, entertainment, apparel, and
“ books, and whatever belonged to him ; and yet he
“ despised all state and magnificence. His habit
“ was only black ; though it was then common for
“ the higher clergy to be clad in purple. His upper
“ garment was always of woollen cloth, and plain ;
“ which, if the weather was cold, and required it,
“ he lined with fur. Whatever came in by his ec-
“ clesiastical preferments, he delivered to his stew-
“ ard, to be laid out on family occasions, or hospi-
“ tality : and all that arose from his own proper
“ estate (which was very large) he gave away for
“ pious and charitable uses.” Thus far Erasmus.

Not less careful was he in fulfilling any trust that he had taken upon him, in relation to the charitable bequests of others.

Being now rector of the fraternity or gild of Jhesus, in the crowds of this church of St. Paul's, the better to discharge that trust, and his conscience in it, he first gathered up all the deeds and evidences, acts, ordinances, and other memorials, relating to the foundation and continued estate of it, and then he caused them to be carefully transcribed into a cartulary, or ledger-book: and for the better government of it, he caused a body of new statutes and ordinances to be made, for the regulation of divine service, for the registering and entering of charters and evidences, for the passing of accounts, &c. Which statutes he got to be solemnly confirmed by commissioners; the lord archbishop of Canterbury, as chancellor; the earl of Surry, as treasurer; sir Robert Fineux and sir Robert Rede, as chief justices, 24. April, 1507^t.

^t A fair copy thereof is preserved in the aforesaid cartulary; being a large and fair transcript of all the muniments belonging to the said gild or fraternity, in vellum, folio, now in the hands of my reverend and learned friend Dr. Tho. Tanner, chancellor of the see of Norwich, thus entitled:

This booke bought and ordeigned by maister John Colett, doctour of divinitie, dean of the cathedral church of Paules, and rectour of the fraternitie and guild of Jhesus in the croudes of the said church, William Cromwell and John Monke, wardens of the same,

recordeth and sheweth the copies of certain letters patentes of kynges and ordinaunces for the fundacyon and corporacyon of the foreseyd fraternite. And also the cotypes of dyvers charters and dedes with accomptes, and other necessaryes, which hereafter are to be hadde, entitled, and remembered for the behalfe of the saide fraternite and guylde: I. The grante of kyng Henry the sixte, for the foundation and corporation. II. The confirmation of kyng Henry VII. teste meipso apud Croydon, decimo sexto die Aprilis, anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo. III. The actes

It seems to have been owing to the like care and public spirit of dean Colet, that there was about the same time an inquiry made after the several chantries founded within the cathedral church of St. Paul, and the parochial churches and chapels within the city of London; found entered at the beginning of the registry of Dr. Fitz-James, bishop of London^u.

and ordenaunces examined, approved, and accepte by the most reverend fader in God William archbyshope of Caunterbury, chancellor of Englande; John Fyneux, chiefe justyce of the kynges benche; and Robert Rede, chiefe justice of the common pleace, who sette thereto theyr sygnes manuell the 28. day of April, xxii. Hen. VII. IV. Other ordenaunces enacted for diuine serveyce by the said rectour, wardens, and brothers of the said fraternite [beginning] For as moche as the honorable person maister John Colett, doctour in theology, deane of the cathedrall chyrche of saynt Paules, in the citee of London, and rectour of the fraternite, &c. V. The registryng and entryng of divers charters, dedes, and euydences belonging to the fraternite. VI. Accomptes passed for several years.

^u Cantaria in ecclesia S. Pauli London. dicta Chesthunt, fundata pro domino rege et episc. Lond. et dicitur quod duæ sunt.

Cantaria in eadem ecclesia pro anima Michaelis de Northborough fundata.

Cantaria in dicta ecclesia pro anima Nicolai Wokynndon.

Cantaria in eadem ecclesia

pro anima Eustachii dudum Lond. episc.

Cantaria sancti Nicolai de Berkyng chyrche juxta turrin London.

Cantaria in ecclesia de Aldermanbury pro animabus Stephani Botrell, et uxoris ejus.

Cantaria in ecclesia sancti Benedicti Sherhog pro animabus Tho. Romayne, et aliorum.

Sunt duæ cantariæ in ecclesia de Aldermay Church-lane, immediate jurisdictionis archiep. Cant. pro anima Tho. Romayne, et omnium fidelium defunctorum fundata; ad quas episc. Lond. qui pro tempore fuerit, vigore testamenti dicti Thomæ, habet præsentare d^{no} Cant. archiepisc. quotiens illas vacare contigerit.

Item si capella de Guyholde Lond. sit magistri sive custodis ibidem ministerio destituta per 24 dies vel ultra, quod nullus ad illud per idem tempus ep^o. sit præsentatus, tum vigore fundationis ejusdem liceat ep^o. Lond. qui pro tempore fuerit, seu ipsius vicario in spiritualibus generali, sede plena, vel decano et capitulo sede vacante, unum capellanum de collegio in magistrum præficere et custodem.

Item sunt 4 cantariæ in dicto collegio fundatæ; ad quas, cum vacaverint, major vel custos et

Besides which, there was also a chantry in the church of St. Paul, founded on the 2d of July, 23 Hen. III. by Martin, one of the justices of the common pleas, and dean of that church, for two priests, ordained to celebrate divine service there daily for his soul, at the altar of the apostles. And two more, which are omitted in the said registry, were founded, 6. kal. Maii, by Richard de Gravesend, bishop of London: in whose inventory prices of corn, &c. rated by himself, are as follow, *viz.*

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Malt ground - - -	3	4	} the quarter.
Pease - - - - -	2	6	
Oats - - - - -	2	0	
Bulls - - - - -	7	4	} a piece.
Kine - - - - -	6	0	
Mutton - - - - -	1	0	
Ewe sheep - - - -	0	8	
Capons - - - - -	0	2	
Cocks - - - - -	0	ob.	
Hens - - - - -	0	ob.	

Amidst all the good works, and other fruits of charity and beneficence before mentioned, dean Colet could not escape the censure of an heretic, or an enemy of the church. For preaching frequently at St. Paul's, and before the king, and in other populous assemblies, he would not refrain from speaking, with some freedom and boldness, against the vulgar superstitions and prevailing corruptions in the

camerarius London. infra duodecim dies a tempore vacationis ejusdem habent præsentare. Alias episc. Lond. qui pro tempore fuerit infra alios xii dies conferre potest, eodem jure sibi

devoluto; et si ipse sit negligens per 12 dies, tunc decanus et capitulum eccles. cath. S. Pauli, London. habent præsentare. E collectaneis rev. patr. White, episc. Petroburg.

church. This exposed him to the hatred and calumnies of the more ignorant and inferior part of the clergy; and especially of those belonging to his own choir, who could not well bear his love of discipline and regulation of manners, being so very obnoxious themselves to church-censures on the account of their ill behaviour^x: and then knowing that the bishop of London (Dr. Fitz-James) was not well affected towards him, they were ready to take any opportunity of incensing him more against him.

There is a letter of Erasmus's to Dr. Colet, anno 1506, which relates to the uneasiness and opposition the dean began to meet with from those fierce bigots, (the clergy of that time,) which tells him; "He now begins to smell out that sort of men of whom Colet had complained, and of whom they would talk more when they met^y."

I believe he meant the bishop of London, and his school divines, who were now beginning to accuse the dean of heresy.

"^z The dean," says he, "had never stood right with

^x How profane and dissolute some of the popish choir of Paul's were about this time, does appear in the remnant of an old English book, printed in the latter end of Henry VII. that has this plain story in it. "Certeyne of vycars of Poules dysposed to be merye on a Sondaie at hie masse tyme, sent another madde felowe of theyr acquayntance unto a folyshe dronken preest upon the toppes of the stayres by the chauncell dore, and spake to hym, and sayd thus, Syr, my maistre hath sent you a

"bottell to putt your drynke in, because ye can kepe none in your brayne. Thys preest beyng therewith very angrye, all sodenly toke the bottell, and with his fote flange it down into the bodye of the churche upon the gentyl-mennes heddes."

^y Jam nunc subodoror genus hoc hominum, de quo memineras; qua de re plura coram *Cantabrigiæ* tertio non. Octob. MDVI.

^z Jam ne quid defuisse putetur absolutæ Coleti pietati, tempestates quibus agitatus est, ac-

“ the bishop, who was a very rigid Scotist, and
 “ the more jealous of the dean, because his lectures
 “ and sermons were chiefly employed in opening
 “ the sense of the scriptures; which being in the
 “ new way of learning, was called *heresy*. And in
 “ truth, at that time, any divine that had more learn-
 “ ing or piety than the grosser part of his order,
 “ or did touch or talk of any thing out of the com-
 “ mon road of the church of Rome, was counted a
 “ perverse heretic, or at least suspected of the crime
 “ of heretical pravity. The bishop upon this score

cipe. Nunquam illi bene con-
 venerat cum suo episcopo; de
 cujus moribus ne quid dicam,
 superstitiosus atque invictus
 erat Scotista, et hoc nomine
 sibi semi-deus videbatur. Quo
 quidem ex genere, cum aliquot
 noverim quos nolim improbos
 appellare, nullum tamen adhuc
 vidi quem, mea quidem senten-
 tia, possis vere pureque dicere
 Christianum. Nec admodum
 gratus erat plerisque sui col-
 legii, quod tenacior esset dis-
 ciplinæ regularis; ac subinde
 quirabantur se pro monachis
 haberi, quanquam hoc colle-
 gium olim fuit, et in vetustis
 syngraphis vocatur orientale
 monasterium. Sed cum jam
 odium senis episcopi, jam enim
 erat non minor annis octoginta,
 atrocior esset quam ut premi
 posset, ascitis duobus episcopis
 æque cordatis, nec minus viru-
 lentis, incipit Coletus negotium
 facessere, non alio telo, quam
 quo solent isti, si quando cui-
 quam exitium moliantur. De-
 fert eum apud archiepisc. Cant.
 articulis aliquot notatis, quos
 ex illius concionibus decerp-

serat. Quorum unus erat, quod
 docuisset non adorandas ima-
 gines. Alter, quod sustulisset e
 Paulo laudatam hospitalitatem,
 qui enarrans illud ex Evangelio,
Pasce, pasce, pasce oves meas,
 cum in prioribus duobus cum re-
 liquis interpretibus consentiret,
 pasce exemplis vitæ, pasce ser-
 mone doctrinæ, in tertio dis-
 sensisset, negans convenire ut
 apostoli, qui tum erant pau-
 peres, juberentur oves suas
 pascere subsidio temporali, et
 hujus loco aliud quiddam sub-
 stituisset: tertius, quod cum
 in concione dixisset quosdam
 de charta concionari (id quod
 multi frigide faciunt in Anglia)
 oblique taxasset episcopum, qui
 ob senium id solitus sit fa-
 cere. Archiepiscopus, cui Co-
 leti dotes erant egregie cognitæ,
 patrocinium innocentis suscep-
 it, e iudice factus patronus,
 cum ipse Coletus ad hæc aliaque
 stultiora respondere dedignaretur.
 Non conquievit tamen se-
 nis odium; tentavit aulam regi-
 am in Coletum concitare, atque
 imprimis regem ipsum. [Eras.
 Ep. Jod. Jon. id. Jun. 1521.]

“ accuses the dean to the archbishop, as a dangerous
“ man; and calling in the assistance of two other
“ bishops of equal bigotry, and no less virulency,
“ he began to create him a great deal of trouble and
“ vexation; using no other weapon but that of the
“ charge of *heresy*, which was then reckoned the
“ most fatal engine for the destruction of their ene-
“ mies. So the bishop drew up certain articles
“ against the dean. One was, that the said Dr. Co-
“ let had taught, that images were not to be wor-
“ shipped. A second was, that he had preached
“ against the temporal possessions of the bishops, by
“ denying that the repeated exhortation of Christ to
“ Peter, *to feed his sheep*, could be at all meant of
“ hospitality, or the worldly ways of entertainment,
“ because the apostles were then poor, and unable
“ to give any such reception. A third was, that he
“ had preached against some men’s reading their
“ sermons in a cold unaffected manner, whereby
“ he must needs mean to reflect upon the bishop
“ himself, who, by reason of his old age, had taken
“ up that idler way of preaching. But archbishop
“ Warham, who knew the integrity and worth of
“ Dr. Colet, undertook to defend the innocent party;
“ and from a judge became his advocate and patron,
“ and dismissed him without giving him the trouble
“ of putting in any formal answer. And yet the old
“ bishop did not cool in his spirit of persecution; but
“ in effect appealed from the archbishop to the
“ king, by endeavouring all that was possible, to in-
“ cense his highness and the whole court against
“ him, as we shall see hereafter.”

This account given by Erasmus is, no doubt, the most authentic, because he had it from the dean’s

own mouth, as their letters imply: and possibly he might have had it also from the report of archbishop Warham himself. But the relation of this matter given by Mr. Fox, and his very introduction of it, seems to have been all taken from this epistle of Erasmus, with no additional particulars of time or place, or any other circumstances^a; an argument,

^a It is observable that Mr. Fox has nothing of these troubles of Dr. Colet, neither in his Latin edition, dated from Basil, Sept. 1, 1590. [Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii,] nor in the first English impression, fol. But afterwards he inserted this account from Erasmus, in his Book of Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 54. “ Dr. John Colet, after he came from Italy and Paris, began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Thomas: from whence he was called by the king, and made dean of St. Paul’s; where he accustomed much to preach, not without a great auditory, as well of the king’s court, as of the citizens and others. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common error of popery; yet in ripeness of judgment, he seemed something to incline from the vulgar trade of that age. The religious order of monks and friars he fancied not; as neither could he greatly favour the barbarous divinity of the school doctors, as of Scotus; but least of all of Thomas Aquinas. The bishop of London, Fitz-James, bearing long grudge and displeasure

“ against Colet, with two other
 “ bishops taking his part, like
 “ to himself, entered action of
 “ complaint against Colet, to
 “ the archbishop of Canterbury,
 “ being then William Warham.
 “ The matter of his complaint
 “ was divided into three articles.
 “ The first was, for speaking
 “ against worshipping of
 “ images. The second was, about
 “ hospitality; for that the en-
 “ treating upon the place of the
 “ gospel, *Pasce, pasce, pasce,*
 “ Feed, feed, feed; when he had
 “ expounded the two first for
 “ feeding with example of life,
 “ and with doctrine, in the
 “ third, which the schoolmen
 “ do expound for feeding with
 “ hospitality, he left out the
 “ outward feeding of the belly,
 “ and applied it another way.
 “ The third crime wherewith
 “ they charged him was, for
 “ speaking against such as
 “ used to preach only by bo-
 “ som sermons, declaring no-
 “ thing else to the people but
 “ what they bring in their pa-
 “ pers with them: which be-
 “ cause the bishop of London
 “ used then much to do for his
 “ age, he took it as spoken
 “ against him, and therefore
 “ bare him this displeasure. The
 “ archbishop more wisely weigh-
 “ ing the matter, and being well

that no copy of the articles, or other acts of process, were remaining, in his time; and, I believe, none have been since found: at least there is no manner of hint and reference that way in the register of archbishop Warham; nor in that of Fitz-James, bishop of London, which indeed begins only from the 4th of March, 1508-9. the third year of his translation.

There may be room to conjecture, that the proceedings of the bishop against Mr. Dean Colet were not by way of first instance before Archbishop Warham, but rather by appeal. That the bishop of London had given the dean a citation at least to his own consistory, (where his lordship was often found proceeding against heretics,) and upon contempt for not answering the allegations, the bishop had denounced some sentence of suspension or silence against him; this is sufficiently intimated in other letters of Erasmus: and from this sentence Dr. Colet might appeal to the archbishop of Canterbury: who being a prelate of greater wisdom and moderation, saw through the charge, that it was frivolous and vexatious; and so with a larger soul, and more Christian charity, he defended this good man from that persecution; and encouraged him to return to his plain and useful way of preaching.

We have also a good account of this matter given us by archbishop Parker, or by his suggestion, in the lives of his predecessors, the archbishops of Canterbury^b.

“acquainted with Colet, so
“took his part against his ac-
“cusers, that he at that time
“was rid out of trouble.”

^b Vir fuit Coletus tam Latino,
quam materno sermone facun-

duſ atque copioſus; vitæ præ-
terea integer, prudens, comis,
atque frugi; cumque Paulinum
decanatum regis beneficio ac-
cepisset, in divino verbo prædi-
cando aſſiduus fuit. Hic in

Mr. Fox has farther observed, that William Tyndal, in his book answering Mr. Moore, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the bishop of London would have made the said Colet, dean of Paul's, an heretic, for translating the Pater-noster into English, had not the bishop of Canterbury stood up for the dean^c.

Bishop Latimer, who was at that time a young student at Cambridge, remembered the noise that the prosecution of dean Colet for heresy then made, and says expressly, that he "was not only in trouble, " but should have been burnt, if God had not turned " the king's heart to the contrary^d."

concionibus sæpe pupugit bardos illos et stupidos theologos, qui semper eundem ineditatum sermonem concioni adferebant, et ex legendis notas, ac decantatas narrationes sæpius iterabant. Inter hos tunc fuit Londinensis episcopus, qui Fitz-James appellabatur, atque hoc odio motus Coletum de hæresi coram Warhamo archiepiscopo postulabat: quoniam, ut criminabatur, simulacrorum cultum damnabat: deinde, cum de verbis Salvatoris nostri ad apostolum Petrum ter repetitis, *Pasce oves meas*, prædicaret, de hospitalitate mentionem nullam fecisset, sed tertiam pasceendi Christi oves rationem alio traduxisset: postremo, quod sermones studio longo præmeditados reprehenderet. Verum archiepiscopus, cum huic Londinensis episcopi accusationi subesse odium, ipsaque accusationis capita inania atque frivola judicaret, et Coletum ob theologiæ aliarumque scientiarum

peritiam unice diligeret, eum judicio solvit atque liberavit. Coletus autem judicio dimissus verbum Dei frequentius, et ardentius prædicavit. [Antiq. Britan. sub Gulielmo Warham. edit. Hanover, fol. 353.]

^c The words are in Tyndal's Answer unto M. More, third book, xv. chap. *More*, The byshop of London was wise, vertuous, and cunningg. *Tyndall*. For all those three, yet he would have made the old deane Colet of Paules an hereticke for translatyng the *Pater noster* in English, had not the byshop of Canterbury holpe the deane. [Works of Tyndal, &c. fol. Lond. 1573. p. 318.]

^d When I was at Cambridge master George Stafford read a lecture there. I heard him; and in expounding the epistle to the Romans, where St. Paul saith, *That we should overcome our enemy with well-doing, and so heap up hot coals upon his head*; now in expounding of that

I think I may farther add, from as good an authority, that the malice of his enemies was so far from ending with his life, that some time after he was dead and buried, he had like to have been served as Mart. Bucer and Paul Fagius afterwards were; who were taken up and burnt at Cambridge^c.

After all these authorities it may be fit to observe, that there is an unhappy omission in the Ecclesiastical History of Mr. Collier; who leaves out all this preaching of Dr. Colet against image-worship, and other corruptions of the church of Rome; and gives account only of his Lent sermons, about war; as if they had been delivered in this reign of Henry VII. when the occasion of their subject did not offer itself

place he brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London a rich marchant, which marchant had a very poor neighbour; yet for all his povertye, he loved him very well, and lent him money at his neede, and let him come to his table whensoever he would: it was even at that time, when Dr. Colet was in trouble, and should have bin burnt, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrarie: now the rich man began to be a scripture-man, he began to smell the gospel; the poor man was a Papist still. But at last this poor man was brought, through the lenity and meekness of the rich man, from his errour and wickedness to the knowledge of God's word. [M. Latymer's Sermons, 1595. 4to. p. 174.]

^c — Seldom shall ye see a known heretyke buried, but

most commonly burned. Example of this hath bene lately seene here in England, by Thomas Hytton, Thomas Blynne, &c. The body of Formosus was first taken up by Steven VI. bishop of Rome, and disgraded. The bones of master John Wicliff were taken up and burned xl. year after his death. So of late years, in Worcester diocese, the body of master William Tracy, esq. and in London, the body of Richard Hunn, merchant-taylor. Moreover, John Colet, dean of Paul's in London, also was not far from the same, for reading Pauls epistles, by his lyfe; had not there weighty matters bene in the way. [John Bale, in his Image of both Churches, or paraphrase on St. John's Revelation, chap. xi. on those words, *shall not suffer their bodies to be put in graves.*]

till the preparations made by king Henry VIII. for a war against France, in 1512. But what is more surprising, he doth not so much as mention his name in his Historical Dictionary.

Besides what hath been said, there was another reason why the dean could not be very safe, amongst those whose tender mercies were cruelty: in this age, if any man was, by mere humanity and goodness, a favourer or reliever of the then reputed heretics, it was enough, in the eye of the church, to make him partaker of their crimes: and this was the case of Dr. Colet. He had a great tenderness and compassion for the honest people, who suffered as Lollards. One of them, it seems, had been censured and condemned in the spiritual court, and committed to one of the king's prisons, as given up to the civil magistrate for an obstinate offender: but dean Colet had the courage to interpose for him with the king himself, (a prince of noble wisdom and clemency,) and, by his own single interest, got him his life and liberty: an act of Christian compassion, which Erasmus, then in Flanders, highly commended in a letter to Andr. Ammonius^f in England; which we find in the London edition, dated 1513, but most likely should be 1517^g.

^f Gaudeo N. ereptum a carcere regio; id si tuo quoque bono factum est, duplici nomine gaudeo. Amo Coleti tam Christianum animum; nam ejus unius opera liberatum audio, cum is semper a Coletio inter amicissimos habitus, cum jam amicus urgeretur episcoporum calumniis, ab illius adversariis steterit. [Eras. Ep. Andr. Ammonio.]

^g Erasmus, at other times,

knowing the singular humanity and good disposition of his friend Colet, had recommended objects of compassion and charity to him; from whom he was sure to meet with some suitable relief: particularly he tells Pet. Ægidius, he had done for a friend of his. Petrus Cocles fortasse decumbit; nam audio non modo spoliatum, verum etiam delumbatum: id si verum

This Ammonius had some time before this, in a letter to Erasmus from London, mentioned the severity that was exercised towards the new professors; so that the price of wood was raised by it, much of it being spent in burning of heretics, who increased daily^h: Erasmus, in his answer, seems to jest upon the poor sufferers; as if he was very angry with them for consuming so much wood, and raising the price thereof so near winterⁱ. But though he took this liberty in playing upon the poor heretics, yet it is very plain, he mightily despised the popular religion in the church at that time. This appears from several instances already mentioned; to which more might be added, (would they not make too long a digression.) It is very certain, he was extremely pleased to hear news of his friend Colet's deliverance out of his troubles. For though the dean had, in the time of his persecution, jested with Erasmus, and given him some reprimand for running out of town without calling at the deanery, as if he had been afraid to come near a person infected with heresy, and under a suspension for it: yet Erasmus assures him, "that was not the reason, but his haste for fear of the plague; upon which account he since had left Cambridge, and got into a country village to be safe." And in the same letter he congratulates dean Colet, for getting out of his trou-

est, doleo vicem hominis. Jam Coletio scripsi, ut succurrat homini. *Bruxellæ*, xiv. cal. Dec. [Eras. Ep. Pet. Ægidio, ed. Bas. 1521. p. 329.]

^h — Lignorum pretium auctum esse non miror; multi quotidie hæretici holocaustum

nobis præbent, plures tamen succrescunt. [Andr. Ammonio Ep. Erasmi.]

ⁱ — Istis hæreticis vel hoc nomine sum iniquior, quod instante bruma nobis auxerint lignorum pretium. — [Erasmus Ammonio.]

bles for heresy, and having his suspension taken of. And as he had wished him joy of this in a former letter, he now again repeats his hearty satisfaction, that he was at liberty to return to his former holy and useful labours of the pulpit; not doubting but the interruption given to him, would turn to a good account, and make the people more desirous to hear him^k.

Indeed the troubles and persecutions which the good dean met with, seemed only to have this influence upon him, that they made him more devout and more charitable; weaning him from the world, and bringing him in mind and soul much nearer unto heaven.

He had a plentiful estate, without any very near relations: and as he had already dispensed the yearly produce of it in the occasional demands of piety, bounty, and charity; so he now, in the midst of his life and health, resolved to consecrate the whole property of it to some standing and perpetual benefaction. Yet he had some debate within himself what would be the best work for the truest use and

^k De reddita quiete dici non potest, quam tibi gratuler.— Sentio te substomachari, quod iterum te insalutato Londinum reliquerim; et impatientiam taxas meam. Equidem non inficias eo morbum meum; verum nihil tum fuit ejusmodi, cujusmodi suspicaris. Primum nihil erat quod tecum agerem: et palam admonuit me tuus Gulielmus, te literis scribendis occupatissimum esse, ne quid obturbarem; quanquam ego nec in hoc veneram, sed ut literas ad me missas a tuo Gulielmo reciperem; et adeo me

properabam isthinc subducere propter metum pestis, ut ne cubiculum meum fuerim ingressus — Hoc animo non salutavi te — Gratulatus sum proximis literis: et iterum gratulor, quod ad sanctissimos illos ac saluberrimos concionandi labores redieris. Arbitror enim cessatiunculam illam in bonum etiam versum iri, dum avidius audient, cujus vocem aliquandiu desiderarunt. Incolumem te tueatur Opt. Max. Jesus. *Cantabrigiæ*, calend. Nov. anno 1507. rectius MDXV. [Eras. Ep. edit. Bas. 1521. p. 290.]

service of the church and nation, of immediate benefit to the present age, and of most lasting advantage to posterity. The channels of public charity in England had been long since the building and adorning of churches; then the founding and endowing of monasteries, and what they called religious houses; after this the establishing chantries, and perpetual masses for the souls of the dead; soon after the erecting of colleges, and providing for students in the universities^l.

The latter of these works of charity was most agreeable to the judgment of Dr. Colet, if under those regulations which he had formed in his mind. But he saw persons of higher rank and order engaging in those noble designs^m: and it is plain, he had taken some offence and prejudice against the universities, colleges, and schools, as filled too much with idle ignorant fellows; who about that time studied nothing but to be of the party of Scotus and Aquinas, and to snarl and wrangle. He considered there was a much politer learning brought out of Italy, and spread by the art of printing, that might be properly called good letters; consisting in the knowledge and practice of the Latin and Greek tongues, for the understanding and imitating the pure ancient writ-

^l By Margaret countess of Richmond, William Smith bishop of Lincoln, Richard Fox bishop of Winchester, Hugh Oldham bishop of Exeter.

^m Under this year 1508, the Oxford historian relates, that king Henry VII. had some good intentions of being a benefactor to that famous University; but was diverted from it by reason the state of learning was then

very low. The scholars despised Greek, and addicted themselves wholly to a contentious sophistry; the monks and regulars were given up to luxury, and all manner of immorality: and if any of the students were sober and industrious, and had more learning than the rest, they were inclined to the heresies of Wicliffe, and durst not appear in the public schools.

ers, and for opening the sense of the scriptures, and looking back upon the state of the primitive church, and inquiring what reason and religion were of old in the simplicity and sincerity of them, before they were perplexed and defiled by the barbarity that had broken in upon the church of Rome, and was industriously maintained in her colleges and schools. And therefore he thought it would better serve the purpose of the restoration and improvement of learning, to provide a grammar school, for the instruction of youth in the two subsidiary languages of Latin and Greek, to come at the true sense and spirit of classic authors, to know how to read, speak, and write in a proper and agreeable way; and so to lay the best and only foundation for academical studies, and especially those of divinity: that in being the founder of one such grammar-school, he should in effect be the restorer of the two universities, in preparing and fitting the youth of the nation for the better receiving any benefit from them.

When he had, upon such (and the like) motives, fixed the nature of his charity, he could not be long in determining the place of it. London was his native city; wherein his father had obtained a fair portion of wealth and honour: and he bore a new relation to it, as dean of the noble cathedral church in the midst of it. He also found the city in nothing more deficient than in public schools, for the education of youth. And moreover he thought, for his farther encouragement, that the sons of his fellow-citizens were naturally more capable of learning than those who had a rustical birth and breedingⁿ.

ⁿ The building and endowing this school was a work that raised the envy of the great men, to see a private clergyman

This noble impulse of Christian charity, in the founding of grammar schools, was one of the providential ways and means for bringing about the blessed reformation: and it is therefore observable, that within thirty years before it, there were more grammar schools erected and endowed in England, than had been in three hundred years preceding: one at Chichester, by Dr. Edward Story, bishop of that see, who left a farther benefaction to it, by his last will, dated 8th Dec. 1502^o: another at Manchester, by Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, who died 1519^p: another at Binton in Somersetshire, by Dr. Fitz-James, bishop of London, and his brother sir John Fitz-James, lord chief justice of England: a fourth at Cirencester in Gloucestershire, by Dr. Thomas Ruthal, bishop of Durham^q: a fifth at Roulston in Staffordshire, by Dr. Robert Sherborn, bishop of St. David's, predecessor to Dr. Colet in the deanery of Paul's^r:

able to be such a magnificent benefactor; as Thomas Moore writes to Dr. Colet—*Neque valde miror, si clarissimæ scolæ tuæ rumpantur invidia. Vident enim, uti ex equo Trojano prodierunt Græci, qui barbaram diruere Trojam, sic e tua prodire scola, qui ipsorum arguunt atque subvertunt inscitiam.*— [Cited by Stapleton, tom. iv. p. 993.]

^o — *Item successoribus meis in perpetuum duo messuagia, et terras pertinentes eisdem in Ambley; scilicet ut habeant inde annuatim duo marcas, ut sint faventes et benevoli scolæ meæ grammaticali Cicestriæ per me erectæ—Probat. 17. Martii. [Reg. Cant. MS.]*

^p At Manchester in Lanca-

shire, bishop Oldham built an house to be employed for a school, joining to the college there on the west part. Of this school he appointed a master and an usher, who were to teach children grammar after the manner and form of the school at Banbury in Oxfordshire, where Thomas Stanbridge taught the Grammar composed by John Stanbridge. [Athen. Oxon. vol. i. Col. 562, 565.]

^q Dr. Tho. Ruthal, born at Cirencester — towards his latter end founded a free school at the place of his nativity, and gave an house and seven pounds per annum, for the maintenance of a master. [Ath. Ox. vol. i. Col. 565.]

^r Anth. Oxon. vol. i. Col.

a sixth at Kingston upon Hull, by John Alcock, bishop of Ely^s: a seventh at Sutton Colfield in Warwickshire, by Dr. John Harman, (alias Veysy,) bishop of Exeter: an eighth at Farnworth in Lancashire, by Dr. William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, born there: a ninth at Appleby in Westmoreland, by Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester: a tenth at Ipswich in Suffolk, by cardinal Wolsey^t: another at Wymbourn in Dorsetshire, by Margaret countess of Richmond^u: another at Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, by sir Stephen Jennings, mayor of London: another at Macclesfield in Cheshire, by sir John Percival, mayor of London: as also another by the lady Thomasine his wife, at St. Mary Wike in Devonshire, where she was born: and another at Walthamstow in Essex, by George Monnox, mayor of London, 1515^x: besides several other schools in other parts of the kingdom. And after the reformation was established, the piety and charity of protestants ran so fast in this channel, that in the next age there wanted rather a regulation of grammar schools, than an increase of them.

No doubt the same motives occasioned the raising of St. Paul's school in London: which taking up some years in purchasing the site, removing the in-

574.—A certain note collected by sir William Dugdale, and communicated to me, informs, that the said Rob. Sherborne founded a free school in the time of Hen. VIII. at Roulston in Staffordshire.

^s Johannes Episcopus Eliensis scholam pueris in grammatica instituendis extruxit, et dotavit, apud Kyngeston super

Hulle; et capellam ibidem ad australe ecclesiæ latus posuit. [MS. J. W.]

^t Ath. Oxon. vol. i.

^u—Stipendia constituit tribus hoc cœnobio [Westmon.] monachis et doctori grammatices apud Wymborn—[Épitaph. Margaretæ comitissæ Richmond.

^x Stow's Survey of London, p. 89. 577.]

cumbrances, erecting the new pile of buildings, providing of suitable masters, and settling the endowment in trust for ever; this might be the reason why our common historians have differed so much in the date of its foundation, taking their liberty within the space of seven or eight years.

This seems to be a true account; that there was a beginning, and even a considerable progress made in it, before the death of Henry VII. in the year 1508. Accordingly the Annals annexed to the Norvicus of Alexander Nevil place the foundation in this year^y. And Polydore Virgil seems to point out the same time in the twenty-sixth book of his history; which he concludes with the following memorial of dean Colet, and his ample foundation of Paul's school: speaking of the new foundations of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge; “^zIt was,” says he, “the

^y Hoc anno 1508. Jo. Coletus, divi Pauli decanus, suis sumptibus magnificam scholam extruxit, in ea parte cœmeterii Paulini, quæ ad orientem spectat. Eodem anno mortuus est Henricus ejus nominis septimus. [Annal. ad finem Nordovici Alex. Nevil.]

^z — Idem etiam virtutis et gloriæ stimulus concitavit Joannem Coletum, decanum quem dicunt divi Pauli, ad istiusmodi bonas literas propagandi studium. Is partim animi atque mentis virtute, partim vitæ ac morum integritate ornatus, apud suos Anglos alter pene apostolus Paulus habitus est, quod natura sanctus et religiosus, ut primum ex pueris excessit, atque ab his artibus quibus ætas pue-

rilis ad humanitatem informatur, se ad divinarum literarum studium contulit, et Paulum sibi præceptorem delegit, in eoque cum Oxonii et Cantabrigiæ, tum in Italia ita exercuit, ut homo factus ad unguem, sicut aiunt, cum mox domum rediit, cœperit Londini, ubi natus est, Paulinas legere epistolas, et in templis sæpe concionari. Et quoniam non secus docebat quam vivebat, idcirco mirum in modum mortales in ejus optimis præceptis acquiescebant: erat enim homo continentissimus, qui semel in die cibum capiebat: non sitiebat honores, non cupiebat opes, non quærebatur divitias; quæ tamen cum fugientem secutæ, tandem consecutæ sunt. Sane accidit, ut

“ same spirit of virtue and glory that excited Dr.
 “ John Colet, dean of St. Paul’s, to propagate in
 “ some like manner the knowledge of good letters.
 “ He being very eminent, as well for his greatness
 “ and firmness of mind, as for his goodness and in-
 “ tegrity of life, was esteemed among his country-
 “ men (the English) as if he had been a second St.
 “ Paul. For being from a child naturally devout
 “ and religious, as soon as he grew up, and was per-
 “ fectly instructed in those arts and sciences which
 “ are called the studies of humanity, he applied him-
 “ self with the utmost intention to divinity, and
 “ chose out St. Paul for his great master and di-
 “ rector: in whose writings he was so conversant,

ex duobus et viginti filiis, quos
 Henricus Coletus ejus pater, ci-
 vis summa modestia et gravi-
 tate, ex Christiana uxore, nobili
 muliere susceperat, solus ipse
 superstes fuerat; eique paterna
 hæreditas venerit. Tum Joanes
 videns plures suos cives natu-
 ræ tantum habitu, evadere vi-
 ros graves et modestos, putavit
 illos ipsos multo excellentiores
 fore, si excolerentur doctrina:
 quapropter statuit suis sumpti-
 bus juvare pubem Londinen-
 sem, ad percipiendam, colen-
 damque doctrinam. Qui circi-
 ter ista tempora posuit in ea
 parte cœmeterii Paulini quæ ad
 orientem solem spectat, magni-
 ficam scholam, deditque præcep-
 torem, Gulielmum Liliū; alter-
 um, qui rudiores informaret pue-
 ros; quod in eo erat literatura,
 mores boni, diligentia summa.
 Nam Lilius vir, quemadmodum
 dicit Horatius, integer vitæ, sce-
 lerisque purus, postquam in Ita-

lia aliquot per annos, perfectis
 literis operam dederat, domum
 reversus, Anglorum primus apud
 suos eas docuit: antea enim
 Cornelius Vitellius, homo Italus,
 Corneti, quod est maritimum
 Hetruriæ oppidum, natus nobili
 prosapia, omnium primus Oxo-
 nii bonis literis juventutem eru-
 divit. Deinde secutus est doc-
 trinæ et morum magister Johan-
 nes Reighevus, deinde Richar-
 dus Ionys. Iis autem ludi li-
 terarii magistris Coletus, ex
 suis facultatibus in annos sin-
 gulos stipendium constituit,
 quo illi, et posthac alii, omni
 tempore, gratuito docerent. Ac
 ut Londinensis juvenus e Pau-
 lina schola multo est politior,
 sic tota Angliā, multi studii et
 doctrinis dedit perfecta litera-
 tura florent. [Polydori Virgillii
 Urbinatis Anglicæ Historiæ lib.
 26. et ult. finis, 8vo. Lugd. Bat.
 1651.]

“ both at Oxford and Cambridge, and in Italy, that,
“ becoming a sound divine, and a complete scholar,
“ as soon as he returned from his travels, he began
“ to read public lectures out of the epistles of St.
“ Paul, in his native city of London, and to preach
“ often in the churches. And because his life was
“ agreeable to his doctrine, people were much the
“ more attentive and complying to him. For he
“ was a man of exemplary temperance, and all other
“ virtues. He eat but once a day. He was not
“ ambitious of honour, nor covetous of worldly
“ wealth; so far from pursuing after riches, that he
“ rather avoided and fled from them, while they
“ notwithstanding pursued and overtook him. It so
“ happened, that of two and twenty children which
“ Henry Colet, his father, (a citizen of great prudence
“ and virtue) had by Christian his wife, (an excel-
“ lent woman, of a good family,) this John was the
“ only survivor; and his father’s inheritance came
“ to him. When he was in full possession of it, ob-
“ serving that many of his fellow-natives of that city
“ did, by the mere strength of nature, grow up into
“ considerable men, he concluded they would sooner
“ do so, if they had the help and advantage of being
“ trained up in good literature. And therefore he
“ resolved to lend (at his own expense) that assist-
“ ance to the children of that city: for which pur-
“ pose he founded a magnificent school in the east
“ part of St. Paul’s churchyard, and appointed two
“ masters; the principal being William Lily, the
“ other John Ryghthuysen, who was to attend the
“ lower boys; both men of learning, good manners,
“ and the greatest diligence. Lily was a man (in

“ the phrase of Horace) *of a pure and unspotted*
 “ *life*; who, after he had bestowed some years in
 “ Italy, for the attaining of perfect letters, *i. e.* the
 “ Greek and Latin tongues, upon his return was the
 “ first among the English that taught them in any
 “ public school. It was somewhat before this time,
 “ that Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, born at Cor-
 “ naro, a maritime town on the coast of Tuscany, a
 “ man of a noble family, and of all agreeable qualifi-
 “ cations, taught both these kinds of literature at
 “ Oxford.

“ For those two masters dean Colet made a suitable
 “ provision, by annual salaries, to support them, in
 “ teaching without fee or reward for ever. And he
 “ made it an injunction, that in the room of the
 “ upper master, the second should succeed, without
 “ just impediment: by which means Ryghthuysc
 “ succeeded Lily; and after Ryghthuysc, master
 “ Richard Jones, a very learned and modest man.
 “ But as by the benefit of this school the London
 “ youth have been very much polished and im-
 “ proved; so the whole kingdom has enjoyed the
 “ good effects of a daily progress of languages and
 “ school-learning.”

The foundation is placed the following year, 1509.
 I Hen. VIII. by master Grafton, in the Abridg-
 ment of the Chronicles of England, (8vo. 1572.) in
 these words of Mr. Hall. “ In this time also the
 “ right famous and learned doctor in divinity, John
 “ Colet, dean of Paul’s church in London, the sonne
 “ of Henry Colet, mercer, and late mayor of Lon-
 “ don, of his own great costes and charges, builded,
 “ in the east end of St. Paul’s churchyard in the
 “ said citye, one free grammar-schoole, and placed

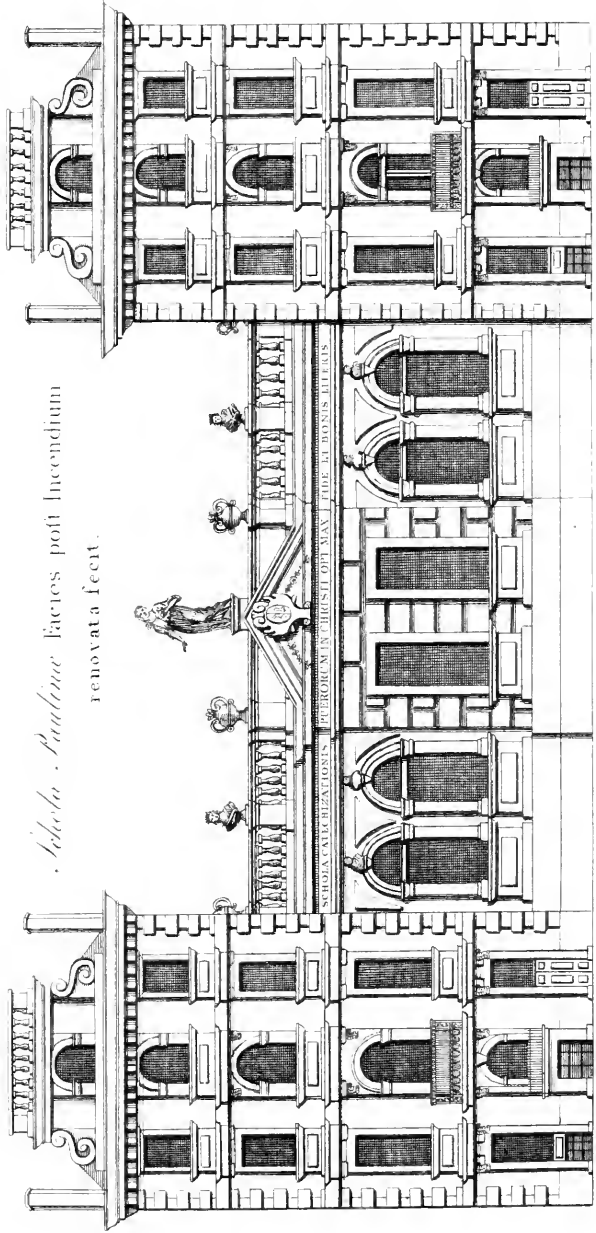
“ one master and usher in the same, for the educa-
 “ tion and bringing up of youth in lernyng; and he
 “ buylded also two fayre tenements joyning to the
 “ said schoole, for the maister and usher to inhabit
 “ in, and endued them with goodly pensions, and
 “ committed the charge and oversight of the good
 “ government and continuance of the saide schoole
 “ unto the maisters and wardens of the worshipfull
 “ companye of the mercers for the time beyng, to
 “ be ordered and kept according to such ordinances
 “ and statutes as he had drawne for the good go-
 “ vernment of the same: whiche said companye of
 “ the mercers have, to their great prayse hitherto,
 “ ordered the same to God’s high honour, and to
 “ the benefit of the common weale, and to the well
 “ bringing up of many an honest pore man’s childe.
 “ This man in his tyme was a great and diligent
 “ preacher of God’s blessed worde; and did in those
 “ dayes much reprehend and rebuke the sloathfull-
 “ ness of the cleargie; and he was the first in his
 “ tyme that taught the people the articles of the
 “ fayth, the commandments of Almighty God, and
 “ the Lordes prayer in English; for the which he
 “ was not at that time well thought of by sundry of
 “ the bisshoppes and cleargy, who then favoured in
 “ the common people ignorance better than know-
 “ ledge.”

George Lily, in his Latin Chronicle, places the
 foundation of St. Paul’s school under the same year,
 1509. “^a At this time,” says he, “ the perfection

^a Anno 1509. His temporibus perfectæ literæ Latinæ, simul ac Græcæ, fælicissimo ex Italia ingeniorum proventu, in Britanniam usque diffusæ, prin-

cipes nonnullos apud Anglos suis sumptibus ad juvanda passim bonarum artium studia excitarunt—istorum instituta secutus Joannes Coletus, D. Pauli,

School - Pauline facies post Incendium
renovata fecit.



“ of good letters, Latin and Greek, by the happy advantage of many wits and scholars out of Italy, was spread throughout Great Britain, and excited the princes and nobility of England to encourage the study of arts and sciences. Their good example was followed by Dr. John Colet, dean of Paul’s, an excellent preacher of the word of God, and much favoured of king Henry for his singular piety and learning, who about this time erected a public school in London, of an elegant structure, and endowed it with a large estate, for teaching gratis the sons of his fellow-citizens for ever.”

Others have fixed the foundation of this eminent school in the year 1510. (as Cooper^b, Holingshed^c, &c.^d) and with good reason; because the front of it next the church was then finished, and this inscription put upon it; SCHOLA CATECHIZATIONIS PURERORUM IN CHRISTI OPT. MAX. FIDE ET BONIS LITERIS ANNO CHRISTI MDX^e.

uti vocant, decanus, verbi divini concionator eximius, Henrico regi, propter insignem animi pietatem doctrinamque apprime charus, circa hæc tempora Londini scholam publicam, eleganti structura, posuit; eademque suorum civium liberis gratuito in perpetuum erudiendis amplissimo patrimonio ditavit. [G. Lili Chron. sub anno 1509.]

^b The worshipfull clerke doctor Collett, which builded the free schole of Paules in London, lived at this time, and by his diligent preaching firste began to open the slothfulness and negligence of the clergy of this realme in those dayes. [Cooper’s Chron. 4to. sub anno 1510.]

^c In the year 1510, Dr. Colet,

deane of Paules, erected a free schoole in Paules church-yarde in London, and committed the oversight thereof to the masters and wardens of the mercers, because himself was born in London, and was sonne to Henry Colet mercer, sometime lord-mayor of the cite of London. [Holingshed sub anno 1510.]

^d Cumque Paulinum decanatum regis beneficio accepisset in divino verbo prædicando assiduus fuit, et ad juvenes primis literis et grammatica instituentos scholam illam egregiam, quæ Paulina dicitur, extruxit. [Antiq. Britan. sub Will. Warhamo, edit. Hanov. p. 306.]

^e Some other ancient inscrip-

The account of this foundation given by Mr. Wood is, though the last, the most imperfect of any. Speaking of Dr. Colet, he tells us: “In 1512, 4 Hen. VIII. he was at the charge of 4,500*l.* for the founding a free school in the east part of St. Paul’s churchyard, for three hundred fifty and three poor men’s children, to be taught free in that school; appointing a master, usher, and a chaplain, with sufficient stipends to endure for ever; and he committed the oversight of it to the mercers of London; whom he endowed with an hundred and twenty pounds yearly, for the maintenance thereof. He also at the same time gave orders for the scholars; whereby also the schoolmasters themselves should be directed. As for the rents, they being much increased since, more comes to the schoolmaster than the whole endowment ^f.”

But the best account is given us by Erasmus; and it is very particular, as followeth. “[§]Upon the death of his father, when by right of inheritance he was possessed of a good sum of money; lest the keeping of it should corrupt his mind, and turn it too much toward the world, he laid out a great part of it in building a new school in the churchyard of St. Paul’s, dedicated to the child Jesus: a magnificent fabric; to which he added two dwelling-houses for the two several masters: and to them

tions, as also the modern ones, that are now to be seen in and about the new fabric, I shall insert in the appendix. But here it is to be noted, that the new school was built much according to the ancient model, though more magnificently; above 6,000*l.* being laid out upon

it by the worshipful company of mercers.

^f Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 11.

[§] — Nam patre defuncto, cum ingentem pecuniæ vim accepisset ex hæreditate, ne servata gigneret in eo aliquid morbi, novam scholam extruxit in cœmeterio S. Pauli, puero Jesu

“ he allotted ample salaries, that they might teach
 “ a certain number of boys, free, and for the sake of
 “ charity. He divided the school into four apart-
 “ ments. The first, *viz.* the porch and entrance, is
 “ for catechumens, or the children to be instructed
 “ in the principles of religion; where no child is to
 “ be admitted, but what can read and write. The
 “ second apartment is for the lower boys, to be
 “ taught by the second master, or usher: the third
 “ for the upper forms, under the headmaster: which
 “ two parts of the school are divided by a curtain,
 “ to be drawn at pleasure. Over the master’s chair
 “ is an image of the child Jesus, of admirable work,
 “ in the gesture of teaching; whom all the boys, go-
 “ ing and coming, salute with a short hymn: and
 “ there is a representation of God the Father, say-
 “ ing, *Hear ye him*; these words being written at
 “ my suggestion. The fourth or last apartment is
 “ a little chapel for divine service. The school has
 “ no corners or hiding places; nothing like a cell or
 “ closet. The boys have their distinct forms, or
 “ benches, one above another. Every form holds

sacram, opere magnifico. Ad-
 jecit aedes magnificas, in quibus
 agerent duo ludimagistri; qui-
 bus amplum salarium designa-
 vit, quo gratuito docerent; sed
 sic, uti schola non capiat nisi
 certum numerum. Eam dis-
 tinxit in partes quatuor. Primus
 ingressus habet ceu catechu-
 menos. Nullus autem admitti-
 tur, nisi qui jam norit et legere
 et scribere. Secunda pars habet
 eos quos hypodidasculus institu-
 it. Tertia quos superior erudit.
 Alteram ab altera dirimit velum
 quoddam, quod adducitur, ac

diducitur, cum libet. Supra ca-
 thedram præceptoris sedet puer
 Jesus singulari opere, docentis
 gestu; quem totus grex, adiens
 scholam ac relinquens, hymno
 salutatur. Et imminet Patris fa-
 cies dicentis, *Ipsam audite*: nam
 hæc verba, me autore, ascripsit.
 In postremo sacellum est, in
 quo licet rem divinam facere.
 Tota schola nullos habet angu-
 los, aut secessus; adeo ut nec
 cœnaculum sit ullum, aut cubi-
 culum. Pueris singulis suus est
 locus in gradibus paulatim ad-
 scendentibus, distinctis spaciis.

“ sixteen; and he that is head or captain of each
 “ form has a little kind of desk by way of preemi-
 “ nence. They are not to admit all boys of course,
 “ but to choose them in according to their parts and
 “ capacities. The wise and sagacious founder saw
 “ that the greatest hopes and happiness of the com-
 “ monwealth were in the training up of children to
 “ good letters and true religion: for which noble pur-
 “ pose he laid out an immense sum of money; and
 “ yet he would admit no one to bear a share in this
 “ expense. Some person having left a legacy of one
 “ hundred pounds sterling toward the fabric of the
 “ school, dean Colet perceived a design in it, and, by
 “ leave of the Bishop, got that money to be laid out
 “ upon the vestments of the church of St. Paul.
 “ After he had finished all, he left the perpetual
 “ care and oversight of the estate, and government of
 “ it, not to the clergy, not to the bishop, not to the
 “ chapter, nor to any great minister at court; but
 “ amongst the married laymen, to the company of
 “ mercers, men of probity and reputation. And when
 “ he was asked the reason of so committing this trust,
 “ he answered to this effect: That there was no ab-
 “ solute certainty in human affairs; but for his part,

Quæque classis habet sedecim; et qui in sua classe præcellit, sellulam habet cæteris paululo eminentiorem. Nec quosvis admittunt temere; sed delectus fit indolis et ingeniorum. Vidit illud vir perspicacissimus, in hoc esse præcipuam reipublicæ spem, si prima ætas bonis rationibus institueretur. Ea res cum constet immensa pecunia, tamen nullum in hujus consortium admisit. Quidam legarat in eam

structuram centum libras monetæ Britannicæ: ubi sensit Coletus, hac gratia sibi nescio quid juris vindicare laicos, permissu episcopi sui, eam pecuniam contulit in sacras vestes templi. Reditibus totique negotio præfecit non sacerdotes, non episcopum, aut capitulum, ut vocant, non magnates, sed cives aliquot conjugatos, probatæ famæ. Roganti causam, ait, nihil quidem esse certi in rebus hu-

“ he found less corruption in such a body of citizens, than in any other order or degree of mankind.”

Erasmus often had reference to the wisdom and honesty of Dr. Colet, in preferring a married man for the master of his school; and again, married men for the trustees and guardians of it^h: the celibacy of the clergy being at that time fallen into infinite crimes and scandals; into the very corrupting of their principles, and making it a less fault to have ten whores abroad, than one wife (or, as they called it, a concubine) at home; which sir Thomas Moore remembers to have been defended by a divine of his acquaintanceⁱ. Besides which reasons, the dean might be further induced to make this wise choice, upon the account of that strange turn the church affairs were taking about this time.

Here I cannot but remark also, that this school is

manis, sed tamen in his se minimum invenire corruptelæ. [Eras. Ep. Jod. Jon.]

^h So Erasmus observes in his dialogue de Pronunciatione.—*Ursus*. Proinde Joannes Coletus, vir æterna dignus memoria, quum templo divi Pauli scholam puerilem addidisset, nulla cura magis torquebatur, quam in quos ejus rei præfecturam delegaret. Episcopi judicant hanc rem indignam sua sollicitudine. Scholasteres censibus recipiendis se potius quam scholæ curandæ datos arbitrantur, et pulchre sibi videntur suo functi officio, si ludimagistros non deciment. In collegiis canonicorum fere semper deterior pars superat. Magistratus vel judicio carent, vel indulgent privatis affectibus. *Leo*. Quid tandem consilii reperit? *Urs*. Hominem conjuga-

tum, et liberis divitem, scholæ præfecit: provisionem delegavit aliquot e civibus laicis, quorum probitatem habere sibi videbatur exploratam, ut ab his in hæredes proximos derivetur. *Leo*. Num ea providentia securum reddidit? *Urs*. Minime; sed his aiebat sibi videri minimum esse periculi, ut tum habebant res humanæ. p. 919.

ⁱ Theologus asserebat conclusionem famosam cujusdam limpidissimi doctoris, qui fecit illum singularissimum librum qui intitulatur *Directorium Concubinariorum*, plus eum peccare qui unam domi concubinam, quam qui decem foras meretrices haberet; idque cum ob malum exemplum, tum ob occasionem sæpius peccandi cum ea quæ domi sit. [Tho. Mori Apologia pro Erasmo.]

not hampered or clogged with any statute which might hinder it from being generally useful to the world. Not only natives of the city, but they that were born in any other part of the kingdom, and even those who are foreigners, and (as the founder expresses it,) of all nations and countries, are capable (under the same good restrictions as others) to be partakers of its privileges. And the good founder's wisdom is also very apparent, in giving liberty to declare the sense of his statutes in general; and from time to time to alter and correct, add and diminish, as should in after-times be thought proper, or should any way tend to the better government of the school. For want of such a liberty, how many ridiculous customs have been and still are kept up in some schools and colleges; which, though when first enjoined, were not only laudable, but even necessary, yet became, in process of time, monstrously absurd and ridiculous. The dean, no doubt, was aware of this; or else he would not have been so obsequious to the time he lived in, as to mention in his statutes the ceremony of the boy-bishop: which seems to be so ludicrous, that he would never have enjoined any attendance on him by his scholars, but that he hoped he might thereby facilitate matters of much greater importance. Bating this one superstition, his statutes (drawn up by himself) would easily gain belief, that they were of a more modern date, and writ by one who was not of the communion of the Romish church; they being written in the most grave and pious strain imaginable, with frequent and very serious adjurations of the name of God.

This school, which has continued for above two hundred years, could we but give the reader a com-

plete catalogue of the names of the most considerable persons bred up in it, would have no cause to envy any of its standing in Europe. But we must content ourselves at present with those few ornaments of their country (according to their several capacities) which, with some difficulty, we have picked up by one means or other: a trouble that might have been prevented, if care had been taken to keep a register of every admission into the school; which being handed down from time to time, would have been a great credit to the school, as well as service to the world. Such sort of diptychs should be hung up in every public school, especially those of ancient foundation, to excite a spirit of emulation in the boys to follow their famous leaders. All that I can contribute towards so good a design, the reader will find in the appendix.

The state of schools in London before dean Colet's foundation was to this effect: ^k the chancellor of

^k Cancellarius ecclesiæ S. Pauli London.—Is etiam præest literaturæ, non solum ecclesiæ sed etiam totius civitatis. Omnes magistri grammatices ei subjiciuntur. Is in schola Pauli magistrum idoneum, quem ante decano et capitulo præsentaverit, præficit; et ædes illius scholæ sumptibus suis reficit. Is etiam libros ecclesiæ omnes scholasticos custodit, et magister eruditionis et doctrinæ est; et auditoribus legere oportet sacras literas ad Dei cognitionem, et ad vitæ et morum institutionem.

De Magistro Grammatices.

Magister scholæ grammaticæ vir probus et honestus debet es-

se, atque multæ et laudatæ literaturæ: is pueros doceat grammaticam maxime eos qui sint ecclesiæ; eisdem exemplum bonæ vitæ ostendat. Caveat magnopere, ne scandalizet teneros animos aliqua fœditate vel facti vel sermonis; quin imo simul cum casta literatura imbuat eos sanctis moribus, sitque eis non solum grammatices sed etiam virtutis magister. Is loco cancellarii scribit in tabula, atque notat ordine, quid quisque legat in ecclesia. Is etiam magister habitum gerat in choro; et in majoribus festis primam lectionem legat. [Ex lib. Statutorum Eccles. S. Pauli Lond. scripto ad mandatum Th. Lyseux, de-

Paul's (as in all the ancient cathedral churches) was master of the schools, (*magister scholarum*,) having the direction and government of literature, not only within the church, but within the whole city; so that all the masters and teachers of grammar depended on him, and were subject to him: particularly he was to find a fit master for the school of St. Paul, and present him to the dean and chapter, and then to give him possession; and at his own cost and charges to repair the houses and buildings belonging to the school. This master of the grammar school was to be a sober, honest man, of good and laudable learning; who should instruct the boys, especially those belonging to the church, in grammar, and set them the example of a good life, and take great care not to deprave the minds of those little ones by any turpitude in word or deed, but with chaste language and conversation, train them up in holiness and the fear of God; and be unto them, not only a master of grammar, but also of virtue and religion. He was, to all intents, the true vice-chancellor of the church, and was some time so called; and this was the original meaning of chancellors (and vice-chancellors) in the two universities, or great schools of the kingdom. A grant of the office and dignity of chancellor of the church passed formerly by giving and granting the school of St. Paul; as in the time of Richard de Belmeis, bishop of London, about 1123.

That Paul's school was very ancient, appears by the charter of Richard, bishop of London, in Hen. I.'s

time¹; who granted to one Hugh, the schoolmaster thereof, and his successors, the habitation of Durandus, at the corner of the turret, or bell-tower, and the custody of the library belonging to the church: after whom succeeded Henry, a canon of the same bishop; which Henry was so respected by Henry de Bloys, bishop of Winchester, that he commanded none should teach school in London without his licence, except the schoolmasters of St. Mary le Bow and St. Martin le Grand. All that presumed to open any school within the city, (except in those exempt places,) after a third admonition, were to be excommunicated^m.

Dean Colet being desirous his school should be independent upon this power, (which probably he observed had been somewhat abused,) was therefore, in respect to the memory of his father, who had gained a fair estate in the company of mercers, as well as for other reasons, willing to shew his regard

¹ Ricardus, Dei gratia Lond. episcopus, W. decano, totique fratrum conventui, et W. Occhendone dapifero suo, cunctisque suis hominibus salut. et in Christo benedictionem. Notum vobis facio, carissimi, me concessisse Henrico canonico meo, successori magistri Hugonis, scolas S. Pauli ita honorifice sicut unquam melius et honorabilius illas ecclesia habuit; et terram de atrio quod prædictus Hugo ad se hospitandum sibi inclusit, et pratum quod eidem Hugoni in Folcham concesseram; scilicet III acras, scilicet quicquid est in illo loco a grava usque ad Tamisiam: singulis annis pro XII. denariis, de recognitione in festo S. Michaelis:

et in elemosina decimam de Ilingis, et decimam de Madeleia. Test. Will. de Wintonia, et Willo de Occhendone dapifero, et Hugone de Canerisio. Valete. [Cart. Autogr. penes decan. et capit. Lond.]

^m H. Dei gratia Winton. eccles. minister capitulo S. Pauli, et Willelmo archid. et ministris suis salutem. Precipio vobis per obedientiam, et post trinam vocationem, sententiam, anathematis in eo proferatis, qui sine licentia Henrici magistri scholarum in tota civitate London. legere præsumperit, præter eos qui scholas S. Marie de Arcubus, et sancti Martini Magni regunt——

to them, by constituting them sole governors of his foundation : and he seems to have been instrumental in obtaining for them the right of nomination, or presentation, of a master to the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, in the city of London, (now Mercers' chapel,) granted to the said society by Richard, bishop of London, in 1514. ⁿ

At this time the common way for the nobility and gentry to educate their sons, was, to send them into a religious convent, especially of the Dominicans, Franciscans, or Augustine friars : where, as Erasmus says, " they had not above three months' " time allowed them for learning grammar ; and " then immediately were posted away to sophistry, " logic, suppositions, ampliations, restrictions, expo- " sitions, resolutions, and a thousand quibbles, and " so on to the mysteries of divinity ; but if they " were brought to any classic author, Greek or La- " tin, they were blind, they were ignorant, they " thought themselves in another world ^o." Yet the

ⁿ Concessio nominationis sive presentationis magistri hospitalis S. Thomæ de Acon, facta societati merceriorum in civitate London. per D. Ricardum London. episcopum, dat. Fulham, anno MDXIV. nostræ translationis nono. [Reg. Fitz-James episc. London. f. cxviii.]

^o —Ne recedamus ab instituto, hujus mali præcipua pars mihi videtur oriri ex publicis scholis, quas ambizioso vocabulo nunc appellant universitates, quasi nihil absit bonæ disciplinæ ; tum ex monasteriis, præsertim iis in quibus instituuntur ad doctrinam evangelicam, quod

genus sunt Dominicanorum, et Franciscanorum, et Augustinensium. In his enim adolescentibus, vix trimestri studio grammaticæ dato, protinus rapiuntur ad sophisticen, dialecticen, suppositiones, ampliaciones, restrictiones, expositiones, resolutiones ad gryphos et quæstionum labyrinthos, hinc recta in adyta theologiæ. Tales, ubi ventum est ad eos autores qui utriusque linguæ facundia præcelluerunt, Deum immortalem ! ut cæcutiunt, ut delirant, ut sibi videntur in alio prorsus esse mundo. [Eras. Dialogus de Pronuntiatione. Operum tom. i. p. 770.]

age began now to be wiser; and to be well versed in grammar-learning was thought a matter of greater importance by all who were well-wishers to the restoration of learning. Particularly bishop Waynfleet, in founding his three schools, at Waynfleet, Brackley, and within Magdalen college in Oxford, took care that in those different parts of the kingdom the seeds of Greek and human literature might be early sown, to yield a plentiful increase through the whole nation^p: and in his foundation of Magdalen college, as he provided sufficient salaries for a master and usher to teach boys the rudiments of that tongue, so for the scholars of his house that should grow up to greater maturity in age and learning, he settled a particular professor, to confirm and perfect them in that language. That bishop Fox had a design to promote the three learned tongues in his college at Oxford, appears by a letter of Erasmus writ to John Claymond, the first president thereof, here under placed^q. And it would be well, if governors and

^p — Hoc consilio illustrissim. fundator et institutor collegii vestri (Magdalensis) scholam Wainflettensem, Brachliensem, et vestram domi celeberrimam extrui et aperiri voluit, ut diversis regni locis Græcarum et humanarum literarum semina sparsa in fœcundam segetem totius reipublicæ exerescent, &c. [Laur. Humphredus de Græcis Literis, et Homeri Lectione.]

^q Eras. Rot. insigni theologo Joanni Claymondo, S. D. Egregiam illam prudentiam suam, qua semper publicæ famæ præconio commendatus fuit Ricardus episcopus Wintoniensis, nullo certiore argumento nobis

declaravit, Claymonde, non infimum decus ordinis theologi, quam quod collegium magnificentum, suis impendiis extractum, tribus præcipuis linguis ac melioribus literis vetustisque autoribus proprie consecravit. Nani qua ratione melius mereri potuit de rebus humanis: aut quo monumento rectius nomen suum æternæ hominum memoriæ dedicare? isthuc profecto demum est ecclesiæ columen, isthuc est episcopum agere. — mihi præsagit animus futurum olim, ut istud collegium ceu templum sacrosanctum optimis literis dicatum, toto terrarum orbe, inter præcipua decora Britannię

tutors could call back the younger scholars in colleges and halls to the primitive institution of them; the being perfected in languages, as well as in arts and sciences.

Instruction in grammar was a main use and purpose of the ancient foundations. And even so late as the erecting and endowing of Jesus college in Cambridge, it was, as for a master and six fellows, so for a certain number of scholars to be instructed in grammar^r.

It may shew the great regard had about this time to these studies, that the university students took their degrees in rhetoric and grammar; the manner whereof Mr. Wood tells us, in his account of an eminent grammarian, Robert Whittington. “ In the beginning of the year 1513, 5 Hen. VIII. he supplicated the venerable congregation of regents, under the name and title of Robert Whytingdon, a secular chaplain, and a scholar of the art of rhetoric; that whereas he had spent fourteen years in the study of the said art, and twelve years in the informing of boys, it might be sufficient for him, that he might be laureated. This supplication being granted, he was (after he had composed an hundred verses, which were stuck up in public places, espe-

numeretur: pluresque futuros quos trilinguis istius bibliothecæ spectaculum, quæ nihil bonorum autorum non habeat, unde nihil malorum non exulet, pertrahat Oxoniam, quam olim tot miraculis visenda Roma ad se pellexit. Quin et illud mihi quidem sagax consilium optimi præsulis arguit, quod te potissimum ex omnibus delectum, virum haudquaquam novæ, sed

jam olim notæ perspectæque probitatis, novo collegio præfecerit. Lovainii, 5 kal. Jul. 1519.

^r Literæ Henrici regis VII. quod Johannes episcopus Eliensis fundare possit quoddam collegium de uno magistro, et sex sociis, et certo numero scholarium in gram. erudiendorum. [Rymer's Acta publ. tom. xii. p. 653.]

cially on the door or doors of St. Mary's church,) very solemnly crowned, or his temples adorned with a wreath of laurel, that is, doctorated in the arts of grammar and rhetoric, 4. July the same year^s." And this may discover the error of some, who, not considering the crown of laurel as the ensign of a degree, have been apt to think that a poet laureat of old, as well as of late, had that title, and a pension with it from the prince; when it came from the university, in commencing the degree of doctor of grammar; as it came thus to Bernard Andreas, tutor of prince Arthur, to John Skelton, tutor of prince Henry, &c.

Dean Colet, it is plain, had grammar-learning so much at heart, that in the year 1509^t, as he had

^s Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. col. 22. Hence the said Whittinton, in his grammatical tracts, began his epistles to the reader, Robertus Whittintonus, Lichfeldiensis, grammatices magister in florentissima academia laureatus, lectoribus salutem dicit, &c.

Under his name there is a little book of good manners for children, now lately compiled and set forth by Erasmus Rotterdam in Latin tongue, with an interpretation of the same into the vulgar English tongue, by Robert Whytyngdon, poet-laureat. By Wynkyn de Worde. 1532.

^t The sad estate of grammar schools a little before this time, with the reformation now made in them, is frequently implied by Erasmus, particularly in his *Ecclesiastes*. (*Op.* tom. v. p. 710.) Primum illud constat, gramma-

ticen esse disciplinarum omnium fundamentum, ex cuius neglectu quanta bonorum autorum ac disciplinarum vel interitus vel corruptela sit profecta, notius est, quam ut hic sit ostendendum. Quum autem grammaticam dico, non sentio inflexionem nominum, ac verborum, et appositi cum supposito congruentiam; sed rationes emendate proprieque loquendi, quæ res non contingit, nisi ex multijuga veterum lectione, qui sermonis elegantia præcelluerunt. Ac nostro quidem seculo jure gratulamur, quod e ludis literariis penitus sublatum est illud literatorum genus, qui dum inculcabant modos significandi, aliasque commentitias difficultates, idque verbis illotis atque sophisticis, nihil aliud docebant pueros quam barbare loqui, quum grammatica sit ars emendate loquendi. Videbatur hoc

been the pious founder of this school, so he was labouring himself to be the perpetual teacher and instructor of it; and therefore, after he had appointed Mr. William Lily to be the chief or high master, who answered Erasmus's character of a good scholar in all respects^u, he drew up some rudiments of grammar with an abridgment of the principles of religion, and published them for the standing use and service of Paul's school, entitled, *Rudimenta Grammatices a Johanne Coletto, Decano Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London. in Usum Scholæ ab ipso institutæ*^x. Which little manual, called Paul's Accidence, the author, Dr. Colet, dedicated to the new master, Lilye, in a short elegant Latin epistle, dated from his own house the first of August, 1510^y.

esse compendium, quum revera maximum esset dispendium. Rapiebant pueros ante tempus ad dialecticam, atque adeo ad sophisticam, &c.

Deum immortalem! quale seculum erat hoc, quum magno apparatu disticha Joannis Garlandini adolescentibus operosis ac prolixis commentariis enarrabantur? Quum ineptis versiculis dictandis repetendis et exigendis magna pars temporis absumebatur? Quum edisceretur Florista, et Floretus? Nam Alexandrum inter tolerabiles numerandum arbitror. [Eras. De Pueris liberaliter instituendis.]

^u — Primum, ex omnium civium numero, deligam mihi virum ætatis non quidem decrepitæ, sed tamen provectæ, vigilantem, industrium, bonæ fidei, qui maximam ætatis partem in hoc literarum genere non infe-

liciter transegerit. [Dialog. De Pronuntiatione. Op. tom. i. p. 766.]

^x In bibl. publ. Cantabr. inter MS. reg.]

^y Jo. Colet suo Lilio salutem. Accipe, optime ac literatissime Lili, libellum puerilis institutionis, in quo quidem eadem, quæ fuerunt ab aliis tradita, ratione et ordine paulo (ni fallor) commodiore digessimus. Idque fecimus, ut elementa grammatices et feliciter influerent in puerorum animos, et tenacius inhærerent — Tuum erit, qui primus es hujus novæ Pauli scholæ præceptor, his rudimentis diligenter exercere pueros nostros, deinceps ad majora profecturos: nihil enim æque mihi cordi est in præsentia, quam ut parvuli Christi quam plurimum apud te proficiant, cum literatura, tum bonis moribus: ad quod si eni-

The most remarkable part of this introduction to grammar, are the honest and admirable rules that the dean prescribed for the admission and continuance of boys in his school: which rules and orders were to be read over to the parents, when they first brought their children, for their assent to them, as the express terms and conditions of expecting any benefit of education there. And because the book is so rare, and the rules and cautions so very good, accept this copy of them.

“ — The mayster shall rehearse these articles to them that offer their chyldren, on this wyse here followynge —

“ If youre chyldre can rede and wryte Latyn and Englyshe suffycyently, so that he be able to rede and wryte his own lessons, then he shal be admitted into the schole for a scholer.

“ If youre chyldre, after resonable season proved, be founde here unapte and unable to lernynge, than ye warned therof, shal take hym awaye, that he occupye not oure rowme in vayne.

“ If he be apt to lerne, ye shal be contente that he continue here tyl he have competent literature.

“ If he absente vi dayes, and in that mean season ye shew not cause reasonable, (resonable cause is al only sekene,) than his rowme to be voyde, without he be admitted agayne, and pay *iiii* *d*.

“ Also after cause shewed, if he conteneue to absente tyl the weke of admyssion in the next quarter, and then ye shewe not the contenance of his sekene, then his rowme to be voyde, and he none

teris, et Jesum, puerorum præsidem, tibi tuo studio demereberis, et me plane felicem red-

dideris. Vale, ex ædibus meis, cal. Aug. anno 1510.

“ of the schole tyl he be admytted agayne, and paye
 “ *iiii*℥. for wryting his name.

“ Also if he fall thryse into absence, he shal be
 “ admytted no more.

“ Your chylde shal, on Chyldermas daye, wayte
 “ upon the boy byshop^z at Poules, and offer there.

“ Also ye shal fynde him waxe in winter.

“ Also ye shal fynde him convenyent bokes to his
 “ lernynge.

“ If the offerer be content with these articles, than
 “ let his childe be admytted.”

Then follow, in English, The Articles of the Faythe; the seven Sacraments; Charyte, the love of God, the love of thyne own self, the love of thy neighbour, penance, howselinge in sekene, in deth, precepts of lyvinge: (in Latine) *Symbolum Apostolicum; Oratio Dominica; Salutatio Angelica; Oratiuncula ad puerum Jesum Scolæ Præsidentem: Mi Domine, Jesu suavissime; qui puer adhuc, anno ætatis tuæ duodecimo, &c.* All which you will have in the appendix.

The great cardinal Wolsey, when he had founded a school in his native town of Ipswich, and was to recommend some little system of grammatical rules to it, did dean Colet and himself the honour to reprint those rudiments of Colet^a, for the use of Ips-

^z See Thoresby's *Vica. Leodiens.* LEWIS.

^a No one of our writers had a true notion of cardinal Wolsey's building on this first foundation of the grammar rudiments of Colet, till the excellent author of *Reflections upon Learning*, (printed at Lond.

1699. 8vo.) who has rightly observed, (p. 20. chap. 3.) “ In our times the common grammar that goes under the name of *M. Lilye*, was done by some of the most considerable men of the age; the English rudiments by Dr. Colet, dean of Paul's, with a preface to the

wich, as well as of Paul's school, and prefixed an epistle dated at Westminster, 1 Sept. 1528. The title-page of which book runs thus; " Rudimenta Grammatices, et docendi Methodus, non tam Scollæ Gypswichianæ per Reverend. D. Thomam Cardinalem Ebor. feliciter institutæ, quam omnibus aliis totius Angliæ Scolis præscripta. Joan. Grapheus excudebat impensis Arnoldi Birckmanni, Antw. 1534^b." The cardinal also vouchsafed to direct the use of it in a short epistle^c to the masters of his school^d.

" first editions, directing its use, by no less man than cardinal Wolsey. The most rational part, the syntax, was writ or corrected by Erasmus; and the other parts by other hands: so that though Mr. Lilye now bears the name, which, while living, he always modestly refused, yet it was carried on by the joint endeavours of several learned men, and he perhaps had not the largest share in that work."

^bDr. Young of Welwyn told me, he had a quarto edition of this, published by cardinal Wolsey himself, probably printed in 1528, the year of the epistle. NORTH.

^cMr. Wood had seen this epistle, and the directions for teaching the eight classes in Ipswich school, set before the grammar of William Lilye, and printed in 1528; but having not seen the first editions, he commits a mistake in saying—Dr. John Colet, the learned dean of St. Paul's cath. compiled the eight parts of speech, and Wil-

liam Lilye, the first master of Paul's school, an English syntax, whereunto cardinal Thomas Wolsey did afterwards prefix an epistle and directions for teaching the eight classes or forms in Ipswich school. [Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 571. et col. 7.] Note, Ipswich school was after the model of St. Paul's eight classes, &c.

^dThomas cardinalis Ebor. &c. Gypsuychianæ scolæ præceptoribus, S. D. Neminem latere putamus, quanto animi conatu, studio, industria huc semper labores nostros destinaverimus; non ut nostris privatim commodis, sed ut patriæ civibusque nostris omnibus quam plurimum consuleremus. Ex ædibus nostris 1528. cal. Sept. — Quo ordine pueri in nostrum gymnasium admissi docendi sunt quique autores iisdem prælegendi — His rudimentis pueri in nostra scola imbuti facile declarabunt, quantopere referat ab optimis auspiciatum fuisse. Vos modo pergit, ac patriam bene merentem honestissimis studiis illustrate.

A few years after the publication and general use of these Rudiments, (which related chiefly to the more easy construing of Latin, and are now, with some improvement, placed in the common accidence after the eight parts of speech, though made before,) dean Colet proceeded to draw up, for the familiar use of his boys, that other little tract of the Construction of the Eight Parts of Speech^e; which, with some alterations, and great additions, now makes up the syntax in Lilye's vulgar grammar. He sent it to the master of his school, Mr. Lilye, with a very ingenious and affectionate epistle, dated from his own house in the year 1513. "f Methinks," says he, "my dear Lilye, "I bear the same affection to my new school, as a "parent does to his only son; to whom he is not "only willing to pass over his whole estate, but is "desirous even to impart his own bowels also: and "as the father thinks it to little purpose to have be-

^e Absolutissimus de octo orationis partium constructione libellus, emendatus per Erasmum Rot. &c. cum Epist. præfixis Coleti et Erasmi. Antw. apud Mart. Cæsarem, 1530. 8vo.

^f Joannes Coletus, decanus S. Pauli, Gulielmo Lilio ad divum Paulum ludi moderatori primario, S. D. Haud aliter mihi videor affectus in novam hanc scholam nostram, Lili charissime; quam in unicum filium pater, in quem non solum gaudet universam suam substantiam transfundere, verum etiam sua viscera (si liceat) cupit impartiri. Nam ut huic est parum genuisse, nisi eundem diligenti educatione ad bonam frugem provexerit: ita meo animo non satis est, quod ludum

hunc institui, hoc est, genui, quodque insumpto patrimonio universo vivus etiam ac superstes solidam hæreditatem cessi, nisi modis omnibus dem operam, ut piis moribus et bonis literis diligenter educatus, ad maturam frugem adolescat. Proinde libellum hunc de constructione octo partium orationis ad te mitto; pusillum quidem, sed non pusillum utilitatis allaturum nostræ publi, si diligenter abs te fuerit traditus. Scis in præceptis breviter placere Flacco, cujus sententiam et ipse vehementer approbo. Porro si qua præterea erunt digna cogitu, tuarum partium erit, ut incidant in prælegendis autoribus, adnotare. Bene vale. Domi nostræ, anno MDXIII.

“ gotten a son, unless by diligent education he raises
 “ him up into a good and useful man ; so to my own
 “ mind it is by no means sufficient that I have
 “ raised (*i. e.* begotten) this school, and have con-
 “ veyed my whole estate to it, (even during my own
 “ life and health,) unless I likewise take all possible
 “ care to nurture it in good letters and Christian
 “ manners, and bring it on to some useful maturity
 “ and perfection. For this reason, master, I send you
 “ this small treatise of the Construction of the Eight
 “ Parts of Speech ; small indeed in itself, but such
 “ as will afford no small advantage to our scholars,
 “ if you diligently teach and explain it. You know
 “ Horace was pleased with brevity in the way of
 “ teaching ; and I very much approve of his opinion
 “ in that matter. If in the reading of the classic
 “ authors any notable examples to these rules shall
 “ offer themselves, it will be your part to mark them
 “ as they shall occur. Farewel. From my house,
 “ 1513.”

Dean Colet had such humble thoughts of his own
 performance upon this subject, that he charged Mr.
 Lilye to amend it and improve it, and then return it
 into his hands : and even when master Lilye had
 finished his emendations upon it, the dean would
 still have it brought, if possible, to a greater perfec-
 tion. So he sends the papers to the best critic in
 Europe, Erasmus ; and importunes him to give the
 finishing strokes to it. Erasmus could not but com-
 ply, as he tells us, with such a friend, who might
 ask, and even command, any thing from him : and
 after he had engaged in it, he made so many amend-
 ments and alterations in it, that Lilye could not in
 modesty own it for his work ; nor could Erasmus, in

justice, call it his own ^g. However it was published in 1515, by Erasmus, with an epistle, dated from Basil, 3. cal. Aug. giving an honourable account of the great concern that Mr. dean Colet had for his school, and how careful he was to make the book pass through several hands, that it might be the more correct and complete ^h.

^g Gerardus Noviomagus generosissimo principi Maximiliano Burgundo, S. D. P. — tandem forte fortuna pervenit ad manus meas libellus iste quem cernis, De constructione octo partium orationis, cujus autorem magnum illum Erasmus facile credidisset, nisi eloquentissimi theologi, Joannis Coleti, epistolam in fronte præscriptam legissem. — Vale, e collegio nostro, anno 1514. cal. Aug.

^h Erasmus Rot. candidis lectoribus salutem D. — Video passim exoriri mei nominis et quam ipse velim studiosiores, qui libros mihi asserunt, quos aut non scripsi, aut certe non in hoc scripsi, ut æderentur. Ædiderunt epigrammata a me quidem scripta (non inficior) sed non in hoc scripta. Ea (sicuti conjicio) famulus suffuratus typographis vendidit. Alius quispiam ex pauculis paginis, iisque depravatissime scriptis, velut ex opere ædito, dictu mirum, quam multa citet et inculcet de ratione conscribendarum epistolarum. Et, ut de cæteris minutioribus sileam, nuper hunc *περὶ συνταξέως* libellum mihi veluti postliminio vindicarunt, primitus nullius æditum titulo. Quærebat Joannes Coletus, theologus inter Anglos eximius,

novæ scholæ suæ de Constructione libellum, qui simul et compendio pueris commendaretur, et perspicuitate. Eum ejus jussu scripserat Gulielmus Lilius, vir utriusque literaturæ haud vulgariter peritus, et mirus recte instituendæ pubis artifex. Absolutum ab illo mihi tradidit, imo obtusit emendandum, quid enim facerem, cum vir ille rogandi finem non faceret, tam amicus ut nefas esse ducerem quicquam negare precanti, tantæ vero autoritatis de me meritis, ut suo jure quidvis etiam imperare posset Erasmo. Quoniam autem sic emendam, ut pleraque mutarim: nam eo nihil videbam esse facilius: nec Lilius, ut est nimia quadam modestia præditus, passus est librum suo vulgari nomine, nec ego judicavi mei candoris esse, usurpare mihi, in quo quicquam esset alienum. Proinde magnopere sum interminatus cujusvis titulum, ascriberent modo ne meum. Itaque recusante utroque, libellus *ἀνόνημος* prodiit, Coleti duntaxat præfatiuncula commendatus. Quem quidem libellum in præsentia nec laudaturus sum, ne cui videar arrogantior, nec vituperaturus, ne parum candidus habear. Verum hæc præfari visum est, ne posthac quisquam ut meum am-

Master Lilye's son George, in the elogy of his father, ascribes the syntax to him; and imputes it to his modesty only, that he would not assume a title to it, after he had submitted it to the corrections and amendments of Erasmusⁱ.

Give me leave to observe by the way, that it re-ounds not a little to the honour of this school, that not only the Latin grammar is owing to the skill and care of the founder, and the first master of his school; but also the common Greek grammar, used throughout England, by the same authority as the Latin, was composed by the great Mr. Camden^j, who had been a Paul's scholar; and, as the author of his life says, it was in this school that he laid the foundation of that niceness and accuracy in the Latin and Greek tongues to which he afterwards arrived.

It may not be amiss to remark also, that many of the examples in the Latin grammar pointed at the then juncture of public affairs; viz. the prosecution of Empson and Dudley in the beginning of Henry VIIIth's reign: as, *Regum est tueri leges; Refert omnium animadverti in malos.* And this humour was the reason, why in the following editions

plectatur, quod ipse præfatiuncula mihi non assero. Plus satis errorum et in iis quæ publicantur a nobis ut nemo alius ædat, quæ vel non scripsimus, vel non emendavimus. Bene vale, lector amice. Basileæ, iii. kalendas Augusti, MDXV. [Præfatio libelli De octo orationis partium constructione, Erasmo Roterdamo autore. Lovanii, MDXXIII. mense Octobri, 8vo.]

ⁱ Extat ejus (Lilii) Syntaxis inscriptione libellus, Latini sermonis constructionem breviter

et erudite explicans, sub Erasmi nomine a librariis exceptus, cui Lilius id operis recognoscendum paulo antea quam ederetur obtulerat. Nec enim postea libellum, quem alterius judicii censuræ submiserat, modestus ingenii sui æstimator suo ipsius nomine in publicum prodire voluit. [G. Lillii Elogia quorundam Anglorum, 8vo. p. 89.]

^j Dr. Smith in the life of Camden, prefixed to Bishop Gibson's edition of his Britannia.

of the Syntax, there were examples accommodated to the respective years of the impressions : as, *Audito regem Doroberniam proficisci ; Imperator meruit sub rege^k, &c.* There were likewise in that edition of Erasmus several examples referring to dean Colet : as, *Vixit Romæ, studii Oxonii, natus est Londini, discessit Londino, &c.*

After the Syntax was published, William Lilye (at the suggestion no doubt of Dr. Colet, and with the approbation at least of Erasmus) drew up short rules for distinguishing the genders of nouns, called from the first words *Propria quæ maribus* ; and likewise for the inflection of verbs, and indication of their preterperfect tense and supines, called *As in præsentibus* ; making the rules more compendious, and the lines smoother, than had been in any of the former grammatical systems with which the schools abounded^l.

It is the opinion of Mr. Wood^m, that the first printed grammar in England was that by one John Holt of Magdalen college, and usher of Magdalen school in Oxford, entituled, *Lac Puerorum*, &c. printed about the year 1497, and dedicated to Morton, archbishop of Canterbury : which grammar

^k Many, says Fuller, were the editions of this grammar ; the first set forth anno 1513, when Paul's school was founded, as appears by that instance, *Meruit sub rege in Gallia*, relating to Maximilian, the German emperor, who, then at the siege of Therouenne in Flanders, fought under the banner of Henry VIII. taking an hundred crowns a day for his pay. Another edition, anno 1520, when *Audito rege Doroberniam proficisci*, refers to the king's speedy

journey into Canterbury, there to give entertainment to Charles V. emperor, lately landed at Dover. [Fuller's Ch. Hist. p. 168.]

^l — *Scripsit et ad inutilem grammaticarum præceptionum congeriem abolendam, paucis exametris versibus, de Latinorum nominum verborumque generibus opusculum, rudibus adhuc ingenii maturandis accommodatum.* [Geo. Lillii Eucomia quorundam Anglorum, 8vo. p. 90.]

^m Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i.

(printed also with the works of John Stanbridge) being the first of note, or most fit for use that was ever printed in England, was much used and taken into the hands of all sorts of scholars. And one Holt, who was master to sir Thomas More, did publish an *Accidence* and *Grammar* about the same time that *Lac Puerorum* was made extant. After the grammar of John Holt of Magdalen college aforesaid, John Stanbridge, and his scholar Robert Whittington, with others, put forth divers treatises of grammarⁿ.

William Lilye, before the dean had made choice of him for his school, taught a private school in London; and had shewn an excellent vein in Latin poetry, by celebrating the arrival and reception of Philip, king of Castile, and his queen, cast upon the coasts of Cornwall, in their passage from Flanders to Spain °; wherein some particular circumstances are handsomely descanted on. And again, when in June 1522, Charles the Vth, emperor of Germany, was here in England, nobly entertained by Henry VIII. at their solemn procession through the city of London, master Lilye caused a very elegant

ⁿ Robert. Whittingtoni Gram. Lat. et Anglic. 4to. Lond. apud Wyn de Worde, 1516.

Idem de octo partibus Orationis, 4to. per Pynson, 1521. NORTH.

° — Sed et in carmine mire fœlix atque candidus, Philippi Maximiliani Cæsaris filium vi tempestatis, dum ex Flandria Hispaniam peteret, disjecta classe, in Cornubici littoris portum appulsum, elegantissimis aliquot versibus celebravit, quum

ex eodem turbine sublata ex Paulini templi fastigio ænea magni ponderis aquila, quæ facili motu spirantium ventorum regiones indicare solet, ad tabernam librariam proximam in depictæ aquilæ tabulam impeteret, quo veluti prodigio, jam tum non sine divini numinis potentia, ex tam gravi naufragio Philippo regi, qui pro insigne aquilam gerebat, optatam in Britannia salutem contigisse ostendit. [G. Lillii Encomia, &c.]

panegyric upon the emperor in verse ^p; and an oration in prose, composed by himself, to be publicly recited before him by one of his scholars^q.

Having before mentioned how well received Mr. Lilye's pains were, as to that share he bore in the common Latin grammar, we will now remember Dr. Linacer, who, about the same time, was engaged in a work of the same nature, which afterwards he improved, and published under this title, *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*, libri ii. &c.

Though this most accurate commentary was probably printed with a respect to Paul's school^r, Linacer being encouraged thereto by dean Colet; and though the book has since met with great applause, and had several editions abroad, and has been had in the highest reputation as a classic, with several annotations on it; yet Dr. Colet approved better of his own more familiar introduction, as a more plain and intelligible one, whereas this other was very obscure and prolix, too acute and copious, rather a guide to critics than an help to beginners. This Phil. Melanchton confessed in his epistle commendatory, that Linacer would be thought by many of the wiser readers to be a little too curious in the minutest mat-

^p Carolum item quintum Cæsarem, ab Henrico octavo rege magnificentissimo hospitio exceptum, et celeberrimo spectaculorum apparatu Londini urbem intrantem, panegyrico carmine, et luculenta oratione a puero in foro pronuntiata, laudavit. [Ibidem.]

^q It is somewhat strange that Mr. Wood, in the catalogue of W. Lilye's works, should neither specify his versions from the Greek and other epigrams,

jointly made and published with those of sir Tho. More, nor his translation of an Italian book upon Dice-play into proper elegant English, made at the request of sir Thomas More. Vide Progymnasmata Tho. Mori et Gul. Liliæ sodalium, Bas. 1518. 4to. [See new edition by Dr. Bliss, vol. i. col. 32.]

^r See App. to Dr. Friend's History of Physic, vol. ii. n. viii. LEWIS.

ters: and therefore, though he encouraged a new impression of this grammar, and earnestly importuned the masters in Germany to receive it into their schools; yet he intimated, it was too hard for beginners^s.

Mr. Wood affirms, that Linacer's six books were originally made for the use of the lady Mary, the king's daughter; mistaking this work for what he had before mentioned, *The Rudiments of Grammar*, (*Lond. in ædibus Pynsonianis*), turned into Latin by George Buchanan, a Scot, and printed at Paris 1533. and 1550, in octavo; which book hath ever since been the cynosura to grammarians explained. But this book was only an amendment of some former tracts, made plainer and easier for the use of the said princess^t. The original is very scarce: yet from the

^s Phil. Melanthon adolescenti Gulielmo Rifenstein Gulielmi filio. Adlatus est huc Linacri viri doctissimi liber de Syntaxi Latini sermonis, quem cum statim avide percurrissem, judicavi magnopere profuturum esse studiosis ad emendate et vere Latine loquendum, et ad recte judicandum de phrasi, et omnibus figuris Latini sermonis — mihi quidem nullum videtur in hoc genere scriptum extare perfectius — Linacer ubique recitat exempla prudenter electa ex optimis autoribus, et interdum aliquam subtilem interpretationem addit; neque hoc facit immodice, aut intempestive, sed elegit ejusmodi *τεχνολογίας*, quæ judicium lectoris acuunt. Quare valde optarim eum in scholis versari, ac legi; et si quid mihi tribuant isti qui præsumunt ludis literariis, adhortor eos, ut dent operam ut hic libellus studiosis familiaris fiat. Witeb. mense

Feb. anno 1531.

^t Illustrissimæ Mariæ, invictiss. Angliæ, Franciæque regis, ac fidei defensoris, filiæ, Cornubiæ ac Walliæ principi, Thomas Linacrus medicus cum omni observantia, S. D.

Quum tibi, illustrissima Maria, datus ab invictissimo rege patre tuo, pro tua sanitate tuenda, sim comes, nec id ministerium obire per valetudinem licuerit, cogitavi mecum, quam alia ratione tibi esse usui potissimum possem: itaque cernens in te, præter indolem quandam ad omne virtutum genus, quæ eminere in muliere possunt incredibilem, nunc quoque fœlicissimi ingenii tui ad studia literarum generosum impetum; hunc mihi quam maxime pro mea virili juvandum favendumque censui; vel intermissi diu officii mei sarcienti, vel literatorum omnium causa; quibus ipsa in literis proficiens maximo pro-

translation of it into Latin by George Buchanan^u, for the use of his noble pupil Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassils^x; it appears to be little more than the present Accidence taught in schools, and still retaining that title of *The Rudiments of Grammar*: for it begins with the eight parts of speech; makes five declensions, and gives the same examples to four of them; and so the four conjugations are specified in *amo, doceo, lego, audio*, &c. as in Colet's *Rudiments*. But these rudiments of grammar, as adjusted to the use of the lady Mary, were not so plain and perfect as might have been desired: for this must be the reason why her mother, queen Katharine, soon after employed Ludovicus Vives to draw up some familiar instructions, to direct her daughter in the study of the Latin tongue: which he did accord-

culdubio futura es tum ornamēto tum adjumento. Accipies igitur ea vultus serenitate qua reliqua soles, hæc rudimenta, quæ alias Anglis tuis per me edita nunc in summam quam potui redegī claritatem. Non potest (fateor) nisi rude esse munus, sicuti ipso nomine præ se fert. Sed si aptum tibi principium, ad majora discenda erit, vel opportunitate sua, principii gratiam quod (juxta proverbium) plus est quam dimidium; licet totam nec mereatur, nec speret, tamen nec ea in totum, ut spero, destituetur. Diu vivas Anglorum deliciæ et decus.

^u Rudimenta Grammaticæ Thomæ Linacri, ex Anglico sermone in Latinum versa, Georgio Buchanano Scoto Interprete. Seb. Gryphius excudebat Lugduni, anno 1541. 8vo.

^x Summæ spei et indolis a-

dolescenti, Gilberto Kennedo, comiti Cassil. Georg. Buchanus, S. D. Cum superiore anno tibi cursim, et memoriæ confirmandæ causa, hæc Linacri Rudimenta prælegerem, placuit mihi supra modum in eo viro, etiam in rebus minimis, citra curiositatem exacta diligentia et ordinis lux, quanta in tam confusa rerum congerie esse potest, ut quædam (ut reor) sani judicii lectoribus in argumento vulgato non ingrata futura novitas. Quare visum est mihi, tum ob hæc, tum ob alia multa, operæ pretium futurum, si eum libellum e vernaculo Anglorum sermone, quo primum ab autore est editus, in Latinum verterem — doctos omnes et humanitatis studiosos appello, quibus Linacer (nisi fallor) in majori opere satisfaciet.

ingly^y, and dedicated that essay to the queen^z, as written by her command; supplying in many places the obscurities and omissions of former grammarians^a, with a great deference to the preceptor of the young princess, D. Tho. Linacer; recommending his Rudiments, and the grammar commonly ascribed to Erasmus: *Compendium Grammaticæ Thomæ Linacri, et libellus de Constructione, qui circumfertur Erasmi nomine.*

That Linacer resented much Dr. Colet's refusing to admit those his lucubrations into Paul's school, (to which he seemed to have an eye in the composing of them,) Colet was very sensible; and that he had incurred his displeasure. But Erasmus interposed, to soften the matter, and reconcile them^b. And it

^y Ludovicus Vives de Ratione Studii puerilis, 8vo.

^z Jo. Ludovicus Vives dominæ Catharinæ, reginæ Angliæ, patronæ unicæ S. Jussisti ut brevem aliquam rationem conscriberem, qua in Maria filia tua instituenda præceptor ejus uti posset. Parui libens tibi, cui in rebus multo majoribus obsequi vellem, si possem. Et quoniam institutorem illi doctum in primis hominem, ac probum, ut par erat, delegisti, res velut digito indicasse fui contentus; ille reliqua explicabit. Quæ tamen aut obscure tradita, aut prætermissa a scriptoribus artis grammaticæ putavi, ea paulo pluribus consignavi verbis. Christum precor, ut hæc docendi ratio et ad eruditionem et ad virtutem filiam tuam impense juvet. Vale; et hunc meum animum addictiss. majestati tuæ scito. Oxoniæ. Non. Octob. MDCXXIII.

^a — Quapropter egi cum typographis nostris, ut quam primum excuderent, et passim in omnibus scholis harum regionum spargerent. Nunc vero etiam hos qui præsentunt scholis duxi adhortandos esse, ut hunc librum adolecentibus proponant, et prælegant; sed ita, si prius vulgares regulas brevi compendio tradiderint; ad has postea velim accedere hunc libellum, qui quasi exædificatio est doctrinæ de constructione.

^b — De Linacro cave, ne cui temere credas: nam ego certis argumentis habeo compertum, illum observantissimo in te esse animo: at de rejecta grammatica non magnopere laborare, quamquam id est hominum ingenium, ut suis quisque scriptis ceu parentes filiis impensus faveant; quod siquid etiam ea res hominem movet, tuæ dexteritatis erit dissimulare, neque

being certain, that Linacer was very laborious in his grammatical studies, and was forming and revising these tracts twenty years together, in the midst of his practice of physic, and his philosophical and mathematical studies; it is very likely that Erasmus must mean him, when, drawing his character and circumstances, without a name, he makes him a drudge, during life, at the eight parts of speech ^c.

To shew the many good offices that Erasmus did for St. Paul's school upon the request of the founder: Dr. Colet employed this his friend's vein of Latin poetry for the service and honour of the said school; which being under the patronage, (not of the boy-bishop, St. Nicholas,) according to the common superstition of that age ^d, nor of any other saint nor angel, but of the child Jesus; it seems to have been the founder's first request, to have an inscription that should signify the choice and preference of that divine protector and governor of the school. This Erasmus drew up in Iambic verse ^e; and it seems to have

refricare eam cicatricem; vultique et consuetudinis alacritate magis quam accusatione, præcipue per alios facta, revocare. Hoc pacto, si quid illi dolet, tempore sensim evanescet. Sed næ ego egregie impudens, qui hæc tibi; hoc est sus Minervæ — [Erasm. Ep. Jo. Coletio.]

^c Novî quendam πολυτεχνίτατον Græcum, Latinum, mathematicum, philosophum, medicum, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλικόν, jam sexagenarium; qui cæteris re-

bus omissis, annis plus viginti se torquet, ac discruciat, in grammatica; prorsus felicem se fore ratus, si tam diu se liceat vivere, donec certo statuatur, quomodo distinguendæ sint octo partes orationis, quod hactenus nemo Græcorum aut Latinorum ad plenum præstare valuit. [Moriæ Encomium, edit. Beati Rhenani, Bas. 1522. p. 253.]

^d See Mr. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iii. p. 206.

^e *Carmen Iambicum.*

Non invenusto antiquitas ænigmate
Studii magistram, virginem

been hung up in the *proscholion*, together with a Sapphic ode, imploring the divine aid and success to

Finxit Minervam ; ac litterarum præsidēs
 Finxit Camœnas virgines,
 Nunc ipse virgo matre natus virgine
 Præsideo virgineo gregi ;
 Et sospitator hujus et custos scholæ.
 Adsunt ministri virgines,
 Pueros meos mecum tuentes angeli.
 Mihi grata ubique puritas,
 Decetque studia litterarum puritas.
 Procul ergo sacro a limine
 Morum arceant mihi literatores luem ;
 Nihil huc recipiant barbarum :
 Procul arceant illiteratas literas ;
 Nec regna polluant mea.

Sapphicum Carmen.

Cœperit faustis avibus, precamur,
 Semper augescens meliore fato,
 Hic novæ sudor novus officinæ,
 Auspice IESU.

Hic rudis (tanquam nova testa) pubes
 Literas Graïas, simul et Latinas,
 Et fidem sacram, tenerisque CHRISTUM
 Combibet annis.

Quid fuit læta sobolem dedisse
 Corporis forma, nisi mens et ipsa
 Rite fingatur, studiisque castis
 Culta nitescat ?

Stirpe ab hac sensim nova pullulabit
 Civium proles, pietate juxta ac
 Literis pollens, breviterque regno
 Digna Britanno.

Ludus hic sylvæ pariet futuræ
 Semina ; hinc dives nemus undequaque
 Densius surgens decorabit Anglum
 Latius orbem.

Carmen Phalecium.

Sedes hæc puero sacra est IESU,
 Formandis pueris dicata ; quare
 Edico, procul hinc facescat, aut qui
 Spurcis moribus, aut inerudita
 Ludum hunc inquinet eruditione.

Aliud.

this new foundation, and expressing the design of it to be for the institution of boys in the Greek and Latin tongues, and in the principles of religion; as also wishing and portending, that from this seminary should proceed, for generations to come, citizens' sons so well instructed in piety and learning, as to be worthy of their English birth, and successive ornaments of this church and nation.

At the upper end of the school was the image of the child Jesus, (before mentioned,) and Erasmus composed this distich which was put under it:

*Discite me primum, pueri, atque effingite puris
Moribus; inde pias addite literulas.*

When these little compositions were done for the ornament of the school, (together with an inscription that seemed to be designed for the bottom of the school, as a sort of comment upon *Disce aut discede*, now painted upon the windows; as also a tetrastic, recommending the example of the child Jesus, as the rule and original of wisdom and purity of life,) the dean had another task for Erasmus, which was to translate from the English the Institution of a Christian Man into Latin verse, briefly and plainly, for the easy apprehension and memory of the boys; containing an exposition of the creed, the seven sacraments, the love of God, the avoidance of sin, the seven deadly sins, the avoidance of ill company, a zeal for religion, the duty of prayer, of temperance

Aliud.

Quin hunc ad puerum pueri concurritis omnes?

Unus hic est vitæ regula fonsque piæ.

Hunc qui non sapiat, hujus sapientia stulta est:

Absque hoc vita hominis mors (mihi crede) mera est.

in eating and drinking, of fasting, purity of heart, cleanness of hands, restitution of any thing accidentally found, the love of our neighbour, receiving the sacrament of our Lord's body, a bed of sickness, the hour of death; with a concluding sentence, *Do this, and live*. This was to be the school catechism, or instruction for children, under the then common heads of religion, as Colet himself had published them in English, in his *Paul's Accidence*, or *First Rudiments of Grammar*. I know not whether it has been observed, that the system of religion, in the beginning of the reformation, drawn up by the convocation, and approved by Henry VIII. was called the *Institution of a Christian Man*, from the title given of old to any little abridgment of the principles of Christian religion; particularly to this done by Erasmus. This little book, with the supplement to it, which seemed designed for the use of Paul's school, is mentioned by Erasmus also in a letter to Gonell at Cambridge, some time after: who tells him, that he would have sent it him, but that he has but one copy, and can get no one to transcribe it; complaining of the laziness of the English, that they will not work for money^f.

In his own account of his writings he tells the world that these verses, containing the *Rudiments* or *Institution of a Christian Man*, were put into the plainest or most simple style, by command of Dr. John Colet, who at that time had founded a new

^f Eras. Rot. Gulielmo Gonello, suo S. D. — Cato, et alia quæ adjecimus, jam pridem absoluta sunt; sed unicum nobis duntaxat exemplar est, scribarum inopia—tanta est apud

Britannos laboris fuga, tantus amor otii, ut ne tum quidem excitentur, quum spes dolosi affulserit nummi — tuus adventus erit gratissimus — [Epist. lib. 7. Ep. 38.]

grammar school, for the education of the London youth in Christian piety, no less than in good letters: "For," says he, "that good man of singular wisdom, seeing the sad and degenerate condition of that age, chose out the tender youth to work upon, that he might put, as it were, the new wine of Christ into new bottles ^g." But more expressly doth he ascribe this little work to the dean, in an epistle to John Nævius, master of the Lilian school at Lovain, and fixed to this book, saying, that Dr. John Colet had drawn it up in English; "a man," says he, "whom the whole flourishing kingdom of England could hardly equal, or afford one other more pious, or more truly a disciple of Christ;" and that he himself had put it into verse, not in an elaborate, but a plain humble way ^h: which epistle is the more worthy of notice, because not reprinted in any collection of his epistles. But though he calls this little collection a frivolous trifle; yet it is plain,

^g — Æditum est carmen Rudimenta complectens Hominis Christiani. Id scriptum est stilo simplicissimo: sic enim jussit Joannes Coletus, qui tum magnis impendiis novum ludum literarium instituerit, in quo non minus in pietate, quam in doctrina, volebat institui formarique pueritiam: vir enim singulari prudentia præditus, videns seculum suum deploratissimum, teneram ætatem delegit, ut novum Christi vinum novis utribus committeret. [Erasmii Catalog. Lucubrat. præfix. Operum tom. i. ed. Bas. 1540.]

^h Erasmus Rot. M. Joanni Nevio Hendiscolano Liliano- rum, apud inclytum Lovanium,

Gymnasiarchæ, S. D. P. Disticha Moralia, vulgo Catonis inscripta titulo, Nevi theologorum decus, primum diligenter a mendis repurgavimus — adjecimus his mimos publicanos, falso inscriptos Senecæ Proverbia — Addidimus et Septem Sapientum celebria Dicta; et Hominis Christiani Institutum, quod nos carmine dilucido magis quam elaborato sumus interpretati, conscriptum antea sermone Britannico, a Joanne Coletto, quo viro non alium habet, mea quidem sententia, florentissimum Anglorum imperium, vel magis pium, vel qui Christum verius sapiat. Bene vale. 1514. kal. Aug.

that this great man valued himself upon it, since the design of it was to do good to children, and to lay a sure foundation of morality in their mindsⁱ.

We have a late instance of the like humble condescension in the head of a hall^k at Oxford; a very worthy and noted man, who not only published the Guardian's Instruction for Youth, but (even latterly) a Hornbook (or A. B. C.) for children.

Another excellent composition of Erasmus, for the use of the Paul's scholars, was an oration in praise of the child Jesus, (which was spoken publicly in the school, by one of the scholars, at the solemn time of visiting the school,) in an admirable strain of Christian eloquence recommending the example of Jesus in his childhood, and exhorting the schoolfellows to follow his steps in all piety and virtue. This has been frequently published under the title of *Concio de puero Jesu, pronunciata a puero in schola Coletica nuper instituta Londini*. To which (no doubt at the like desire of dean Colet) were added two short prayers for the daily use of every scholar; one for docility^l, or aptness and application to

ⁱ Erasmus Budæo — mihi cordi est in hujusmodi frivolis philosophari, in quibus et minus video nugacitatis, et aliquanto plus fructus quam in magnificis illis, ut ipsis videtur, argumentis. Denique qui unum hoc spectat, non ut sese ostentet, sed ut prosit, huic non perinde refert, in quam splendidis versetur, atqui in quam utilibus. Non refugiam etiam illo contemptissimo latrunculo contemptiora, modo sensero ad provehenda bona studia conducere. Non hæc scribuntur Per-

siis ac Læliis; pueris et crassulis scribuntur.

Joannes Watsonus Erasmo. S. D. — Incidi ante paucos dies in Catonem minorem, quem commentariolis elucidasti; in quibus non crederes quantum me oblectarim, admirans tam dulcem et uberem frugem, in tam modica gleba.

^k Mr. Stephen Penton, principal of St. Edmund hall, Oxon.

^l *Precatio Puerilis pro Docilitate*.

Audi preces meas, æterna Patris Sapientia, Domine Jesu;

learning; the other, for a blessing on his parents^m: both which forms have nothing but plain Christian piety; savouring not the least of popery, or the common superstition.

I might here further mention some other short forms of prayer, drawn up by this great man: as also his exposition of the Lord's Prayer; which was not only done at the request of the dean, but after a model and example given by him, that had the honour to be inserted into one of the public offices of the church; for in the collection of prayers, &c. entitled, *Horæ beatæ Mariæ Virginis ad usum Sarum, cum multis Orationibus ad longum*, 8vo. toward the end is put a paraphrase by Dr. Colet, on the Lord's Prayer in Englishⁿ, which you may see in the Appendix.

It is observable, that in all the forms of devotion composed by Erasmus, there are but two prayers of

qui teneræ ætati docilitatis commodum addidisti: adde, quæso, ad naturæ propensionem auxilium gratiæ tuæ, ut literas ac liberales disciplinas citius perdiscam, sed tuæ gloriæ servituras; quarum adminiculis adjuta mens mea plenius assequatur cognitionem tui, quem nosse felicitatis humanæ summa est: utque ad tuæ sanctissimæ pueritiæ exemplum indies proficiam ætate, sapientia, et gratia apud Deum, et apud homines; qui vivis et regnas in consortio Patris et Spiritus Sancti, in æterna secula. Amen.

^m *Precatio pro Parentibus.*

Domine Deus, qui nos secundum te plurimum honoris parentibus nostris habere voluisti,

nec inter officia pietatis minimum est pro parentum incolumitate tuam bonitatem interpellare; serva, quæsumus, parentes meos cum omni familia; primum in tuæ religionis amore, deinde tutos a corporis et animi perturbatione. Mihi vero præsta, ne quid illis ex me molestiarum accedat; denique ut ego illos, illi te propitium habeant, qui supremus es omnium Pater. Amen.

ⁿ Mr. Wood reciting the works of Dr. Colet, puts down *Comment. in Precationem Dominicam: et Com. in Symbolum Fidei*; and says, the first of these two last is translated into English.

invocation to the Virgin Mary^o; and they were made by him when he was very young: and he confesses in effect, it was rather his fancy to please a lady than his own judgment. But though made long before the foundation of Paul's school, they were never recommended to the boys; nor indeed any thing else of foppery or popish superstition; so that considering the original constitution of it, it might be called the first Protestant school before the reformation.

To say the truth, Popery at that time was the apparent issue of ignorance and interest; and where people were got above the obstructions of the one, and the impulse of the other, they were so far turned back to a primitive Christianity, the restoring whereof must of necessity end in a reformation: and this was now beginning in the discerning minds of Colet and Erasmus, and many other private men of sense and integrity, long before it could make its way to be established by public authority.

When dean Colet had obtained from Erasmus so many good essays, both in poetry and prose, towards directing and securing the principles and morals of the boys; his next care was to procure some grammatical and critical performances, to lead and assist the boys in classic authors, and the literature contained in them. So walking one day in his garden with Erasmus, and hearing him mention his pains in

^o — Adjeceramus epistolam pareneticam ad Adolphum principem Veriensem, tum admodum puerum: præterea duas precationes ad virginem matrem, in gratiam matris illius Annæ Dominæ Verianæ, stilo

juvenili, et ad illius affectum accommodato, potius quam ad meum judicium. Post unam addidi ad Jesum magis ex animo meo. [Erasmi Catalog. Lucubrationum, tom. i. 1540.]

drawing up two books, *De Copia Verborum ac Rerum*, to form the style and help the invention of young scholars; Colet asked him to dedicate that new work to his new school of Paul's. No, says Erasmus, your school is too poor and bare, I must have a patron of some ready money; and he telling him the charge he had been at in books and papers, and transcribers for that purpose; the dean answered, that he could not afford a just reward for those labours, but he would willingly give him fifteen angels; upon whose repeating the promise, Erasmus did at last accept it. But some time passing between that promise and the impression of the book, the dean had forgot it; so that Erasmus was forced to refresh his memory by a jocose letter about it: to which the dean's answer was very serious and grave^p; that he was indeed indebted to him, for he

^p Erasmus Rot. Coletio unico patrono suo. Ad epistolam joco scriptam respondes serio. Non decebat fortasse cum tanto patrono joculari. Sed tamen mihi tum libebat cum amico tum singulari Atticis salibus ludere, magis humanitatis tuæ memori, quam magnitudinis; tuæ facilitatis erit nostram ineptiam boni consulere. Scribis me tibi debere, etiamsi nolim. Omnino, mi Colete, durum est, ut inquit Seneca, debere cui nolis. At ego neminem novi mortalium cui libentius debeam, quam tibi. Et is semper in me fuit animus tuus, ut etiam si nihil accessisset officiorum, tamen debiturus tibi plurimum fuerim: tantum autem accessit et officiorum et beneficiorum, ut si non agnoscam, sim unus omnium ingra-

tissimus. De tenuitate tua prorsus et credo et doleo; sed mea tenuitas gravius me premens coegit, ut tuæ tenuitati negotium facerem. Quod quam fecerim invitus, vel hinc potes colligere, quod jam olim promissum tam sero petii. Excidisse tibi promissum haud miror, quippe homini tot occupato negotiis. At in horto tuo cum incidere de Copia sermo, et indicassem mihi esse in animo, ut nuncuparem puerile opus principi nostro puero, rogabas ut novum opus novæ scholæ tuæ dicarem. Respondi subridens, scholam tuam esse pauperulam, mihi opus esse qui aliquantulum daret in manum. Arridebas. Deinde cum multos titulos adduxissem sumptuum, nonnihil contactus negabas te posse suppeditare,

owed his whole self to him; but yet he did not remember the promise charged upon him. However, his stock was now very low, by reason of his great charge about the school: and besides, he was now so oppressed with business, that he had not leisure to recollect himself. To this Erasmus replied, with acknowledgment of great obligations to him, and some apology for challenging a promise from him; reminding him how and where the promise was really made, and insisting, as decently as he could, upon the discharge of it, which he could not call a debt, but a seasonable bounty to him. He intimates that some of the dean's friends thought him a little too sparing; which if a fault, was not owing to any tenacious avarice, but to his modesty: he not being able to deny some confident petitioners, and so the

quantum meæ res postularent; verum quindecim Angelatos libenter daturum. Idque quum alacri vultu repeteres, rogabam num satis esse videretur? Respondebas etiam alacrius, hoc certe te libenter impensurum. Tum ego et ipse, inquam, libenter accipiam. Ex hac commemoratione fortasse res redibit in memoriam tuam. Possem et aliis argumentis adstruere, nisi tu mihi tua sponte jam fidem haberes. Sunt omnino quidam, iique amici, (nam cum inimicis nihil mihi commercii est, nec eorum dicta pili facio) qui te duriusculum prædicent, et in distribuenda pecunia diligentiorum: idque non accidere (sic enim illis approbantibus interpretabar) vitio tenacitatis; sed quod improbe instantibus et urgentibus ne-

gare non posses, ob ingenii vecundiam, in amicos non molestos, minus esse profusum, quandoquidem utrisque non posses satisfacere. Nec tamen hæc res ad me pertinet, qui quanquam non sim admodum improbus ac molestus flagitator, tamen te semper benignissimum sum expertus. Non igitur hoc accipi a tuis obtrectoribus, sed ab iis qui tibi ex animo bene volunt. Quorum tamen sententiæ nec accedo, nec refragor, nisi quod tuam in me benignitatem singularem agnosco. Si reliquum promissi non gravaberis dare, equidem, ut nunc res meæ sunt, accipiam, non uti debitum, sed uti beneficium, relaturus si qua possim, certe gratiam habiturus. [Erasmii Epist. edit. Bas. 1521. p. 492.]

more unable to gratify those who deserved better of him.

Dean Colet then complied readily with the expectation of Erasmus; who therefore dedicated the said books *De Copia*, &c. to him, in the following very eloquent epistle, dated from London, 3 cal. May, 1520.

“ I cannot but extremely commend, my dear Co-

¶ Des. Erasmus Rot. Joanni Coletto, decano Sancti Pauli apud Londinum, S. D. Non possum equidem non vehementer laudare, Colete, singularem istam vereque Christianam animi tui pietatem, qui conatus tuos omnes, omnia vitæ studia semper huic destinaris, non ut tuis privatim commodis consuleres, sed ut patriæ civibusque tuis quam plurimum prodesse. Neque minus admiror judicium tuum, qui duas præcipue res delegeris, quibus id cumulatissime consequi posses. Videbas enim amplissimum charitatis fructum in eo situm esse, si quis assiduis concionibus sacraque doctrina Christum popularium suorum animis inserat: quo tu quidem in negotio jam annos complures versaris, non dicam quanta cum laude (quam tu adeo non spectas, ut nec admittas) sed certe magno cum fructu. Quo nomine Paulus ille tuus, aliqui modestissimus, subinde gloriatur, ac sese sancta quadam insolentia jactat. Deinde quod proximum existimabas, ludum literarium longe pulcherrimum ac magnificentissimum instituisti, ubi sub electissimis ac probatissimis præceptoribus Britannica pubes rudibus statim

annis, simul et Christum, et optimas imbiberet literas; nimirum graviter intelligens, et in hac ætate velut herba, spem reipublicæ positam esse, et quanti referat in omnem vitam, protinus ab incunabulis optimis imbui. Jam vero quis non admet etiam generosam istam animi tui celsitudinem, ac sanctam (ut ita dixerim) superbiam, qui utrumque hoc in patriam officium ita gratuitum ac sinecerum esse volueris, ut nec ex tot annorum laboriosissimis concionibus, vel teruncio factus sis ditior; quumque tua seminaris spiritualia, nullius unquam carnalia messueris; et scholæ sumptus, tam videlicet ingentes, ut satrapam quoque detertere possent, solus omnes ferre volueris: et quum vulgus hominum nulla in re libentius socium accersere soleat, tu patrimonium, tu censum universum, ad hæc domesticam etiam suppellectilem profundere maluisti, quam ullum mortalem in istius gloriæ partem admittere. Quæso, quid istud est aliud quam in universos tuorum liberos, in universos cives animum plusquam paternum gerere? Te ipsum spolias, ut ipsos locupletes; te ipsum nudas, ut illos

“ let, your singular and truly Christian piety ; who
 “ have hitherto directed all the endeavours and la-
 “ bours of your life, not to the seeking of your own
 “ private interest, but to the consulting the good of
 “ your country, especially of your native city. Nor
 “ do I less admire your judgment, in choosing out
 “ two of the most proper methods for the full at-
 “ tainment of these glorious ends. For you saw the
 “ greatest fruits of love and charity would arise from
 “ the pains of instilling into the minds of people
 “ the knowledge of Christ by constant sermons, and
 “ a diligent teaching of the word of God : and there-
 “ fore in this exercise you have now spent many
 “ years ; I need not say with what praise and com-
 “ mendation, (for that you despise,) but I may say,
 “ with great profit to the hearers ; upon which duty
 “ of preaching the gospel your own apostle St. Paul
 “ (otherwise modest, and sparing enough of his own
 “ praises) did often boast, and in a manner pride
 “ himself. Then for a second effectual means of an-
 “ swering the same public ends, you have founded a
 “ very beautiful and magnificent school, where, un-
 “ der the choicest and best approved masters, the
 “ British youth, in their tender years, might imbibe

ornes : te ipsum laboribus con-
 ficis, quo tua soboles vegeta sit
 in Christo. Breviter totum te
 impendis, ut illos Christo lu-
 crificas. Nimum profecto sit
 invidus, qui talia conanti non
 impensissime favcat ; impius,
 qui reclamet et obstrepat ; hos-
 tis Angliæ, qui non pro sua
 virili adjumenti aliquid con-
 ferre studeat. Ego sane non
 ignarus, et quantum Angliæ de-
 beam publice, et quantopere

tibi privatim sim obnoxius,
 officii mei sum arbitratus, lite-
 rarium aliquod munusculum in
 ornamentum scholæ tuæ con-
 ferre. Itaque duos hos meos
 de Copia commentarios novæ
 scholæ nuncupare visum est ;
 opus videlicet quum aptum pue-
 ritiae, tum non infrugiferum (ni
 fallor) futurum. Bene vale,
 Colete optime. Londini. anno
 MDCXII. III. cal. Maias.

“ the Christian religion and good letters ; as rightly
 “ apprehending, that from that tender age, in bud
 “ and blossom, the commonwealth might justly
 “ hope and expect, in time, the fruit in proportion ;
 “ and that it would be an infinite advantage to man-
 “ kind in every stage of life, to be well instructed
 “ from their cradle. And in both these respects,
 “ who would not love and admire that generous
 “ greatness of mind (I was going to say that holy
 “ pride) in you, that you paid both these regards to
 “ your country in such sincere and disinterested a
 “ manner ; that by so many elaborate sermons, in so
 “ long a course of years, you are not one farthing the
 “ richer ; and though you sowed in such plenty
 “ your spiritual things, you reaped no man’s carnal
 “ things ? And again, though the expenses of your
 “ school were such an immense burden, that it
 “ might well have affrighted any noble peer, yet you
 “ took it all upon yourself ; when the common sort of
 “ mankind are well pleased to admit of any assistance
 “ in such cases, you chose to spend your patrimony,
 “ your whole revenue, your very furniture and house-
 “ hold goods, rather than to admit any one soul to
 “ be a partner in the glory of your ample founda-
 “ tion^r. What is this but to have a fatherly affec-
 “ tion for all your children, that is, for all your fel-
 “ low citizens ? You become poor, to make them
 “ rich ; naked, to clothe and adorn them ; by your
 “ great labours, you well nigh destroy yourself, to
 “ make them grow in Christ ; in a word, you spend
 “ yourself, to gain them unto salvation. Surely he

^r It cost him 4500*l.* (an immense sum in the time he lived,) and besides he endowed it with 120*l.* annual rent, which is much increased since. [New-court’s Repertorium Lond.]

“ must be very envious, who will not heartily favour
 “ such good works ; and he must be notoriously im-
 “ pious, who shall dare to speak against them. He
 “ is an enemy to England, who would not, accord-
 “ ing to his power, help and promote them. For
 “ my own part, I am not ignorant how much I am
 “ indebted to this kingdom in general, and how
 “ much to you my special friend : and therefore I
 “ thought it my duty to bestow some small literary
 “ present towards the beautifying and adorning
 “ of your new school ; and to dedicate these com-
 “ mentaries about the copiousness of words and
 “ things to the use and benefit of your school at
 “ Paul’s ; a work befitting the wants of young learn-
 “ ers, and such, I hope, as may be very serviceable
 “ to them. Farewell, my best and most excellent
 “ Colet, Lond. 1512, 3 kal. Maii.”

This work, though the author designed it chiefly for the use of our school ; yet he elsewhere speaks of it with satisfaction, as what would be of a more general use ^s.

In the book itself ^t, Erasmus adapts his examples to the honour of his English friends ; as particularly in varying this sentence, *Semper dum vivam tui meminero*, he makes the variation run wholly upon

^s Edidi opus De rerum verborumque Copia, quod inscripsi Coletio meo ; opus utilissimum concionaturis. [Eras. Epist. Servetio.]

^t There was afterwards an edition with the commentaries of Hegendorphin, thus entitled, Des. Erasmi Rot. De Copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo, postrema autoris cura recogniti locupletatique.

Cum scholiis marginalibus Christophori Hegendorphini, in quibus vir ille quorundam studiosorum efflagitationibus victus, et exempla pleraque ab Erasmo adducta ex autoribus optimis quibusque deprompta ostendit, et loca authorum ab Erasmo non indicata diligenter indicat. Anno MDXXXVIII. mense Julio, Antwerpæ in ædibus Michaelis Hillenii, 8vo.

his remembrance of master Moore, and rings the changes upon it in near two hundred several ways of expression.

This mention of sir Thomas Moore after the letter of Erasmus, which so highly commends the preaching of Dr. Colet, makes it not improper to observe, that sir Thomas Moore ^u, in his younger

^u Sir Thomas Moore, while a young man — He frequented sermons diligently, especially when those men preached who were most excellent for good life and spiritual direction; such as Dr. Colet was, the most famous dean of Paules, who, as Erasmus writeth, was wont every day to preach at Paules, besides many other sermons, which he made at the court and elsewhere, expounding in them either the *Pater noster*, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, or some other matter of necessary instruction, which he never left off until he had perfected the whole, that thereby every one might learn what they should believe, what to follow, and what to shunne; and shewed the means how every Christian might come to perfection in the sundry states of life. And his life did not disagree from his doctrine; for he exercised himself much in all works of charity and mortification of his flesh. This was he that founded the goodly school of Paules, dedicating it to the little boy Jesus, as he was found disputing with the doctours at twelve years olde; of which famous act sir Thomas Moore,

writing to him, compareth it by a full antithesis to the horse of Troy, out of which the Grecians issued to surprize the citye. In like manner, saith he, out of this your school many have come that have subverted and overthrown all ignorance and rudeness — Therefore he chose this worthy dean for his ghostlye father, for he was accounted one of the most skilful physicians for the soule that could be found amongst ten thousand. Him he committed himself unto, as to a safe guide of perfection in the dangerous passages of youth; that by his experience he might the more easily overcome the devil, the world, and his own flesh, by following his wholesome lessons, to work the salvation of his soule, without any prejudice of his body. To him he was as obedient in all spiritual affairs, as he was to his father in all dutifull obligation, whereby he arrived to perfect obedience, one of the chiefest helps that a spiritual man can have to get heaven. And because every one may see what affection he bore to this man, his ghostly physician, I will set down here an excellent letter of sir Thomas Moore to Dr. Colet.

years, was a great admirer and constant frequenter of the sermons and lectures of Dr. Colet; and had so great a veneration for his sound preaching and good living, that he made him his confessor. In an excellent epistle to him he complains of his staying too long in the country, and importunes his speedy return to Stepney or London, that he might again enjoy the benefit of his edifying sermons; reflecting on the ordinary preachers at Paul's Cross, as men of ill lives, who therefore could make no great impression upon their auditory. They were physicians that ought to be called upon to heal themselves; and the people did not care to have their sores touched by those who they saw had need of healing themselves: in Colet only they had confidence; of him they had experience; he alone could cure them; they would willingly all submit to whatever he prescribed, &c. This letter in the original Latin I shall subjoin to the English translation given long since by the author of the *Life and Death of sir Thomas Moore*, 4to. 1642.

* “As I was lately walking at Westminster, busy-

* Tho. Morus Joanni Coletuo suo, S. D. Ambulanti mihi dudum in foro, et intra aliena negotia oeciante, obtulit se puer tuus. Quem quam primum intuerer, vehementer sum gavisus, tum quod hic ipse mihi semper charus extitit, tum præcipue quod arbitrabar eum non sine te venisse: at ubi ab illo didici te modo non rediisse, sed nec adhuc diu rediturum; dici non potest, ex quanta lætitia, in quantam mœstítiam rejectus sum. Quid enim mihi potest esse molestius, quam suavissima

consuetudine tua privari? cuius prudentissimo consilio frui, cuius jucundissimo convictu recreari, cuius gravissimis concionibus excitari, cuius exemplis et vita promoveri, in cuius denique vultu ipso ac nutu solebam conquiescere. Itaque ut his præsidii vallatus aliquando me sensi roborari, ita eisdem destitutus, languore mihi ferme videor absolvi. Et quia tua semper vestigia secutus, jam pene ex ipsis orci faucibus emerseram, nunc rursum tanquam Euridice (con-

“ing myself about other men’s causes, I met by
“chance your servant; at whose first sight I mar-

traria tamen lege; Euridice quidem, quod illam respexit Orpheus; ego vero, quia tu me non respicis) in obscuras retro caligines, nescio qua vi ac necessitate, relabor. Nam in urbe quid est quod quenquam ad bene vivendum moveat, ac non potius suoapte ingenio nitentem in arduum virtutis callem evadere mille machinamentis revocet, illecebris mille resorbeat? Quocumque te conferas, quid aliud quam hinc fictus amor et blande adulatorum mellita vena circumsonant? Hinc odia sæva et querulæ lites ac forenses strepitus obmurmurant. Quocumque tuleris oculos, quid aliud videas, quam cupidinarios, cetarios, lanios, coquos, fartores, piscatores, aucupes, qui materiam ventri ministrant, ac mundo et principi ejus diabolo? Tecta quinetiam ipsa, nescio quo modo, bonam partem lucis eripiunt, nec cælum libere sinunt intueri. Aerem itaque non *ὀπίζωνος* ille circulus, sed domorum culmen determinat. Quo æquior tibi sum, si minime te adhuc ruris pæniteat; quippe ubi simplicem turbam vides, et urbicæ fraudis expertem; ubi quoquoversus oculos intendas, blanda telluris facies juvat, aeris grata reficit temperies, ipse te cæli delectat aspectus. Nihil ibi vides nisi benigna naturæ munera, et sancta quædam innocentia vestigia. Nolo tamen his oblectationibus adeo capiaris, quin quam primum possis, ad nos revoles. Nam si tibi displicent urbis incommoda,

at Stephani rus (cujus etiam non minus debes esse sollicitus) haud minora tibi commoda suppeditabit, quam quod nunc incolis: unde etiam in urbem (ubi magna tibi merendi materia est) potes interdum, tanquam in hospitium, divertere. Nam ruri, quum sint homines ipsi per se aut fere innocui, aut certe non adeo magnis sceleribus irretiti, cujusque medici manus utilis esse potest: at in urbe, tam propter ingentem magnitudinem, tam ob inveteratam morborum consuetudinem, medicus omnis frustra, nisi peritissimus, accesserit. Veniunt certe in D. Pauli suggestum aliquando, qui sanitatem pollicentur: sed quum speciose perorasse videntur, adeo vita cum verbis litigat, ut irriterent potius quam mitigent. Non enim persuadere possent hominibus, ut quum ipsi sunt omnium ægrotissimi, idonei credantur, quibus alienarum ægri tudinum cura merito committatur. Itaque morbos suos, quum ab his tractari sentiunt, quos exulceratos vident, indignantur illicet, atque recalitrant. At si (ut naturarum indagatores affirmant) is demum medicus ad sanitatem appositus est, in quo ægrotus maximam habet spem; quis dubitet quin te uno, ad curandam universam urbem, nemo possit esse salubrior? A quo quam æquo animo vulnera sua tractari patiantur, quantum confidant, quantum parent; et tute antehæc satis expertus es, et nunc apud omnes tui desi-

“vellously rejoiced, both because he hath been al-
 “ways dear unto me, as also especially for that I
 “thought he was not come to London without your-
 “self: but when I had learned of him, that you
 “were not come, nor yet minded to come of a long
 “while, it cannot be expressed how suddenly my
 “great joy was turned into as great sorrow and sad-
 “ness: for what can be more grievous unto me than
 “to be deprived of your most sweet conversation,
 “whose wholesome counsel I was wont to enjoy,
 “with whose delightsome familiarity I was recre-
 “ated, by whose weighty sermons I have been often
 “stirred up to devotion, by whose life and example
 “I have been much amended in my own; finally,
 “in whose face and countenance I was wont to rest
 “contented? Wherefore, as I have found myself
 “greatly strengthened whilst I enjoyed these helps,
 “so now do I see myself much weakened, and
 “brought almost to nothing, being deprived of them
 “so long: for having heretofore, by following your
 “footsteps, almost escaped out of hell’s mouth; so
 “now, like another Euridice, (though in a contrary
 “manner, for she was lost there, because Orpheus
 “looked back upon her, but I am in the like dan-
 “ger, because you do not look upon me,) I fall back

derium, atque incredibilis quæ-
 dam expectatio declarat. Venias
 ergo tandem, mi Colete, vel
 Stephani tui gratia, qui haud
 secus diurnam tui gemit ab-
 sentiam, quam infantuli matris;
 vel patriæ tuæ causa, cujus
 haud minor tibi cura esse de-
 bet, quam parentum. Postremo
 (quamquam hoc minimum sit
 reducendi tui momentum) mei
 te respectus commoveat, qui

me tibi totum dedidi, et in ad-
 ventum tuum sollicitus pendeo.
 Interea cum Grocino, Linacro,
 et Lilio nostro tempus transi-
 gam; altero (ut tu scis) solo,
 dum tu abes, vitæ meæ magis-
 tro; altero, studiorum præ-
 ceptore; tertio, charissimo rerum
 mearum socio. Vale; et nos,
 ut facis, ama. Londini, 10 cal.
 Novembris. [Stapleton de Tribus
 Thomis. Op. tom. iv. p. 992.]

“ again, by a certain violence and necessity, into
“ that obscure darkness I was in before. For what,
“ I pray you, is there in this city, which doth move
“ any man to live well, and doth not rather, by
“ a thousand devices, draw him back, and with as
“ many allurements swallow him up in all manner
“ of wickedness, who of himself were otherwise well
“ disposed, and doth endeavour accordingly to climb
“ up the painful hill of virtue? Whithersoever any
“ man cometh, what can he find, but feigned love,
“ and the honey-poison of venomous flattery? In
“ one place he shall find cruel hatred; in another,
“ hear nothing but quarrels and suits: whither-
“ soever we cast our eyes, what can we see but
“ victualling-houses, fishmongers, butchers, cooks,
“ pudding-makers, fishers, and fowlers, who minis-
“ ter matter to our bellies, and set forward the
“ service of the world, and the prince thereof, the
“ devil? Yea, the houses themselves (I know not
“ how) do bereave us of a great part of our sight of
“ heaven; so as the height of our buildings, and not
“ the circle of our horizon, doth limit our prospect.
“ For which cause I may pardon you the more easily,
“ that you delight rather to remain in the country,
“ where you are; for there you find a company of
“ plain souls, void of all craft, wherewith citizens
“ most abound; whithersoever you look, the earth
“ yieldeth you a pleasant prospect, the temperature
“ of the air refresheth you, and the clear beholding
“ of the heavens doth delight you; you find nothing
“ there but bounteous gifts of nature, and saintly
“ tokens of innocence. Yet I would not have you so
“ carried away with those contentments, that you
“ should be stayed from hastening hither: for if the

“ discommodities of the city do (as they may very
“ well) displease you ; yet may the country about
“ your parish of Stepney (whereof you ought also
“ not to have the least care) afford you the like
“ delights to those which that affords you, wherein
“ you now keep ; from whence you may, upon oc-
“ casions, come to London, as into your inn, where
“ you may find great matter of merit. The country
“ people are most commonly harmless ; or at the
“ least, not loaden with great offences, and there-
“ fore any physician may minister physic unto them.
“ But as for citizens, both because they are many
“ in number, as also in regard of their inveterate
“ custom in sinning, none can help them but he
“ that is very skilful. There come into the pulpit
“ at Paul’s divers men that promise to cure the
“ diseases of others, but when they have all done,
“ and made a fair and goodly discourse, their life,
“ on the other side, doth so jar with their saying,
“ that they rather increase than assuage the griefs
“ of their hearers ; for they cannot persuade men
“ that they are fit to cure others, whenas them-
“ selves (God wot) are most sick and crazy. And
“ therefore when they feel themselves touched and
“ handled by those, whom they see are full of loath-
“ some sores themselves, they cannot but have a
“ great aversion from them. But if such an one be
“ accounted by learned men most fit to cure, in
“ whom the sick man hath greatest hope ; who
“ doubteth then, but you alone are the fittest in all
“ London to cure their maladies, whom every one
“ is willing to suffer to touch their wounds ; and in
“ whom what confidence every one hath, and how
“ ready every one is to do what you prescribe, both

“ you have heretofore sufficiently tried, and now the
 “ desire that every one hath of your speedy return
 “ may manifest the same? Return therefore, my
 “ dear Colet, either for Stepney’s sake, which
 “ mourneth for your absence, no less than children
 “ do for the absence of their loving mother; or
 “ else for London’s sake, in respect it is your native
 “ country, whereof you can have no less regard than
 “ of your parents: and finally, (though this be the
 “ least motive,) return for my sake, who have wholly
 “ dedicated myself to your directions, and do most
 “ earnestly long to see you. In the mean time I
 “ pass my time with Grocine, Linacer, and Lilye;
 “ the first being, as you know, the director of my
 “ life in your absence; the second, the master of my
 “ studies; the third, my most dear companion.
 “ Farewell, and see you love me as you have done
 “ hitherto. London, 21 Octob.” [about the year
 1510.]

Upon reading this epistle, one cannot but observe the different spirit from what sir Thomas appeared to have had in the latter part of his life, after Colet’s death. He had early in his *Utopia*^y sufficiently

^y Especially in the first edition of that book, which gave such a ridiculous view of the several orders in the church of Rome, that care was taken to erase several passages relating thereunto. Thus in p. 56, he taxes the preachers of that age for corrupting the Christian doctrine, and practising upon it: for they, observing that the world did not suit their lives to the rules Christ hath given, have fitted his doctrine as if it

had been a leaden rule to their lives, that some way or other they might agree with one another. But there is one thing yet more surprising; that in p. 173, he makes it one of the maxims of his Utopians, that no man ought to be punished for his religion; and yet afterwards he breathes out nothing but threatenings and slaughter against the poor Protestants. See *Burnet’s Hist.* vol. iii.

derided the popular superstitions in the church; and had wit and learning sufficient to make an heretic: and what is more to be wondered at, (if we may believe Erasmus's character of him,) he was a religious man, and free from superstition^z. But sure we are, the last scene of his life shewed him to be a quite different man; so that in his very epitaph, composed by himself, he values himself upon his being a sworn enemy to heretics³. This was owing to some of the prelates, who took him off from his freedom of thinking, and importuned him to employ his abilities and parts in defence of the catholic church, against Tyndal, Frith, and other heretical writers, as they called them. He did so: and upon this controversial subject he wrote so unequally to what he had done before, and so very much beneath himself; that it either bewrayed a task imposed upon him against his will, or a cause wherein wit and invention could not help him out against the simplicity of truth. Let any one but read the Vindication of our Protestant Faith, by poor John Frith, a boy in effect, and a naked prisoner, and then run over the answers and oppositions of the noble lord chancellor, sir Thomas Moore, and compare the sense, the style, the spirit of them both; and he need not be told on which side infinite advantage lies. Had sir Thomas wrote upon no other subject but this of religion, it would be as hard to find by his writings, as it was by his conversation, when he was in jest only, and when in earnest. Nay, Erasmus himself, an-

^z Morus — veræ pietatis non indiligens cultor, etiamsi ab omni superstitione alienissimus. [Eras. Ep. p. 437.]

^a — Quod in epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuisse molestum, hoc ambitiose feci. [Mori Ep. Erasmo, ed. Lond. p. 1511.]

other of the dean's most intimate friends, those zealous had, by their artful stratagems, brought even him to enter the lists with Luther^b: who, though in many of his books he professes himself well affected to Luther's person, and not averse to many of his doctrines; yet he had no mind to be a martyr for him, by no means loving suffering, but delighting in a studious ease and safety^c.

^b Multa scripsit Lutherus imprudenter magis quam impie; quorum hoc istos habet pessime, quod Thomæ non multum tribuit, quod minuit quæstum veniarum, quod ordinibus mendicantium parum tribuit, quod scholasticis dogmatibus non tantundem defert quantum evangeliiis, quod negligit humanas disputatorum argutias. Hæ nimirum sunt hæreses intolerabiles; sed his dissimulatis, prætexunt invidiosa apud pontificem homines tantum ad nocendum et concordem et callidi. Olim etiam reverenter audiebatur hæreticus; et absolvebatur, si satisfaciebat; sin convictus perstitisset, extrema pœna erat, non admittebatur ad ecclesiasticam communionem. Nunc alia res est hærescos crimen; et tamen ob quamlibet levem causam, statim hoc habent in ore, hæresis est. Olim hæreticus habebatur, qui dissentiebat ab evangeliiis, ab articulis fidei, aut his quæ cum his parem obtinerent auctoritatem — Nunc si quis unquam dissentiat a Thoma, vocatur hæreticus; imo si quis a commentitia ratione quam heri sophista quispiam in scholis commentus est. Quicquid non

placet, quicquid non intelligunt, hæresis est. Græce scire hæresis est, expolite loqui hæresis est; et quicquid ipsi non faciunt, hæresis est. [Eras. Rot. arch. et principi Mogontino, cal. Nov. 1519. Ep. ed. Bas. 1521. p. 477.]

^c — At pro Luthero, proque Lutheri paradoxis nondum est animus mortem oppetere. — Pro his quæ solent esse themata conflictationum scholasticarum, nec ausim cuiquam vitam eripere, si iudex sim, nec velim in capitis discrimen venire. Optarim esse Christi martyr, si vires ipse suppeditet; Lutheri martyr esse nolim. [Erasmus adv. Huttenum Op. tom. ix. p. 1365.]

Ex universis Lutheri libris non perlegi duodecim pagellas, atque eas etiam carptim; et tamen ex his degustatis verius quam lectis, videbar mihi deprehendere dotes naturæ raras, et ingenium pulchre accommodum ad explicandum juxta veterum morem arcanas literas, ad suscitandam evangelicæ doctrinæ scintillam, a qua et publici mores orbis, et scholæ nimium jam indulgentes argutis magis quam necessariis quæstiunculis vehementer prolapsæ

He afterwards also, in his *Moriæ Encomium*, lashed the cardinals, struck freely even at the pope himself, and exposed all the ambition, avarice, pagantry, and fopperies of the church of Rome: especially in the bargains about purgatory, masses, pilgrimages, indulgences, and other religious toys sold to the poor deluded people; all which was effectually the blowing a trumpet for the reformation.

Yet though these two writers were the two leading reformers, human fears and worldly policy stopped them short, and turned them out of the way they saw to be right.

To ascend yet higher; the same trick (for so it may well be called) was put upon king Henry VIII. His education and parts were so good, that he could not but despise the idol of religion, as it was dressed up in the church of Rome: and he had openly laughed at some of their impostures; and would have much sooner exerted his authority in reforming of them, if the bishops (especially Wolsey, his prime minister, and Longland, his confessor) had not worked him up to shew his learning, in defence of the Catholic faith, against Luther. And when, by their importunity and aid, they had got such a book from him, and a glorious title for the author, it was the greatest wonder of the providence of God, that he should afterwards become the first instrument of the reformation in these kingdoms.

^d But to return: the last act of Erasmus's kind-

videbantur. Audiebam eximios viros probatæ doctrinæ, probatæque religionis, sibi gratulari, quod in hujus viri libros incidissent. Videbam, ut quisque esset integerrimis moribus, et

evangelicæ puritati proximus, ita minime infensum Luthero. Porro vita prædicabatur et ab iis qui doctrinam non ferebant. [Laur. Campegio Lova. 1520.]
^d Venit in mentem quiddam,

ness to the dean's school was to find out at Cambridge (where he then was) an usher, or second master, according to the founder's desire, to be under Mr. William Lilye. He inquired among the masters of arts there; but he could meet with none, it seems, that cared for, or were fit for that place, who would engage in it. They did not affect so laborious an employment, however honourable the terms might be. One of the seniors said, in a flouting way, *Who would lead such a slavish life among boys, in a school, if he can have any other way of living?* "I answered gravely," says Erasmus, "that the office of instructing youth in letters and good manners was a very creditable office, that our blessed Saviour himself did not despise the conversing with children; that no age was so capable of good instruction, and a man could no where bestow his pains with a better prospect of success, than at Paul's school,

quod ridebis, scio. Cum inter magistros aliquot proponerem de hypodidasculo, quidam non infimæ opinionis subridens: "Quis," inquit, "sustineat in ea schola vitam agere inter pueros, qui posset ubivis quomodo docunque vivere?" Respondi modestius; hoc munus mihi videri vel in primis honestum, bonis moribus ac literis instituere juventutem; neque Christum eam ætatem contempsisse, et in nullam rectius collocari beneficium, et nusquam expectari fructum uberiores, utpote cum illa sit seges ac sylva reipublicæ. Ad didi, si qui sint homines vere pii, eos in hac esse sententia, ut putent sese nullo officio magis demereri Deum, quam si pueros trahant ad Christum. At-

qui is corrugato naso, subsannans: "Si quis," inquit, "velit omnino servire Christo, ingreditur monasterium ac religionem." Respondi, Paulum in charitatis officiis ponere veram religionem; charitatem in hoc esse, ut proximis quam maxime prosimus. Rejecit hoc tanquam imperite dictum. "Ecce," inquit, "nos reliquimus omnia; in hoc est perfectio." Non reliquit, inquam, omnia, qui cum possit plurimum prodesse labore suo, detrectat officium quod humiliter habeatur. Atque ita, ne lis oriretur, hominem dimisi. Vides sapientiam Scotisticam et habes dialogum. Rursum vale. Cantabrigiæ, postridie Simonis et Judæ. [Erasmii Epist. edit. Bas. 1521. p. 421.]

“ which was in the heart of the city, and centre of
 “ the kingdom : besides, said I, if men have a true
 “ sense of religion, they must needs think, that
 “ there is no better way of pleasing and serving God
 “ than by the bringing of children to Christ ; *i. e.*
 “ training them up to piety, and virtue, and know-
 “ ledge. But upon this he turned up his nose, and
 “ said in a deriding manner, *If any man desires to*
 “ *be an absolute servant of Christ, he may go into*
 “ *a monastery, and take the vows of religion upon*
 “ *him.* I told him, Paul placed true religion in the
 “ works of charity ; and the greatest charity was to
 “ do most good unto our neighbours : but he laughed
 “ at this, as a silly way of talking. *Well,* says he,
 “ *we students seem to have left all ; we must be*
 “ *here in a state of perfection* No, said I, a man
 “ cannot be said to have left all, who, when he can
 “ do good to the world in any station, declines it,
 “ because he thinks it too mean for him : and so, to
 “ prevent any further dispute, I took my leave of
 “ him.”

He had also in a former letter mentioned his fruit-
 less endeavours to serve him in the affair of an usher^c.
 And he did not only in the former of these epistles,
 but whenever he had an opportunity, encourage men
 of letters to undertake the laborious care of a gram-
 mar school ; of which he often speaks in the highest
 commendation, as what exalts the schoolmaster to
 the highest dignity ; whose business is to season
 youth in learning and religion, and raise up men for
 the service of their country. “ It may be,” says he,

^c Nondum occurrit quem ex-
 istimem idoneum hypodidascu-
 lum tuæ scholæ ; pergam inqui-

rere, et simul atque reperero,
 certiore te faciam. Bene vale,
 præceptor optime.

“ the employment is accounted vile and mean in the opinion of fools ; but in itself it is really great and honourable^f.”

The aforesaid story about the aversion of men in the university to the drudgery of a grammar school, was by way of postscript to a letter, wherein Erasmus acquainted the dean^g, that he had almost finished

^f Erasmus Joanni Sapido.— Porro sortem tuam ut laboriosam esse non negaverim, ita tragicam, ut tu vocas, aut deplorandam esse prorsus inficior. Ludi literarii magistrum esse, proximum regno munus est. An tu putas sordidam esse functionem, primam illam ætatem tuorum civium optimis literis et Christo statim imbuere, totque probos et integros viros patriæ tuæ reddere? Stultorum opinione humilior est, re longe splendidissimum.

Sed quo alacrius verseris in isto munere, fac memineris secundum principes et episcopos, neminem magnificentius posse mereri de republica, quam ludi literarii magistrum, si rudibus adhuc, et in quemvis habitum sequacibus animis mentem instillet Christo dignam, easque literas, quæ semper optimo cuique placuerunt. [Erasmii Epist. Euricio Cordo, ludimagistro.]

^g In absolvenda *Copia* mea nunc sum totus, ut jam ænigmati instar videri possit, me simul, et in media *Copia*, et in summa versari inopia — Porro quod mihi tuas offers pecunias, agnosco veterem tuum in me animum, et gratiam habeo quam possum maximam.

Sed pupugit nonnihil animum meum verbum illud, quamlibet joco dictum; *si humiliter mendicaveris*. Fortasse significas, et vere significas, quod sortem nostram tam iniquo ferimus animo—A cæteris ne frustra petam; a te vero qua fronte, quaeso, petam? præsertim cum ipse hoc opum genere non admodum abundes. At tamen si tibi probatur inverecondia, finiam epistolam clausula quam possum impudentissima. Nec adeo possum perfricare faciem, ut nullo titulo abs te petam; nec adeo superbus tamen sum, ut munus rejiciam, si quis talis amicus libenter dederit, præsertim hoc rerum statu. Vale.

Refricuit mihi jocus Mori mei, dictum quoddam non illepidum: nam ædiis libris de *Copia*; “Emitit,” inquit, “Erasmus utramque *Copiam*, “quid itaque reliquum fecit, “præter summam inopiam?” [Eras. Ep.]

In the Hebrew tongue the word *alluph*, as one observes, is rendered both *pædagogus* and *princeps*; and *shebet* in that language is as *ῥάβδος* in the Greek, and signifies both a *rod* and a *sceptre*.

his book *de Copia*, (before mentioned,) and yet upon the subject of plenty he found himself in great want. And as to his offer of money to him; “I acknowledge,” says he, “your good old generous disposition, and thank you most heartily. But you have nettled me with one expression, (however spoken in jest,) *if you beg humbly*; intimating perhaps, (and with truth enough,) that I am too proud for my condition. However, were I to beg of others, I am afraid it would be in vain. And yet with what face can I beg of you? especially when you do not much abound in what I beg for. But if you will excuse my boldness, I will conclude now in a very impudent manner. I can hardly have the face to crave any thing of you, when I have deserved nothing; and yet I am not so proud as to refuse a gift when generously offered to me, especially under my present circumstances, low enough.”

What confidence Erasmus placed in his friend Colet, he discovers to him also (with his state and circumstances) in another letter, which mentions his engaging in a translation of St. Basil upon Isaiah, a work that pleased him very much. “I will,” says he, “send a specimen of it to the bishop of Rochester, and try whether he will soften my labour with some little reward. This is a way of begging, you will say; and I know you will laugh at it. But I begin to hate my poor condition; and I am resolved to get some fortune, to keep me above begging; or else to imitate Diogenes, and get into a tub^h.”

^h Cœpi vertere Basilium in valde placet. Exhibebo gustum
Esaiam. Mihi quidem opus episcopo Roffensi; experiarque

Having before mentioned Erasmus's pains, in seeking out for a proper person for the usher's place in Paul's school; I am now to add, that being not discouraged in his quest, he did at length very probably recommend Mr. John Rytwise; who being born at Sawl in Norfolk, and bred at Eaton school, was now member of King's college at Cambridge, and being retained by dean Colet as usher to his school, was, for his ability and industry, very agreeable to the head master Lilye.

Under these two excellent masters of Paul's school, if there was any fault in the management of it, it was in the practice of too muchⁱ severity, owing a little to the roughness of that age, and to the established customs of cruelty: somewhat too may be attributed to that austere temper of the founder, Dr. Colet; who verily thought, there was a necessity of harsh discipline to humble the spirit of boys, to inure them to hardship, and prepare them for mortifications and other sufferings and afflictions in the world.

This severity appears by several passages in Erasmus's works; particularly in his tract of the Education of Youth, where he falls upon the rigid French schoolmasters of the Scotical^k clan^l; than whom no-

num is velit hos labores nostros aliquo præmiolo lenire. O mendicitatem! jam rides, sat scio. At ego meipsum odi; planeque decretum est, aut aliquam nancisci fortunam, quæ me ab his mendicabulis eximat, aut prorsus Diogenem imitari. Rursum, vale. Cantabr. id. Septembr. [Eras. Epist. ed. Lond. p. 518.]

ⁱ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. col. 15.

^k "Next the Scotch clan." LEWIS and COLE.

^l — Gallis literatoribus secundum Scotos nihil est plagosius. Ili moniti respondere solent, eam nationem, quemadmodum de Phrygia dictum est, nonnihil plagis emendari. Hoc an verum sit, alii viderint; fateor tamen nonnihil in natione discriminis esse, sed multo magis in singulorum ingeniorum

thing more cruel, and yet when reproved for this their cruelty, they replied, that this nation (as was said of Phrygia) is only to be amended by such a harsh proceeding. "Whether this be true or not, "I will not dispute," says Erasmus, "but must own, "there is a good deal of difference between one people and another as to this point; but much more "in the disposition of children. You may kill some "before you can make them one whit better by "beating; and yet at the same time with good "words, and good usage, you may do what you "please with them. Of this temper I own myself "to have been when a boy. And my master, of "whom I was a great favourite, because he was "pleased to have conceived great hopes of me, having "a mind to get a thorough knowledge of my disposition, did therefore make a trial how I could "bear a sound whipping. Upon this a fault was "cooked up, of which (God knows) I never so much

proprietate. Quosdam occidas potius, quam verberibus emendes; at eosdem benevolentia blandisque monitis ducas, quocumque velis. Hac indole fateor me puerum fuisse, quum præceptor, cui præ cæteris eram charus, quod diceret se nescio quid magnæ spei de me concipere, magis advigilaret, velletque tandem experiri quam essem virgarum patiens, objecit commissum, de quo nec somniam unquam, ac cæcidit—Eares omnem studiorum amorem mihi excussit; adeoque dejecit puerilem animum, ut minimum abfuerit quin dolore contabes-

cerem. Jam hinc mihi coniecta, vir egregie, quam multa felicissima ingenia perdant isti carnifices indocti; sed doctrinæ persuasionem tumidi, morosi, vinolenti, truces, et vel animi gratia cædunt; nimirum ingenio tam truculento, ut ex alieno cruciatu capiant voluptatem. Hoc genus homines lanios aut carnifices esse decuit, non pueritiæ formatores. Nec ulli crudelium excarnificant pueros quam qui nihil habent quod illos doceant. Hi quid agant in scholis, nisi ut plagis et jurgiis diem extrahant? [Eras. de Pueri institut.]

“ as dreamed ; and accordingly I suffered the dis-
 “ cipline of the school. Immediately I lost all man-
 “ ner of relish to my studies ; and this usage did so
 “ damp my spirits, that it almost broke my heart.
 “ From hence we may see, that these illiterate
 “ butchers (to give them no better term) ruin many a
 “ hopeful lad. These conceited, morose, drunken,
 “ cruel creatures, exercise this their severity as a
 “ piece of pleasure ; and from another’s pain take
 “ great satisfaction. They are indeed fitter for the
 “ business of a butcher, or hangman, than to be in-
 “ structors of youth. And it is an observation not
 “ ill-grounded, that the most ignorant schoolmasters
 “ are generally the best at this exercise. For what
 “ is done in their schools ? and in what do they
 “ spend their days ? Nothing but noisy stripes and
 “ chidings.”

Erasmus therefore approved of the practice of
 Speusippus, who caused the pictures of joy and glad-
 ness to be set round about his school ; “ to signify,
 “ (as the excellent archbishop Tillotson observes,)
 “ that the business of education ought to be rendered
 “ as pleasant as may be ; and that children stand in
 “ need of all enticements and encouragements to
 “ learning and goodness imaginable : for, (as one
 “ says,) *Metus haud diuturni magister officii*, fear
 “ alone will not teach a man his duty, and hold
 “ him to it ; but rather causes a lasting disgust to
 “ both learning and virtue, and (to use Erasmus’s
 “ words,) *Virtutem simul odisse et nosse.*”

Thus we find Erasmus was of a contrary opinion ;
 and more for the merciful and gentle way of edu-
 cation : who therefore was almost angry with the

dean and his two masters ; and told the story of them mentioned below ^m in the original Latin, not very much to their reputation : which, though he concealed their names, it will be a hard task to apply to any other than to them. He judged of human nature according to his own share of it ; and therefore was for the milder and softer ways of teaching. He seems to wish that boys could play and learn at the same time : and it is with approbation and pleasure that he tells this story ⁿ of an English gentleman. “ One seeing his little son very fond of shoot-

^m — Novi theologum quendam, et quidem domesticæ, maximi nominis, cujus animo nulla crudelitas satisfaciebatur in discipulos, quum magistros haberet strenue plagosos. Id existimabat unice, et ad dejiciendam ingeniorum ferociam, et ad edomandum ætatis lasciviam pertinere. Nunquam agitabat convivium apud gregem suum, nisi quemadmodum comœdiæ exeunt in lætam catastrophem, ita post cibum sump-tum unus aut alter protraheretur virgis lacerandus ; et interim sæviebat, et in immeritos, nimirum ut assuescerent plagis. Ipse quondam astiti proximus, quum a prandio ex more puerum evocaret, annos natum (ut opinor) decem. Recens autem a matre venerat in eum gregem. Præfatus est, illi matrem esse cum primis piam fœminam, ab ea sibi puerum studiose commendatum ; mox, ut haberet occasionem cædendi, cœpit objicere nescio quid ferocitatis, quum nihil minus præ se ferret puer, et innuit illi cui collegii præfecturam commiserat

ut cæderet. Ille protinus dejectum puerum ita cæcidit, ut qui sacrilegium commisisset. Theologus semel atque iterum interpellavit, *satis est, satis est*. At carnifex ille fervore surdus per egit suam carnificinam pene usque ad pueri syncopem. Mox theologus vertus ad nos, *Nihil commiserat*, inquit, *sed erat humiliandus* ; nam hoc verbo est usus. Quis unquam ad eum modum eruditur mancipium ? imo quis asinum ? [Ibid.]

ⁿ Britanni jaculandi studio præcipue ducuntur ; nec aliud prius suos docent infantes. Quidam itaque solertis ingenii pater, animadvertens in filio miram jaculandi voluptatem, bellissimum arcum ac sagittas perpuleras paravit ; in omnibus tum arcu tum sagittis erant depictæ literæ : deinde scoporum vice, Græcarum primum, deinde Latinarum literarum figuras proposuit ; ferienti ac literæ nomen pronuncianti, præter applausum, præmiolum erat cerasum, aut aliud quo gaudent parvuli. [Eras. de Pueris instituendis. Op. tom. i. p. 441.]

“ing, bought him a fine bow and arrows; which
 “was painted with the letters of the Greek and La-
 “tin alphabet: and so for the butt, or mark to shoot
 “at; the like capital letters were drawn upon it:
 “and when he hit a letter, and could tell the name
 “of it, he had, besides the applause of the by-stand-
 “ers, a cherry, or some such trifle, for his reward.”

Erasmus also was a great enemy to that laborious way of trifling and losing time, which had lately obtained in grammar schools^o; the going round as it were in a mill with sweat and noise, and getting by heart so many lines, without understanding the sense of them; too much the custom of idleness in England and Holland^p. He shewed also a very good judgment; that boys should be sent early to a grammar school, before their minds are corrupted with any ill habit of tenderness, slothfulness, or other impediment of learning; and then that they should not be taken away too soon to the university,

^o Pueros nostros ultra pubertatem domi detinemus; ac otio, luxu, deliciisque corruptos, vix tandem in scholam publicam mittimus. Illic ut res bene cedat, degustant aliquid grammatices; mox simul atque norunt inflectere voces, et suppositum apposto recte jungere, perdidicere grammaticam, et ad perturbatam dialecticam admoventur; ubi si quid etiam recte loqui didicerunt, dediscant oportet. [Erasmus de Pueris instituendis. Op. tom. i. p. 443.]

^p *Leo*. Arbitror tibi frequenter ex majoribus auditum, fuisse tempus quo pueri multis annis discruciantur modis significandi, et quæstiunculis ex qua

vi, et aliis indoctissimis neniis, magnaue ambitione dictabatur, ediscebatur, exponebatur Ebrardus et Florista; quod supererat temporis, ridiculis versiculis transigebatur: Joannis Garlandini Græco-Latina disticha prælegebantur a sudantibus, Catholicon in omnibus templis habebatur. *Urs*. Infelix profecto seculum. *Leo*. An tu credidisses unquam fore, ut apud Britannos, aut Batavos, pueri Græce garrirent, Græcis epigrammatiis non infelicer luderent? *Urs*. Citius credidisset ruiturum cælum. [Erasmi Dialog. de Pronuntiatione. Op. tom. i. p. 773.]

to be confounded with logic, before they rightly understand their grammar; and in a manner to unlearn the little they had learned at school.

Sir Thomas Moore likewise doth often complain of the then vulgar method of teaching grammar, and the intricate systems of it; particularly of the *Parva Logicalia* of Albertus, full of abstruse and trifling rules to puzzle and confound the poor boys ⁴.

But Erasmus was above all solicitous for the morals and virtuous dispositions of children. He would have them read no authors but what were clean and chaste, and be in no company but what was innocent and uninfected.

We find by one of the dean's statutes, he was much of his mind; for he orders several Christian authors (*viz.* Lactantius, Sedulus, Juvencus, &c.) to be used in his school, for fear the children's morals should be corrupted by some of the heathen writers.

Erasmus also thought boys carried from school, as from their first vessel, that savour or tincture of good and evil that prevailed in all their following course of life, and gave them the right or the wrong bent and turn, to be wise and useful in their generation, or to be a sort of rakes and reprobates for ever.

He used to talk over this subject with dean Colet, upon the occasion of discoursing about the masters and scholars of Paul's: and the dean fully declared

⁴ Albertus quidam grammaticam se traditurum professus, logicam quandam aut metaphysicam, imo neutram, sed mera somnia, mera deliria grammaticæ loco substituit ille parvorum logicalium; quem ideo sic appellatum puto, quod

parum habeat logices. Operæ pretium est videre in suppositionibus, quas vocant, in ampliationibus, restrictionibus, appellationibus, quam ineptas, quam etiam falsas præceptiunculas habet. [Tho. Mori Apologia pro Erasmo.]

himself of the same opinion, that boys would imbibe their principles and morals from the books and the company they conversed with. It is probable, that upon this observation the dean made it a proverbial saying of his, "We are all such as our conversation is, and come habitually to practise what we frequently hear." This apophthegm, or wise saying of dean Colet, is remembered by Erasmus in his elaborate collection of Adages; and is preferred before any of the sentences of the ancient philosophers[†].

N. B. Here I cannot but remark, that though dean Colet had a plain unaffected style, yet it had always something weighty and pungent in it: and this (which some may call carelessness) did not proceed from a want of what goes under the name of rhetoric; but from a professed contempt of it, as an art only of amusing.

When Erasmus, in one of his books which he called *Antibarbari*, had elegantly declaimed against the abuses of rhetoric; Dr. Colet, upon reading it over, told Erasmus in private conversation, that his book had perfectly persuaded him to despise eloquence: and when Erasmus desired him to suspend his opinion, till he should hear what could be said on the other side; he said, he was enough satisfied in that

[†] Proinde nullum apophthegma philosophorum memini legere, quod mihi videatur cum illo conferendum, quod Joannes Coletus meus, vir pariter et eruditus et incorruptus, subinde dictitare consuevit: *Tales nos esse, qualia sunt quotidiana colloquia; tales evadere, qualia frequenter audimus.* Jam vero quod de colloquio dictum est,

idem oportet et de studiis accipere. Qui vitam omnem in ethnicis conterunt literis, gentiles evadunt. Qui præter obscænos autores nil evolvunt, moribus obscænis reddantur oportet. Etenim lectio colloquium quoddam esse videtur. [Erasmii Adagia. Op. tom. ii. p. 341.]

matter^s. He was however a great master of style and language. Hence it proceeded, that though his preaching was popular^t, and adapted to the capacity of the common part of his congregation; yet withal it was agreeable to the better judgment of the men of wit and learning: as I before instanced in sir Tho. Moore, who was a great admirer of him. But above all, archbishop Warham, who was, in effect, the supreme judge in the chancery and in the church,

^s Operis summam in quatuor libros digesseram. Primus re-fellebat ea quæ quidam vel superstitioni, vel hypocritæ religionis verius quam religiosi, solent nobis in os jacere. Secundus, subornata persona, qualis est apud Platonem Glauco, summis eloquentiæ viribus vituperabat eloquentiam; totamque rhetorices panopliam ex intimis illius armariis petitam, in ipsam rhetoricen expediebat: adeo ut felicis memoriæ Joannes Coletus, simul atque eum librum legisset, serio mihi dixerit in familiari colloquio; *Plane liber tuus mihi persuasit neglectum eloquentiæ: cumque monerem, suspenderet sententiam, donec audiret eloquentiæ patrocinantem; negabat a me posse dilui, quæ intendissem.* [Erasmus Johanni Sapido in librum primum Antibarbarorum.]

^t It was the free and plain preaching of Dr. Colet at Paul's Cross and Stepney, and other places in and near the city, that had raised up the disposition and spirit of the people, to begin to hate the yoke that had been put upon them, and to de-

sire a redemption from it. There was so great a change in the minds of the citizens, that from a slavish superstition they were become a body of heretics, or favourers of heretical pravity; as the bishop of London complained in a letter to cardinal Wolsey, at the beginning of the year 1515, in behalf of his poor chancellor, who was then in ward, and endited, says he, by an untrue quest for the death of Richard Hunne. [Who, for refusing to pay a mortuary unjustly demanded by the parish priest, was first accused of heresy, then thrown into prison, and there barbarously murdered.] He begs that it may please the king's grace to awarde a plakarde unto his attorney, to confess the said enditement to be untrue, when the time shall require it: "For assured I am," says he, "if my chancellor be "tried by any twelve men in "London, they be so maliciously sette *in favorem hæreticæ pravitatis*, that they "will cast and condemn any "clerke, though he were as innocent as Abel."

testified the highest approbation of his performances in this kind; as appeared by this, that at the opening of a convocation of the province of Canterbury^u, the archbishop appointed Dr. Colet to preach the Latin sermon on that solemn occasion: whose subject was of the necessity of reformation, from Romans xii. 2.^x *Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed, in the renewing of your minds, &c.*^y

In this discourse he tells his fathers and brethren boldly, that their present meeting was to consult the reformation of ecclesiastical affairs; and that there was never more need of it than in the present state of the church; the spouse of Christ (which one would wish to be without spot and wrinkle) was become deformed and ill-favoured; as the faithful city was become a harlot, &c. He must therefore warn them and importune them to bestow all their thoughts upon the reformation of the church: a work incumbent on the bishops and clergy, because

^u See Holland's *Heroologia* Angl. p. 146. and *Cambden's Remains*, p. 272. or 357.

^x Mr. Wood seems not to be accurate, when he calls this one sermon *Orationes duæ ad Clerum in Convocatione, anno 1511.* &c. Lond. 8vo. "One of them was also printed in three sheets in 4to. by Richard Pynson." [Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*]

Dr. Colet preached without notes; and had the best ability for so doing, in a strong and happy memory. Mr. Smith has put in this citation from *Wirtzung*, in his general *Practice of Physic*, part i. c. 12. sect. 1.

"One of the excellencies of Dr. Colet was a memory so stupendious, that he could repeat the *Decretals memoriter verbatim*, and did never forget any thing he read. *Sit fides penes authorem.* Yet there may be some truth in it." [Note on the Life of Dr. Colet, written by Erasmus, p. 76.]

^y An English translation of part of Dr. Colet's sermon is given by bishop Burnet, who thinks it was preached 1513, though it is printed as preached in 1511. [See *Hist. Reform.* vol. iii. p. 25, &c.]

nothing has so much disfigured the face of the church, as the secular and worldly lives of the clerks and priests in it : if priests and bishops, who should be the lights of the world, ran into dark ways, how great must the darkness of the common-people be ^z!

The being conformed to this world, is to follow the four evils of this world ;

I. Devilish pride.

II. Carnal lusts.

III. Worldly covetousness.

IV. Secular business. All which now are, and reign, in the church and ecclesiastical persons.

I. Pride of life. How ambitious, how greedy are the clergy nowadays of honours and preferments ! How do they run as it were out of breath, from one benefice and dignity to another, from the less to the greater profit, from the lower to the higher place ! And the more they rise, the more lofty and stately they become ; forgetting the humble office of bishops, and affecting a worldly lordship, &c.

II. Carnal lusts and concupiscence. And has not this vice so abounded in the church, that at present

^z The Remains ascribed to Cambden have put down this among the wise Speeches, p. 219. " Doctor Colet, the dean of Paules, said, that if the clergie were naught, the laitie were worse ; for it could not otherwise be, but the laymen must ever be one degree under the clergie : for hereby it cannot be a lie that our Sayour said himself ; who saith of the clergie, that they be

" *the salt of the earth* ; and if
 " that salt once appall, the
 " world must needs wax un-
 " savorie : and he saith, that
 " the clergie be *the light of the*
 " *world* ; and then, saith he, if
 " *the light be darkened*, how
 " *dark will then the darkness*
 " *be* ? That is to wit, all the
 " world besides, whereof he
 " calleth the clergie only the
 " light."

the far greater number of the priests regard nothing but the pleasure and delight of their own senses; feasting and reveling, and vain babbling, or hunting and hawking, or being immersed in other sports or amusements of the world, &c.

III. Worldly covetousness, or the lust of the eye. This plague has so infected the minds, and blinded the eyes of the clergy, that they will look at nothing but what has some gain and filthy lucre in it ^a. What do we seek for in the church but fat benefices and high promotions? And when we attain them, do we mind the duty of them? No, the greatest pluralist does the least office. O avarice, avarice, the root of all evil, of thee comes the heaping of one benefice upon another; of thee, the bargain of resignations for pensions reserved; of thee, the frivolous suits for tithes, for oblations, for mortuaries, for dilapidations, in the name of the church; but truly for our private interest. O avarice, of thee comes the burden of episcopal visitations; of thee, the corruption of ecclesiastical courts, and the new inventions of extorting from the poor and needy; of thee,

^a Erasmus had often entertained Dr. Colet with great expressions of his indignation at these markets in the church, and mercenary dealings of the popish clergy.—Apud sacerdotes nihil non venale est, nihil immune. Quas non tragœdias movent pro suis illis decimis? quam odiose divexant miseram plebeculam! Non datur baptismus, hoc est, non licet fieri Christianum, nisi numeres: atque his præclaris auspiciis fores ingrederis ecclesiæ. Non comprobant matrimonium, nisi

numeres. Non audiunt pœnitentium commissa, nisi sperent præmium. Sacrificanti conducti. Non psallunt gratis, non orant gratis, non imponunt manum gratis; vix procul mota manu benedicunt, nisi dederis. Non consecrant saxum, aut calicem, nisi data mercede. Quin et illud vere pontificium munus docendi populum, quæstu vitiatum est. Denique non impertiunt corpus Christi, nisi numeres. [Erasmii Adagia, Op. tom. ii. p. 296.]

the sharpness of officials in grasping all dues, and the eagerness of all ordinaries to extend their jurisdiction; of thee, the great abuses in the probate of wills, and the sequestration of fruits; of thee, the rigorous execution of all canons that bring in profit to the court, and the shameful neglect of all others that tend only to the reformation of manners.

IV. The fourth evil is secular business; wherein priests and bishops do now wholly employ their time, as servants of men rather than of God, and more the soldiers of this world than of Jesus Christ. Our warfare should be to pray devoutly, to read and study the scripture diligently, to preach the word of God sincerely, and rightly to administer the holy sacraments. But, alas! we are entangled in the affairs of the world, &c. From these secular occupations of the clergy many scandals do ensue.

1st, The dignity of the priesthood is debased, while priests are wrapped up in earthly things, whose conversation ought to be in heaven.

2dly, The sacred order must needs be debased, when there appears no difference between the priest and the layman, but according to the prophet Hosea, (chap. iv. 9.) *there shall be like people, like priest.*

3dly, The order and harmony in the church is confounded, when the highest churchmen meddle with the meanest and vilest things, and in their stead the matters of religion, the high and heavenly things, must be handled by the lowest of the people.

4thly, Great offence and occasion of falling is given to the lay-people, when, by the example of the priesthood, instead of being weaned from the world, they are taught to be the more addicted to it. Such worldly-minded priests are the worst of hypocrites,

while they go in holy vestments, and live a profane life.

By these four mischiefs among the clergy, the face of the church is more wounded, than it was at first by the persecution of tyrants, or since by the insults of heretics. For by persecuting tyrants the church in affliction grew more bright and pure, and the church being shaken by insulting heretics, was the better grounded and settled in the holy scriptures: but by the secular lives of the clergy and their worldly dealings, all charity is extinct, and the church cannot be wise and strong in the Lord. We are sensible that the laity are very apt to oppose the clergy; but, alas! the danger is in our own opposition to the laws of Christ. We are now threatened and troubled with heretics; but, alas! the most pernicious heresy is in the ill lives of the clergy. St. Bernard, preaching to a convocation of the clergy, said; "Many men are catholic in their words and doctrines, who are heretics in their works and conversation. They do the same by ill example that others do by false doctrine; *i. e.* they lead people out of the way of truth and righteousness. These men are more dangerous than other common heretics; as people are led into other pernicious ways more easily by ill examples than by any perverse teaching."

So much for the first part, *Be not conformed to this world.*

The second duty is to be reformed. The reformation of the state of the church must begin from you fathers, and be followed by us, as sons and brethren. The way I presume to reform the church is not so much to make new laws, (we have

enough, too many,) but to put the present laws in execution. To this purpose rehearse the ancient canons.

I. The canons that warn you, holy fathers, to *lay hands suddenly on no man*; not to be too easy in admitting men to holy orders. This gate, alas! is kept too wide and open. Multitudes thrust in, who have little learning, and less religion in them. But the best qualification is good morals and serious piety.

II. Rehearse the canons that command the benefices of the church to be given to the most worthy; not by near relation, or carnal affection, or any other respect of persons; whereby it happens that boys, and blockheads, and sots, do now reign and rule in the church, instead of grave, and wise, and good men.

III. Rehearse the canons against simony and corrupt procuring of benefices; a prevailing infection, that eats like a canker in the minds of the clergy, and prostitutes them to the most servile and the most mercenary ways of getting preferment.

IV. Rehearse the canons against non-residence. How many evils grow from hence! All the care of souls is left to poor curates; and these insufficient, if not scandalous.

V. Let all canons be recited that concern the lives of the bishops and clergy, that forbid every man in holy orders to be either a merchant, a usurer, a hunter, a gamester, or a soldier; especially the canons that restrain clergymen from the haunting of taverns, and keeping company with suspected women^b.

^b Nihil magis optandum, conjugio, liber ac totus serviam ut sacerdos immunis a viat Domino suo. Nunc vi-

VI. Recite the canons for the regulation of monks and religious orders; that they leave the broad way of the world, and go in the strait and narrow way to heaven: not negotiating in worldly business, nor attending and soliciting in the courts of princes.

VII. Above all, reverend fathers and bishops, recite the canons that concern yourselves; and especially those which relate to your fair and canonical election in the chapters of the respective cathedral churches: the neglect of these canons has been the reason that bishoprics have been disposed of more out of favour to men, than any respect to the grace of God; so that we have bishops who have little of the spiritual persons in them, earthly rather than heavenly, savouring of the things of this world more than of the spirit of Christ.

Let the canons be recited of the residence of bishops within their respective dioceses; that they look diligently to the cure of souls, sow the seed of the word of God, shew themselves in their own cathedrals, especially on the greater festivals; officiate sometimes in their own persons; do sacrifice for their people; hear the petitions and pleas of the poor; support the fatherless and widow, and exercise themselves in the works of charity.

Recite the canons for a due distribution of the revenues of the church; not to squander them away in costly buildings, nor in sumptuous apparel, nor in extravagant feasting, not in the raising of kinsmen, much less in the keeping of hounds; but in things

demus mundum esse plenum
sacerdotibus concubinariis. Est
apud Germanos episcopus qui-
dam, qui ipse dixit in convivio;
uno anno ad se delata undecim

millia sacerdotum palam con-
cubinariorum. Nam tales sin-
gulis annis pendunt aliquid epi-
scopo — [Erasmi Resp. in Not.
N. Beddæ. Op. tom. ix. p. 401.]

profitable and necessary for the church. Remember St. Austin the monk (while bishop of England) had this rule given to him by pope Gregory, to make a partition of the goods of the church into four equal shares; one for the support of the bishop and his family; a second, to maintain the inferior clergy; a third, to uphold and repair the buildings of the Church; and a fourth, to relieve the poor.

Let the canons be recited, (even over and over,) that would purge away the corruption of their courts, the arts, the frauds, the many ways of getting and catching money by that sordid covetous humour that is the cause of all our mischiefs, the fountain of all iniquity.

Lastly, let those canons and constitutions be renewed that enjoin the celebration of councils, and especially of provincial synods for the reformation of the church. Nothing can be more to the detriment of the church of Christ, than the want of such general and provincial assemblies. When these several canons have been recited, with such as relate to the correction of manners, there will want nothing but a due and impartial execution of them; that having a law of the church, we may live according to that law. And the execution and observation of these canons must begin with you, our bishops and governors. Your example must teach and direct all other orders and degrees. It is your light must shine before us; that we sons may see how to follow in our father's steps.

When once the clergy are thus reformed in the church, we are then in a right method of proceeding to the reformation of the laity; who will then readily comply with us: for the body follows the soul; and

such as are the rulers of the city, such will be the inhabitants thereof. So likewise will the people soon be good, if the priests are so: our good lives will teach them more effectually than all our sermons and discourses to them; our piety and virtue will even compel them to come into the right way, more powerfully than all your suspensions, excommunications, and other cursings and terrors of the church.

If you would bring the lay-people to live according to your wish and will, ye must first walk yourselves according to the will of God. You would have them obedient to you; and St. Paul doth so advise them, Heb. xiii. 17. But then the foundation of that obedience must be to take heed to yourselves, &c. You would be honoured of the people, as St. Paul again requires, 1 Tim. v. 17. But then ye must rule well. Ye must likewise labour in the word and doctrine; and so shall ye be counted worthy of double honour.

You would have your tithes and offerings, and all sort of church dues without suit or contention for them, as St. Paul has provided, Rom. xv. 27. But surely then you should sow your spiritual things, before you can expect to reap their carnal things. Would you be so hard and unjust upon them as *to reap where you did not sow, and to gather where you have not strowed?*

You would have what ye call the liberties and franchises of the church, *i. e.* the clergy exempted from secular judges^c. This also is reasonable; for

^c The exemption of the clergy from punishment by the civil magistrate, was the doctrine of the popish clergy in most of

their sermons and writings. In a treatise of the Soul of Man, printed about the time of this sermon, we find what follows

it is written in the Psalms, *Touch not mine anointed*, Psalm cv. 15^d. But if ye desire this liberty, be not in bondage to the world, assert within yourselves the liberty of the gospel, that liberty wherewith *Christ hath made you free*. Set your hearts and affections upon his service, which *is perfect freedom*. Serve God, and reign in him; and then, believe me, the people will not touch *their Lord God's anointed*.

In this admirable sermon, it is observable, the preacher had first made an apology, that he, a servant, should presume to advise the lords; and that the son should undertake to teach the fathers: "Truly this," says he, "had been more fit for the fathers themselves. You prelates might have done it with a graver authority and greater wisdom. But the command of the most reverend father and

in the ivth chap. Speaking of the dygnite of preestes, and how the vertu of the sacramentes is not lessed or mynyshed throwe the synnes of the receyver, and how God will not that seculars of the worlde correct the mynysters of holy chyrche — "To God it longeth only for to correct them for theyr defautes, and so I wyl it be, for if the excellence and autorite that I have gyve to them that yt is from subjectyon of temporal lordes, temporal lawe may nothyng punish them, but he only that is set aboue for to mynystre in my lawe that am endless God, (as be such as are anoynted of me,) they should correct them under me, whan they trespasse, and therefore by holy wryte I have said thus, *Nolite tan-*

gere, &c. to temporal lords; "touch not my Crystes that be my mynestree, which be anoynted of me," &c.

^d In the solemn dispute upon this subject in the Black-fryers, by the king's command, in April 1515, the abbot of Winchelcumb, advocate for the clergy, did gravely produce this text, as giving an exemption by divine right, and making any process against a clerk before a temporal judge to be *malum in se*, as contrary to the express commandment of Jesus Christ; *Nolite tangere Christos meos*: to which Dr. Standish, advocate for the king and civil government, gave such a clear answer, that no reply was made to it. [Kellway's Reports. Trin. 7 Hen. VIII.]

“ lord, the archbishop, president of this synod, must
 “ be obeyed; I must submit to the burden he has
 “ laid upon me, (in truth too heavy for my shoulders,)
 “ and bear it in remembrance of what the prophet
 “ has said, *Obedience is better than sacrifice.*” And
 he concludes with another decent apology for the
 freedom he had taken. “ I have mentioned, re-
 “ verend fathers and brethren, the particulars I
 “ thought proper for the reformation of our ecclesi-
 “ astical affairs. I trust, that of your benignity ye
 “ will take all in good part. If I have gone beyond
 “ my due bounds, or have spoken with too much
 “ warmth; forgive a man that speaks out of pure
 “ zeal, heartily lamenting the breaches and decays of
 “ the church. Consider the matters well; and be
 “ not offended at my manner of delivery. Consider
 “ the sad estate of the church; and use all your
 “ utmost endeavour to repair and reform it. Suffer
 “ not this great assembly to meet and depart in
 “ vain. Suffer not this synod to be held to no end
 “ and purpose. Truly ye have before met in convo-
 “ cation^c; but if, by your favour, I may speak the

^c Upon the great hopes and expectations from the first convocation of the prelates and clergy after the restauration of King Charles II. for a sort of precedent and rule to them, this sermon of Dr. Colet was printed in English, under this title; *A Sermon of Conforming and Reforming made to the Convocation at St. Paul's Church in London, by John Colet, D. D. Dean of the said Church: upon Rom. xii. 2. Be ye reformed, &c. writt an hundred and fifty years since:*

to which is now added an Appendix of bishop Andrews and Dr. Hammond's solemn Petition and Advice to the Convocation, &c. Cambridge, 1661. Svo.

This discourse being lately reprinted in the *Phoenix*, from Mr. Smith's edition in full length, the editor speaks of it in the following words:

“ Dr. Colet's sermon, which
 “ stands foremost in this volume,
 “ and is perhaps one of the
 “ oldest, as well as one of the
 “ honestest, extant in the Eng-

“ truth, I have not seen any good come of it to the
 “ church. Go on now, in the holy Spirit ye have
 “ called upon ; and by the aid of that Spirit, pre-
 “ siding over this council, debate, determine, and or-
 “ dain such things as may be to the interest of the
 “ church, to your own praise, and to the honour of
 “ God : unto whom we ascribe all honour and glory,
 “ now and for ever. *Amen.*”

I cannot but here observe, that the same zeal,

“ lish tongue, is upon all these
 “ accounts singularly valuable.
 “ This piece we might trust
 “ alone into the world, without
 “ passport or recommendation ;
 “ whether we consider it purely
 “ as a sermon, with respect to
 “ the language and ornaments
 “ of speech, though preached in
 “ the reign of Henry VII. or
 “ with respect to the matter and
 “ doctrine, though in the days of
 “ popery. But the present age
 “ abounding with infinite va-
 “ riety of excellent new ser-
 “ mons upon all texts, which
 “ may tempt the injudicious to
 “ ask, Why an old sermon
 “ upon us ? it may not be amiss
 “ to assign the reason in the
 “ words of an illustrious prelate,
 “ and shew there is a wonderful
 “ historical use in an old ser-
 “ mon, as well as in an old
 “ medal.

“ When I writ,” says his
 lordship, “ my History of the
 “ Reformation, I had Dr. Co-
 “ let’s sermon in my hands :
 “ and once I intended to have
 “ published it, as a piece that

“ might serve to open the
 “ scene, and to shew the state
 “ of things at the first begin-
 “ nings of the reformation : but
 “ I was diverted from it by
 “ those under whose direction
 “ I put the work. They
 “ thought it might have been
 “ judged, that I had inserted it
 “ on design to reflect on the
 “ present, as well as on the
 “ past, state of things. I sub-
 “ mitted to their advice, &c. ^a

“ By his lordship’s manner
 “ of taking notice he had Dr.
 “ Colet’s sermon in his hands,
 “ he sufficiently intimates, that
 “ it was scarce as well as valua-
 “ ble, and not to be met with
 “ but among the curious : and
 “ since the reasons and regards
 “ which diverted his lordship
 “ from publishing it in the reign
 “ of Charles II. are, it is to be
 “ hoped, in a great measure
 “ changed, or ceased in these
 “ days ; we persuade ourselves,
 “ the reviving and publishing it
 “ now in the Phoenix will meet
 “ with universal satisfaction.”

^a [Reflections on a book concerning the Rights, Powers, &c. of an English Convocation.]

and pious strain, appears in other writings of his; particularly in his Comment upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians: where he makes use of the same vehemency of speech, and breathes out his soul in most passionate desires of reformation; and yet at the same time doth it with so much tenderness and candour, without the least assuming to himself, or being dogmatical in his opinion, that I am persuaded the conclusion is worth inserting among the notes, in order to shew the winning way he had as to others, and the modesty and humility, as well as the weightiness and importance of what he said ^f.

It is very observable, that in this sermon of dean Colet to a popish synod, there is no manner of popery, but in the phrase of *doing sacrifice*, which was at that time common language for *saying mass*; and the exemption of the clergy from the civil magistrate; which by a long prescription was become then in effect the law of the land: he seems indeed to claim it by divine right; perhaps in compliance with the stiff humour of the clergy in those times.

This, though large, abstract of the foregoing sermon will probably be thought not sufficient; because we have very little or nothing of this great man extant besides. For though we have large catalogues of

^f — Nos autem quicquid in hoc argumentum contulimus, quanquam non aliis quam nobismet ipsis scripsimus, tamen si fortasse hæc nostra, quæcunque sunt, aliquando in aliorum manus inciderint, quicquid in his legent, eos precor ut boni consulant. Tribuentque soli Deo, si quid repererint quod recte dicitur: sin vero aliquid

sit quod eos offendat qui meliori sunt iudicio, id redargui, repelli, et in me rejici non recusabo; agnosco enim infirmitatem meam: agnosco etiam omnia omnibus ex gratia esse, ut possumus et debemus illud apostolicum dicere; *Non sumus sufficientes ex nobis, quasi ex nobis, sed tota nostra sufficientia a Deo est.*

the works of Dr. Colet, by Bale^s and Pitts^h; yet, excepting the Rudiments of Grammar, we have nothingⁱ

^s — Ego nihilominus ipsum multa scripsisse comperii; sed ideo publicare noluisse, quod fuerit Græci sermonis imperitus, sine quo sæpenumero se nihil esse fatebatur. Nam ista, divaricatis pagellis in secretissimo suæ bibliothecæ loco, sunt post ejus mortem reperta, ut ab amico quodam accepi,

De Puerili Institutione, lib. i. Accipe optime ac literatissime.

De Moribus componendis, lib. i. Hosce articulos præceptor recita.

Enarrationes in Paulum, lib. xiv.

In Proverbia Salomonis, lib. i.

In Evangelium Matthæi, lib. i.

Epistolæ ad Erasmus, lib. i.

Non facile credideris, Erasme.

De Reformidatione Christi, lib. i.

In Symbolum Fidei, lib. i.

In Precationem Dominicam, lib. i.

Conciones ordinariæ, lib. i.

Conciones extraordinariæ, l. i.

Ad Convocationem Cleri, lib. i.

Breviloquus Dictorum Christi, lib. i.

Ad Argumenta Erasmi, lib. i.

Exceptiones Doctorum, lib. i.

Atque alia, sed omnino imperfecta. [Balei Script. Brit. Cent. v. 4to. 1548.]

^h It is well known that Bale did multiply the works of his authors; and that Pitts generally made bold to increase the catalogue of them: as here Pitts added to the works of Colet, *Vita Hominis Christiani*. 2. *Ortolan*. 3. *Epistole ad Tho-*

nam Tailerum. And Mr. Wood doth mention *Commentarii in Ecclesiasticam D. Dionysii Hierarchiam*, MS. This is in the public library at Cambridge, *ad calcem Com. in Epist. ad Rom. et Corinthios*. The title of it stands thus: *Jo. Colet de Angelis Cælestique Hierarchia secutus Dionysium*. At the end of his *Com. in Rom. Oxoniæ*, is added, that which shews they were his prelections there. The daily Devotions, printed in his name, cannot be said to be all of his composition.

There is still another manuscript of the dean's, now in the possession of Roger Gale, esq. which seems to be an analytical comment on all the canonical epistles. The reverend Dr. Tho. Gale conjectures it to be Dr. Colet's from the likeness of expression found in his other writings; and from what he calls an uncorrectness, which he was subject to, by reason of his more regarding sense than words.

ⁱ Mr. Wood has a little expatiated upon the hint given by Bale: as for the things he wrote, they are many; which being found in his study, after his death, few understood them, because written only for his own understanding, with intentions, if life had been spared, that they should have been all fairly transcribed and published. (*Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. col. 1.) But for such intentions there can be no authority. The contrary is rather probable, that he

entire but this single sermon: the Latin original whereof is no where to be found but in the public library at Oxon, among archbishop Laud's MSS. though printed; which, with the English translation, (written probably by the dean himself,) since it is also a great rarity, deserves a place in the appendix.

Erasmus excuses him for not leaving more in writing, telling us, "he could not bear, that the standard of a good style should be taken from the exact rules of grammar: which, he would often affirm, did rather obstruct the purity of the language; not to be attained but by the reading of the best and purest authors. He suffered by this opinion: for when by genius and learning he had a noble eloquence, and the perfect command of any subject; yet in writing he did sometimes fall under the censure of the critics. And it was for this reason, I presume, that he abstained from the writing of books. Though I wish," says that great man, "that he had not abstained: I should value the thoughts of such a man, in whatever language they were dressed^k."

It were to be wished, that we had some remains of the convocation in 1511, or of a former in 1509. In one of which I doubt not it would appear, that

was averse to the publishing any of his writings.

^k Recte loquendi copiam non ferebat peti e præceptionibus grammaticorum; quas asseverabat officere ad bene dicendum; nec id contingere, nisi evolvendis optimis autoribus: sed hujus opinionis ipse pœnas dedit; cum enim esset et natura et eruditione facundus, ac dicenti

mira suppeteret orationis ubertas, tamen scribens subinde labebatur in his quæ solent notare critici; atque hac, ni fallor, gratia, a libris scribendis abstinerebat: atque utinam non abstinisset; nam hujus viri cogitationes, quacunque etiam lingua proditas, optarim. [Erasmus, Jod. Jon. Ep. edit. Bas.]

the preacher, dean Colet, was (although he had made use of great freedom of speech in his sermon) elected prolocutor, and by his prudence and learning managed and restrained the spirit of persecution that was then fermenting among the inferior popish clergy. When one of the seniors of them was arguing fiercely for putting heretics to death, and it was made a question, whether the scriptures did any where command it; the man, with great eagerness, offered to quote Titus iii. 10. *Hæreticum hominem, post unam et secundam correctionem, devita*; taking it for granted, that *devitare* in the Latin was *de vita tollere*, to kill, or take away life. Erasmus upon that place, in his Annotations, says; “None should suspect this to be my invention; I had it from Dr. Colet, a man of known integrity, who was prolocutor when this thing happened in convocation¹.”

¹ Erasmi Annotat. in Epist. ad Titum cap. iii. com. 10. *Hæreticum devita*. Hic locus est, quem senex theologus, et in primis severus, in concilio produxit. Cum venisset in questionem, num quis esset locus in literis canonicis, qui jubere hæreticum affici supplicio capitis; *Devita*, inquit, *devita*; putans *devitare* Latinis esse *de vita tollere*. Id ne quis suspicetur meum esse commentum, accepi ex Joanne Coletto, viro spectatæ integritatis, quo præsidente res acta est.

Erasmus had before told this story very divertingly in his *Moriae Encom*. And therefore it could not so well happen in the convocation of 1511, 3 Hen. VIII. as it might in 1509, 1 Hen. VIII. because the *Mo-*

riae Encomium seems to be written and published between these two meetings: for though Erasmus, by way of amusement, pretends he wrote it in his passage over the Alps from Italy; yet he really drew it up in England, even in the dwelling-house of master Moore, at whose suggestion he wrote it, and sent it over to be printed in France, as he afterwards confessed to Martin Dorp. *Diversabar id temporis apud Morum meum, ex Italia reversus, ac renum dolor complusculos dies domi continebat, et mea bibliotheca nondum fuerat advecta; tum si maxime fuisset, non sinebat morbus quicquam in gravioribus studiis acrius agitare. Cœpi per otium Morias Encomium ludere; nec in hoc*

That blundering way of perverting the scriptures; by catching at the very sound of the words in the vulgar Latin, was a common practice among the masters and doctors of that age. Melancthon gives a like instance in a professor of divinity, who expounded the text, *Rex Salem panem ac vinum obtulit*; not thinking *Salem* was the proper name of a place, he ran out into a long dissertation about the nature of salt, as well as of bread and wine^m. And so, *paveant illi non paveam ego*, was a good proof, that the *provest* was not *to pave* before his own door.

The dean's two sermons of war preached before Henry VIII. when he was entering upon a war with France, are lost. Some account indeed is given of them by Erasmus, and by archbishop Parker, (who, no doubt, was the compiler, or at least the director of the lives of his predecessors,) by collating both which writers we may collect these matters of fact; that dean Colet, for his plainness and freedom, and scriptural way of preaching, lay under the suspicion of heresy, and had hardly escaped a persecution upon it. The same adversaries, in the name of the church, were lying in wait for him at every sermon he preached, especially in the city, and about the court. The convocation sermon was under the command and protection of the archbishop, lord chancellor of England; and was much the safer for it.

But it was with the greatest impatience that his

sane ut ederem, sed ut morbi molestiam hoc velut avocamento levarem, &c. [Eras. Epist. ad Dorpium dat. Antw. MDXV.]

^m Nuper quidam ex magistris nostris, cum enarraret ea quæ de Melchisedeck in Genesi pro-

ditæ sunt, rex Salem panem ac vinum obtulit, non animadvertens Salem loci nomen esse, multa de condimenti vi ac natura disseruit: imposuit enim bono viro vocum affinitas. [Eloquentiæ Encomium Phil. Melan. Svo. p. 104.]

enemies watched some other opportunities against him; and they thought it would as well serve their purpose, if, instead of the suspicion of heresy, they could fix the misprision of treason upon him. Hence the king having resolved upon a war with France, they suggested to his highness, that dean Colet had, at this juncture, preached up this false doctrine; that the most dishonourable peace was preferable to the justest war. Two of the Franciscan friars, Staudish and Bricot, (the first of which was soon after a bishop,) opened against Colet upon this occasion; and one of them loudly, in his pulpit, declaimed against poets, meaning the dean, as well versed in the classics, and a good master of music, though otherwise far from a maker of verses. The young king hearing of these complaints, gave a signal instance of his prudence and moderation: he sent for dean Colet, and in private advised him to go on in reprovng and reforming a corrupt and dissolute age, and to let his light shine in the midst of so much prevailing darkness. He was not ignorant, that this had provoked some of the prelates against him; but for his own part, was sensible what service and honour he had done to the whole nation by his sound preaching and good living: and he therefore told him, he would humble his adversaries, and satisfy the world, that they who struck at Dr. Colet should not go unpunished. The dean thanked the king for his royal goodness to him; but as to any punishment of his unreasonable adversaries, he did not desire that any should suffer on his account; he would rather give up his deanery, and live altogether in privacy and silenceⁿ.

ⁿ — Non conquievit tamen odium; tentavit aulam regiam
senis [episcopi Londinensis] in Coletum concitare, atque im-

But soon after^o, another occasion offered itself, wherein they thought verily they should do his

primis regem ipsum ; jam aliud telum nacti, quod publice dixisset in concione, pacem iniquam præferendam bello æquissimo ; id temporis enim adornabatur bellum in Gallos ; et hujus fabulæ non minimam partem Minoritæ duo agebant : quorum alter fax belli, mitram meruit ; alter bonis lateribus vociferabatur in concionibus in poetas : sic enim designabat Coletum, cum is a poeticis numeris esset alienissimus, alioqui non imperitus musices. Hic rex, egregius juvenis, dedit evidens specimen ingenii sui regno dignissimi, privatiu hortans Coletum, pergeret sua doctrina libere succurrere moribus ejus seculi corruptissimis, neque subduceret lucem suam temporibus tenebrosissimis : se non ignorare, quid in illum stimularet episcopos illos, neque nescire quantum ipse fructus attulisset genti Britannicæ sua vita, sacraque doctrina. Addebat sese sic cohibiturum illorum conatus, ut aliis liqueret non impune fore, si qui Coletum impeterent. Hic Coletus egit quidem gratias pro animo regio ; cæterum quod obtulit, deprecatus est ; negans se velle, ut cuiquam pejus esset sua causa, se potius cessurum munus quod gerebat.

^o — Sed aliquanto post data est illis ansa, ut sperarent jam posse confici Coletum. A Pascha parabat expeditio in Gallos : in die Parasceves Coletus apud regem et aulicos mire concionatus est de victoria Christi ; adhortans Christianos omnes, ut sub

regis sui vexillo militarent, ac vincerent : etenim qui odio, qui ambitione, mali pugnarent cum malis, seque vicissim trucidarent, non sub Christi, sed sub diaboli signis militare : simulque ostendit, quam res esset ardua Christianam obire mortem ; quam pauci bellum susciperent, non odio aut cupiditate vitati ; quam vix consisteret eundem habere fraternam charitatem, sine qua nemo visurus esset Deum, et ferrum in fratris viscera demergere. Addidit, ut Christum principem suum imitarentur, potius quam Julios et Alexandros. Multaque alia tum declamavit in hanc sententiam, sic, ut rex nonnihil metueret, ne hæc concio adimeret animos militibus, quos educebat. Huc velut ad bubonem omnes convolant mali ; sperantes fore, ut regis animus jam in illum possit exacerbari. Accersitus est Coletus jussu regis ; venit ; pransus est in monasteriolo Franciscanorum, quod adhæret regiæ Greenwichensi. Rex ubi sensit, descendit in hortum monasterii ; et Coletum prodeunte, dimisit suos omnes. Ubi solus esset cum solo, jussit, ut tecto capite familiariter colloqueretur ; atque ita exorsus est juvenis humanissimus : “ Ne quid te “ mere suspiceris, decane ; non “ accersivi te, quo turbem tuos “ sanctissimos labores, quibus “ unice faveo, sed exonerem “ conscientiam meam scrupulis “ aliquot, tuoque consilio rec- “ tius satisfaciam officio meo.” Verum ne totum colloquium re-

business. The archbishop, according to custom, was to make a list of Lent preachers, to be appointed to

petam, quod fere sesquihoram productum est. Interim in aula ferociebat Bricotus, existimans periclitari Coletum; cum per omnia conveniret illi cum rege, nisi quod rex optabat, ut quod Coletus vere dixisset, diceret aliquanto explanatius ob rudes milites, qui secus interpretarentur, quam ipse dixisset, videlicet Christianis nullum esse bellum justum. Coletus pro sua prudentia, proque singulari animi moderatione, non solum animo regio satisfacit, verum etiam auxit gratiam pristinam. Ubi reditum est in regiam; rex dimissurus Coletum, allato poculo, præbabit illi; et complexus hominem humanissime, omniaque pollicitus quæ sint ab amantissimo rege expectanda, dimisit. Jam aulica turba circumstans, expectabat exitum ejus colloquii. Ibi rex omnibus audientibus, "Suus," inquit, "cuique doctor esto, et suo quisque fateat; hic est doctor meus." Ita discesserunt quidam lupi (quod aiunt) hiantes, et præcipue Bricotus; nec ab eo die quisquam est ausus impetere Coletum. [Erasmii Epist. Jod. Jonæ, p. 579.]

— Cum ex more archiepiscopus designaret quosdam prædicatores, qui diebus Dominicis, Mercurii, atque Veneris in septimanis quadragesimalibus coram rege concionarentur; proxima tunc sequenti quadragesimali Coletus die Veneris ante Pascha, qui a Pontificiis *sanctus* dicebatur, jussu archiepiscopi concionem coram rege habens do-

cuit, quomodo sub Christi vexillis militandum Christianis fuerit. Eo tempore rex in Gallos bellum parabat. Ac Coletus, cum de sedandis principum discordiis, Christianisque a bello revocandis multa, eaque mira facundia protulisset, subjunxit; his qui sub Christi vexillis pugnant, Christi humilitatem, non Alexandri, aut Julii Cæsaris, aut similium imperatorum ferociam esse proponendam. Rex aliquanto turbatus ac veritus ne suorum ducum atque procerum animos tam piæ ac disertæ orationis vi a bello in Gallos suscepto flecteret, ac averteret, finita concione eum accersivit. Id Londinensis episcopus suique asseclæ, qui invisum Coletum habebant, in eam partem interpretabantur, ac si Coletus, qui contra regis sententiam atque mentem tam acriter prædicaret, veniret regi in proditionis suspicionem, et regis jussu ad carceres ex aula duceretur; multaque in eum, dum adhuc cum rege loqueretur, petulanter invecti sunt. At vero præter illorum opinionem, rex Coletum valde humaniter comiterque tractavit; eique suum de bello Gallico gerendo consilium et institutum indicavit; non se id sponte, sed lacessitum, et coactum, ac ad regni tutelam suscepisse. Proinde, quamvis in concione de Christiana pietate gerenda, et omnis vindictæ cupiditate deponenda eleganter atque pie dixisset; ita ut suum ipsius animum in Gallos hostiliter affectum pene mi-

preach before the king on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, during that holy time ; in which course the dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Colet, preached on Good Friday ; and treating of Christ's victory over death and the grave, he exhorted all Christians to fight manfully under this captain of their salvation, and to come off more than conquerors. He spoke somewhat of reconciling the differences of Christian states and princes ; and did persuade men to conquer those lusts, *from whence come wars and fightings amongst them*. He said, those worldly wicked men who fought with one another out of hatred and ambition, and were hurried on to slay and to destroy one another, did not fight under the banner of Christ, but under the ensigns and tokens of the Devil. He shewed how hard it was to die a Christian death in a day of battle ; how few undertake a war, but in malice, or avarice, or ambition, or some other unwarrantable passion ; and how inconsistent that imbruing of hands in blood was with that Christian charity, *without which no man shall see the Lord* :

tigasset ; tamen, quia hoc bellum necessitatis, non voluntatis, nec illatio belli, sed Gallicanæ vis ac injuriæ repulsio quædam esset, rogavit eum, ut altera concione se ac aulam suam, de bello ad incolumitatem, atque defensionem patriæ Christianis suscipiendo, eadem orationis facultate, qua de humilitate tum docuit, institueret. In quo Coletus non minus regi quam Christo officium, atque obsequium præstitit. Nam de bello Christianis licito gerendo, tanta gravitate et eloquentia dixit, ut non modo regem atque proceres ad bellum jam

propensos, sed languentes atque timidos contra Gallos tum incenderet. Rex finita concione ei in populi coronagratias egit, et proceribus suis astantibus ; " Sequatur," inquit, " quisque illum quem maxime probat doctorem, mihi enim solus Coletus arridet." Post hoc encomium regale, Coletus ab inimicorum invidia securus, atque tutus, Evangelium indies in concionibus propagabat ; et tam aulicis quam civibus Londinensibus (quos orationis facundia allexit et delinivit) auditoribus florebatur. [Antiq. Britan. sub Will. Warham. edit. Han. p. 306.]

and he finally exhorted, that they who were finishing their warfare under Christ's banner, should not imitate the Alexanders and the Cæsars, and the other victorious princes, but their own humble lord and master Jesus. The king was a little disturbed at this doctrine; and afraid that such a powerful dissuasive from war might cool the minds of his subjects, and even intimidate his soldiers, at this juncture of his declaring a war against France: and therefore immediately after sermon he sent for the preacher, who waited his majesty's pleasure in the Franciscan monastery, adjoining to the royal palace at Greenwich. The king went down to walk in the convent garden; and when Dr. Colet came to him, he dismissed all his attendants. The bishop of London, and his party, who hated the dean, and especially friar Bricot, were waiting in the palace; full of hopes and expectation that the preacher would fall under the suspicion of treason, and the king's highest displeasure upon it, and would immediately be sent from the court to the tower. But on the contrary, as the king and dean Colet were alone in the garden, his highness commanded him to be covered; and then spoke to him in this friendly manner: "Master dean, that you may fear no harm, " I sent for you at this time, not to interrupt your " holy labours in preaching, which I would rather " encourage and promote; but to disburden my own " conscience of some scruples upon it, and by your " ghostly advice to direct myself in the present posture of my affairs." The king then told him, that he was now engaged in a war against the French king; not at his own desire, but by force and urgent necessity, for the defence of his kingdom: and

therefore though the doctor, in his truly Christian sermon, had spoke admirably well of Christian love and charity, and of laying aside all thoughts of revenge, and had almost reconciled him to his greatest enemies, the French ; yet, since this was a war, not of choice, but of necessity, for the defence of his kingdom, and undertaken to repel force with force ; he must desire him, in another sermon, to defend the lawfulness of such a war as was defensive, and should be entered upon for the honour and safety of our country. Dean Colet with all dutiful readiness obeyed the king's command ; and at the next opportunity, in the same grave and eloquent way, he spoke of the grounds of a lawful war among Christian states and princes, with such strength of reason and scripture, that he not only confirmed the king and his nobles in their intended enterprise, but even raised the spirits of the common people, before cool and indifferent in that matter. At the end of this last sermon the king thanked him publicly before all the people ; and said to his nobles, who stood about him, " Well, let every one choose his own doctor ; " but this shall be my doctor, before all other whatsoever." And so the king took a glass of wine, and drank to him very graciously, and dismissed him with all the marks of affection ; promising him any favour at court he would ask for. After this great honour done him by the king, his enemies (that stood gaping like wolves for a prey) slunk away with shame and vexation ; and the dean, now secure from their envy and malice, went on in his constant course of preaching, and had always a full audience, as well of courtiers as of citizens ; who were all pleased, and even charmed with his excellent way of preaching.

But for all this, he seems never to have recovered the name of orthodox amongst the churchmen of his time, especially those who were called *the religious*; who had a mighty ostentation in valuing themselves as such, and throwing the odious and dangerous name of heretics upon all who would not speak directly in their language ^p.

Erasmus, as well as his friend Colet, was a sufferer in this cause of the imputation of heresy; but of the two, Dr. Colet, if possible, was the more heretically inclined: and Erasmus does him the justice, in giving him the preference of thinking some superstitious intolerable, which he himself could more easily bear; at least till some opportunity offered itself of reforming the church without disturbing the peace of the state. We have an instance of this, when they being joint spectators of some superstitious relics of Tho. a Becket, Colet was out of patience to see those silly fopperies; whereas Erasmus was more easy, waiting till a proper time should come of reforming such abuses ^q: for though there was great need of reformation, yet he judged there

^p Erasmus frequently complained of this bigotry in the time of Dr. Colet. Nonnulli, dum videri volunt vehementer orthodoxi, diris execrationibus devovent quos vocant *hereticos*, ipsi fortassis digniores hoc vocabulo. Qui vult orthodoxus videri, mansuetis rationibus adnitatur, ut qui errat, respiscat, &c. [Adagia Eras.]

^q In Anglia offerunt osculandum calceum divi Thomæ, quondam episcopi Cantuariensis, qui forte calceus est alicujus balatronis; et ut sit, quid

ineptius quam adorare calceum hominis? Vidi ipse, quum ostentarent linteola lacera, quibus ille dicitur abstersisse mucum narium, abbatem, ac cæteros, qui adstabant aperto scrinio venerabundos, procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam sublatis adorationem gestu representare. Ista Joanni Coletto (nam is mecum aderat) videbantur indigna; mihi ferenda videbantur, donec sedaret opportunitas ea citra tumultum corrigendi. [Erasmi Modus Orandi. Op. tom. v. p. 933.]

was more need of peace and quiet, lest the remedy should be worse than the disease^r. And accordingly the tumults and distractions in Germany, especially at Munster, upon the opening of the reformation, did more check and retard the progress of it, than all the powers of earth and hell could otherwise have done.

But notwithstanding the infelicity of those times, dean Colet was justly valued by all good and wise men for his learning and integrity; and, even in spite of his enemies, in favour with the king and parliament: so that it seems to have been for his sake, that by an act made in the third year of Henry VIII. 1511, or 1512, (to be seen in the Appendix,) the dean of Paul's, for the time being, was made one of the examinants and approvers of all persons within the city of London to be admitted to practise as physicians or surgeons, and to give letters testimonial under his seal of such trial and approbation.

Nor was he out of confidence in the court of Rome, from whence some commissions were directed to him. There is now in the right reverend lord bishop of Peterborough's hands (besides many other valuable originals made use of in this work) a printed copy of "Letters of Indulgence to the Gild or Fraternity of St. George in Soworke, for one hundred days of pardon to all that gyve ony thyng or help with ony parte of their goodes to

^r — Multa ridicula, tum fiunt, tum etiam dicuntur; et tamen quamquam docta pietas cuperet hæc esse sublata e moribus Christianorum, tamen tole-

rat; quoniam perspicit sine tumultu corrigi non posse, leviusque ducit tolerare malum, quam adhibere remedium. [Ib.]

“ the reparation or maintenyng the servyce of Al-
 “ mighty God in the same place, granted by the car-
 “ dinals of Rome, and duly examyned by the right
 “ worshypful mayster doctour Collet, dean of Poulles.
 “ Emprynted the yere 1513, the 1st day of Decem-
 “ bre.”

He was afterwards made chaplain, and (which was more) preacher in ordinary to the king^s; and (if Erasmus is not mistaken) he was, before his death, admitted to be one of the privy council^t. And though he was, in his own mind, above the acceptance of a bishopric, yet he was possibly concerned in recommending a very worthy member of his own church, master Edward Vaughan, doctor of laws, prebendary of Brounsbury, and canon residentiary and treasurer in the cathedral church of Paul's, who was consecrated bishop of St. David's, by Richard, bishop of London, and others, at Lambeth, on the 22d of July 1509.

This Dr. Vaughan had been a great benefactor to St. Paul's, in rebuilding his residentiary house, and in distributing corn in the late time of scarcity to the poor in London; and he carried down the same public spirit into Wales, where he was a very noble builder and repairer of the houses and chapels belonging to that see^u.

^sThomas Morus est a consiliis; Paceus huic pene Germanus, ab epistolis; Gulielmus Montioius reginæ famulatio præfectus est; Joannes Coletus est a sacris concionibus, Joannes Stokesleius a sacris—Bas. 7. cal. Aug. 1518. [Erasmi Epist. lib. ii. epist. 24. Lond. edit. Col. 131.]

^tThomus Morus est regi a consiliis, atque item Coletus; Thomas Linacrus a cura valetudinis: ipse rex fœlicissime philosophatur: regina literas amat; quas ab infantia fœliciter didicit. Quis non cupiat in tali aula vitam agere?—Lovanii, 1519. [Eras. Ep.]

^uMagister Edwardus Vaghan,

As to the dean, though he was never inclined to much company, yet he did now more than ever value his book, his friend, and his prayers, and affect privacy and retreat for the quieter enjoyment of them.

The death of some of his friends, whom he highly esteemed, happening about this time, did also very much tend towards the weaning him from this world: for the sweating sickness raging much in London, Erasmus (then at Louvain) and Colet (at home) had almost every day some afflicting news of their friends death. But there was none they lamented more than Andreas Ammonius^v, a learned Italian, of Lucca in Italy, apostolical prothonotary, the pope's collector within the kingdom of England, Latin secretary to the king, in late attendance upon him in his wars in France, prebendary of St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster; who perceiving the danger he was in, made his last will and testament on the 17th of August, 1517, and died very soon after. In his last will he recited his titles and offices, and ordered his body to be buried in the chapel of St. Stephen in Westminster, or where it pleased his fellow canons there. He left one hundred nobles to

canonicus et thesaurarius S. Pauli London. electus Menevensis, consecratus die xxii. Jul. 1509. — ædificavit ædes apud S. Paulum Londini, ubi doctor Smythus nuper habitabat; tempore famis distribuebat quingentas marcas pauperibus vicinis suis. Hic ædificavit in ecclesia Menevensi capellam S. Trinitatis. Hic etiam ædificavit capellam S. Justiniani. Hic ædificavit magnum horreum

apud Lantsey. Hic reparavit castellum de Llanhavaden; et novam capellam ibi ædificavit. [Historiola Lond. MS.]

^v — Periit et apud Gallos Faustus; et apud Britannos Andreas Ammonius: quorum alter diu regnavit Lutetiæ; alter ad summam dignitatem emersurus erat, si vita diuturnior contigisset.—Basilea, vii. cal. August. MDXVIII.

Peter de Vannes, his kinsman, (who afterwards succeeded him in the office of Latin secretary to the king,) and the residue of his estate to his mother Eliz. de Harena, a matron or widow of Lucca in Italy^w. Sir Thomas Moore, then in London, writes an account of his death to Erasmus, expressing the great danger they were in, when so many died of the sickness every day; when they had lost so many of their friends in Cambridge, Oxford, and London, and particularly their dear Andr. Ammonius; in whom good letters and all good men had an inestimable loss. “He thought himself,” says sir Thomas, “by his temperate way of living, to be well fortified against the contagion; and the rather, because none of his family had yet had it, and it seldom came but it took the whole house together. Thus he flattered himself in my hearing but a few hours before he died: for of the present sweating sickness none die but on the first day^x.”

^wTestamentum magistri Andr. Ammonii clerici.

In Dei nomine Amen. A. D. 1517. die 17. Aug. Ego Andr. Ammonius clericus, Lucensis, prothonotarius apostolicus, sanctissimi domini nostri papæ in regnis Angliæ collector, et serenissimi regis Henrici hujus nominis octavi a Latinis secretarius, licet æger corpore, mente tamen sanus, condo testamentum — volo quod corpus meum sepeliatur in ecclesia D. Stephani prope Westmon. vel ubi confratribus meis con-canonicis melius visum fuerit. Lego Pet. de Vannes, cognato et consobrino meo, nobiles argenteos

centum—Residuum matri meæ Elisab. de Harena, matronæ Lucensi—Exccutores, Pet. de Vannes primum et principalem, cognatum et consobrimum meum; deinde Benedictum Maronellum, et Joannem Cappucum, mercatores Lucenses—Probat. apud Lamehith, ult. die Apr. 1518. [Ex Offic. Cur. Prerog.]

^x Tho. Morus Erasmo Rot. S. P. D.—Si unquam alias, nunc maxime in mœrore et periculo versamur; multis undique morientibus, omnibus fere qui Oxoniæ, qui Cantabrigiæ, qui Londini sunt, intra paucos dies decumbentibus: amissis plurimis optimis atque

Erasmus also, in several epistles, complains how many old friends he had lost in England; especially in one to Gaviere, where he first mentions, as the chief and principal of them, this Andr. Ammonius. "Good God," says he, "what a dexterous wit, and what a faithful memory was in that man! Then as to his mind and disposition; how noble and generous, how far from envy! How great was he in his own endowments! As also he was great in the opinion of princes^y, and designed for the greatest preferments, but suddenly snatched away at the age of forty years^z."

honestissimis amicis; atque in his (quod tibi quoque dolori esse doleo) Andrea nostro Ammonio, in quo et literæ et omnes boni magnum fecere jacturam. Is valde sibi videbatur adversus contagionem victus moderatione munitus; qua factum putavit, ut quum in nullum pene inciderrat, cujus non tota familia laboraverat, neminem adhuc e suis id malum attigerit; id quod et mihi et multis præterea jactavit, non admodum multis horis, antequam extinctus est: nam hoc sudore nemo nisi primo die perit.—Londini, xix. die Augusti.

It is a mistake in Mr. Wood, to say he died in September. Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. col. 14.

^y Rex omnibus, &c. Sciatis quod nos considerantes fidele servitium quod Andreas Ammonius, alias dictus Andreas de Harena, clericus, noster in lingua Latina secretarius, in partibus Italiæ oriundus, antehac nobis impendit, indiesque magis ac magis impendere non destitit, atque idcirco cupientes

condignam sibi pro suis meritis aliqua in parte referre mercedem, durante vita sua, sit indigena et ligeus noster. T. R. apud Croydon, xii. Apr. reg. 5to. [Rymer Acta publ. tom. xiii. pag. 400.]

^z Erasmus Rot. Jodoco Gaverro, viro præter juris professionem undiquaque doctissimo. — Procul abest ab Italia Britannia, sed eruditorum hominum æstimatione proxima est. Quam multos hic ex vetere sodalitia desidero. Primum Andream Ammonium Lucensem. Deum immortalem! Quanta ingenii dexteritate, quam fideli memoria præditum! Tum animus, quam erat excelsus, quam alienus a livore, quam alienus a sordibus! Hunc et suis dotibus, et omni principum applausu florentem, maximis rebus destinatum, subita mors interceptit, natu minorem annis quadraginta: cujus equidem decesum non possum non dolere, quoties in mentem venit quam mihi fuerit jucunda ejus familiaritas.—Basil. i. Mart. 1524.

He was prebendary of Fordington and Writhlington in the church of Salisbury, on the death of Gundisalvus Ferdinandus, 1513, as Mr. Wood observes. And in his prebend of St. Stephen's, Westminster, he was succeeded by another very learned man, Dr. Tho. Linacer, the king's physician.

Within the same year, and possibly of the same disease, died another of the dean's friends and brethren, Dr. William Lychfield, chancellor of the church of Paul's; who succeeded Gundisalvo Ferdinand in that dignity, 20 Dec. 1504, had been admitted rector of Allhallows in the Wall, London, March 1, 1474, and was collated to the prebend of Chamberlainwood in the church of Paul's, Dec. 7, 1485. His will was proved 1517^a.

In the same year 1517, in April, died also Dr. John Yonge, a very particular patron of Erasmus, as well as an intimate friend of Colet. He was master of the rolls, and dean of York. He had been admitted rector of St. Stephen's Walbrook, in London, March 17, 1502^b, and before been rector of St. Martin's in

^a Testamentum magistri Will. Lychefeld, clerici, die 2 Nov. 1507. 9 Hen. VIII. Ego Wilhelmus Lychefeld, clericus, compos mentis, sed æger in corpore, condo testamentum — Corpus sepeliend' in cancello ecclesiæ paroch' de Willesden, coram imagine beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ — Item, volo quod in obitu meo celebrentur exequiæ in ecclesia D. Pauli London. cum missa de requiem in crastino, et decanus præsens habeat 20s. quilibet canonicus præsens 6s. 8d. — Lego Thomæ Lychefelde, fratri meo apud Cardiff, 40l. — Item, lego magis-

tro Richardo Foxforde, scholari meo Oxon. 13l. 6s. 8d. — Item, domino Andreæ Stoketon, scholari meo Oxon. 13l. 6s. 8d. Probat. apud Lamethith, penult. Jan. 1517. [Ex offic. Cur. Prerog. MS.]

^b Anno 1502. die 17 Mart. M. Joh. Yonge, LL. D. ad eccles. S. Stephani super Walbroke civitat. Lond. vac. per mortem M. Will. Sutton, S.T. D. ult. rectoris, ad præsent. honesti viri Tho. Mansfelde pro hac vice. [Reg. Warham, Lond. MS.]

Johannes Yonge, LL. D. magister rotulorum, admissus ad decanatum S. Pet. Ebor. per

Oxford, (17 March, 1500,) afterwards collated by archbishop Warham to the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, March 19, 1504; to the prebend of Holbourn in the church of St. Paul, by bishop Fitz-James, November 28, 1511; and, upon its resignation, to the better prebend of Newington, 11 Feb. 1511. He resigned the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, March 19, 1514, and was, in March 30 that year, admitted to the church of St. Magnus, at the foot of the bridge in London; which he likewise soon after resigned, says Mr. Newcourt, mistaking him for John Yonge, bishop of Callipoli; and so other writers frequently confound them. An. 1513, 13 Jul. he was presented by cardinal Wolsey to the rectory of Therfeld, in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon^c, void by the death of Gund. Ferdinand; was afterwards succeeded in it by Dr. Henry Rawlins^d. After he had been employed in several foreign embassies and negotiations, to Philip archduke of Austria, in 1504, to the same Philip, king of Castile, in 1506, as also to Maximilian the emperor, in 1512, to Francis the French king, in 1515, &c. For these good services he was made master of the rolls by letters patents, 22 Jan. 23 Hen. VII. 1507-8, and being prebendary of Applethorp in the church of York, he was admitted dean in his absence, by the delivery of a book, May 17, 1514. He made his last will and testament 25 April, 1516, willing his body to be buried in the chapel of the Rolls. He bequeathed to

traditionem libri, die 17 Maii, 1514. [Reg. Ebor. MS. penes dec. et capit.]

^c M. Joh. Yonge, LL. D. præsentatus per abb. et conv. de Ramsey, ad ecclesiam de Therfelde, vac. per mortem Gundi-

salv. Ferdinandi, 13 Jul. 1513. [Reg. Smyth, Linc. MS.]

^d Mag. Joan. Rawlyns, S.T.P. præsentatus per Thomam card. Ebor. virtute concessionis sibi factæ per abb. et conv. Ramsey, ad ecclesiam de Therfeld, vac.

archbishop Warham a golden saltcellar, remitting a debt to him, and appointing him overseer of his last will. To cardinal Wolsey he bequeathed a cup; to New college, Oxon. six gilt goblets, and the like to the college at Winchester, (which makes it probable that he was of Winchester school, and of New college aforesaid, as well as his namesake the titular bishop of Callipoli.) Towards making a new conduit in the town of Rye he left one hundred pounds, (which seems to intimate he was born there.) He ordered the plate that master William Grocyne had pawned to him, to be freely restored without principal or use of money. And he made his executors Mr. John Taylor, Dr. Mayster, Dr. Will. Throgmorton, Mr. William Shragar, and Mr. William Skinner ^e.

On the beginning of the year 1519, died another very intimate friend of both Erasmus and Colet, John Sixtine, a person of great sincerity as well as other

per mortem magistri Johannis Yonge, 28 April, 1526. [Reg. Atwater, Linc. MS.]

^e In Dei nomine Amen. John Yonge, master of the rollys, and dean of the cathedral church of York, 28 Apr. 1516. 8 Hen. VIII. — My body to be buried in the chapple of the Rolles, there as the organs now dothe stande. Item, I wille that a tombe be made over the place of my sepulture. Item, I gyve and bequethe to my lorde of Canterbury a salte of golde, and my two gay saltes clene anelyd. Item, I remytte clerly to my said lorde of Canterbury two billes of debte, besechyng his lordshyp to be good lord unto my frendes, and namely to my poor

servaunts — to my lorde cardynal a standinge cuppe — Unto the new college of Oxford, vi guilt gobblettes — to the new college of Wynchester vi guilt gobblettes, to the makyng of the conduyte in Rye *c lib.* — I wyl that master Grocen shall have his plate dellyvered unto hym whiche I have now in pledge, without any manner of redemption — I ordeyne and make executors M. John Taylour, Doctour Mayster, mayster Will. Throckmorton doctour, M. William Shragar, and M. William Skynner. Item, I beseche my lorde of Canterbury to be overseer. Probat. 17 Maii, 1516. [Ex offic. Cur. Prerog. Cant.]

good qualities, a Phrysian by birth, bred in the university of Senes in Tuscany; where he took the degree of Dr. of both laws, civil and canon; and he was incorporated in Oxford, 29 Nov. 1510, having been more than a year in that university; (as Mr. Wood says too sparingly;) for he was in Oxford when Colet and Erasmus met there in 1497, as appears by an epistle of Erasmus. He was rector of Ecclescliffe in the diocese of Durham, (wherein he succeeded Dr. West, bishop of Ely,) and of Hakkamb in the diocese of Exeter. Mr. Wood says, he was likewise dignified in the church of England, and was reckoned one of the foreigners who were excused from paying a subsidy to the king anno 1513, (namely, Peter Carmelian, Polydore Virgil, Erasmus Roterod. Andrew Ammonius, &c.) He made his last will on the 24th of March, at the end of the year 1518, which was proved 17 May, 1519, wherein he willed his body to be buried in that part of Paul's which was called Pardon-church-yard, his grave to be covered with a marble stone, and a plate of brass on it with this inscription, *Orate pro anima Johannis Sixtini*, &c. As to his estate in Frisia, he gave one moiety to the poor of Bolsward in that country, and the other half to the monastery of Owgocloyster, where his sister was a professed nun, on condition that his brother Albert should enjoy one half part of the profits during his life. He gave ten pounds to the reparation of the church of Eglescliffe in the diocese of Durham, though he had not one penny for dilapidations from his predecessor Dr. West, bishop of Ely; and twenty pounds to be distributed among the poor inhabitants of the said parish, for buying of tools and instruments necessary for their country labours, at

the discretion of his executors. And he left to the honour of God and St. Blaze, toward the reparation of the church of Hakkamb in the diocese of Exeter, though he had there likewise not a penny for dilapidations, the sum of fifteen pounds. He bequeathed forty pounds to be distributed for exhibitions to poor scholars in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford; and lastly, twenty marks to master Cutbert Tunstal, master of the rolls, whom he appoints executor, together with his brother Albert ^f.

Erasmus, who condoled his death next to that of

^f Testamentum magistri Johannis Sixtini, clerici. Anno MDCXVIII. die 24 Martii, in quadam alta camera infra domum solitæ habitationis venerabilis et egregii viri Johannis Sixtini, utriusque juris doctoris, infra parochiam sancti Gregorii juxta ecclesiam D. Pauli Lond. — voluntatem condidit in hunc modum. Ego Johannes Sixtinus, licet æger corpore, sanæ tamen memoriæ, condo testamentum — Corpus sepeliendum in claustro vulgariter vocato *Pardon-church-yard*, cum lapide marmoreo, et parva desuper imagine de ære, cum scriptura, *Orate pro anima Johannis Sixtini*, &c. Item do et lego universa bona mea immobilia ubicunque in Frisia sita, dimidium Christi pauperibus Bolswardiæ, alterum dimidium monasterio de Owgocloystre juxta Bolswardiam, in qua soror mea unica est professa: volens tamen ut dimidium usus fructus universorum bonorum immobilium antedictorum habeat frater meus, Albertus Sixtinus, du-

rante vita sua — Item lego reparationi ecclesiæ de Egleskliff Dunelm. dioc. licet nullum habui denarium pro dilapidatione a domino episcopo Eliensi, qui tenetur secundum ratam temporis sui pro dilapidatione ejusdem, decem libras sterlingorum. Item do et lego viginti libras distribuend. pauperibus parochianis ejusdem parochiæ pro emendis instrumentis rusticis sibi necessariis secundum arbitrium executorum meorum — Item lego ad honorem Dei et sancti Blazii, pro reparatione ecclesiæ de Hakkamb, Exon. dioc. licet nullum habuerim denarium pro dilapidatione ejusdem, quindecim libras. Item lego quadraginta libras, scil. distribuend. pro exhibitione pauperum scholarium in univers. Oxon. et Cantabr. Item lego M. Cutb. Tunstallo, magistro rotulorum, quem nomino, facio et ordino executorem una cum fratre Alberto, 20 marcas, pro labore suo. Probat. 7 Maii, 1519. [Ex Offic. Prerog.]

Ammonius, observes, that he was of so strong a constitution of body, that without a violent shock of sickness, he might have lived to the age of Nestor; that he had a masterly wit, a quick apprehension, and tenacious memory: and that, besides the knowledge of both laws in his profession, he was happily conversant in every other part of learning ^g.

Another common friend of learning and good men was Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, who died 25 Jun. 1519, after he had passed through several other preferments. To the church of Swynested he was presented by Margaret countess of Richmond ^h, the king's mother, to whom he was chaplain; which church he resigned before the end of the year 1488. He was afterwards presented to Wardeboys ⁱ, in the county of Huntingdon, by the abbot and convent of Ramsey. He had also the rectory of St. Mildred, Milk-street, and still more preferments ^k, before he

^g — Erat hujus sodalitatibus et Johannes Sixtinus Phrysius, qui non multo post obiit, sed illo [Andr. Ammonio] major; cæterum corpore quod, nisi si qua morbi vis incidisset, in Nestoris ætatem durare potuisset. Ingenium erat ad omnia versatile; memoria prompta, tenaxque. Præter juris utriusque scientiam, quam habebat loco viatici, in nulla disciplina non feliciter versatus. [Eras. Jod. Gavero Bas. cal. Mart. MDXXIV.]

^h Margareta comitissa Richmond. præsentat. mag. Hug. Oldham, clericum, ad ecclesiam de Swynesheved dioc. Lincoln. vac. per mortem ult. rectoris, die 3 Febr. 1493. [Autogr. in Reg. Buckden. MS.]

ⁱ Magister Hugo Oldham,

presbyter, præsentatus per abbat. et conventum de Ramsey ad ecclesiam de Wardeboys, vac. per resig. mag. Thomæ Hutton, 31 Martii, 1494. quam resignat die 1 Maii, 1501. [Reg. Smyth. Lincoln.]

^k Anno 1494. 22 Jul. magister Hugo Oldham, canonicus liberæ capellæ regiæ S. Stephani in Westm. collatus ad ecclesiam de Cheshunt, vac. per consec. Willelmi in episc. Cov. et Lich. [Reg. Hill. Lond. MS.]

Anno 1496. 11 Mart. mag. Hugo Oldham, utriusque juris baccalaureus, presbyter, præsentatus ad hospitale S. Leonardii in Bedford, vac. per resig. mag. Bernardi Andreæ, 12 Jan. 1499. [Reg. Smyth. MS.]

Anno 1500. 17 Aug. mag.

arrived to the episcopal dignity. He lies buried within his own chapel, in St. Peter, Exeter. It appears by his will, that he was of a very charitable and good disposition.

I could not omit saying thus much relating to the characters of these good men, in justice at least to the dean, whose judgment can never be enough commended for making such a choice of friends.

As to himself; after the mortification he received by the death of these his friends, he seemed to be satiated and cloyed with the world. He would before this¹ have cast himself into some monastery or cell for retirement and stricter life, if he could have found any wherein studies and devotions had been the sole enjoyment of those they called *religious*; and now he began to have a return of the same thoughts. But his opinion of the English convents was, that sloth, and luxury, and pride, had utterly corrupted the primitive state and good intention

Hugo Oldham, *utriusque juris baccalaureus, præses. per ab. et conv. de Ramsey ad ecclesiam de Shitlingdon, vac. per mortem domini Johannis Raven.*

¹ Dr. Colet, in his letters to Erasmus, was often wishing himself out of the noise and hurry of the world, in some hiding place, to enjoy his conscience, and discharge his duties to God: and to such expressions of his being weary of a tumultuous life, Erasmus gravely and wisely answered as followeth:

— Injucundus mihi fuit epistolæ tuæ finis; cum scribis, molestia negotiorum te solito gravius vexari: equidem cupiam

te, quantum potest, longissime a mundanis negotiis semoveri. Non quod verear, ne mundus hic, ut est hamatus, te sibi vendicet, ac manns injiciat; sed quod malim istud ingenium, istam eloquentiam, istam eruditionem, in solidum impendi Christo. Quod si non potes explicare te, cavendum tamen ne Indies altius immergaris. Vinci fortasse præstiterit, quam tanti emere victoriam. Maximum enim bonum mentis tranquillitas. Atque hæc sunt spinæ, divitiarum comites. Interim malevolorum blateramentis oppone rectam et synceram conscientiam; in unum illum et simplicem Christum te collige,

of most of them ^m; he hoped they had not so much degenerated in the desert places of Germany, or in some of the mountainous parts of Italy: and for that reason he had formerly desired Erasmus, at his leaving England, to inquire in those countries he passed through, whether there really was a religious house, of any order, wherein a man might enjoy a private life, and a truly pious, studious, and strict society ⁿ: but meeting with no such information from abroad, and possibly being at that time more satisfied in the inexpediency of such a choice, by what Erasmus had writ formerly upon this subject from Bononia, in two declamations of the praise and dispraise of a monastic life ^o, he had for a long time done thinking of any such engagement. Yet now, towards the close of his life, he seemed in a good measure to have resumed the same thoughts again: for observing the strictest sect at home were the Carthusians, who had more of the austere gravity, silence, and solitude, than any other order, he was inclined to be near them, though not among them.

et minus turbabit multiplex mundus. Cantab. v. idus Jul. MDXI.

^m Though religious houses in England were generally very corrupt, yet there were some few, where a strict discipline was kept, and the intention of the pious founders in a good measure answered; as the learned Dr. Tanner, by several instances, proves, in the preface to his *Notitia Monastica*.

ⁿ — Ipsi in votis erat, se prorsus ab hoc mundo extricare, sicubi reperisset sodalitium vere conjuratum in vitam evangelicam; atque id negotii

mibi delegarat Italiam adituro; narrans sese apud Italos comperisse quosdam monachos vere prudentes ac pios — Laudabat et Germanos aliquot, apud quos residerent etiamnum priscae religionis vestigia. [Eras. Epist. Jod. Jon.]

^o Bononiæ scripseram declamatiunculam in genere suasorio, dehortans a vita monachorum; et rursus adhortans ad hoc vitæ genus; meo judicio non indignam quæ vulgaretur, sed perierint utrinque extremæ paginæ; reliquum adhuc est in cartis meis. [Cat. Lucubr. Op. tom. xi.]

For this purpose (as we are informed by Erasmus) he built a convenient, and what they called a magnificent house within the precinct of the Charterhouse, near Richmond palace: “ He said, he prepared this seat for his old age; that, when broken with infirmities, and unable to discharge the duties of his function, he might here retire from the world, and with two or three choice friends (among which he was wont to reckon me) study and practise the true Christian philosophy. Yet death prevented him. He was taken with the sweating sickness, a disease peculiar to England: and relapsing into it a third time, he very hardly escaped with life; and from the relics of that distemper he fell into a consumption, that soon carried him off. One of the physicians judged it to be the dropsy; but upon the opening of the body, no extraordinary symptom appeared, only that the capillary vessels of his liver had some pustulary eruptions upon them. He was buried on the south side of the choir of his own church of Paul’s, with a humble monument that he had several years before appointed and prepared, with only this inscription on it, *Joannes Coletus* P.”

P — Ut hoc opus [scholam Paulinam] nemo non probavit, ita multi demirabantur, cur magnificentissimas ædes extrueret intra pomæria monasterii Carthusiensium, quod non procul abest a regia quæ dicitur Richemonda. Aiebat, se parare sedem illam suæ senectuti, cum jam impar laboribus, aut morbo fractus, cogeretur se submovere ab hominum consortio. Illic erat animus philosophari cum duobus aut tribus amicis ex-

imiis, (inter quos me solitus est numerare,) sed mors anteverit. Nam cum ante paucos annos correptus esset sudore pestilenti, (qui morbus peculiariter infestat Britanniam,) et ab eodem tertio repetitus, utcumque tamen revixit; sed ex morbi reliquiis contracta viscerum tabes, qua periit. Medicus unus hydrophem esse judicavit. Anatomia nihil indicavit novi, nisi quod epar repertum est extremas fibras cirrhis prominentibus lir-

This account we have from Erasmus; though, as Mr. Wood says, Erasmus is not so particular as to the place where he died; rather insinuating, that he died before he entered upon his retirement at Sheen, by saying, “he was prevented by death; and that it was designed by him for a recess for his old age, when broken with infirmities,” &c. Erasmus agreeing with others, who say, that he did not exceed fifty-three years when he died^q.

Mr. Wood says, “When he discovered the sweating sickness to grow upon him, he retired to the lodgings he had built in the monastery of the Carthusians at Sheen, near to Richmond in Surry: where, having spent the little remainder of his days in devotion, he surrendered up his last breath to Him that first gave it, on the 16th^r of September, 1519. His body was afterwards carried to London, and, by the care of his old decrepit mother, it was buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, nigh to the image of St. Wigefort^s.”

Some time before this, Dr. Colet finding himself under a sensible decay, and as it were having received the sentence of death, he took care, in the first place, to settle the perpetuity of his school, and to direct the government of it by a book of statutes, drawn up and written with his own hand, and by him delivered to master Lilye, June 18, 1518^t.

sutum. Sepultus est ad australe chori latus, in suo templo, humili sepulchro, quod in eum usum jam ante annos aliquot delegerat, inscriptione addita; *Jo. Coletus*. [Eras. *Jod. Jonæ*. *Id. Jun.* 1521.]

^q — Joannes Coletus, qui decessit anno ferme quinquagesi-

mo tertio — [Eras. *Epist. lib.* 23. ep. 5.]

^r Fuller in the margin of his book says, the 4th of September. NORTH.

^s Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*

^t It is hard to say, whether he left better laws for the government of his school, or lands for

In the same year, he laboured to leave his church of Paul's in a better condition than he found it, as to residence, discipline, and distribution of the revenues; and therefore drew up a scheme of the foundation, statutes, customs, and regulations, that had been made in the several visitations of it. And hoping for no redress from Dr. Fitz-James, bishop of London, who had prosecuted him for an heretic, he laid the case before cardinal Wolsey, who was then exercising his legatine power, superior to all ordinary judges: the title prefixed to his matters of complaint being thus worded; *Exhibita a Johanne Collett Decano, Reverendissimo Patri et Domino Cardinali Ebor. ac apostolico Legato a Latere, pro reformatione status residentiariorum in Ecclesia S. Pauli, primo Septembris, an. Dom. 1518.* He began with these heads; *De Decano et ejus autoritate*^u, *ex antiquo registro cartaceo Ecclesiæ*; *De Residentia Decani*^x; *De locum tenente Decani*^y: and he went through the several duties of the residentiaries, canons, ministers, members, and other officers. Accordingly reformations and provisions were made under those respective heads, and so passed into le-

the maintenance thereof. [Dr. Th. Fuller's Ch. Hist. p. 167.]

^u Secundum antiqua ecclesiæ statuta, S. Pauli decanus omnibus canonicis, presbyteris, vicariis, ministris præest autoritate et potestate, ordinaria et immediata. Is regimen habet animarum. Huic est jurisdictio et correctio delinquentium quorumcunque in ecclesia, et obstinatorum ac rebellium justa castigatio, &c.

^x Decanus in primis resideat,

secundum ordinationem domini Warham, episcopi, qui in plena visitatione sua ordinavit, ut decanus sacerdos sit omnino, et resideat; alioquin pro nullo decano habeatur, &c.

^y Decano vero absente, constituat locum ejus tenentem unum ex residentiariis, quem judicaverit ipse magis idoneum; qui exercebit decani potestatem, quatenus ei commissa fuerit a decano, et non amplius, &c.

gatine constitutions; wherein the cardinal paid a particular deference and respect to the dean: for in the chapter regulating the residence and double portion of the dean, it is expressly ordained, that this ordination concerning the dean shall not take effect till after the present dean, who shall fully enjoy all that he now possesseth (granted to him for his merits) peaceably, without any disturbance^z. They conclude with inhibiting and condemning all manner of dispensations, as the wounds and stabs of all laws and statutes, without consent of the pope, (by whose authority the cardinal now acted as *legate de latere*,) and of the king, as royal founder, and of the bishop of London. After which follow other statutes, relating to residence, that seem to be made as a decree in chancery, by consent of the dean and chapter^a, to contract the number of residentiaries to four, besides the dean, because the church had too many other ordinary burdens on it, and was in debt, and had no present stock or treasure, &c.^b

We should be able to give a better account of his wise and faithful administration of the affairs, revenues, and discipline of his church, if we could

^z Portio decani dupla — Hæc ordinatio de decano capiat effectum post decanum modernum: modernus vero decanus gaudeat his quæ modo possidet, sibi pro suis meritis concessa, pacifice sine omni disturbance.

^a Statuta quædam decani et capituli Londoniensis, facta per dom. cardinalem Ebor. ex consensu decani et capituli, per decretum, sine arbitramento.

^b Thomas miseratione divina Ebor. archiepiscopus, Angliæ

primas, ipsius regni Angliæ cancellarius, universis, &c. salutem, &c. Cum utique ecclesia cathedralis Divi Pauli Londoniensis oneribus ordinariis, ære quoque alieno multo aggravari inventa est, nullos etiam ex se habens in ærario publico provisione thesauros, nec dotes, facultates, aut patrimonia, sufficient. ad numerosam residentiariorum multitudinem ultra sustentandam, &c. [Mon. Angl. tom. iii. p. 354.]

come at those collections which he left for the use and service of the successive deans and chapters; and which were among the books appertaining to the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, delivered by Henry Cole, sometime dean of the said church, to Dr. May, succeeding dean, the 20th day of September, anno 1559.

Inprimis, A book of the Statutes and Ordinances of the New Grammar School of Paul's.

A book entitled, *Statutes used in Dean Collet's Days*.

A book entitled, *Liber Visitationis Johannis Collet, Decani Ecclesiæ S. Pauli Londinensis, sub anno 1506*.

A book written in parchment of certain statutes collected by dean Collett; being bound in boards, and covered with black leather ^c.

When the good man had thus fully perfected and established every thing that might conduce to render his good works beneficial and lasting, and had provided for the good estate of both his church and school, in the afore recited manner; he had nothing more to do, in reference to this world, and in way of preparation for a better, but to make his last will and testament, and to set his household affairs in order, that he might have nothing further to disturb him the little time he had to live. This he did deliberately on the 22d day of August, 1518, and without any of those superstitious conceits which were then become a part of the common course and form of wills and codicils; expressing himself only like a Christian, and as a Protestant might now do.

^c Mon. Angl. tom. iii. p. 369. ex vet. membr. penes decan. et cap. eccles. cathedr. S. Pauli.

For, whereas the usual way and manner of *commending a soul*, was not only to *God*, but to the *virgin Mary*, (though it must be owned, that in a former Latin will, made several years before, relating only to his settlement on Paul's school, there is mention made of her,) and to other particular patrons in heaven, and at last in general to the whole company of saints; he thought it sufficient to trust his soul with its Creator and Redeemer only, and to bequeath it to God, and our Lord Christ Jesus: whereas the custom of others was to prescribe a ceremonious funeral, with processions, crosses, torches, and a deal of Popish pagantry; he only ordered his body to be buried in the place he had before appointed, at the discretion of his executors: whereas others were taught to erect chantries, or praying offices, to fetch their souls out of purgatory, or at least to leave sums of money for diriges, month's-minds, and anniversary obits, besides the soul-sceal, and oblations to a great many altars; he passed over all that unchristian vanity, and left no manner of legacies but to truly Christian and charitable uses, to reward his friends, to relieve poor scholars, and to help to support his old servants. He began naturally with his nearest relations: first, those on his mother's side, the family of the Knevets, from whom he had his first living; then proceeded to his nearest kinsmen of the Colets; and so on to his most intimate acquaintance, Mr. Doctor Aleyn, (the same who was afterwards archbishop of Dublin,) Mr. Doctor Morgan, (probably a dignitary in his own church,) Mr. John Banbrughe, maister Dancaster, Robert Hopwood, priest; and to Thomas Lupset, whom he had bred as amanucensis

in his family, and had supported with an exhibition at Cambridge; and to Mr. William Garrard, one of his executors. He left all his printed books to be divided amongst poor students; a distribution of fifty pounds amongst his household servants; and several vestments to several parish churches; without mention of one prayer for his departed soul: and he charged the fulfilling of his will on the conscience of his executors; who were the lady Christian Colet, (his aged mother,) master William Garrard, and master Nicholas Curleus.

None can wonder that the dean, though he had so great a patrimony, and such good preferment, disposed of little by his will; if they consider that his public works, as well as private charities, had almost exhausted both his real and personal estate. He told Erasmus, in an epistle not long before his death, that both did not afford sufficient for his expenses^d.

It doth not appear that Erasmus had any place in his will: but it is certain, he received a yearly pension of the dean, while living; which his successor, Dr. Pace, promised to continue, and was put in mind of^e. It is certain also, that dean Colet was never wanting to do good offices for Erasmus, as well absent as present. Particularly he recommended him to a rising favourite, sir Henry Guildford, master of the horse to king Henry VIII. as Erasmus decently

^d — Si de fortuna; ut non est nulla mea, ita non est ampla, et meis sumptibus vix sufficiens —

^e — Memento, mi Pacæe, in cuius locum successeris; et quid nobis promiseris, expectarim, ut efficias, ne Coletum magnopere

desiderem. [Eras. Rot. Ep. Pacæo.]

— Sum Pacæum expertus talem amicum, ut nemo fratri frater posset esse amicior. Est cum summatibus omnibus, tum optimo regi, longe charissimus: successit nuper in dignitatem

intimated in a letter to that honourable person^f. And he was perhaps instrumental in keeping up the correspondence between the king and Erasmus^g, and prevailed with his majesty to send him a good present, and an earnest invitation to come once more into England; for which Erasmus thanked the king in his elegant way.

Erasmus at Lovain, in October 1519, hearing of the death of Dr. Colet, lamented it in every letter he wrote for several days: particularly to Budæus at Paris^h, but especially to his English friends; to Dr. Cuth. Tonstalⁱ, to bishop Fisher, and the lord Montjoy. And he declared to Dr. Pace, his successor, "he was but half alive, now he had lost his better part," &c.^k But he thought the best tribute of sorrow and respect would be to preserve the memory of his dear friend, by giving some account of

Joannis Coleti, decani apud Divum Paulum; provehendus haud dubie ad summam dignitatem. [Eras. Ep. lib. xii. Lond. edit. col. 614.]

^f Vir clarissime, multorum sermone cognosco, quam amicus in nos animo; sive scintillas istius benevolentiae ex meis lucubrationibus concepisti, sive ex D. Joannis Coleti, caeterorumque amicorum hausisti sermone. Tu me diligis. Quod vere talem esse credas, qualem illi praedicarunt, &c. [Eras. Ep. edit. Bas. 1521. p. 302.]

^g Erasmus Henrico regi, &c. — Nos cogimur edendis voluminibus Novi Testamenti quatuor menses impendere: eo negotio confecto, totos nos tuae majestatis dedicabimus obse-

quius. Lovanii, vii. cal. Maii, MDXVIII.

^h Erasmus Budæo suo — Johannes Coletus, vir optimus, mihi que certissimus amicus, Londini periit hydrope. — Lovanii, idus Octob. MDXIX. [Eras. Ep. edit. Bas. 1540. p. 429.]

ⁱ Erasmus Roterodamus Cuthberto Tonstallo, S. D. — Coleti mortem inconsolabiliter deplorarem, nisi scirem nec illi, nec mihi, profuturas lacrymas. — Lov. postrid. id. Oct. 1519. [Ib. p. 430.]

^k Erasmus Rot. Rich. Pacæo, dec. apud Divum Paulum Londini, S. D. — Videor mihi dimidiatus vivere, Coletus mortuo; quem virum Britannia, quem amicum ego perdidit! Tibi gratulor, qui in ejus fortunam suc-

his life and character. This he immediately resolved upon; and to get the best materials for it, he writes away to two of the most familiar friends of dean Colet, who had longest known the manners and customs of his life and conversation, Mr. Thomas Lupset and Mr. William Dancaster. He tells the former, "that no loss had come so near him these
 " thirty years, as this of Dr. Colet; that all he can
 " now desire is, to recommend his memory to after
 " ages; and for that purpose he should be glad to
 " receive his informations and instructions," &c.¹

His letter to Mr. Dancaster he begins with exclamations of grief. "How deplorable is your case and
 " mine, who have lost such a teacher, such a patron,
 " such a friend! It is said to a proverb, that *the*
 " *loss of money is bewailed with the truest sorrow*;
 " but I am sure, this is a loss of more inestimable
 " treasure, and ought to be infinitely more lamented.
 " But alas! what signify all our sighs and tears?
 " He cannot be recalled to us; but we shall soon
 " follow him. We should rather, in the mean time,
 " congratulate our late friend, that he is now in
 " better company; he securely enjoys his Saviour
 " Christ, whom he always had in his lips and at his
 " heart. I would willingly write his life, if you and
 " some other of his nearest acquaintance would fur-
 " nish me with proper materials for it, which I must
 " earnestly desire of you^m."

cesseris—Lov. postrid. idus Octob. MDXIX. [Ibid.]

¹ Erasmus Rot. Thomæ Lupseto, S. D. Triginta jam annis nullius mors mihi fuit acerbior quam Coleti. Percupio hominis memoriam posteritati consecrare: sed hoc negocii tu pro tua

in illum pietate capesses, ut me instruas; præsertim si qua sunt, quæ putes mihi non esse cognita. Lov. postrid. idus Octob. 1519. [Ib. p. 428.]

^m Erasmus Rot. integerrimo D. Gulielmo Dancastro, S. D. O nos miseros! qui talem præ-

Writing again to Mr. Thomas Lupset, Dec. 13, the same year, (1519,) after a long complaint of the ill treatment given him by Mr. Edward Lee, who had wrote severe strictures upon his edition of the New Testament, he falls again upon the subject of condoling the loss of Dr. Colet. "A common loss," saith he, "and lamentation to both of us; my sincere friend; your singular patron, preceptor, or rather your very parent. O true divine! O pure preacher of the gospel of Christ! With what labour and pleasure did he imbibe the principles of the right Christian philosophy! How sweetly did he suck in the doctrines and the very spirit of St. Paul! How did he fully answer what he taught by what he lived! How many years did he preach to the people without any profit to himself; in this, imitating that admired apostle St. Paul! I never had any familiar or freer conversation with him, but that I went from him better than I came; or at least not so bad. You ought therefore, my Lupset, to endeavour to resemble, as near as possible, your great master, in whose family you lived so many years, in the like talents of learning and piety. From Lovain, St. Lucy's day," &c. ⁿ

ceptorem, talem patronum, talem amiserimus amicum! *Ploratur lacrymis amissa pecunia veris*: hanc ego jacturam omni lacrymarum genere deplorandam censeo. Sed quid conferunt singultus? quid ejulatus? Ille revocari non potest, nos illum brevi sequemur. Interim Coletum gratulandum, qui jam securus suo fruitur Christo; quem semper habebat in ore, semper in pectore. Mandabo literis vitam

hominis, si tu tuique similes, quædam me docueritis, mihi fortassis incognita. Quod ut facias, etiam atque etiam rogo. Lov. postrid. idus Oct. MDXIX. [Ib. p. 428.]

ⁿ Erasmus Rot. Tho. Lupseto — Sed nos querelæ finem faciamus oportet, cum illi suæ vesaniæ nullum faciant finem. Illa querela justissima mihi tecum communis est, quod mors ademit Joannem Coletum, mihi

Give me leave just to mention, in what an affecting manner Erasmus expressed his sorrow to bishop Fisher. "I write," says he, "now in tears for the decease of Dr. Colet; a loss and affliction to me, greater than I have suffered these thirty years. I know his state is happy; he is now delivered from a troublesome and wicked world, and enjoys the presence of his Redeemer Jesus, whom he loved so affectionately in his life: but in the name of the world, I cannot but deplore the loss of such an admirable example of Christian piety, such an excellent preacher of the gospel of Christ; and even in my own name, I must bewail the loss of a constant friend and incomparable patron. All that I can do is, to pay my just duty to his name and memory, and not to suffer them to die, if any thing I write can live to posterity °."

syncerissimum amicum, tibi singularem patronum, præceptorem, ac potius parentem. O verum theologum! O mirum evangelicæ doctrinæ præconem! Quanto studio vir ille imbiberat philosophiam Christi! Quam avide hauserat pectus ac spiritum Divi Pauli! Ut cælesti doctrinæ totius vitæ puritate respondit! Quot annos ille gratis populum docuit, et in hoc suum Paulum referens! Nunquam mihi tam familiare, aut non serium cum illo colloquium fuit, quin ab eo discederem melior, aut certe minus malus. Quo magis tibi, Lupsete, adnendum, ut tantum præceptorem, qui cum tot annos domesticam consuetudinem egeris, et eruditione referas, et pietate. Bene vale. Lovanii, natal. Lucicæ, 1519. [Ib. p. 531.]

° Hæc scripsi mœrens ob Coleti decessum; qui mihi tam acerbus est, ut his triginta annis nullius hominis mors me discruciarit gravius. Scio bene actum cum illo, qui exemptus ab hoc scelerato pariter atque ærumnoso seculo, cominus fruitur suo Christo, quem vivus sic deamabat. At ego publico nomine non possum non deplorare tam rarum Christianæ pietatis exemplar, tam singularem Christianæ doctrinæ præconem; privatim autem meo nomine tam constantem amicum, tamque incomparabilem patronum. Quod unum superest, hoc illi parentalium vice persolvam officii; si quid mea scripta valebunt, non sinam ejus viri memoriam apud posteros intermori — Bene vale, reverendissime præsul; et Erasmum hoc

It is certain, that Erasmus had lost in Dr. Colet a generous patron, as well as a learned friend. No wonder then that his concern was so great for his death, and that he never after relished England so much as to return to it again.

The friend who was most desirous to see the life of Dr. Colet drawn up by Erasmus, was the famous Jodocus, or Justus Jonas, of the university of Erphord. He earnestly importuned him to it; and to satisfy him, Erasmus, when he had got the best intelligence he could out of England, drew up *A Narrative of the Birth, Education, Studies, Conversation, good Works, and Sufferings of Dr. John Colet*, (consisting mostly of his own experiences.) To which he prefixed the life and character of John Vitrier, a Franciscan friar, a man of admirable piety and virtues; and one, it seems, who had so great a veneration for the name of Colet, that he went over into England, on purpose to see and be acquainted with so great a man; but the misfortune was, he carried over another Franciscan friar with him, who being a sour Scotist, or stoical disputant, broke in upon Colet and Vitrier, and interrupted the conversation, which was prudent, pious, and very agreeable^p. These two lives Erasmus put together in an epistle to the said Jodocus Jonas, at Erphord, rector of that university;

etiam magis amplectere, quod Coletus avulsus dimidiatum reliquit. Lovanii, pridie Lucie anni 1519. [Eras. Ep. edit. Lond. 1642. p. 619.]

^p — Alterum alteri depinxeram, et uterque alterius videndi desiderio flagrabat; atque hac gratia Vitriensis in Angliam trajecerat: ac mihi post narra-

bat Coletus, apud se fuisse Minoritam quandam, cujus colloquio prudenti pioque mirum in modum fuisset delectatus; sed adhibitum alterum quandam ejusdem ordinis Stoicum, qui visus indigne ferre Christianum colloquium interruperit. [Erasmus Jod. Jonæ, Ep. ed. Bas. 1540. p. 483.]

which is dated at Anderlach, on the ides of June, 1521, in the first Basil edition, (1521,) but 1519 in the second Basil edition, (1540;) yet both seem to be mistaken for the intermediate year, 1520. It could not be in the year 1519, for Colet was not then dead; nor could it be so late as 1521, he having been so early in the undertaking. The date is adjusted by another letter of Erasmus to Lupset, 15 cal. Sept. 1520, wherein he tells him⁹; “ I have now
 “ composed in an epistle the life of Colet. If I have
 “ not drawn him to the best advantage, it is partly
 “ your fault, for not supplying me with better co-
 “ lours. As to what you declare, that you have set
 “ yourself his example for the rule and pattern of
 “ your own life; I cannot but highly commend the so
 “ doing, provided you choose well: for you must con-
 “ sider, that in the greatest example, the chief parts
 “ are to be imitated, rather than the whole; nor those
 “ parts, but as they are adapted to time and place, and
 “ other circumstances; for all things are not agreeable
 “ in all cases. In him the shining excellency was, that

⁹ Erasmus Rot. Tho. Lupseto, S. D. — Coleti nostri vitam epistola complexus sum; si parum graphice videbitur expressus, tibi partim imputabitur, qui me parum ad plenum instruxeris viri coloribus, quod quidem nemo te melius poterat. Porro quod ad ejus viri formam velutique præscriptum vitam instituis, non possum non vehementer probare, modo delectum adhibeas. Probum quidem exemplar tibi proponis: sed in optimis præcipua sunt imitanda, nec ea tamen nisi accommoda; nec enim omnibus omnia congruunt. In illo præcipuum erat,

quod sinceram Christi philosophiam, e purissimis evangeliorum haustam fontibus, gratis impartitit populo; ut non absque numine videatur illi contigisse gentile cognomen: Siquidem *Coleheth* Hebræis dicitur *concionator*, quem Græci vocant *ecclesiasten*. Eam ad rem si te toto studio contuleris, aut ego plane fallor, aut Coletus non inferior evades. Cæterum quod illius exemplo tibi cœnis in totum interdiciis, equidem non approbo; nec in illo probabam. Brugis, x. cal. Septemb. MXX. [Eras. Ep. ed. Bas. 1540. p. 451.]

“ he learned the purity of Christian wisdom at the
 “ fountain of the holy scriptures, and then taught it
 “ faithfully and freely to the people; so that I have
 “ often thought there was a providential hit in his
 “ surname, Colet, from the Hebrew word *coleheth*,
 “ the same as the Greek *ecclesiastes*, i. e. *preacher* †.
 “ If you apply yourself to the same holy function
 “ with equal zeal and application, either I am much
 “ mistaken, or you will not be much inferior to Dr.
 “ Colet: but as to your following his course of life
 “ in eating no suppers, I cannot commend the cus-
 “ tom in you; nor indeed did I ever approve it in
 “ him.”

The beforementioned letter of Erasmus to Justus Jonas has been for the most part transcribed already into this essay of Colet's life, as the subject-matter has fallen in; only the preface and conclusion, and some other paragraphs remaining, which deserve to be here inserted.

He begins^s to this effect: “ Since you are so very

† It must be confessed, that the fancy of Erasmus in making the name of Colet allude to the Hebrew, is one of the weakest pieces of wit in all his writings; nor is it only a poor conceit, but even a mistake in the Hebrew word, which is not *coleheth* but *coheleth*. And yet he has so determined for the sake of an omen forsooth, that he would be a good preacher. To this fancy another is added by a later author. “ If I might guess again, (quoth he,) I should say, that he was so called, because of those rare endowments that were in

“ him: for the *colet* is that
 “ part of the ring wherein the
 “ precious stone is set. See
 “ Tho. Thomasius in voce *Pala*.
 “ It pleased Almighty God to
 “ break his mother's wedding-
 “ ring in taking away all her
 “ twenty-two children except
 “ only one; but he preserved
 “ the *colet* of it in preserving
 “ our doctor alive as long as she
 “ lived.” [Smith in Colet's
 Life.]

^s *Erasmus Rot. Jodoco Jone Erphordiensis*, S. D.

Quod tam impense rogas, vir optime, ut tibi Johannis Coleti vitam paucis, velut in brevi

“ importunate with me, good sir, to draw you out
 “ the life of Dr. John Colet, as it were in a little
 “ table of remembrance; I shall do it the more wil-
 “ lingly, because you mean, I suppose, to get a no-
 “ ble precedent and example, by which you may
 “ form your own life and conversation. Truly, my
 “ dear friend, though I have conversed with very
 “ many whose integrity and goodness I have heartily
 “ approved, yet hitherto I never saw the man in
 “ whose morals I did not discover somewhat of the
 “ Christian simplicity and purity to be wanting,
 “ when compared with these two excellent persons
 “ whom I am now going to describe. I became ac-
 “ quainted with one of them at St. Omers, when the
 “ plague (so far happy to me) drove me from Paris
 “ to that town; and with the other in England,
 “ when I was first drawn thither out of love and re-

tabella depingam; hoc faciam
 lubentius, quod suspicer te tibi
 quærere egregium aliquod pieta-
 tis exemplar, ad quod tuum in-
 stitutum attemperes. Equidem,
 mi Jona carissime, ut fateor me
 cum multis habuisse consuetu-
 dinem, quorum integritas mihi
 valde probaretur; tamen nul-
 lum adhuc vidi, in cujus mori-
 bus nescio quid adhuc Chris-
 tianæ pietatis non desiderarem,
 quoties ad horum duorum sin-
 ceritatem conferrem aliquem:
 quorum alterum mihi nosse con-
 tigit apud oppidum Artesiæ,
 quod vulgo dicitur Sancti Au-
 domari, dum huc me pestis,
 hac sane in parte mihi felix, Lu-
 tetia propulisset: alterum in
 Britannia, quo me Montjoii mei
 charitas pertraxerat. Lucrum
 facies, cujus scio te avidissi-

mum; pro uno duos dabo. Prior
 dictus est Johannes Vitarius,
 ordinis Franciscani; nam in
 hoc vitæ genus adolescens inci-
 derat; meo judicio, nulla ex
 parte posthabendus Coletus, nisi
 quod ob servitutum instituti
 minus multis prodesse poterat:
 —quanquam autem illud vitæ
 institutum, in quod per insci-
 tiam ætatis fuerat vel delapsus,
 vel pertractus, nequaquam pro-
 babat; subinde dictitans apud
 me, fatuorum vitam esse po-
 tius, quam religiosorum, ad
 nolæ signum dormire, exper-
 gisci, redormiscere, loqui, ta-
 cere, ire, redire, cibum capere,
 desinere pastu; denique nihil
 non facere ad præscriptum hu-
 manum, potius quam ad Christi
 regulam, &c.

“ spect to my young pupil, the lord Mountjoy. You
 “ will reckon it your advantage, I know, if, instead
 “ of one, I give you two. The first, namely John Vi-
 “ trier, was a monk of the order of St. Francis. He
 “ fell into that way of life, while very young, and
 “ was in no other respect behind Dr. Colet, save only
 “ that, being a slave to his order, he had not the op-
 “ portunity of doing so much good.—As to that re-
 “ ligious life into which he was drawn before he had
 “ discretion to make any choice, he did by no means
 “ approve it ; he would often tell me, that it was ra-
 “ ther the life of fools, than of the professors of reli-
 “ gion, at the sound of a bell to sleep and wake, and
 “ to go to bed again, to speak or keep silence, to go
 “ and come, to eat or to fast, and to do every thing
 “ after the commandment of men, and not after the
 “ will and rule of Christ,” &c.

Thomas Vitrier and Colet had very much of the same admirable qualities ; yet, as Erasmus observes afterwards, “ perhaps Colet is on this account to be
 “ thought the more excellent, that he could never be
 “ drawn from the ministerial office, either by the af-
 “ fluence of his own fortune, or by the natural ten-
 “ dency of flesh and blood^t.”

He concludes his letter thus : “ I have here given
 “ you two of the truest and sincerest Christians that
 “ I believe any one age ever produced ; not in a
 “ perfect print, but in a sort of rough draught, as far
 “ as the narrow compass of an epistle would allow.
 “ It will be your part to pick out of both what you
 “ think will conduce most to true Christian piety. If

^t — Ac fortasse Coletus hoc
 nomine plus laudis meretur,
 quod nec indulgentia fortunæ,

nec impetu naturæ, longe alio
 trahentis, potuerit ab evangelicæ
 vitæ studio depelli —.

“ you ask, to which of the two I would give the pre-
 “ ference; I think them of equal goodness, though
 “ of different condition of life. And as it was a
 “ greatness of soul in Colet, with that plentiful for-
 “ tune, not to follow where nature, but where his
 “ Saviour called him; so truly it was a singular ex-
 “ cellence in Vitrier, that he could shew so much of a
 “ pure evangelical spirit in such a wrong turn of reli-
 “ gious life, and be, as it were, a fish in the fens with-
 “ out any thing of the muddy taste. After all, there
 “ were some things in Colet that savoured a little of
 “ human infirmity: but I never saw any thing in
 “ Vitrier that betrayed the least tincture of flesh and
 “ blood. Now, in my opinion, you should make no
 “ scruple of inserting those two good Christians into
 “ the catalogue of saints, though they are not ca-
 “ nonized by the Pope. Happy souls, to whom I am
 “ so much beholding, assist with your prayers poor
 “ Erasmus, yet struggling in this lower world, that
 “ he may be brought into your blest society above,
 “ never more to be separated from it. Adieu, my
 “ dear Jonas: if I have satisfied your desire, it is well;
 “ but I am sure I can never do justice to the argu-
 “ ment. From the country of Anderlach, the ides
 “ of June, 1520 ^u.”

^u Habes, Jodoce, duos quos
 ætas nostra tulit, mea senten-
 tia, vere sincereque Christianos,
 non tam depictos quam deli-
 neatos, quantum passa est epi-
 stolaris angustia. Tuum erit
 ex utroque decerpere, quod tibi
 videbitur ad veram pietatem
 maxime conducere. Jam si
 quæres, utrum alteri præferam;
 mihi videntur pari laude digni,

cum dissimili fuerint conditione.
 Siquidem ut magnum erat, Co-
 letum in ea fortuna constanter
 sequutum esse, non quo voca-
 bat natura, sed quo Christus:
 ita speciosior est laus Vitrarii,
 quod in eo genere vitæ tantum
 obtinuerit ac præstiterit spiritus
 evangelici; perinde quasi piscis
 in palude vivens nihil trahat de
 sapore palustri. Sed in Coletum

It appears from several other instances, that dean Colet's fame was spread far and wide throughout Europe; and it is evident, not only from this foreigner's desire to have some account of him, but also from what Œcolampadius and others mention of him^x.

That expression in Erasmus's foregoing character of Colet, that "there were several things in him which savoured of human infirmity," puts me in mind of a good story told also by the same great man, which discovers a strong inclination in him to be of a high spirit, and impatient of even the least injury^y.

The story is this^z: Archbishop Warham's house

quædam erant, quæ testarentur illum hominem esse: in Vitratio nihil unquam vidi, quod ullo pacto saperet affectum humanum. Quod si me audies, Jona, non dubitabis hos duos divorum ascribere catalogo; etiamsi nullus unquam pontifex eos referat in canonem. Felices animæ, quibus ego multum debeo, vestris precibus adjuvate luctantem adhuc in hujus vitæ malis Erasmus; ut in vestrum contubernium remigrem, nusquam postea divellendus. Vale, mi Jona. Bene habet, si tuo desiderio feci satis; nam argumento, scio, nequaquam esse satisfactum. Ex rure Andrelaco, idus Junii. MDXX.

^x — Virorum optimorum laudes, Mori civilis, inquam, et Coleti religiosi — [Œcolampadius Erasmo, p. 332.]

^y — Siquidem animo præditus erat insigniter excelso, et omnis injuriæ impatientissimo — adversus animi celsitudinem

ratione pugnavit. [Eras. Epist. Jod. Jonæ, ut prius.]

^z — Solebam illi occinere fabulam de Johanne Coletto, perenni hominum memoria digno. Pessime illi conveniebat cum patruo, viro admodum sene, ac præfractis moribus. Lis erat, non de lana caprina, nec de asini (quod aiunt) umbra, sed de magna summa pecuniarum, ob quantam vel filius bellum indiceret patri. Coletus, pransurus apud R. P. Guilhel mum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, junxit me sibi in cymba. Interea legebat ex Enchiridio meo remedium iracundiæ; nec tamen indicabat, cur ea legeret. Accubitus ordo forte sic dabat, ut Coletus sederet e regione patruï; vultu subtristi, nec loquens, nec prudens. Archiepiscopi vero rara quædam est hac in re dexteritas, ut curet, ne quis parum hilaris sit in convivio, sermones ad omnium affectus attemperans. Per eum

and table were ever open to men of learning, as well foreigners as natives of his own country; and none were more encouraged to accept of the civilities there bestowed than Erasmus and Colet, who often went to Lambeth and returned together. Now it seems, dean Colet had an old uncle so froward and perverse in his humours, that he could never agree with him; and they had besides a suit, or quarrel, depending for a very considerable sum of money, enough to create a war between father and son. The dean going one day to dine with the archbishop, and taking Erasmus in the boat with him, as they sat there, read that part of Erasmus's *Enchiridion* which prescribed a remedy against anger and passion; not intimating why he was so intent upon that subject. At the archbishop's table it so happened, that the dean sat over against his uncle, so troubled in his own mind, that he could neither talk nor eat. The archbishop had an admirable art of making all his company easy and cheerful, by framing his discourse suitable to their humour and inclinations: and so he began to talk of ages; who old, and who young.

itaque injectus est sermo de collatione ætatum. Hinc orta est inter mutos confabulatio. Denique patruus, senum more, gloriari cœpit, quod tantus natus, tantopere polleret viribus. A prandio nescio quid seorsim agitatum est inter illos. Ubi Coletus mecum repetisset cymbam; video, inquit, Erasme, te felicem esse. Ego admirabar, cur hominem infelicissimum diceret felicem. Ibi denarravit, quam atroci animo fuerit in patruum; adeo ut propemodum omnibus Christianæ modestiæ

repagulis refractis, et cognitionis affectu contempto, manifestum bellum susciperet cum patruo: eaque gratia cepisse meum *Enchiridion* in manus, ut iracundiæ remedium quæreret, et profuisse: mox ex ea qualicumque confabulatione, quæ orta est in prandio, utrinque dilutam amarulentiam; sic ut mox archiepiscopo sequestro facile res omnis inter eos composita sit. [Erasmi *Epist. Jod. Gaveri*, dat. Bas. cal. Mart. 1524. ed. Lond. 1642. lib. xxiii. Ep. 5. fol. 1205. b.]

Upon this topic, they who had said nothing before, began to be very free and familiar; and the uncle, like a true old man, boasted what he could do at his years. After dinner the archbishop talked in private with the uncle and nephew, and brought them to terms of agreement. As they were going back in the boat, says Dr. Colet, "Well, Erasmus, you are a very happy man, and have done me a great deal of service." While Erasmus was admiring what he meant, the dean went on, and told the story; how extremely incensed he was against his uncle; and how he had well nigh resolved to put off the kinsman, and the very Christian, and to have waged open war with him; that under this commotion of mind he had taken that manual with him, and read over the advice for restraint of anger, which had done him so much good, that he commanded himself at table, and came to such a temper with his old uncle, that presently after dinner, the archbishop interposing, was able to make up the whole matter.

This story Erasmus was wont to make good use of; telling it to people that were at difference, and hard to be reconciled; and recommending to them this example of reading a good book, talking together coolly, to understand one another, and leaving the matter in dispute to an amicable arbitration.

Thus have we gone through Erasmus's life and character of this great man: and by this last story we see how impartially it is written, in that his very faults are not concealed. It were indeed to be wished, that the dean's friends had furnished Erasmus with more materials for that task, which he gave them to understand he was very willing to un-

dertake: but, however, what he hath comprised in one epistle is very valuable; because he speaks a great deal of his own experience, and a thorough knowledge of him. Besides that account, every passage relating to him in any other part of his works, wherein he occasionally speaks of him, are here put together, in as good order as the matter would admit of.

The second account of the life (if we may so call it) of Dr. Colet, was given by Mr. Henry Holland, in his *Herologia Anglica*, p. 155, to which is prefixed his effigies, very beautiful, with this distich;

*Cum colis Aonias, excolte Colete, sorores;
Te doctos inter posthuma fama refert.*

In this life and character there is in effect nothing but what Erasmus had observed; only in more express terms justice done to his memory, *viz.* “that
“in an age wherein popery had its kingdom of
“darkness, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry
“VIII. he embraced the true religion; and shewed
“his sincere confession of it in his ordinary painful
“sermons, and especially in that before Henry VIII.
“when he was going over to the siege of Turin,”
&c.^z

Dr. Tho. Fuller, in his *Abel Redivivus*, has given

^z Joannes Coletus, filius Henrici Coleti, equitis aurati, et iterum dom. prætoris Londinensis, sacræ theologiæ doctor ex academia Oxoniensi, et Paulinæ ecclesiæ Londini decanus eruditus, vir fuit magnopere literatus; et in illo caliginoso seculo vivens, in quo dominabatur papismus, Henrico ta-

men Septimo Henricoque Octavo regnantibus, veram religionem amplexus est. Quæ ejus sinceritas eluxit quidem ex ordinariis et operosis suis concionibus; maxime vero eminuit concione illa habita coram Henrico rege Octavo, cum in Gallias Terronovanæ ad prælium trajecturus erat, &c.

the life and death of Dr. John Colet; but, excepting the face before it, there is nothing to be commended. It is a verbal translation of the epistle of Erasmus to Jodocus Jonas, without any notice from whence it was taken: and some things are overstrained beyond the sense of the original.

He says, that “ Dr. Colet, perceiving the manifold distractions which accompanied the management of so plentiful an estate, called in his father’s debts, and sold his whole patrimony, which in the total amounted to a very great mass of money, and therewith he erected and endowed his school,” &c. p. 100. Whereas Erasmus says nothing about selling his patrimony; but rather, on the contrary, that his father left him a great sum of money.

Again, in p. 103, Fuller says; “ that in his judgment concerning public schools and universities, he was not only heterodox, but, like the bird spoken of in the proverb, bewrayed divers symptoms of an exulcerated mind: but let that pass amongst moles in the most beautiful faces.” And yet there is no such thing in Erasmus: nor was Colet any otherwise offended at the universities, than he was at the monasteries, and the whole church; so far as they were then corrupted, and wanted reformation.

Another short account of Dr. Colet’s life is prefixed to his Daily Devotions, or the Christian Morning and Evening Sacrifice: which life, Mr. Wood says well, is triflingly and imperfectly written by Thomas Fuller, of Waltham in Essex; being mostly the same with that in his *Abel Redivivus*. This is very lately printed; but without additions.

Another history of his life was compiled by Tho-

mas Smith, of Christ's college in Cambridge, library-keeper of the public library,) to be added to his edition of the Convocation Sermon, in English, 8vo. 1661. And it was honestly called, *The Life of Dr. Colet*, written by Erasmus: the several passages being collected from the Epistles of Erasmus; but without inquiry into his other works. He added some useful notes upon the Sermon and the Life; but not always with equal judgment. One note is this: "I found Erasmus often calling Dr. Colet, *præceptorum unicum et optimum*; but why, I know not, "unless for giving so good precepts in his sermon "before the convocation;" whereas it was, no doubt, from his being directed and assisted by him in his theological studies.

Besides all these, there was no writer of any note in or near this great man's time, who doth not make some mention of him.

Leland, in his *Encomium of the illustrious and learned Men in England*, reckons Colet amongst those lights of learning which fetched their treasures of knowledge out of Italy.

Lumina doctrinæ, Grocinus deinde secutus
 Sellingus^a, Linacer, Latimurusque pius.
 Tunstallus phœnix, Stocleius, atque Coletus,
 Lilius, et Paceus, festa corona virum.
 Omnes Italiam petierunt sidere fausto:
 Et nituit Latiis musa Britannia scholis.
 Omnes inque suam patriam rediere disertî;
 Secum thesauros et retulere suos^b.

^a William Selling, lord prior of Merton in Surrey, took his degree of doctor of divinity in Oxford, 1503. [Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, sub anno 1503.]

^b Lelandus in *Encomiis illustrium et eruditorum in Anglia Virorum*. Edit. Lond. 1549. p. 74.

George Lily, in his *Elogies of the learned Men in Britain*, sent to Paulus Jovius, begins his catalogue with John Colet, in a grateful remembrance of the good offices done by him to his father, Mr. William Lily. And the account he gives may serve not only for a confirmation of what hath been before related of this great man, (since it is handed down to us by the son of one who was the most intimate friend of the dean's, and was acquainted with every circumstance of his life,) but also as a summary or epitome of the foregoing essay. He tells us ^d,

^d Honestissimis suæ civitatis parentibus Joannes Coletus Londini natus est; patre ad summam præfecturam bis in ea urbe vocato; matre nobili ac prædivite fœmina, ex uno tantum conjugio vigesimo secundo partu levata: Joanne Colecto natu maximo, eodemque ex tam fecunda prole, cui omnis veniret hæreditas, defunctis cæteris, superstite. Is statim a pueritia liberalibus disciplinis domi institutus; mox, tanquam avidus optimarum artium mercator, Galliam primo, deinde Italiam adiit. Præcipue autem ad sacrarum literarum scientiam omnium studiorum suorum cursum direxit. Ex Italia in Britanniam reversus, trigesimum circiter ætatis annum agens, in Oxoniensi gymnasio, cum summa Christianæ vitæ disciplinam profitentium admiratione, publice Paulinas Epistolas omnes gratuita opera enarravit. Oxonio deinde ab Henrico rege ejus nominis septimo Londinum est revocatus, et amplissimo sacerdotio donatus, templi in ea urbe

maximi ad Divi Pauli Britannico ritu decanus dictus; ubi per annos aliquot e suggestu, Christiano more concionandi formam auspicatus, pia diffiniendi atque disserendi facultate, inter sui temporis oratores præstantissimus habebatur. Huc accedebat egregii corporis proceritas, et suspiciendi oris serenitas, ut subinde in omni actione mirus venerandusque existeret. Tandem vero, cum abdicatis rebus omnibus, et relicto eo quoungebatur sacerdotio, procul hominum turba, cum paucis reliquæ vitæ in Christianæ philosophiæ otio transigere decrevisset, ad Scænum, nobili Cartusiensium monachorum cœnobio, septimo ab urbe Londino lapide, peramœno loco, et altæ solitudini, piæ meditationi, studiisque aptissimo, extracto sibi eleganti apparatu domicilio; *pestilenti sudore* paucis ante annis, peculiari Britannicæ morbo, semel atque iterum correptus, quum et tertio ab eodem repetitus, utcunque tamen revixisset, ex ejus morbi reliquiis contracta

“ John Colet was born of very worshipful parents ;
 “ his father being twice lord mayor of London, his
 “ mother of a very rich and worthy family : they
 “ had two and twenty children ; of which John Co-
 “ let, the eldest, survived all the rest, and had
 “ thereby an ample patrimony descending to him :
 “ who, having had a careful and liberal education at
 “ home, went abroad for his further improvement ;
 “ first visiting France, then Italy. He made all his
 “ improvements in his studies subservient to his
 “ main design of fitting himself for holy orders ; and
 “ therefore, at his return from Italy to his native
 “ country, being then about thirty years old, he read

viscerum tabe, haud ita multo post Londini periit. Sepultus est ad Divi Pauli, humili quidem sepulturæ loco, quem sibi ante aliquot annos delegerat ; inscriptione addita. Sed et funeris honorem omnem abdicanti habitus est ei, amicorum cura, maximus ; exquisitaque industria tabula, erudito præconio exornata, depictaque ad vivum effigie, sepulchro affixa. Nihil autem quod extet in scriptis reliquit ; nec multa eum scripsisse constat. Sed purissimam Latinae linguæ elocutionem, eandemque laconica brevitate compositam, ex aliquot ejus ad Erasmus familiaribus epistolis colligere licet. Cui etiam in sacra Biblia ad antiquæ lectionis dignitatem restituenda, civilis ac diligens bibliothecæ cultor, haud mediocrem operam præstitit ; exhibito ipsi Erasmo vetustissimo codicis exemplari : unde et Bibliam ipsam multo nunc quam antea castigatiorem legimus. At illud sane Coleti,

præter cætera, ad æternam laudem, posteritati relictum, quod illustri in rem literariam patrocinio, Britannicæ juventuti erudiendæ, Londini scholam publicam magnifico opere extruendam curaverit ; pia atque munifica liberalitate erogatis in eandem, priusquam obiret, amplissimi patrimonii sui opibus ; quibus et præceptores duos honestissimis stipendiis alerentur, et adolescentes ipsi gratuito sub iisdem præceptoribus edocerentur. Atque hoc beneficio Britannia subinde delectissima semper juvenum indole politiori literatura proficientium ex hac schola præ cæteris nobilitata, fertilissima posteris ingenia ostendit. Fuit is annus quo Coletus, nondum senex, Christina matre adhuc superstite, obiit, Henrici et Francisci regum in Morinis ad Arderas colloquio celebris. [Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia per Georg. Liliū. ed. 1559. 8vo.]

“ publicly and freely upon St. Paul’s Epistles, to the
“ great admiration of his auditors. Henry VII.
“ called him from thence to the deanery of St. Paul’s,
“ a preferment of great account in that kingdom ;
“ where he, by his exact and useful sermons, arrived
“ to the character of a most excellent preacher. His
“ person was very graceful ; and there was some-
“ thing in his mien and carriage which did much
“ become him, and every thing he said and did. At
“ length, being weary of the world, he had designed
“ to have quitted his ecclesiastical preferments, and
“ to have retired to a good house of his own erecting
“ at Shene, where there was a monastery of the Car-
“ thusian monks ; distant from London not more than
“ seven miles, and on other accounts a very fit place
“ for this his pious design of sequestering himself from
“ the world : but having been seized by the sweating
“ sickness (a distemper peculiar to that kingdom)
“ at two several times before, he at last had it a
“ third time ; which carried him off, though not im-
“ mediately ; for he soon after fell into a consumption,
“ proceeding from the relics of that distemper, of
“ which he in a short time died at London. He was
“ buried in his own church of St. Paul’s, in a very
“ humble sepulchre, which he had contrived for him-
“ self in an obscure angle of the church some years
“ before, with the inscription of his name. But
“ though the good man despised all funeral pomp
“ and ostentation, yet his friends were willing to
“ shew how much they valued him, by erecting to
“ his memory a very elegant monument, with his
“ effigies. He left not behind him any thing that is
“ published ; nor probably many manuscripts. But
“ by what appears in those epistles which he writ to



Effigies ipsa D. Johis
Coleti, Decani S. Pauli.

EMSS. ^{to} Pulcherrimo ipsius Coleti, in Bibl. Publ. Cantabr.

“ Erasmus, he was master of a pure Latin style ;
 “ though chiefly in the laconic way. He did great
 “ service to the world, in assisting Erasmus, when
 “ engaged in restoring the pure text to the holy
 “ Bible, helping him to a very ancient manuscript ;
 “ by which means we have the same text much more
 “ correct than it was before his time. But what re-
 “ dounds most to his honour is, that in his lifetime
 “ he laid out the whole income of his patrimony, in
 “ founding a school at London, for the British youth,
 “ to be instructed in good literature : and he having
 “ settled liberal stipends upon two masters, the
 “ children are instructed gratis under them : by
 “ which means this school has flourished ; and is like
 “ to produce very excellent persons to all succeeding
 “ generations. Colet died before he arrived to old
 “ age, and left his mother, Christiana, surviving ; in
 “ that remarkable year of king Henry VIII.’s inter-
 “ view with Francis, king of France, at Audry near
 “ Guisnes.” Thus far Geo. Lily^e.

As to his person ; he is described by Erasmus to
 be tall and comely^f ; upon which a late writer has
 given this note : “ It appears from the picture of
 “ his, which is in our public library at Cambridge,
 “ in a very choice manuscript^g, most elaborately
 “ done in his own house at Paul’s. In the first page
 “ whereof are these words, *D. Joannis Coleti, de-*

^e See in the appendix a farther account of his work from the MS. itself.

^f — Accesserat his fortunæ commodis corpus elegans et procerum.

^g Containing the two gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark before mentioned, copied out at

the expense of dean Colet, from the manuscript of the New Testament he lent to Erasmus : which, Erasmus says, was writ *peregrinis notis* ; and archbishop Parker, who gave it to that library, adds with his own hand, *forte Saxonice*.

“ *cani S. Pauli*, are writ over a young person in
 “ priestly attire, having the beautifullest face, in
 “ my opinion, that I ever beheld: and so far differ-
 “ ing from that which is of him at St. Paul’s school,
 “ and his tomb, that I was fain to shew them both
 “ to a judicious limner, to know whether they were
 “ drawn for the same person: who answered, Yes,
 “ certainly. Whence I gathered, that he was very
 “ fair, till his sweating sickness and consumption, and
 “ perhaps chiefly his afflictions, changed his com-
 “ plexion^h.” The reader is here presented with an
 exact copy of it from the original. There is another
 curious picture of him, when a young man, not un-
 like to this, in the possession of Benedict Ithel, of
 Temple Dinsley in Hertfordshire, esquire.

The best account of the remains of his body is
 thus given by Ant. à Wood: “ Soon after his in-
 “ terment, there was a comely monument set over
 “ his grave, near to the little one which he had set
 “ up in his lifetime, between the choir and south
 “ side; which monument remaining whole and en-
 “ tire till 1666, was then consumed in the dreadful
 “ conflagration that happened in the city of London.
 “ His body, which was closed up in a leaden coffin of
 “ six feet and two inches long, and of three feet and
 “ two inches broad, was laid up and inclosed in the
 “ wall, near to the place his monument was afterwards
 “ put. In 1680, or thereabouts, when the wall was
 “ taken down, the said coffin was discovered, (for
 “ it lay in the said wall about two feet and a half
 “ above the surface of the floor,) whereon was a
 “ plate of lead fastened, with an inscription engraven
 “ thereon, shewing the name of the person there de-

^h Life of Colet, by Mr. Thomas Smith, 1662.

“ posited, his father’s name, obit, benefaction, &c.
 “ Some of the royal society, who out of curiosity
 “ went to see it, did thrust a probe, or little stick,
 “ into a chink of the coffin ; which bringing out some
 “ moisture with it, they found it of an ironish taste,
 “ and fancied that the body felt soft and pappy like
 “ brawnⁱ.”

It appears his enemies had a design to have burned his bones ; but Providence prevented that piece of inhumanity, as Bale takes notice, who lived near his time, and doubtless had good authority for so saying^k.

His estate, or worldly circumstances, will best appear by his father Henry Colet’s will : which I thought not unworthy of a place in the Appendix^l, as also an original of his yearly income^m, that the reader might see how plentifully Providence had furnished him with the means of doing good. What estate he had in London, he settled wholly upon the endowment of his school of Paul’s in his lifetime, by a deed or settlementⁿ ; though he drew it up first in the form of a will, in Latin, which being very nice, in minutely setting down his donation, I have given it a place in the Appendix. As to his other estates, in Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Cambridge-shire, Huntingdonshire, &c. though the demands of

ⁱ Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 12.

^k *Hujus ex tumulo eiecissent atque incendissent praelati cadaver, nisi aliud eis supervenisset inexpectatum malum ;* as he hath it in his book *De illustr. Script. edit. 4to. 1548.* or, as he expresses it in his folio edit. *nisi aliunde a rege scilicet impeditum.*

This way of proceeding, it is

pretended, was according to an ancient canon, which is and has been often put in practice : “ If, after death, they shall be found to have been heretics, their bodies must be digged up, and their bones burnt.” [*Conc. Albiense. canon. 52. p. 727.*]

^l Number XIX.

^m Number II.

ⁿ Number III.

his charity and beneficence were very great, yet having also such considerable preferments in the church, it appears by his last will that he died possessed of them. But whatever his possessions were, none could envy their having been in such good hands as his, by which they were wholly expended in public service, and for the good of the world. There seemed indeed to be something wanting that might complete his school, *viz.* exhibitions for the maintenance of some of the poorest of his scholars at the university: but we have reason to wonder at his doing so much, rather than his not doing more. However, what was at first wanting as to this matter, has since been very generously provided for by some worthy benefactors; particularly by the lord and lady Campden^o, Mr. Andrew, and the reverend Mr. Perry^p, late lecturer at St. Peter's, Cornhill; whose charitable bequests were rendered serviceable to our school by the reverend and learned Dr. Gale, late dean of York: but above all, we are not to pass by the good management of the revenue of the school by the worshipful company of mercers; who have

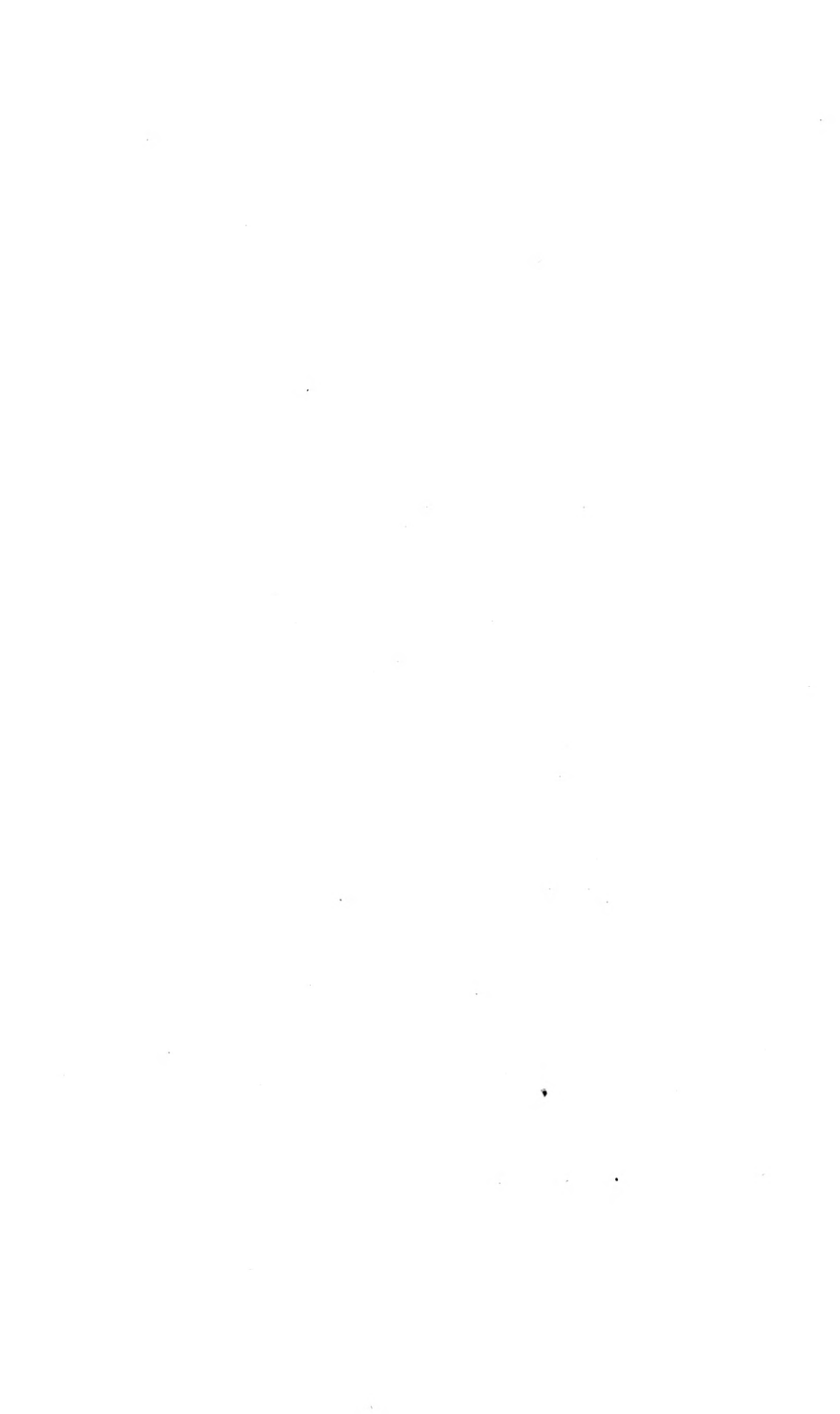
^o Lord viscount Campden bought an impropriation^a in Northumberland, which cost 760*l.* whereof one moiety is to be given towards the maintenance of an able preacher at Hampstead, the other moiety to St. Paul's school in London, towards the maintenance of certain scholars in Trinity college in Cambridge. [Stow's Survey of London.]

Lady Campden, wife to sir

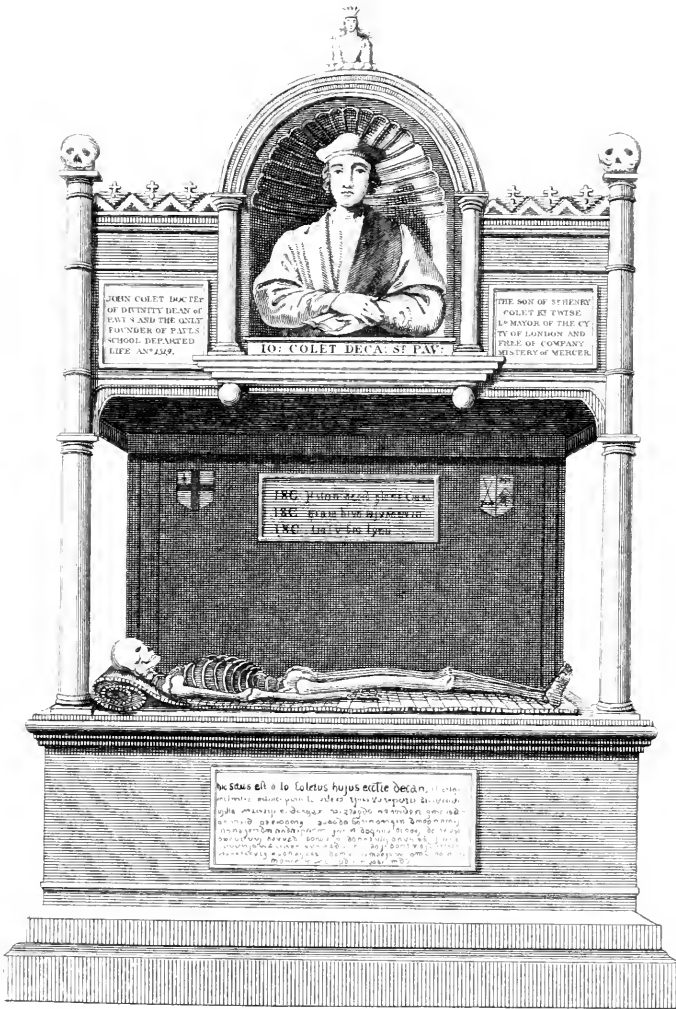
Ralph Hicks, lord Campden, sometime mercer in Cheapside, gave certain exhibitions of 10*l.* a year, to such of the scholars as went to Trinity college in Cambridge. [Ibid.]

^p An estate was bought with his legacy at Tenderell in Essex, which is expended in exhibitions for five poor scholars, formerly 5*l.* each, but now only four.

^a *Viz.* of Woodhorn on the seashore, north of Newcastle; it was since the estate of Lord Widdrington; now in the possession of A. Askew, M. D. who annually pays 150*l.* to the minister of Hampstead. This I had from his son Anthony Askew, M. D. in March 1757. NORTH.



Monimentum IO: COLET Dec: S^t Pauli.



always been able, by their improvement of it, to have a fund ready to supply the wants of their more indigent scholars.

What became of that small and modest monument the good dean put up in his lifetime, we are at a loss to know. Possibly it was covered, or pulled down, when the mercers put up another, which they thought more worthy so great a man. His design in erecting that humble one in his lifetime was, no doubt, to prevent any extravagance of this nature, and moreover to remind him of mortality, as sir Thomas Moore, Dr. Donne, (one of his successors,) and others have done since.

The goodly monument of dean Colet is preserved in sir William Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral; and by the arms of the mercers set upon the top of it, it is plainly evident, that it was erected by that worshipful company; but it was destroyed in the dreadful fire, anno 1666.

Underneath is the following inscription: " Hic
 " est situs D. Joannes Coletus, hujus ecclesiæ de-
 " canus, theologus insignis: qui ad exemplum S.
 " Pauli, semper egit gratuitum evangelicæ doctrinæ
 " præconem, ac synceræ doctrinæ perpetua vitæ
 " synceritate respondit. Scholam Paulinam suo
 " sumptu solus et instituit, et annuo reditu dotavit.
 " Genus honestissimum Christi dotibus cohonestavit;
 " præcipue sobrietate mira, ac pudicitia. Nunc
 " fruitur evangelica margarita, cujus amore neglexit
 " omnia. Vixit annos 53. administravit 16. obiit
 " anno 1519.

" Morere mundo, ut vivas Deo."

Over the monument was the bust of Dr. Colet.

And in the middle of the monument, under the dean's bust, and over a prostrate skeleton, were the following three lines :

J. C. *Isthuc recidit gloria carnis.*

J. C. *Morere mundo, ut vivas Deo.*

J. C. *Love and live.*

At the bottom of the monument was the following inscription :

“ John Colet, D. D. dean of Paul's, and the only
“ founder of Paul's school ; who departed this life
“ 1519, the son of Henry Colet, knt. lord mayor of
“ the city of London, and free of the company and
“ fraternity of the mercers.”

The following verses on dean Colet's tomb were, in grateful respect, composed by the eminent master of his school, William Lily.

“ In memoriam venerabilis viri Joannis Coleti, sacræ
“ theologiæ doctoris, ad divum Paulum decani, et
“ scholæ ibidem fundatoris, gratitudinis ergo, mo-
“ nimentum, ogdastichon.

“ Inclyta Joannes Londini gloria gentis ;

“ Is tibi qui quondam, Paule, decanus erat ;

“ Qui toties magno resonabat pectore Christum,

“ Doctor, et interpres fidus Evangelii.

“ Qui mores hominum multum sermone disertio

“ Formabat, vitæ sed probitate magis ;

“ Quique scholam struxit celebrem ; cognomine Jesu ;

“ Hac dormit tectus membra Coletus humo.

“ Floruit sub Henrico Septimo, et Henrico Octavo,
“ regibus. Obiit anno Dom. 1519.

“ *Disce mori mundo ; vivere disce Deo.*”

Under his lively pourtraicture are (alluding to his

comely personage reduced to dust and ashes) these words :

Isthuc recidit gloria carnis.

Love and live.

The ruins of this monument are still to be seen under St. Paul's; and the entire bust; concerning which Mr. Strype says, that though it seems to be stone, yet he had been told by an ingenious person, (Mr. Bagford,) it is nothing else but clay burnt and painted; a fine art known and practised in former times⁹.

Mr. Weever, who first printed the epitaph, adds this remark upon it. " His monument is lately revived by the company of the mystery of mercers; to whose charge he committed the oversight of St. Paul's school, with lands worth an hundred and twenty pounds, or better, of yearly value, for the maintenance of a master, an usher, and a chaplain, to teach and instruct one hundred fifty and three poor men's children freely, without any reward: and, as I am told, *viis et modis*, more comes to the schoolmaster at this day than the whole endowment^r."

As to the remainders of his family, Mr. Smith in 1661 observed, that Mr. John Colet, then a student in the Temple, and his father, as also Mr. Nich. Ferrar, of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, (of whom there is honourable mention in Mr. George Herbert's Life,) were all nearly related to our doctor; and were all three fellow-commoners in Clare-hall at Cambridge, diligent frequenters of the chapel.

⁹ Life of Stow, p. 14. See also Appendix, No. VIII.

^r Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 369.

Thomas Colet, a worthy patriot of the city of London, who dying 22d Sept. 1703, was buried in the church of St. Magnus, seems, by his arms, to have been of the same family. His epitaph you have in Le Neve's Collection of Monumental Inscriptions.

At Hale, near Wendover, where sir Henry Colet was born, there are still descendants in a direct line from Robert Colet, sir Henry's father; to whom I am obliged for some original papers in the Appendix^s.

We shall now conclude this history of one of the

^s Others I find of the same name; but whether of the same family, I cannot say.

Mr. Stow's Survey of London hath this epitaph in the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street. "Here lyeth the body
" of Mistress Mary Collet, wife
" of Mr. John Collet, citizen
" and salter of London, who
" deceased the 22d of Decem-
" ber, 1613, being aged thirty-
" five years," &c.

One of the name may not be here omitted, and with our magnificent dean (whom he seems to have set for his pattern) deserves to be had in everlasting remembrance, viz. Mr. John Collet; who to the charity-school in the parish of S. Mary Overree, alias S. Saviour in Southwark, has left in houses and lands 115*l.* per annum for ever; as appears by an account of the present state of charity-schools in and about London, 1721.

Another of the name too considerable to be passed by, is William Collet, born at Over in Cambridgeshire: who was some-

time clerk to the keeper of the records in the Tower of London; but never master of that office, as Dr. Fuller mistakes in his book of Worthies; giving a more true account of him in the following particulars—— "Be-
" cause method is the mother of
" memory, he so orderly di-
" gested all records, that they
" were to be found in an in-
" stant. He abominated their
" course, who by water would
" refresh a record to make it
" useful for the present, and
" useless for ever after. He de-
" tested, under the pretence of
" mending it, to practise with a
" pen on any old writing; pre-
" serving it in the pure nature
" thereof. Indeed master Sel-
" den, and others, in their
" works, have presented pos-
" terity with a plentiful feast of
" English rarities; but let me
" say, that Collet may be called
" their caterer, who furnished
" them with provision on rea-
" sonable rates. He died, to the
" great grief of all antiquaries,
" A. D. 1644."

greatest men of the age he lived in : whose intellectual accomplishments we need no other proof of, than the grief conceived at his death amongst all learned men, not only in his own country, but also abroad ; they looking upon him as the glory of our nation. But though both his learning and piety were observed to be above the pitch of those times ; yet that which made him renowned more than any thing, was his public spirit. This is excellently set forth in a dedication to him, by the elegant pen of Richard Pace, (when abroad about public service,) worthy to be read in the Appendix, upon this as well as other accounts. And if we look upon him as a churchman, we shall find him most indefatigably engaged for the good of souls ; preaching almost every day. To give more constant attendance at St. Paul's cathedral church, he was willing to quit one of the richest parochial churches in the kingdom, that of Stepney^t. Yet he kept his living at Denyngton to the last^u. But there could be no other worldly motive for it, than to breathe a little in that free air, and refresh himself sometimes, after his immense labours in the city. And happy was that and every place where he came : his active soul would not suffer him to pass away any time without doing good, and employing the utmost of his strength and wealth in his master's service ; and this without the least ostentation or vanity ; for there was in his demeanour

^t Walter Stone, LL. D. was admitted to this vicarage, void by the resignation of Dr. Colet, 27 Sept. 1505.

^u Sept. 26, 1519, Robertus Cronker, S. T. B. institutus in

ecclesia de Denyngton, vac. per mortem Joannis Colet, ultimi incumbentis. [E Collectaneis Tho. Tanner, S. T. D. cancellarii Norwicensis.]

the most unaffected simplicity imaginable. And furthermore, there was something so very taking in him, that though he had some most implacable enemies, (made such only by his telling them the truth,) yet he always met with many powerful friends as were an overmatch for them. And, what is most to be admired, no person met with greater favour than he did from two successive princes, who were none of the mildest in their tempers, as the sufferings of other good men in their reigns sadly testify.

From the whole it amply appears, that he was a very eminent forerunner of the reformation: and we glory in him as such; as well as for his being founder of that famous seminary of learning, which has produced many excellent persons both in church and state, besides some that carried on those good and great designs, which the iniquity of the times he lived in prevented his seeing accomplished. May God, who has long watered with his blessing what he so seasonably^x planted, make it still answer the

^x The foundation of this school was in some respects no less reasonable than the schools erected at London in the reign of Hen. VI. whereof we have the following account in an History of the Church of Great Britain, published by G. G. 1675. (4to.) p. 129.

“ 1431. — Great at this time
“ was the want of grammar-
“ schools, and the abuse of
“ them that were even in Lon-
“ don itself; it being penal for
“ any (to prevent the growth
“ of Wicklivism) to put their
“ children to private teachers.

“ Hence it was, that some
“ hundreds were compelled to
“ go to the same school; where
“ (to use the words of the re-
“ cords) *the masters waxen*
“ *rich in money, and learners*
“ *poor in cunning*. Whereupon
“ this grievance was complained
“ of by four eminent ministers
“ in London, *viz.* Mr. William
“ Lichfield, parson of Alhal-
“ lows the Great; Mr. Gilbert
“ [Worthington], parson of St.
“ Andrew's, Holborn; Mr. John
“ Cote, parson of St. Peter's,
“ Cornhill; Mr. John Neele,
“ master of the house of St.

noble ends of its founder; and till time shall be no more, continue the happy advantages it affords, not only to the great city where it is placed, but to the whole nation; and in a word, to the whole world.

<p>“ Thomas Acre’s, and parson of “ Colchirch. To these it was “ granted by the advice of the “ ordinary, or archbishop of</p>	<p>“ Canterbury, to erect five “ schools, (Neele having a dou- “ ble licence for two places,) in “ their respective parishes.”</p>
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AN
A P P E N D I X ;

CONTAINING

I.

A COPY OF DR. COLET'S CONVOCATION SERMON,

Taken from the Latin original, printed anno 1511.

II.

AN OLD ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE AFORE-
SAID SERMON.

III.

SEVERAL EPISTLES, WRITTEN BY THE SAME
AUTHOR.

IV.

A COLLECTION OF MISCELLANIES RELATING TO
THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

ORATIO

HABITA

A DOCTORE JOANNE COLET,

DECANO SANCTI PAULI,

AD

CLERUM

IN CONVOCATIONE, ANNO 1511.

ORATIO AD CLERUM

IN

CONVOCATIONE.

CONVENISTIS, hodie, patres et viri sapientissimi, in-
ituri concilium. In quo quidnam acturi sitis, quasque res
tractaturi, nondum intelligimus; optamus autem, ut ali-
quando memores et nominis et professionis vestrae, cogitetis
de reformatione rei ecclesiasticae: nam nunquam fuit magis
necesse; nec status ecclesiae vestra studia magis unquam de-
sideravit. Est enim sponsa Christi ecclesia, quam voluit
ille sine macula et sine ruga esse, facta turpis et deformis;
ut Esaias loquitur, *Civitas fidelis facta est meretrix*; et ut
Hieremias ait, *Fornicata est cum amatoribus multis*: unde
concepit multa semina iniquitatis, et parit fructus quotidie
turpissimos. Quamobrem huc accessi hodie, patres, admo-
nendi vestri gratia, ut de reformatione ecclesiae in isto vestro
concilio toto animo cogitetis. Accessi autem non meo qui-
dem sponte profecto; nam agnoscebam indignitatem meam,
et videbam etiam quam esset arduum tantorum virorum ex-
actissimo iudicio satisfacere. Judicabam enim omnino in-
dignum, et ineptum, ac prope arrogans, ut ego servus admo-
neam vos dominos meos, ego filius doceam vos patres meos;
magis vero hoc convenisset alicui uni ex patribus, id est, ex
vobis praelatis, qui id et autoritate graviore, et sapientia ma-
jore fecisset. Veruntamen obediendum fuit mandato reveren-
dissimi patris et domini nostri archiepiscopi, praesidis hujus
concilii, qui hoc onus mihi certe grave imposuit; quando-
quidem legimus Samuelem prophetam dixisse, *meliolem esse
obedientiam quam victimam*. Quapropter, patres et viri
praestantissimi, vos oro, obtestorque, ut hoc die imbecilli-
tatem meam bonitate et patientia vestra sustineatis; deinde,

ut me in principio juvetis piis orationibus vestris; atque ante omnia, fundamus preces nostras ad Deum Patrem omnipotentem. Inprimis in oratione nostra memores S. D. nostri papæ, et omnium pastorum spiritualium, cum toto populo Christiano: memores deinde reverendissimi patris et domini nostri archiepiscopi, præsidis hujus concilii, et omnium dominorum episcoporum, ac totius cleri et totius populi Anglicani: memores postremo hujus congregationis vestræ et conventus; rogantes Deum, ut inspiret animos vestros sic unanimiter convenire, ad talem videlicet ecclesiæ utilitatem et fructum, ut peracto concilio, non frustra et sine causa congregati fuisse videamur. Universi dicamus, *Pater noster*, &c.

Exhortaturus vos, reverendi patres, ad studium reformandi ecclesiastici status, propterea quod nihil tam deformavit faciem ecclesiæ quam in clericis et sacerdotibus ratio vivendi secularis et mundana; nescio unde convenientius sumam exordium sermonis mei, quam ab apostolo Paulo, in cujus jam templo congregamini. Is enim scribens ad Romanos, et in persona illorum ad vos dicit, *Nolite conformari huic seculo; sed reformamini in novitate sensus vestri, ut probetis quæ sit voluntas Dei bona, beneplacens, et perfecta*^a. Hæc scripsit apostolus ad omnes Christianos; maxime autem ad sacerdotes et episcopos: sunt enim sacerdotes et episcopi lumina mundi. Nam illis dixit Salvator, *Vos estis lux mundi*; et idem ait, *Si lumen quod in te est tenebræ sint, ipsæ tenebræ quantæ erunt?* Hoc est, si sacerdotes et episcopi, ipsa lumina, currant in via seculi tenebrosa, quam erit tunc tenebrosus ipse populus secularis? Quare maxime sacerdotibus et episcopis dicit Paulus, *Nolite conformari huic seculo, sed reformamini*. Quibus verbis duo facit apostolus; primum, prohibet ne seculo conformemur, et efficiamur carnales; deinde jubet, ut reformemur in Dei spiritum, quo simus spirituales. Ego vero hunc ordinem sequens, primum dicam de *conformatione*, deinde de *reformatione*: *Nolite*, inquit, *conformari huic seculo*. Seculum vero appellat apostolus rationem et modum vivendi se-

^a Rom. xii. 2.

cularem; quæ maxime in quatuor malis hujus mundi consistit, viz. in *diabolica superbia, in carnali concupiscentia, in mundana avaritia, in negotiatione seculari*. Hæc in mundo sunt, teste Johanne apostolo, in Epistola sua canonica: inquit enim; *Omne quod est in mundo, aut est concupiscentia carnis, aut concupiscentia oculorum, aut superbia vitæ*. Hæc eadem modo sunt: et regnant in ecclesia, et in ecclesiasticis hominibus, ut videamur vere posse dicere; omne quod est in ecclesia, aut est *concupiscentia carnis, aut oculorum, aut superbia vitæ*. Inprimis, (ut de *superbia vitæ* loquar,) Quanta sit his diebus in hominibus ecclesiasticis aviditas et appetitus honoris et dignitatis; quam anhelans cursus a beneficio ad beneficium, a minore ad majus, ab humiliori ad altius, quis est qui non videt? Quis autem videns non doleat? Præterea in ipsis dignitatibus qui sunt, plerique eorum incedunt vultu adeo erecto, et oculis tam sublimibus, ut non in humili præsulatu Christi, sed in alto dominatu mundi positi esse videantur, non agnoscentes, nec animadvertentes, quidnam magister humilitatis, Christus, dixerat discipulis suis, quos vocavit ad præsulatum: *Principes gentium, inquit, dominantur eorum; et qui majores sunt, potestatem habent: vobis autem non sic; sed qui est major inter vos, sit ille minister; qui primus, sit omnium servus: venit enim Filius hominis, non ministrari, sed ministrare*. Quibus verbis docet plane Salvator, magisterium in ecclesia nihil aliud esse quam ministerium; et primatum in ecclesiastico homine nihil esse aliud quam humilem servitatem. Secundum autem malumulare, quæ *concupiscentia carnalis* est; nonne hoc vitium ita inundavit ecclesiam quasi flumine voluptatis suæ, ut nihil studiosius quæeratur in hoc confusissimo tempore a maxima parte sacerdotum, quam quod sensum oblectet, sensuique placeat. Conviviis et epulationibus se dedunt, in vanas confabulationes se effundunt, se ludis et jocis tradunt, se aucupiis et venationibus accommodant, in deliciis hujus seculi se immergunt, conquisitores et inventores voluptatum in pretio habent. In quod genus hominum exclamat Judas apostolus

in Epistola sua canonica, dicens; *Væ illis, qui in viam Cain abierunt. Hi sunt in epulis suis, maculae convivantes, sine timore sibimetipsis placentes; fluctus feri maris despumantes suas confusiones; quibus procella tenebrarum reservata est in æternum. Avaritia autem, quod tertium seculare malum est; quod Joannes apostolus appellat concupiscentiam oculorum, Paulus vocat idololatriam: hæc terribilissima pestis ita invasit animos fere omnium sacerdotum, et ita mentis oculos excæcavit, ut ad omnia jam cæci simus, nisi ad ea solum quæ videntur nobis lucra afferre posse. Nam in his diebus quid aliud quærimus in ecclesia quam pingua beneficia, et promotiones; in ipsis deinde promotionibus quid aliud numeramus quam fructus et proventus? Ad quos inflammamur tanta aviditate; ut quot ac quæ onera, ac quam magna sacerdotia suscipimus, dummodo magnos habeant redditus, non curemus. O avaritia, certe te Paulus appellavit *omnium malorum radicem*. Ex te enim est beneficiorum aliorum supra alia accumulatio: ex te, ex multis resignatis beneficiis tam magnæ assignatæ pensiones: ex te certamina de decimis, de oblatiis, de mortuariis, de dilapidationibus, jure et titulo ecclesiæ; pro quibus non minus quam pro ipsa vita nostra digladiamur. O avaritia, ex te onerosæ visitationes episcoporum; ex te corruptiones curiarum, et inventiones istæ quotidie novæ, quibus miser populus devexatur; ex te procacitas et petulantia officialium. O avaritia, mater omnis iniquitatis; ex te in ordinariis istud ardens studium amplificandæ suæ jurisdictionis: ex te in ordinariis ista insana et rabiosa contentio de insinuatione testamentorum: ex te intempestivæ sequestrationes fructuum: ex te ista superstitiosa observatio legum carum omnium, quæ lucrosæ sunt; posthabitis et neglectis eis quæ ad emendationem morum spectant. Quid numerem reliqua? Ut summatim dicam, ut uno verbo concludam; omnis corruptela, omnis ecclesiæ ruina, omnia mundi scandala sunt ex avaritia sacerdotum, secundum illud Pauli, quod repeto iterum, et inculco in aures vestras; *Radix omnium malorum cupiditas*. Quartum autem seculare malum quod deformat faciem ecclesiæ, et ma-*

culat, est assidua *occupatio secularis*, in qua se implicant multi sacerdotes et episcopi his diebus; servi magis hominum quam Dei, milites hujus mundi magis quam Christi: nam apostolus Paulus scribit ad Timotheum; *Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus*. Milites autem Dei sacerdotes sunt: militia vero eorum non est carnalis, sed spiritualis: nam militia nostra est orare, legere, et meditari scripturas, ministrare verbum Dei, ministrare sacramenta salutis, sacrificare pro populo, et pro peccatis eorum hostias offerre. Sumus enim sequestri et medii ad Deum pro hominibus; quod testatur Paulus, ad Hebræos scribens: *Omnis, inquit, pontifex ex hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur in his quæ sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona et sacrificia pro peccatis*. Unde apostoli, illi primi sacerdotes et episcopi, tam abhorruerunt ab omni attractatione rerum secularium, ut ne necessarium quidem victum egentibus ministrare voluerint, tametsi id magnum sit opus pietatis; sed dixerunt: *Non est æquum nobis relinquere verbum Dei et ministrare mensis; nos autem orationi et ministerio verbi Dei instantes erimus*. Et ad Corinthios clamat Paulus; *Si secularia negotia habueritis, contemptibiles qui sunt in ecclesia vos constituite ad judicandum*. Profecto ex ista secularitate, et quod clerici et sacerdotes, omissis spiritualibus, se involvunt occupationibus terrenis, multa mala sequuntur. Primum, dehonestatur dignitas sacerdotalis, quæ est major quam aut regia aut imperatoria; est enim æqualis angelicæ. At hujus eminentiæ splendor obscuratur caligine, quando sacerdotes versantur in terrenis, quorum *conversatio debet esse in cælis*. Secundo, sacerdotium contemnitur, quando nihil interest inter tales sacerdotes et laicos, sed (secundum Ozee prophetiam) *sicut populus, ita est sacerdos*. Tertio, pulcher ordo hierarchicus in ecclesia confunditur, quando summi in ecclesia tractant vilia et terrena, et loco eorum viles et abjectæ personæ exercent summa et cælestia. Quarto, populus ipse laicus scandalizatur, et in ruinam impellitur, quando quorum officium est trahere homines ab hoc mundo, hi assiduitate sua in seculo docent homines amare hunc mundum; et ex amore mundi in ge-

hennam præcipitantur. Præterea in ipsis sacerdotibus sic intricatis sequitur necessario hypocrisis; nam commixti confusique cum laicis, sub veste et habitu sacerdotali ducunt vitam plane laicalem. Item infirmitas spiritualis, et quidam servilis timor, quin enervati aquis hujus mundi nihil audeant nec facere, nec dicere, nisi ea quæ noverint suis principibus grata et placentia. Postremo, ignorantia et cæcitas, quando obcæcati tenebris hujus seculi, nihil vident nisi terrena. Quare non sine causa Salvator noster Christus admonuit prælatos ecclesiæ suæ; *Attendite*, inquit, *ne graventur corda vestra crapula et ebrietate, et curis hujus seculi: curis*, inquit, *hujus seculi*; quibus aggravata corda sacerdotum ad alta se attollere, et ad cœlestia se elevare non possunt. Multa sunt præterea alia quæ sequuntur mala ex secularitate sacerdotum, quæ longum esset enumerare; sed facio finem. Hæc sunt illa quatuor mala quæ dixi, O patres, O sacerdotes, quibus conformamur huic seculo, quibus deformatur facies ecclesiæ, quibus ejus status destruitur; sane plusquam, aut olim in principio, illa persecutione tyrannica, aut deinde post invasionem quæ secuta est heretica. Nam in persecutione tyrannorum devexata ecclesia, facta fuit fortior et illustrior; in invasionem hæreticorum agitata ecclesia, facta fuit sapientior, et sacrarum literarum peritior: at ista iniquissima secularitate introducta, posteaquam irreperit in ecclesiasticos homines ratio vivendi secularis, radix omnis spiritualis vitæ, ipsa charitas extincta est: qua sublata, nec sapiens nec fortis in Deo ecclesia esse potest. In hoc quoque tempore etiam magnam sentimus contradictionem a laicis: sed illi non tam adversantur nobis quam nos ipsi: nec contradictio eorum tam nos lædit quam contradictio malæ vitæ nostræ, quæ contradicit Deo et Christo: nam ille inquit; *Qui non est mecum, contra me est*. Infestamur etiam hoc tempore ab hæreticis hominibus, mira stultitia insanientibus; sed illa hæresis eorum non tam est pestifera et perniciosa nobis et populo, quam mala et depravata vita sacerdotum; quæ, si credamus divino Bernardo, est quædam species hæresis, et omnium maxima et perniciosissima. Nam prædicans sanctus ille pater in quadam convocatione ad sacer-

dotes sui temporis, in quodam sermone ita inquit, his verbis :
 “ Multi sunt Catholici loquendo et prædicando, qui iidem
 “ sunt hæretici operando ; nam quod hæretici faciunt pravis
 “ dogmatibus, hoc faciunt illi malis exemplis ; seducunt popu-
 “ lum, et inducunt in errorem vitæ ; et tanto graviore sunt
 “ hæreticis, quanto prævalent opera verbis.” Hæc Bernardus,
 ille sanctus pater, magno et ardenti spiritu, in sectam ma-
 lorum sacerdotum sui temporis : quibus verbis significat
 plane duplicem esse hæreticam pravitatem ; unam perversæ
 doctrinæ, et alteram perversæ vitæ ; quarum posterior hæc est
 pejor, et perniciosior, quæ regnat in ecclesia, ad miserum
 ecclesiæ interitum, sacerdotibus non sacerdotaliter sed secu-
 lariter viventibus. Quare vos patres, vos sacerdotes, vos
 omnes clerici, expergiscimini aliquando, et exurgite ex isto
 vestro somno in hoc mundo lethargico ; et evigilantes, tan-
 dem audite Paulum clamantem vobis ; *Nolite conformari
 huic seculo.* Et hæc de prima parte. Nunc veniamus ad
 secundam.

Secunda pars, de reformatione.

Scil reformamini in novitate sensus vestri. Secundum
 autem quod jubet Paulus est, ut *reformemur in novum
 sensum* ; ut sapiamus ea quæ sunt Dei, reformemur ad ea
 quæ sunt hiis quæ modo dixi contraria ; videlicet, ad humili-
 tatem, ad sobrietatem, ad charitatem, ad occupationes spi-
 rituales ; ut quemadmodum scribit idem Paulus ad Titum,
*Abnegantes impietatem et secularia desideria, sobrie, et juste,
 et pie vivamus in hoc seculo.* Hæc autem reformatio et re-
 stauratio ecclesiastici status, oportet, incipiat a vobis patribus
 nostris ; et sic deinceps in nos sacerdotes vestros, et in totum
 clerum derivetur. Vos enim estis capita nostra. Vos estis
 exemplar vivendi nobis. Ad vos spectamus tanquam ad
 signa directionis nostræ. In vobis et in vita vestra, cupimus
 legere tanquam in vivis libris, quonam pacto ipsi vivamus.
 Quare si volueritis videre festucas nostras, prius tollite
 trabes de oculis vestris. Est autem antiquum proverbium,
Medice, cura teipsum. Vos medici spirituales, primum de-
 gustate vos istud pharmacum expurgationis morum, et de-
 inde idem nobis degustandum propinetis. Via autem qua

reformatur ecclesia, et in meliorem formam restituatur, non est quidem condere novas leges, (sunt enim leges satis multæ et numerosæ,) ut ait Salomôn, *Nihil est novum sub sole*. Nam morbi qui nunc sunt in ecclesia, antea in præteritis seculis fuerunt. Et nullum est erratum cui patres optima remedia non providerunt. Nullæ sunt transgressiones quarum in corpore juris canonici non extant leges cohibitrices. Non est opus ergo ut condantur novæ leges et constitutiones; sed ut serventur conditæ. Quare in ista vestra congregatione vocentur in medium, et recitentur leges quæ sunt editæ; quæ prohibent mala, quæque bona præcipiunt. Imprimis recitentur leges illæ quæ admonent vos, patres, ne manus vestras cito alicui imponatis, admittatisve ad sacros ordines. Nam illic fons malorum est; quod aperta janua sacerorum ordinum, omnes qui se offerunt, passim sine repulsa admittuntur. Hinc scaturit et emanat ista turba quæ est in ecclesia, et indoctorum et malorum sacerdotum. Non enim, meo iudicio, satis est sacerdoti constructio collectæ, propositio quæstiunculæ, responsio ad sophisma; sed multo magis bona et pura et sancta vita, probati mores, mediocris doctrina scripturarum, aliqua cognitio sacramentorum; ante omnia timor Dei, et amor vitæ cœlestis. Recitentur leges quæ jubent ut beneficia ecclesiastica dignis conferantur, et promotiones fiant in ecclesia recto examine virtutis; non affectione carnali, non acceptatione personarum; quo fit his diebus, ut pueri pro senibus, stulti pro sapientibus, mali pro bonis regant et dominantur. Recitentur leges quæ militant contra symoniacam labem; quæ lues, quæ contagio, quæ dira pestis, late serpit modo, ut cancer, per animos sacerdotum; ut non vereantur plerique his diebus precibus et obsequiis, præmiis, pollicitationibus, comparare sibi magnas dignitates. Recitentur leges quæ jubent personalem residentiam curatorum in ecclesiis suis: nam ex hoc multa mala nascuntur, quod omnia hiis diebus in ecclesia fiunt per operam vicariam, et homines substitutos; et eos quoque inep-tos, et inidoneos, ac sæpe iniquos, qui nihil aliud in plebe nisi sordidum lucrum quærunt; unde scandala, unde hæreses, unde in populo mala Christianitas. Recitentur leges

et sanctæ regulæ traditæ a patribus de vita et honestate clericorum; quæ prohibent ne clericus sit mercator, ne sit fœnerator, ne sit venator, ne sit publicus lusor, ne sit arma gerens; leges quæ prohibent clericis frequentare tabernas, suspectas habere familiaritates cum mulierculis; leges quæ jubent sobrietatem et modestiam in vestibus, et in corporis cultu temperantiam. Recitentur etiam istis dominis monachis et religiosis leges, quæ jubent, ut via larga seculi relicta, incedant arcta via, quæ ducit ad vitam; quæ jubent, ut non insistant negotiis, nec secularibus, nec ecclesiasticis; quæ jubent, ut non litigent in curiis principum pro rebus terrenis. Nam in Calciden. concilio est; monachos se debere tradere duntaxat orationi et jejuniis, et castigationi suæ carnis, et observationi disciplinæ suæ monasticæ. Ante omnia vero recitentur leges quæ pertinent et spectant ad vos, reverendos patres et dominos episcopos. Leges de justa et canonica electione vestra, in capitulis ecclesiarum, cum invocatione divini Spiritus: nam propterea quod hoc non fit his diebus, et quia sæpe eliguntur prælati magis favoribus hominum, quam gratia Dei: idcirco habemus certe nonnunquam episcopos parum spirituales, homines magis mundanos quam cœlestes, sapientes magis spiritum hujus mundi quam spiritum Christi. Recitentur leges de residentia episcoporum in diocesis suis; quæ jubent ut intendant animarum salutem, ut verbum Dei seminent, ut in suis ecclesiis, saltem magnis diebus festis, appareant, ut sacrificent pro populo suo, ut causas pauperum audiant, ut orphanos pupillos, et viduas sustineant, ut semper in operibus pietatis se exercent. Recitentur leges de patrimonio Christi bene distribuendo; leges quæ jubent ut bona ecclesiæ exponantur, non in sumptuosis ædificiis, non in apparatus et pompis, non in conviviis et commensationibus, non in luxu et lascivia, non in ditandis consanguineis, non in alendis canibus, sed in rebus ecclesiæ utilibus et necessariis: nam interroganti Augustino, Anglorum episcopo, quomodo episcopi et prælati Angliæ exponant bona sua quæ sunt fidelium oblationes, respondit papa Gregorius, (et ejus responsio ponitur in Decret. cap. xii. q. secunda,) Bona videlicet episcoporum in quatuor

partes dividi oportere; quarum una pars episcopo et familiæ, altera clericis suis, tertia reparandis ædificiis, quarta pauperibus debeat. Recitentur leges, et iterum atque iterum recitentur leges illæ, quæ tollunt sordes et spurcicias curiarum, quæ amputant istas artes quotidie novas inveniendi lucri; quæ conantur extirpare et eradicare istam tetram avaritiam, quæ est origo et causa omnis mali, quæ est fons totius iniquitatis. Renoventur postremo illæ leges et constitutiones patrum de celebratione conciliorum; quæ jubent, ut provincialia concilia frequentius pro reformatione ecclesiæ celebrentur: nam nunquam accidit ecclesiæ Christi res magis detrimentosa quam omissio conciliorum, tum generalium, tum provincialium. Hiis legibus et hujusmodi aliis recitatis quæ ad rem pertinent, quæque ad correctionem morum spectant; superest ut eadem cum omni autoritate et imperio mandentur executioni, ut habentes legem aliquando secundum legem vivamus. Qua quidem in re vos potissimum, debita cum reverentia, patres appello. Nam ista legum executio, et observatio constitutionum a vobis incipiat oportet, ut vivis exemplis doceatis nos sacerdotes vos imitari. Alioquin certe dicetur de vobis: *Imponunt onera gravia humeris aliorum; ipsi autem ne digito quidem suo volunt ea movere.* Vos autem, si servaveritis leges, sique ad normam et regulam canonum vitam vestram imprimis reformaveritis; tunc dabitis nobis lumen, in quo quid nobis faciendum sit videamus; lumen videlicet optimi exempli vestri; nosque videntes patres nostros servare leges, libenter patrisabimus, id est, vestigia patrum nostrorum sequemur. Reformata autem parte clericali et sacerdotali in ecclesia, possumus tunc justo ordine procedere ad reformationem partis laicalis. Quod quidem facillimum erit factu, si prius nos reformati fuerimus: nam corpus sequitur animam, et quales in civitate rectores, tales inhabitantes in ea. Quapropter si sacerdotes ipsi, animarum rectores, fuerint boni, statim populus sequetur bonus. Bonitas enim nostra docebit eos ut boni sint, clarius quam omnes aliæ doctrinæ et prædicationes: bonitas nostra coget eos in viam rectam, efficacius certe quam omnes vestræ suspensiones et excommunicationes.

Quamobrem si voletis laicos vivere pro voto et voluntate vestra, vos ipsi prius vivite pro voluntate Dei: atque ita (mihî credite) quod volueritis, in eis facile assequemini. Vos vultis obedientiam ab eis. Et justum est; nam in Epistola ad Hebr. sunt verba Pauli ad laicos: *Obedite, inquit, præpositis vestris, et subjacete eis.* Sed si volueritis istam obedientiam, perficite prius in vobis rationem et causam obedientiæ, quam tradit idem Paulus; et sequitur in textu: hoc est; *Pervigilate, rationem reddituri de animabus eorum, et obediet vobis.* Vos vultis honorem a populo: justum est. Nam scribit Paulus ad Timotheum; *Qui bene præsunt presbyteri, duplici honore digni sunt; maxime qui laborant verbo et doctrina.* Cupientes ergo honorem, bene præsedatis prius, et laboretis in verbo et doctrina; et tum vos populus omni honore prosequetur. Vos vultis metere carnalia eorum, et colligere decimas et oblationes sine reluctatione. Justum est: nam dicit Paulus ad Romanos scribens: *Debitorum sunt, et debent in carnalibus ministrare vobis.* Sed volentes metere carnalia eorum, prius seminate vos spiritualia vestra; et tunc abunde carnalia eorum metetis. Nam *durus* est ille homo et injustus, qui vult *metere ubi non seminaverit, et colligere ubi non disperscrit.* Vos vultis libertatem ecclesiasticam, et non trahi ad judicia secularia. Et hoc quoque justum est: nam in Psal. est; *Nolite tangere Christos mcos.* Sed cupientes istam libertatem, solvite vos prius a servitute mundana et ab obsequiis hominum; et vendicate vos in veram libertatem Christi, spiritualem libertatem in gratia peccatis; et servite Deo, et regnate in ipso: et tunc (credatis mihî) populus *non tanget Christos Domini Dei sui.* Vos vultis securitatem, quietem, et pacem. Et hoc decet. Sed volentes pacem, redeatis ad Deum pacis et dilectionis; redeatis ad Christum, in quo est vera pax Spiritus, quæ exuperat omnem sensum; redeatis ad vos, et ad veram vitam sacerdotalem. Atque postremo, quod jubet Paulus, *Reformemini in novitatem sensus vestri, ut sapiatis ea quæ sunt Dei; et pax Dei erit vobiscum.*

Hæc sunt, reverendi patres, vosque viri præclari, quæ de reformatione ecclesiastici ordinis dicenda putavi. Ea, spero,

pro vestra humanitate, in bonam partem accipietis. Quod sicubi forte in sermone hoc modum excessisse videar; siquid intemperantius dixisse; ignoscite mihi: et date veniam homini ex zelo loquenti; homini dolenti ruinam ecclesiæ: et prætermisissis meis ineptiis, considerate rem ipsam. Considerate miseram ecclesiæ formam et statum: et in ejus reformatione totis animis incumbite. Nolite, patres, nolite sinere istum vestrum tam celebrem conventum abire in vanum. Nolite pati istam vestram congregationem elabi in nihilum. Congregamini quidem sæpe. Sed (ut vestra pace, quod verum est, dicam) non video, quis adhuc fructus, præsertim ecclesiæ, ex istiusmodi conventibus sit consecutus. Ite modo in Spiritu quem invocastis, ut ejus auxilio adjuti, in isto vestro concilio possitis ea excogitare, statuere, discernere; quæ sint ecclesiæ utilia; quæ vobis laudi, quæ Deo honori: *cui sit omnis honor et gloria in secula seculorum.* Amen.

THE SERMON

OF

DR. COLETE,

MADE TO THE CONVOCATION AT PAULIS.

YE are come to gether^a to daye, fathers and ryghte wyse men to entre counsell: in the whiche, what ye wyll do, and what matters ye wyll handell, yet we understande nat. But we wysse, that one sremembring your name and profession, ye wold mynde the reformation of the churches matter. For hit was neuer more nede. And the state of the churche dyd neuer desyre more youre endeouours. For the spouse of Christe, the churche, whom ye wolde shulde be without spotte or wrynele, is made foule and euyl fauored, as saith Esaias: *The faithfull cite is made an harlotte*: and as saythe Hieremias: *She hath done lechery with many louers*: wherby she hath conceiued manye sedes of wyckednes, and dayly bryngethe forthe very foule frute. Wherfore I came hyther to day fathers, to warne you, that of this your counsell, with all your mynde, ye thynke upon the reformation of the churche. But for sothe I came nat wyllyngly: for I knewe myne unworthynes. I sawe besyde, how harde it was to please the precise iugement of so many men. For I iuged it vtterly vnworthy and vnmete, ye and almost to malapert, that I a seruant, shulde counsayle my lordes; that I a sonne, shulde teache you my fathers. Truely it had bene meter for some one of the fathers, that is to say, you pre-

^a A more modern translation of this Sermon by T. Smith, B. D. of Cambridge, was printed there 1661,

12mo. with others of Dr. Howard, &c. and notes on it and Erasmus's Life of Colet. GOUGH.

lates myght haue done it with more graue auctorite, and greater wysedome. But the commaundement was to be obeyed of the most reuerent father and lorde, the archebysshoppe, presydent of this councell, whiche layde vpon me this bourden, truly to heuy for me. We rede, that the prophette Samuell sayd: *Obedience is better than sacrifice*. Wherefore fathers and ryghte worthy men, I pray you, and besече you, that this day ye wold susteyne my weakenes with your goodnes and pacience. Farthermore to help me at the begynnyng with your good prayers. And before all thyng let us pray unto God the Father allmyghty. Fyrste remembryng our most holye father the pape, and all spiritual pastours, with all Christen people, farthermore the moost reverent father and lorde, the archebishoppe president of this councell, and al bisshops, and all the clergie, and all the people of Englande: remembryng fynally this youre congregation, desyryng God to inspire your myndes so accordyngly to agre, to suche profyt and frute of the churche that ye seme nat after the councell fynysshed to have been gethered to gether in vayne and without cause. Lette us all saye *Pater noster*.

To exhorte you reuerent fathers to the endeavour of reformation of the churches estate: because that nothyng hath so disfigured the face of the churche, as hath the faction of secular and worldly lyuyng in clerkes and pristes: I knowe nat where more conueniently to take begynnyng of my tale, than of the apostle Paule, in whose temple ye are gathered to gether. For he writyng unto the Romanes, and vnder their name vnto you saith: *Be you not conformed to this worlde: but be you reformed in the newnes of youre understandyng, that ye may prove what is the good wyll of God well pleasing and perfecte*. This dyd the apostle wryte to all Christen men, but most chiefly unto pristes and byshops. Pristes and byshops are the light of the worlde. For vnto them sayde our Sauour: *You are the lyghte of the worlde*^b. And he sayde also: *If the lyghte that is in the be*

^b Sir Thomas More, in his book of Dialogues, fol. 83, speaks thus of this

Sermon. "As I herde onys mayster Colett the good deane of Powlys

darkenes, howe darke shall the darkenes be? That is to say, if pristes and bysshops, that shulde be as lyghtes, ronne in the darke way of the world, howe darke than shall the secular people be? Wherefore saynt Paul sayde chiefly unto pristes and bysshops: *Be you nat conformable to this world, but be ye reformed.* In the whiche wordes the apostle dothe two thinges. Fyrst he doth forbyd that we be nat conformable to the worlde and be made carnall. Farthermore he doth command that we be reformed in the spyryte of God, where by we are spirituall. I entendynge to followe this order, I wyl speke first of conformation, than after of reformation. *Be you nat,* sayth he, *conformable to this worlde.* The apostle calleth the worlde, the wayes and maner of secular lyuyng: the whiche chiefly doth reste in foure euylles of this worlde: that is to say in diuilysh pride, in carnall concupiscence, in worldly couetousnes, in secular busynes: these are in the worlde, as saynt John the apostle witnesseth in his pistell canonicall. For he saythe; *All thyng that is in the worlde, is either the concupiscence of the flesshe, or the concupiscence of the eies, or pryde of lyfe.* The same are nowe and reygne in the church, and in men of the church, that we may seme truely to say, all thyng that is in the church, is either concupiscence of fleshe, or eies, or pryde of life, And fyrste for to speake of pryde of lyfe, howe moche gredynes and appetite of honour and dignitie is nowe a dayes in men of the church? Howe ronne they, ye almost out of brethe from one benefice to an other: from the lesse to the more, from the lower to the hygher? who seethe nat this? who seyng this sorowethe nat? More over these that are in the same dignities the moost parte of them doth go with so stately a countenance and with so hyghe lokes, that they seme nat to be put in the humble bysshoprike of Christ,

“preche. He sayde that yt can be
 “none other, but that we muste ever
 “be one degree under the clergie.
 “For surely as he sayd yt can be no
 “lye that our Sayoure saythe hym-
 “selfe, whyche saythe of them, that
 “they be the salt of the erthe. And
 “yf the salt ouys apalle, the worlde

“must nedys waxe unsavery. And
 “he saythe that they be the lyght of
 “the world. Add then yf the lyght
 “sayth he be darkned, how dark
 “then wyl the darknes be, that ys to
 “wytte all the world besyde, whereof
 “he called the clergie ouely the
 “lyghte.” NORTH.

but rather in the high lordship, and power of the worlde, nat knowynge, nor aduertisinge, what Christe, the mayster of all mekenes, sayd unto his disciples, whome he called to be bysshoppes and pristes: *The princis of people*, sayth he, *haue lordshipp of them: and those that be in auctorite haue power: but do ye nat so: but he that is greater amonge you, let him be minister. He that is highest in dignitie, be he the seruant of al men. The Sonne of man came nat to be mynystred vnto, but to minystre.* By whiche words our Sauour dothe playnly teache, that the maistry in the churche, is none other thyng than a ministration: and the hygh dignitie in a man of the churche to be none other thing than a meke seruice.

The seconde secular euyll is carnal concupiscence. Hath nat this vice so growen and waxen in the churche as a fludde of theyr luste? so that there is nothyng loked for more diligently, in this moost besy tyme, of the most parte of pristes, than that that dothe delite and please the senses? They gyue them selfe to feastes and bankettyng: they spend them selfe in vaine bablyng: they gyue them selfe to sportes and plays: they applye them selfe to huntyng and haukyng: they drowne them selfe in the delytes of the worlde. Procurers and fynders of lustes they set by. Against the whiche kynd of men, Judas the apostle crieth out in his pistle, sayeng: *Wo vnto them whiche haue gone the way of Cain. They are foule and bestly, festing in their meates without feare, feadyng them selfe: fluddes of the wylde see: fomyng out their confusions: vnto whom the storme of darkenes is reserued for euerlastyng.*

Couetousnes is the thyrde secular euyll: the whiche saynt John the apostle calleth *concupiscence of the eies*: saynt Paule calleth hit *idolatrie*. This abominable pestilence hath so entred in the mynde, almoost of all pristes, and so hath blynded the eies of the minde, that we are blynde to all thynges, but onely vnto those, whiche seme to bryng vnto vs some gaines. For what other thinge seke we nowe a dayes in the churche, than fatte benefices and hygh promotions? ye and in the same promotions, of

what other thyng do we passe upon, than of our tithes and rentes? That we care nat howe many, howe chargeful, howe great benefices we take, so that they be of greatte valure. O couetousnes: saint Paule iustly called the *the roote of all euyll*. Of the cometh this heaping of benefices upon benefices: of the so great pensions assigned of many benefices resygned: of the, all the suyng for tithes, for offrynge, for mortuaries, for delapidations, by the ryght and title of the church: for the whiche thing we stryue no lesse than for our owne life: O couetousnes: of the cometh these chargeful visitations of byshops: of the cometh the corruptnes of courtes and these daily neue inuentions: where with the sely people are so sore vexed. Of the cometh the besyte and wantonnes of officials. O couetousnes mother of all iniquitie. Of the cometh this feruent study of ordinaries to dilate theyr iurisdictions: of the cometh this woode and ragenge contention in ordinaries, of the insinuation of testamentes: of the cometh the vndewe sequestration of frutes: of the cometh the superstitious obseruyng of all those lawes, that sounde to any lucre, settinge a syde and dispisyng those that concerne the amendment of maners. What shuld I reherse the reste? To be shorte, and to conlude at one worde: all corruptnes, all the decaye of the church, all the offences of the worlde, come of the couetousnes of pristes. Accordyng to that of saynt Paule, that here I repete agayne, and beate in to your eares: *Couetousnes is the roote of all euyll*.

The fourthe secular euyll, that spotteth and maketh euyll fauored the face of the church, is the continuall secular occupation: wherin pristes and byshops nowe a dayes doth besy them selfe, the seruantes rather of men than of God: the warriours rather of this worlde than of Christe. For the apostle Paule wryteth vnto Timothe: *No man beinge Goddes souldiour, turmoyle hym selfe with seculare busynes*. The warrynge of them is nat carnall but spirituall. For oure warrynge is to pray, to rede and study scriptures, to preache the worde of God, to mynistr the sacraments of helth, to do sacrifice for the people, and to offre hostis for their sinnes. For we are mediatours and means unto God for

men: the whiche saynt Paule wytnessthe, writinge to the Hebrewes: *Euery byshoppe, sayth he, taken of men, is ordeyned for men in those thynges that be unto God, that he may offer gyftes and sacrifices for synnes.* Wherefore those apostels, that were the fyrst pristes and bishops, dydde so moche abhorre from all maner of medlyng of secular thinges, that they wolde nat mynister the meate, that was necessarye to poore people, all though that was a great worke of vertue: but they sayd: *It is nat mete, that we shulde leaue the worde of God, and serue tables: we wyll be continually in prayer, and preachynge the worde of God.* And saynt Paul cryeth vnto the Corinthians: *If you haue any secular besynes, ordeyne them to be iuges, that be mooste in contempt in the churche.* Without dout, of this secularitie, and that clerkes and pristes, (leauynge all spiritualities,) do tourmoyle them selfe with erthly occupations, many cuylls do folowe. Fyrst the dignitie of pristhode is dyshonoured, the whiche is greater than other the kynges or emperours: it is egall with the dignite of angels. But the brightnes of this great dignitie is sore shadowed, whan pristes are occupied in erthly thinges: whose conuersation ought to be in heuen.

Secondarily pristhode is despised, whan there is no difference betwixt such pristes and lay people: but accordynge to the prophecy of Ozee, *As the people be, so are the pristes.*

Thirdly the beautiful ordre, and holy dignite in the churche, is confused, whan the highest in the churche do meddle with vile and erthly thynges: and in theyr stede, vyle and abiecte persons do exercise hygh and heuenly thynges.

Fourthly the laye people haue great occasion of cuylls and cause to fall, whan those men whose dutie is to drawe men from the affection of this worlde by their continuall conuersation in this worlde, teche men to loue this worlde, and of the loue of the worlde cast them downe heedlyng in to hell.

More ouer in suche pristes, that are so besied, there must nedes folowe hypocrisy. For whan they bi so nixte and confused with the lay people, vnder the garment and habite

of a priste, they lyue playnely after the laye facion. Also by spirituall wekenes and bondage feare, whan they are made weake with the waters of this worlde: they dare neyther do nor say, but suche thynges as they knowe to be pleasant and thankfull to their princes. At laste ignorancy and blyndnes, whan they are blynded with the darkenes of this worlde, they se nothing but erthly thynges. Wherefore our sauour Christe nat without cause, dyd warne the prelates of his churche: *Take hede, (sayde he,) lest your hartes be greued with glotony and dronkennes, and with the cares of this worlde, with the cares (saythe he) of this worlde,* wherwith the hartes of pristis beyng sore charged, they canne nat holde and lyfte vp their myndes to high and heuenly thynges.

Many other euils ther be, besyde those that folowe of the secularitie of pristis, whiche were longe here to reherce but I make an ende.

These be the foure euyls that I haue spoken of, O fathers, O pristis, by the whiche we are conformable to this worlde, by the whiche the face of the churche is made euyll fauoured, by the whiche the state of it is destroyed, truly moche more than it was in the begynnyng by the persecution of tyrantes: or afterwarde by the inuasion that folowed of heretykes. For in the persecution of tyrantes, the churche beyng vexed was made stronger and bryghter: in the inuasion of heretykes, the churche beyng shaken, was made wyser and more cunning in holy wrytte. But sens this secularitie was broughte in, after that the secular maner of lyuynge crepte in, in the men of the churche: the roote of all spiritual lyfe, that is to say, charite was extincte: the whiche taken awaye, there can nother wyse nor stronge churche be in God.

In this tyme also we perceyue contradiction of the laye people. But they are nat so moche contrarye vnto us, as we are oure selfe: nor theyr contrarines hurteth nat vs so moche as the contraryes of oure euyll lyfe, the whiche is contrary both to God and Christe. For he sayd: *Who that is nat with me, is agaynst me.*

We are also nowe a dayes greued of heretykes, men mad with marueylous folysshenes: but the heresies of them are nat so pestilent and pernicious vnto vs and the people, as the euyll and wicked lyfe of pristes: the whiche (if we beleue saynt Barnard) is a certeyn kynde of heresy, and chiefe of all, and most perillous. For that same holy father, in a certayne conuocation, preachynge vnto the pristes of his tyme, in a certayne sermon, so he sayde by these wordes. "There be many catholyke and faythful men in speakynge and preachynge, the whiche same men are heretyckes in workyng: for that that heretykes do by euyll teachynge: that same do they throughe euyll example, they leade the people oute of the right way, and brynge them in to error of lyfe. And so moche they are worse than heretyckes, howe moche theyr workes preuaile theyr wordes." This that holye father saynt Barnarde, with a great and a feruent spirite, sayde agaynste the sect of euyll pristes in his tyme: by whiche wordes he shewethe playnly, to be two maner of heresies, the one to be of peruerse teachynge, and the totlier of naughty life. Of whiche this later is worse and more peryllous: the whiche raygneth nowe in the church in pristes, nat lyuynge pristly but secularly, to the vtter and miserable destruction of the church. Wherefore you fathers, you pristes, and all you of the clergie, at the laste loke up and awake frome this youre slepe in this forgetful worlde: and at the laste (beynge well awaked) here Paule crienge vnto you: *Be you nat conformable vnto this worlde.* And this for the first part. Nowe let us come to the seconde.

The seconde part of reformation.

But be you reformed in the newnes of youre vnderstandynge. The seconde thyng that saynt Paule commandeth, is that *we be reformed in to a newe vnderstandynge*, that we smelle those thynges that be of God. Be we reformed vnto those thynges, that are contrary to those I spake af euen nowe: that is to say, to mekenes, to sobernes, to charitie, to spiritual occupation: that as the sayd Paule writeth vnto Titus, *Renyeng all wickednes and worldly desyres, we lyue in this worlde soberly, truly, and vertuously.*

This reformation and restoring of the churches estate muste nedes begynne of you our fathers, and so folowe in vs your priestes, and in all the clergy: you are our heedes: you are an example of lyuing vnto vs. Unto you we loke as vnto markes of our direction. In you and in your lyfe we desyre to rede as in lyuely boke, howe and after what facion we maye lyue. Wherefore if you wyll ponder and loke vpon oure mottis, fyrste take awaye the blockes out of your eies. Hit is an olde prouerbe: *Phisition heale thy selfe*. You spiritual phisicians, fyrst taste you this medicine of purgation of maners: and than after offere vs the same to taste.

The waye, whereby the church maye be reformed in to better facion, is nat for to make newe lawes. For there be lawes many, inowe, and out of nombre, as Salomon saith: *Nothyng is newe vnder the sonne*. For the euils that are nowe in the church, were before in tyme paste, and there is no faute, but that fathers haue prouyded verye good remedies for hit. There are no trespasses, but that there be lawes agaynst them in the body of the canon lawe. Therefore hit is no nede, that newe lawes and constitutions be made: but that those, that are made all redye, be kepte, wherefore in this your assemble, let those lawes, that are made, be called before you and rehersed. Those lawes (I saye) that restrayne vice, and those that furder vertue.

Fyrst let those lawes be rehersed, that do warne you fathers, that ye put nat ouer soone youre handes on euery man, or admitte vnto holy orders. For ther is the well of euils, that the brode gate of holy orders opened, euerye man that offerethe hym selfe, is all where admytted without pullng backe. Therof spryngeth and cometh out the people, that are in the church both of vnlerned and euyll priestes. Hit is nat inoughe for a priste (after my iugement) to construe a collette, to put forth a question, or to answere to a sopheme, but moche more a good, a pure, and a holy life, approued maners, metely lernynge of holye scripture, some knowlege of the sacramentes. Chiefly and aboute all thyng, the feare of God, and loue of the heuenly lyfe.

Lette the lawes be rehersed, that commaunde that benefices of the church be gyuen to those that are worthy: and that promotions be made in the church by the ryghte balance of vertue, nat by carnall affection: nat by the acceptation of persones: wherby hit happenethe nowe a dayes that boyes for olde men, fooles for wise men, euyll for good do reigne and rule.

Lette the lawes be rehersed, that warreth agaynst the spotte of symonie. The whiche corruption, the whiche infection, the whiche cruell and odible pestilence so creepeth nowe abrode, as the canker euyll, in the myndes of pristes, that manye of them are nat aferde now a dayes, both by prayer and seruice, rewardes and promesses, to gette them great dignities.

Lette the lawes be rehersed, that commande personall resydence of curates in theyr churches. For of this many euyls growe: by cause all thynges now a dayes are done by vicaries and parysshe pristes: ye and those foolysshe also, and vnmete: and often tymes wicked: that seke none other thyng in the people than foule lucre, wherof cometh occasion of euyl heresies, and yl Christendome in the people.

Lette be rehersed the lawes and holy rules gyuen of fathers, of the lyfe and honestye of clerkes: that forbydde that a clerke be no marchant, that he be no vsurer, that he be no hunter, that he be no common player, that he bere no weapon.

The lawes that forbydde clerkes to haunte tauernes: that forbydde them to haue suspecte familiaritie with women. The lawes that commaunde sobernes, and a measurableness in aparyle, and temperance in adournyng of the body.

Let be rehersed also to my lordes these monkes, chasons, and religious men, the lawes that commande them to go the straye way, that leadeth vnto heuen: leauyng the brode way of the worlde: that commande them nat to tourmoyle them selfe in busynes, nother secular nor other: that commaunde, that they sewe nat in princis courtes for erthly thynges: for it is in the councel of Calcidinens, that monkes

ought onely to gyue them selfe to prayer and fastyng, and to the chastysyng of their flesshe, and obseruyng of theyr rules.

About all thynges let the lawes be rehersed that pertayne and concerne you my reuerent fathers and lordes, bysshops, lawes of your iuste and canonicall election: in the chaptres of youre churches, with the callyng of the Holy Goste. For by cause that is nat done nowe a dayes, and by cause prelates are chosen often times more be fauour of men than by the grace of God: therefore truly haue we nat a fewe tymes bysshops full litell spirituall, men rather worldly than heuenly, sauouryng more the spirite of this worlde than the spirite of Christe.

Let the lawes be rehersed of the residence of bysshops in theyr diocesis: that commaunde, that they loke diligently, and take hede to the helthe of soules: that they sowe the worde of God: that they shewe them selfe in their churches, at the leest on greatte holye dayes. That they do sacrifice for their people. That they here the causes and matters of poure men: that they susteine fatherles children and wedowes: that they exercise them selfe in workes of vertue.

Let the lawes be rehersed of the good bestowyng of the patrimony of Christe. The lawes that commande that the goodes of the churche be spent, nat in costly byldyng, nat in sumptuous apparell, and pompis: nat in feastyng and bankettyng: nat in excesse and wantonnes: nat in enrichyng of kynsfolke: nat in keypyng of dogges, but in thynges profitable and necessarye to the churche. For whan saynt Augustyne, some tyme bysshoppe of Englande, dyd aske the pope Gregorie, howe that the bysshops and prelates of Englande shulde spende theyr goodes, that were the offringes of faithful people; the said pope answered (and his answer is put in the Decrees, in the xii. chap. and seconde question) that the goodes of bysshops ought to be deuyded in to iiij partes: where of one parte oughte to be to the byshoppe and his householde: an other to his clerkes: the third to repayre and vpholde his tenementes: the fourthe to the poure people.

Let the lawes be rehersed, ye and that often tymes, that take awaye the filthes and vnclenlines of courtes: that take awaye those daylye newe founde craftes for lucre: that besy them to pulle away this foule couetousnes, the whiche is the spring and cause of all euils: the whiche is the well of all iniquitie.

At the last lette be renewed those lawes and constitutions of fathers of the celebration of counceles, that commaunde prouinciall counceles to be oftener vsed for the reformation of the churche. For there neuer hapneth nothyng more hurtefull to the churche of Christe, than the lacke both of councele generall and prouinciall.

Whan these lawes and such other ar rehersed that be for us, and that concerne the correction of maners, there lacketh nothyng, but that the same be put in execution, with all auctoritie and power. That ones (seing we haue a lawe) we liue after the lawe. For the whiche thinges, with al due reuerence, I calle chiefly vpon you fathers. For this execution of the lawes, and obseruing of the constitutions, muste nedes begynne of you, that ye may teache vs pristes to folowe you by lyuely examples: or elles trewely hit wyll be sayde of you: *They lay greuous burdens vpon other mens backs, and they them selfe wyl nat as moche as touche it with their lytell fynger.*

Forsothe if you kepe the lawes: and if you reforme fyrste your lyfe to the rules of the canon lawes, than shall ye gyue vs lyght (in the whiche we maye se what is to be done of our parte) that is to say, the lyghte of your good example: and we seyng oure fathers so keping the lawes wyll gladly folowe the steppes of our fathers.

The clergies and spirituals part ones reformed in the churche, than may we with a iuste order procede to the reformation of the lays parte: the whiche truely wyll be verye easy to do: if we fyrst be reformed. For the bodye foloweth the soule. And suche rulers as are in the cite, lyke dwellers be in it. Wherefore if pristes, that haue the charge of soules, be good: streyghte the people wyll be good. Our goodnes shall teche them more clerely to be good than al

other teachynges and prechynges. Our goodnes shall compel them in to the right way, truly more effectuously, than than all your suspendynges and cursynges.

Wherefore if ye wyl haue the lay people to lyue after youre wysse and wyl: fyrst lyue you your selfe after the wyl of God. And so (trust me) ye shall gette in them what so euer ye wyl.

Ye wyl be obeyed of them, and right it is. For in the epistell to the Hebrewes, these are the wordes of saynt Paule to the laye people. *Obey (saith he) to your rulers, and be you vnder them.* But if ye wyl haue this obedience: first performe in you the reason and cause of obedience: the whiche the sayd Paule dothe teache: and hit foloweth in the texte: that is: *Take you hede also diligently, as though ye shuld gryue a recknyng for theyr soules:* and they wyl obey you.

You wyl be honored of the people: hit is reason. For saint Paule wryteth vnto Timothe: *Pristes that rule well, are worthy double honours, chiefly those that labour in worde and teachyng.* Therefore if ye desyre to be honoured: fyrste loke that ye rule well, and that ye laboure in worde and teachyng: and than shall the people haue you in all honour.

You wyl repe theyr carnall thinges, and gether tithes and offrynges without any stryuyng: right it is. For saint Paule wryting vnto the Romanes, sayth: *They are dettours, and ought to ministre vnto you in carnall thinges:* fyrst sowe you your spirituall thynges: and than ye shall repe plentifully theyr carnall thynges. For truly that man is very harde and vniust, that wyl repe where he neuer dyd sowe: and that wyl gether where he neuer skatered.

Ye wyl haue the churches liberte, and nat to be drawen afore secular iuges, and that also is ryght. For hit is in the Psalmis, *Touche ye nat myne anoynted.* But if ye desire this liberte: fyrst vnlouse your selfe frome the worldlye bondage, and from the seruices of men: and lyfte vp your selfe in to the trewe lybertye, the spirituall lybertye of Christe, in to grace frome synnes, and serue you God, and raygne in

hym. And than (beleue me) the people *wyll nat touche the anoynted of theyr Lorde God.*

Ye wolde be of busines in rest and peace: and that is conuenient. But if ye wyl haue peace, come agayne to the God of peace and loue. Come agayne to Christe: in whom is the very true peace of the goste, the whiche passeth al wytte. Come agayne to your selfe, and to youre pristly lyuynge. And to make an ende, as saynt Paule saythe: *Be you reformed in the newnes of your vnderstandynge, that you sauoure those thynges that are of God: and the peace of God shall be with you.*

These are they reuerent fathers and ryghte famous men, that I thought to be said for the reformation of the churches estate: I trust ye wyl take them of your gentylnes to the best. And if paraunture it be thought, that I haue past my boundes in this sermon, or haue sayd any thyng out of tempre, forgyue hit me: and ye shall forgyue a man speakynge of very zele, to a man sorowynge the decaye of the churche: and consyder the thyng hit selfe, nat regardynge any foolysshenes. Consyder the miserable fourme and state of the churche: and endeuour your selves with all your myndes to reforme it.

Suffre nat fathers, this your so greatte a getherynge to departe in vayne. Suffre nat this your congregation to slyppe for naughte. Truly ye are gethered often tymes to gether (but by youre faouore to speke the trouth) yet I se nat what frute cometh of your assemblyng, namely to the churche.

Go ye nowe in the Spirite that ye haue called on, that by the helpe of hit, ye maye in this your counsell fynd out, decerne, and ordeyne those thynges that may be profitable to the churche, prayse vnto you, and honour vnto God. *Unto whom be all honoure and glorye, for euermore.* Amen.

Thomas Berthelet regius impressor excudebat. Cum priuilegio.

COLETI

EPISTOLÆ SEX.

QUIBUS ACCESSIT

ERASMI EPISTOLA.

EPISTOLA I.

Joannes Coletus Abbati Winchincombensi^a.

ERAT mecum heri vesperi (reverende pater) consacerdos quidam, homo bonus et doctus; et Pauli diligens auditor, et ipsius etiam intime cognoscendi cupientissimus. Ad focum et ignem quum aliquantulum confabulati eramus, is ex sinu suo codicillum, in quo Pauli Epistolæ erant sua ipsius manu diligenter descriptæ, protulit: ad quod ego subridens, et simul hominem laudans, ei dixi illud; *Ubi thesaurus tuus, ibi cor tuum*. Tum ille; “Nihil,” inquit, “in scriptis aut magis “amo, aut admiror, quam quæ ab hoc Paulo conscribuntur.” Et addidit mihi blandiens, homo non infacetus; me meis interpretamentis, superiori termino, cum in se erga apostolum affectum maxime concitasse. Tum ego, aspiciens hominem; “Amo te,” inquam, “mi frater, amantem Paulum, quem “ego quoque, una tecum, unice amo et admiror.” Deinde, quum multa adjungebam de laude, sapientia, et divinitate Pauli; quumque dicebam, “In ejus Epistolis, et in hac, in “omni earum parte admirandissimam esse fecunditatem, et “rerum, et cognitionis; ut advertens homo, et diligenter “considerans, si velit, fere ex omni verbo apostoli possit ad “mirabiles et notandissimas sententias depromere:” tum

^a I take this abbot to be John Kidderminster, abbot of Winchcomb; a learned man. See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* p. 20.

ille, hoc dicto quasi incensus; "At," inquit, "te quæso,
 " nunc nobis deprome aliquid, dum sedemus ociosi, et ex
 " hoc thesauro abscondito, quem dicis tantum esse, erue ali-
 " quot propositiones, et effer in lucem; partim, ut ex hoc
 " nostro consessu et consermocinatione habeam aliquod quod
 " memoriæ meæ commendem; partim etiam, ut ipse quo-
 " que per me legens Paulum solus, possim aliquam adver-
 " tendi et notandi rationem, te imitatus, quæ potissimum
 " sunt notanda, tenere." Tum ego inquam; "Vir optime,
 " morem tibi geram: aperi libellum tuum, et in primo ca-
 " pite Epistolæ quæ est ad Romanos solo, quot et quantæ
 " et quam aureæ sententiæ colligi possunt, experiamur."
 "At," inquit ille, "ne memoria excidant, volis me scribere
 " etiam quæ dicis?" "Scribe," inquam, "ad hunc modum."
 Itaque, reverende pater, quæ ille me dictante scripsit, volui
 ad te describere, ut tu quoque, omnis sanctioris sapientiæ
 ardentissimus amator, videas quid leviter in Paulo nostro,
 ad hibernum ignem sedentes modo annotabamus tantum in
 primo capite quæ est ad Romanos; quæ sunt ea quæ se-
 quuntur. "Credere Christo est ex gratiosa vocatione:
 " evangelizare Christum est ex segregatione. Paulus a
 " Christo ipso legatus et missus fuit. Omnes vero Christi-
 " ani dilecti sunt a Deo, et sancti. Gratia et pax cum Deo
 " est, quæ maxime exoptetur a Deo. Gaudendum maxime
 " est et gratulandum de fide hominum visendi sunt alii.
 " Ad fructum et emolumentum fidei prædicatoris verbi Dei
 " est docere universos. De evangelio nusquam, et nunquam,
 " et nullo modo pudendum est. Potens justificatio homi-
 " num a Deo ostenditur in evangelio. Credens et confidens
 " Deo justus est: confidens creaturis quibuscunque impius
 " et injustus est: unde justitia Deo confidentia est; inju-
 " stitia aliis confidentia, quæ est conjuncta cum diffidentia
 " Deo. Cujusmodi est fides, talis est cultus Dei. Cuique
 " alii a Deo confidere idololatria est. Ex confidentia soli
 " Deo verus Dei cultus nascitur. Cognoscere Deum quoquo
 " modo, et non eundem colere, maxima et odiosissima impie-
 " tas est. Deus in creaturis suis loquitur, et per eas seipsum
 " hominibus ostendit. Deum discere in suis creaturis, ut

“ philosophantes conantur, et eundem non colere, non modo
 “ non prodest, sed maxime nocet; unde sequitur, quod me-
 “ lius sit ignorare Deum, quam eundem quoquo modo co-
 “ gnitum non amare et colere. Impietatis id est. Quod
 “ Deus non colitur, nulli hominum excusatio esse potest:
 “ omnes nationes et gentes ab initio mundi Deum non co-
 “ lentes impietatis condemnabuntur. Cognitum si habes
 “ Deum quoquo modo, si eundem non colueris e vestigio,
 “ excæcatur mens, et cognitio evanescit. In summa stul-
 “ titia solet esse maxima opinio sapientiæ, et hominis pluri-
 “ mi-factio sui. Maximum argumentum stultitiæ est te
 “ ipsum putare sapientem. Ex impietate negligentiaque
 “ Dei ignorantia exorta est. Ex impietate, ignorantia, ut a
 “ fonte, omne malum profluxit. Impii deserunt Deum: de-
 “ serentes Deum a Deo deseruntur: deserti a Deo præcipi-
 “ tantur, in omne scelus corruunt. Mala sunt ex perversa
 “ voluntate, perversa voluntas ex ignorantia, ignorantia ex
 “ impietate. Impietas est ipsa Dei negligentia: negligentes
 “ autem Deum [a Deo] negliguntur; neglecti a Deo mille
 “ modis depercut. Ex perversitate voluntatis sequitur
 “ etiam naturæ perversio. Cum peccato simul pœna pec-
 “ cati, ut ejus merces, crescitur. Ultimus peccati finis æter-
 “ na mors, qua peccatores sunt digni. Pari morte sunt
 “ digni et qui aberrant a Deo, et qui meliora cognoscentes,
 “ sinunt tamen homines aberrare. Est cognoscentis rectam
 “ viam, aliis monstrare viam, et ad viam incessanter revo-
 “ care, ne ipsi cum aliis periclitentur.” Hæc excerptimus,
 et notavimus subito, venerande pater, ut modo dixi, ex pri-
 mo capite Epistolæ ad Romanos. Quæ non sunt omnia quæ
 notari possunt. Nam in *salutatione* etiam colligi potest,
 Christum vaticiniis prophetarum fuisse promissum; Christum
 esse Deum et hominem; Christum homines sanctificare, per
 Christum resurrectionem tum animarum tum corporum esse;
 et adhuc innumerabilia alia sunt, quæ in eo capite primo
 continentur, quæ homo linceis oculis facillime introspectat,
 et si velit, possit effodere. Ut pelagus quoddam infinitum
 sapientiæ et pietatis mihi unus videtur Paulus esse. Sed ea
 paucula, isto modo posita, breviter delibasse suffecit consa-

cerdoti illi nostro, qui aliquas sententias excudi voluit rotunde, et quasi annulos, ex aurea Pauli materia effingi. Quæ, ut vides, ad te descripsi mea propria manu, ut tua mens, optime pater, bonitate aurea, tanquam ex quodam specimine, quantum est aurum in Paulo reconditum, agnoscas. Volo etiam dominus Gardianus hæc una tecum legat: cujus animus est tanta humanitate, et amore omnis boni præditus, ut quicquid sit in bonis, in eo arbitror quam plurimum delectari. Vale, optime et mihi charissime pater.

Tuus Joannes Colet.

Hanc nostram chartulam, quum legeris quæ in ea continentur, patieris tunc eam nos rursus habere: quoniam ejus exemplum apud me non habeo; et quanquam non soleo apud me epistolas meas servare, nec possum, quia ut primo scribuntur, a me dantur, nullo earum exemplo retento; tamen, si quæ sunt quæ aliquid in se doctrinæ habent, eas omnino perdi nolim: non quod sunt dignæ aliqua custodia, sed quod a me relictæ aliquam meam memoriam possunt adjuvare. Etiam si qua alia sit causa, cur conservari velim quas scilicet ad te scribo epistolas; ea est una, vel maxima certe, quod ipsæ testes perpetue velim permanent meæ erga te observantiæ.

Iterum vale.

This epistle is transcribed out of the original MS. in the public library of the university of Cambridge, and was never printed before.

EPISTOLA II.

Joannes Coletus Erasmo suo S. D.

NON facile credideris, Erasme, quanta me lætitia affecit epistola tua, quam modo ad me attulit unoculus noster: nam ex ea intellexi ubinam locorum es, quod ante ignorabam; ex eadem etiam videris mihi reversurus ad nos, quod erit mihi, et amicis quos habes hic quam plurimos, gratissi-

mum. Quod scribis de Novo Testamento, intelligo. Et libri novæ editionis tuæ hic avidè emuntur, et passim leguntur; multis probantibus et admirantibus tua studia: nonnullis etiam improbantibus, et carpentibus, et ea dicentibus quæ in epistola Martini Dorpii ad te scripta continentur. Sed hi sunt theologi illi, quos tu in *Moria* tua, et aliis locis, non minus vere quam facete describis; a quibus laudari vituperium est, et vituperari laus est. Ego vero ita amo tua studia, et istam tuam novam editionem ita amplector, ut in eadem varie afficiar. Nam nunc dolor me tenet, quod non didicerim Græcum sermonem, sine cujus peritia nihil sumus: nunc gaudeam in ista luce, quam tu ex sole tui ingenii emisisti. Profecto, Erasme, miror fecunditatem pectoris tui; qui tot concipis, et tanta parturis, et tam perfecta paris quotidie; maxime nullo loco stabilis, nullis certis et magnis stipendiis adjutus. *Hieronymum* tuum expectamus, qui multum tibi debet; et nos quoque, qui per te legemus eum, nunc et emendatum et illustratum. Recte fecisti, scribens de *Institutione Principis Christiani*. Utinam principes Christiani sequerentur bonas institutiones. Illorum insaniis interturbantur omnia. Libellum illum valde cupio, propterea quod plane scio, uti alia tua omnia, prodibit libellus ille abs te perfectus. Quod scribis de Germania, credo. Quod autem mea verba de eadem, et testimonium tam multis ante annis dictum citas, miror te memoria tenere. De tranquilla sede quam scribis te optare, ego quoque eandem tibi opto, et tranquillam et felicem: nam et ista tua ætas et doctrina exposcit. Opto etiam, ut ista tua sedes ultima esset apud nos, si te, tanto viro, digni essemus: sed quales sumus, expertus es sæpius: tamen habes hic, qui te summopere colunt. Cantuariensis noster, cum eram apud illum, his diebus, de te multa locutus, valde cupivit præsentiam tuam. Is, homo absolutus omni negotio, nunc degit in otio felicissimo. De *Philosophatione Christiana* quod scribis, verum est. Nemo est (credo) in orbe jam Christiano ad illam professionem et negotium te aptior, et magis idoneus, propter multifariam tuam doctrinam: quod ipse non scribis; sed ego hoc dico, quod sentio. Legi quod in primum Psalmum scripsisti;

et miror tuam copiam. Desidero quæ molitus es in Epistolam ad Romanos. Non cessa, Erasme; sed quum dederis nobis Novum Testamentum Latinis, illustra idem tuis Expositionibus, et ede Commentaria longissima in Evangelia. Tua longitudo est brevitatis. Crescet appetitus, modo stomachus sit sanus: in lectione tuorum amantibus scripturas, si aperueris sensus, (quod nemo te melius faciet,) magnum beneficium conferes; et nomen tuum immortalitati commendabis. Quid dico, immortalitati? Nomen Erasmi nunquam peribit: sed gloriæ dabis nomen tuum sempiternæ; et sudans in Jesu, vitam tibi comparabis æternam. Quod deploras fortunam tuam, non fortiter. In tanto negotio, videlicet in declarandis scripturis, non poterit tibi fortuna deesse; modo speres in Deo, qui te in primis adjuvabit, stimulatque alios, ut te in sanctissimis studiis adjuvent. Quod me exclamas felicem, demiror, si de fortuna loqueris, ut non est nulla mea, ita non est ampla, et meis sumptibus vix sufficiens. Ego me beatum putarem, si vel in summa egestate millesimam partem tuæ doctrinæ et sapientiæ possiderem, quam tu sine opibus comparasti; docens doctrinam singularem alia via, nescio qua, sed tua ista Erasmica, &c. Applicabo me, si patieris, et adjungam lateri tuo; exhibeboque me tibi discipulum etiam in discendo Græcæ, quanquam jam proventus ætate, et prope senex, memor Catonem senem Græcas literas didicisse; agnoscens etiam te, qui es mecum par ætate et annis, nunc Hebraicis literis te dare. Me, ut facis, ama; et si ad nos reversus fueris, habebis me tibi deditissimum. Vale, ex rure Stepneptiano apud genetricem; quæ adhuc vivit, et belle senescit, et de te sæpius hilarem et jucundam facit mentionem. In die sancti Edwardi, in festo suæ translationis, sive 13. Octobris, anno 1516.

EPISTOLA III.

Joannes Coletus dom. Erasmo S.

ERASME charissime, accepi literas tuas Basileæ scriptas 3 cal. Septembris. Gaudeo, quod intelligimus ubinam lo-

corum es, et sub quo cœlo vivis; gaudeo etiam, quod va-
les: fac votum persolvas Paulo, ut inquis, factum. Ma-
guntiaë tanti te factum fuisse, quantum scribis, facile credo:
gaudeo te reversurum aliquando ad nos. Tamen non possum
id sperare. De uberiore fortuna tibi nescio quid dicam;
nescio, quod qui possunt, nolunt, qui volunt non possunt.
Tui hic omnes valent: Cantuariensis semper est solita sua-
vitate, Lincolnensis, regnat nunc Eboracensis, Londinen-
sis non cessat vexare me. Quotidie meditor meum secessum
et latibulum apud Cartusienses nidus noster prope per-
fectus est: reversus ad nos, quantum conjicere possum,
illie mortuum mundo me reperies. Tu cura ut valeas; et
quo te conferes, fac sciam. Vale. Ex Londino, 20 Octobris,
anno 1516. [Edit. Lugd. Bas. 1703. tom. iv.]

*This and the following epistle were in no edition of Eras-
mus's Epistles, till printed in the magnificent edition of his
works at Leyden, 1702. fol.*

EPISTOLA IV.

Joannes Colctus Erasmo Rot. S.

PROFECTO, Erasme charissime, de te nihil accepi novi
post tuum hinc decessum. Quod si postea quippiam intellex-
ero, faciam (quod jubes) te certiorem. Eram his diebus
ruri apud meam genetricem; ut consolarer dolentem de
morte servi mei, qui interiit in domo illius; quem dilexit
loco filii, et flevit mortem illius, plusquam mortem filii sui.
Ea nocte, qua revertabar ad urbem, accepi epistolam tuam.
Unum tibi significo ridiculum; quendam episcopum, (uti ac-
ceperam,) et eum qui habetur ex sapientioribus, in magno
hominum conventu, nostram scholam blasphemasse; dixisse-
que, me erexisse rem inutilem, imo malam, imo etiam (ut
illius verbis utar) "domum idololatriæ." Quod quidem ar-
bitror eum dixisse, propterea quod illic docentur poetæ. Ad
ista, Erasme, non irascor; sed rideo valde. Franciscus re-

versus exegit librum; ad diem S. Joannis voluit me custodire. Mitto ad te libellum, in quo est Oratio. Impressores dixerunt se missuros Cantabrigiam aliquot. Vale, memor illorum carminum pro pueris nostris; quæ velim conficias omni facilitate et suavitate. Cura et alteram partem tuæ *Copiæ* habeamus.

EPISTOLA V.

Joannes Coletus domino Erasmo S.

SUBIRASCOR tibi, Erasme, quod me literis ad alios, non ad me datis, salutas: nam quanquam non diffido amicitiae nostræ, tamen ista aliena et in alienis literis salutatio facit, ut alii minus me abs te amari judicent. Item alio nomine subirascor tibi; quod ad Roffensem misisti *Cabalistica Reuchlini*, et non ad me. Non quod noluerim misisse ad cum; sed quod voluerim, simul ad me unum librum misisses: tam enim delector amore tuo, ut doleam quando video te minus memorem esse mei, quam aliorum. Liber ille prius venit ad manus meas; priusque a me percursus est, quam datus est Roffensi. De quo libro non audeo judicare. Agnosco inscitiam meam; et qui cæcus sum in rebus tam remotis, et in opibus tanti viri. Quanquam, inter legendum, nonnunquam visa fuerint mihi majora miracula verborum quam rerum; nam (ut docet) nescio quid mysterii habeant Hebraica verba in characteribus et combinationibus. Erasme, librorum et scientiæ non est finis: nihil melius pro hac brevi vita, quam ut sancte et pure vivamus; ac quotidie dare operam ut purificemur, et illuminemur, et perficiamus quæ promittunt ista *Reuchlini Pythagorica et Cabalistica*. Sed, meo judicio, nulla via assequemur, quam ardenti amore et imitatione Jesu. Quare relictis ambagibus, ad breviter breviter compendio eamus; ego pro viribus volo. Vale. Ex Londino, anno 1517.

EPISTOLA VI.

Joannes Coletus Erasmo Rot. S. P.

QUID non probabo? ita scribis. Quid est Erasmi, quod non probem? Legi epistolam istam tunc de Studiis cursum; quoniam pedetentim, per occupationes, adhuc non licet. Inter legendum non solum probō omnia, sed admiror sane et ingenium tuum, et artem, et doctrinam, et copiam, et eloquentiam. Sæpe optavi ad istum modum instituerentur pueri scholæ nostræ, quemadmodum diffiniisti faciendum esse. Sæpe etiam optavi, tales esse præceptores, quales sapientissime descripsisti. Quando veni ad eum locum in extrema epistola tua, ubi profiteris te paucioribus annis posse adolescentes perducere ad mediocrem utriusque linguæ eloquentiam, quam isti literatores ad balbutiem; O Erasme, quam tunc optavi te præceptorem in nostra schola! Sed habeo spem te allaturum nobis aliquid adjumenti, vel instituendis præceptoribus nostris, quando discesseris ab istis Cantabrigiensibus. Servabo exempla tua, ut jubes, integra. De Linacro nostro faciam quod consulis, et amanter, et prudenter. Non desinas nobis perquirere hypodidasculum; si istic sit aliquis talis, qui non superbiat, quique non dignetur sub primo magistro esse. Quod scribis dimicare te nonnunquam mei causa cum istis Scoti militibus; gaudeo me habere talem pugilem, et propugnatorem mei. Sed est iniquum certamen, et inglorium: quid enim laudis est tibi, si abegeris et confoderis muscas? Quid gratiæ promereberis a me, si prostraveris arundines? Est dimicatio magis necessaria quam magnifica aut strenua; at utcunque probat sollicitudinem, et amabilem curam, quam habes mei. Perge, Erasme, in dando nobis Basilio, qui dabis nobis Esaiam. Bene facies, meo iudicio, et tibi optime consulis, si imiteris Diogenem; et paupertate delectatus, te regem regum esse; forsā contentu nummorum nummos, et fortunam assequere. In viris Christianis mundus sequitur fugientes. Unde tot facultates et opes in ecclesia, nisi ex fuga? Sed scio, non placent tibi ista paradoxa. Quod scribis de Ri-

chardo Croco, miror. Quid ego cum pecuniis aliorum? Unde iudices, aut suspicere, apud me esse pecunias, quoquo modo mihi creditas? Non adsto morituris, non blandior pecuniosis viduis, non immisceo me in testamentis divitum, non quæro familiaritates locupletum, non laudo peccata eorum, non jubeo redimant scelera sua pecuniis arbitrio meo positis. Crede, apud nos qui non est id genus hominum, non facile habebit pecunias eleemosynarias. Ego meas solum pecunias tracto; quas in quam partem effundo, tu nosti. Sed subrisi, Erasme, et simul amavi istam tuam innatam simplicitatem, quod in ista odiosa tua mendicitate egisti potius causam aliorum quam propriam. Summa est, ut nihil habeam alienæ pecuniæ pro aliis, ita si humiliter mendicaveris, habeo aliquid propriæ et meæ pecuniæ pro te; quod si petas inverecunde, paupertas paupertatem saltem pauperrime adjuvabit. Vale; et sæpe, te quæso, ad me scribito. Tuus Jo. Coletus. Londino, anno 1513.

ERASMI EPISTOLA.

Erasmus Rot. Joanni Coletto S. P.

PRÆCEPTOR optime, et miror et doleo, Coclitem huc sine tuis venisse literis. Is tuo nomine mecum expostulat, quod nihil scribam. Imo jam, opinor, excusavi me tibi, quod et rarius et brevius scribam, et tuo otio gratulatus sum, qui crebras ac longas literas nostras flagites. Crede mihi, Colete, tot epistolis hic interpellor episcoporum, magnatum, eruditorum, amicorum, ex Italia, Hispania, Germania, Gallia, ut si nihil alioqui mihi sit negotii, non sim tamen huic uni negotio suffecturus. Redamare possum omnes, respondere singulis non possum. De Grocini morbo, ex animo dolco, qualis qualis in me fuit. O rem indignam! ejusmodi ingenia, neque senium, neque mortem sentire: sed hæc incommoda magis sentiunt immortalitate digni. Cogor ob Novum Testamentum excudendum, aliaque nonnulla, aut Basileam adire, aut, quod magis opinor futurum, Ve-

netias: nam a Basilea partim deterret pestis, partim Lachneri mors, cujus impendiis res potissimum agebatur. Tantum iter, inquires, suscipis, senex, valetudinarius, tum hoc sæculo, quo non aliud fuit sceleratius intra sexcentos annos? tanta prædonum ubique licentia? Sed quid facias? His fatis sum natus. Si immoriar, immoriar operi non omnino malo, ni fallor. Sin hoc extremo fabulæ actu ex sententia confecto redire contigerit, quod reliquum erit vitæ apud vos agere statui; is erit meus ab orbe undique inquinato secessus. Regnant in omnibus principum aulis personati theologi. Curia Romana plane perfricuit frontem: quid enim impudentius his assiduis condonationibus? Et nunc bellum prætexitur in Turcas, cum re id agatur ut Hispani depellantur a Neapoli: nam Laurentius nepos Campaniam sibi vindicare conatus, filia Navarræ regis in uxorem ducta. Qui tumultus si procedant, tolerabilius fuerit Turcarum imperium, quam horum Christianorum ferre. Sed facessant inutiles querimoniam. Habeo gratiam, quod apud regem negotium meum amanter agere cœperis; atque perficias, rogo: nam viatico amplo nunc opus est, ne desit, si quid forte acciderit, eorum quæ solent homini; et est animus nostram bibliothecam augere. Quid hoc est? toties a me captatus est rex, et reverendissimus, toties retia fallunt? Montjouis tantum amat: idque sane est aliquid; sed nihil ad hanc profectio-nem. Queritur, ut audio, quod non acceperim conditionem nuper a rege oblatam. Oblatæ sunt libræ quadraginta; et centum libras me sperare voluit: rem vero novam, voluit ut sperarem, quod illi non ausi sunt promittere; toties jam expertus, non præstita fuisse, non dicam promissa, sed dejera-ta. Demirror neque Franciscum, neque Unoculum quicquam literarum tuarum huc retulisse: sed ille suum est solitus agere negotium: et Petro non fuit otium a computationibus; adeo ut cum Antuerpian appulisset, non licuerit hominem primo die convenire, ita vino erat sepultus. Nunc meum ipsius famulum istuc misi, qui mihi certiora de singulis referat: rogo ne inanis ad nos redeat, et redeat quam fieri potest celerrime; siquidem una hæc res moratur meam profectio-nem. Adhibe ad negotium Tunstallum, hominem

vere amico amicum. Pecuniam ex consilio Sixtini jube deponi apud Maruffum, qui ministro det syngrapham, qua liceat ubivis recipere, et quam minimo damno. D. Ursewicus ante annum promisit equum, et hac spe Novum Testamentum illi donavi; quod si scirem illi rem cordi non esse, non sollicitarem hominem: si videtur, scribe illi duo verba per famulum meum. Gratulor tibi, qui Mariam habeas domi, turbulentum, inquam, illum hominem: quem ut meis verbis diligenter salutes majorem in modum, te rogo; nam et amo illum ex intimis animi affectibus, et debeo plurimum; ille me suis precibus fulcit, ille epistolis et consolatur, et admonet. Si quid forte fuerit famulo meo, rogo ne tua benignitas illi velit deesse. Vale.

Lovanio, anno 1518.

A COLLECTION

OF

MISCELLANIES

RELATING TO

THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

Number I.

Sir Henry Colet's single bond, on the behalf of the city of London, in the treaty of peace and intercourse between England and Flanders, anno Dom. 1496. never before printed.

TO all Chrysten people these present letters beholding or heryng Henry Colet knyght nowe mayor of the cite of London in the relme of England helth in oure Lorde everlastynge. Where as bi twene the high and myghty prynce my soveragne lorde Henry by the grace of God kyng of England and of France and lorde of Irelande on that one partye and the noble prynce Philyp tharchduke of Austrey and duke of Burgoyne on that other party certayne treatyes of amyte and entrecourse of merchandysing and other communicacyon of merchaunts concernynge the profyete of both prynces theyr relmes and subyettes the xxiiii daye of the moneth of Februarye last past at London wer finally concluded and determyned. Knowe ye me the sayd Henry at the requeste and commaundment of my said soveraigne lorde, and at the contemplacyon of his lettres to me in that behalfe directed and delyvered of good fayth to have promysed and me and myn heyr to the sayd prynce Phelyp tharchduke to his heyr and successours under plegge and bonde of all my goods present and to come, to have bounde

and by thes presentes promyse and bynde, that I shall procure instaunce and as moche as in me is shall doo that the same my lord the kyng his heyres and successours all the sayd entrecourse and anyte and all and singuler in the same conteyned and specyfied well fully and truly shall holde observe and fullfille and by his subyettes and servaunts in that theym concerne and hereafter shall concerne well and truly shall doo to be holdyn observed and fullfyled and to the contrariant doers and brekers of the same shall ministre or doo to be ministred justyce. In wisse whereof the seale of armes of me the same Henry to these presents I have put wryten at London the fyrst daye of the moneth of Maye in the year of our Lord God MCCCCXCVI. and the xi yere of the reygne of my sayd soveragn lord Henry the VII. [MS. Cotton. Vitellius. A. 16.]

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Number II.

ANGLIA

Status omn' fructuum proventuum et reven'onum tam omn' et singulorum beneficiorum ecclesiastic' quam omn' et singulorum dominiorum maner' terr' et ten'orum de jure hereditario d'no Joh. Colett sacre theologie professori decano eccl'ie cath' sancti Pauli London pertinen' et spectan' et que sen'lo hospicii sui pro expensis ejusdem hospicii idem decanus assignavit et unde rec' balliui firmarii et alii ministri eorundem computabiles pro anno finito ad f'm sancti Mich'is arch'i anno regni dn'i regis nunc Henr' VIIi xxiiii^o responsur' sunt videl't

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^a A mistake for Norf.

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N. B. *The casting up of sums is not always exact in originals.*

The preceding account is taken out of a manuscript writ in the dean's days, now in the hands of the family.

Number III.

The testament of Doctor John Colet, A. D. 1511, for the endowment of S. Paul's school.

IN Dei no'ne Amen quarto die mensis Novembr' anno Dom' mill'mo quingentesimo undecimo et anno regni regis Henrici octavi post conq'm tercio ego Johannes Colet sacre theologie doctor decanus ecclesie cathedral' sancti Pauli London' civis et mercerus London' ac liber homo ejusdem civitatis filiusque et heres Henrici Colet militis civis dum vixit et aldermanni London' condo facio et ordino presens testamentum meum quo ad dispositionem omn' et singulorum mesuag' terr' et ten' meorum subscript' cum eorum pertinen' infra civitatem London' in hunc qui sequitur modum In primis lego et recomendo a'imam meam Deo om'ipotenti Creatori et Salvatori meo beateque Marię matricque ejus Item ego prefatus Johannes Colet do et lego custodibus et co'tati mister' mercerie civitat' London' omnia mesuagia

terr' et ten' mea subscript' videl't unum mesuagium cum do' ibus shopis celar' solar' et om'ibus aliis suis pertin' situat' jacen' et existen' in Soperslane in parochiis sancti Antonini et sancti Pancracii in warda de Cordewanerstrete London' inter venellam vocat' Soperslane ex parte orien' et tenem' prioris et conventus hospitalis beate Marie de Elsyng London' et ten' pertinen' eccl'ie pariochal' de Colchirehe London' ex parte occiden' et ten' eccl'ie beate Marie de Arcubus London' ex parte austral' et aleiam sive introitum ib'm ducentem a Soperslane predict' usque ad posterior' portam mesuagii dictorum prioris et conventus ex parte borial' Continetque idem mesuagium meum per terr' in longitudine in parte oriental' inde juxta Soperslane predict' inter boriam et austrum centum et septendecem pedes et unum pollicem assise et in latitudine in parte borial' juxta dictam aleiam sive introitum inter orientem et occiden' octoginta sex pedes et quinque pollices assise et continet in longitudine in parte austral' inde per tria separal' frontispicia sive separales angulos nonaginta et tres pedes et quatuor pollices assise Interius sive posterius quorum quidem trium frontispiciorum sive angulorum continet in longitudine per austrum viginti novem pedes et dimid' et tres pollices assise Mediumque frontispicium sive angulus inde continet in longitudine per austrum viginti et quinque pedes assise Et anterius frontispicium sive angulus inde continet in longitudine per austrum triginta novem pedes et dimidium assise Que faciunt dictam longitudinem nonaginta quatuor pedum et trium pollic' Et continet interius sive posterius frontispicium dictorum trium frontispiciorum in latitudine in fine occidental' inde quadraginta quatuor pedes et tres pollices assise Et medium frontispicium inde continet in latitudine ad finem occidental' versus austrum plusquam dict' interius frontispicium per viginti et sex pedes septem pollic' et dimidium assise Ac interius frontispicium inde continet in latitudine ad finem occidental' inde versus austrum plusquam medium frontispicium per quatuordecim pedes et duos pollices assise Ac etiam omnia illa sex tenementa mea cum eorum pertinen' situat' ad invicem in p'ochia sancti Georgii in Podynglane juxta Estechepe

in warda de Belyngesgate London' inter ten' deca' et capituli dict' eccl'ie sancti Pauli London' ex parte oriental' et venellam vocat' Podynglane ex parte occident' et venellam vocat' saint Gorges lane ex parte austral' et ten' mistere de les Salteres London' vocat' le Scaldynghous alias dict' Fannershalle ex parte borial' Acquidem sex tenementa cum pertinent' continet per terram in longitudine in austral' parte [inde] juxta d'cam venellam vocat' saint Gorges lane inter orientem et occiden' quinquaginta octo pedes et sex pollices assise et in longitudine in borial' parte inde juxta dict' ten' vocat' le Scaldyngge hous inter orientem et occidentem septuaginta pedes assise et in latitudine ad finem occidental' inde juxta Podynglane predict' triginta sex pedes et tres pollices assise et in latitudine ad finem oriental' inde inter boriam et austrum viginti sex pedes et octo pollices assise Necnon om'ia illa duo mesuagia mea cum eor' pertinent' situat' et jacen' in parochia sancti Magni Martiris in warda pontis London' unde unum mesuagium inde situat' et jacet inter regiam stratam ib'm vocat' Briggestrete ex parte oriental' parte inde juxta dc'am stratam vocat' Briggestrete inter austrum et boriam decem pedes et quinque pollices assise et regiam viam ib'm vocat' Thamisestrete ex parte borial' Et continet in longitudine in oriental' parte inde juxta dict'm stratam vocat' Briggestrete inter austrum et boriam decem pedes et quinque pollices assise et in longitudine in occidental' parte inde inter austral' et boriam decem pedes et tres pollices ac dimid' assise et in latitudine ad finem borial' juxta Thamisestrete predict' novem pedes et octo pollices assise Et in latitudine ad finem austral' inde inter orien' et occiden' novem pedes septem pollic' et dimid' assise Et aliud messuagium inde situat' et jacet in Briggestrete predict' inter stratam de Briggestrete ex parte orien' et tenement' nuper Johannis Brunshop et Augnetis uxoris ejus et ten' nuper de d'ne Alicie Taillard ex partibus occiden' et austral' et ten' nuper Ricardi Cokkys et Leticie uxoris ejus ex parte borial' Et continet in longitudine in borial' parte inde inter orientem et occiden' sexdecim pedes et septem pollices assise et in longitudine in parte austral' inde inter orientem et occiden' quin-

decim pedes et octo pollices assise et in latitudine ad finem oriental' inde juxta Briggestrete predict' decem pedes sex pollices et dimid' assise et in latitudine ad finem occidental' inde inter boriā et austrum novem pedes et septem pollices assise Que quidem messuagia terr' ac ten' ac cetera premissa cum eorum pertinen' nuper fuerunt predicti Henrici Colet patris mei et que per et post mortem ipsius Henrici Colet jure hereditar' mihi descendebant Ac in que omnia et singula mesuag' terr' et ten'ta ego prefatus Joh'es Colet jure hereditar' nuper intravi ac inde plenam et pacificam possessionem et sei'nam cepi Ac in hujusmodi possessione mea inde hucusque continuaui et de eisdem mesuagio terr' et ten' ac ceteris premissis cum eorum pertinen' ad presens solus seisitus existo in domin' meo ut de feodo Habend' et tenend' om'ia predict' mesuag' ac cetera premissa cum eorum pertinen' præfatis custodibus et co'itati mistere predictæ et successoribus suis imperp'm de capitalibus d'nis feod' ill' per servit' inde debet' et de jure consuet' pro continuatione cujusdam scole in cimiter' d'ce eccl'ie sancti Pauli pro pueris in eadem scola in bonis moribus et l'ratur' erudiend' et pro sustentat' unius magistri et unius hostiar'ii vel duorum hostiariorum ejusdem scole Ac ad alia opus usus, et intentiones content' et specificat' siue continend' et specificand' in quibusdam indentur' inter prefatos custodes et co'item ex [una] parte et me prefatum Joh'em Colet ex altera parte de et super premissis inter alia confect' sive conficiend' In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui hiis testibus.

Number IV.

Des. Eras. Rot. concio de puero Jesu pronunciata a puero in nova schola Joannis Coleti, per eum instituta Londini, in qua præsidet imago pueri Jesu, docentis specic.

PUER apud pueros verba facturus de ineffabili puero Jesu, non optarim mihi Tullianam illam eloquentiam, quæ brevi atque inani voluptate aures deliniat. Quantum enim

abest Christi sapientia a sapientia mundi, (abest autem immenso intervallo,) tantum oportet Christianam eloquentiam a mundana differre eloquentia. Sed illud una mecum ardentibus votis impetretis velim ab optimi Jesu patre Deo, a quo ceu fonte bonorum omnium summa proficiscitur, quique solus fœcundo illo suo Spiritu linguas infantium reddidit disertas, vel e lactantium ore laudem absolutam depromere solitus; ut quemadmodum omnis nostra vita non alium exprimere debet, quam ipsum, de quo dicturi sumus, Jesum, ita et oratio nostra illum sapiat, illum referat, illum spiret, qui et *verbum est Patris*, et *verba vitæ solus habet*, *cujus sermo vivus et efficax penetrantior est quovis gladio ancipiti, ad intimos etiam cordis recessus penetrans*: utque ipse, de cuius ventre flumina promanant aquæ vivæ, non gravetur per organum vocis nostræ veluti per canalem, in omnium vestrum animos influere, multoque gratiæ cœlestis irrigare succo. Id ita futurum confido, commilitones mei charissimi, si piis votis purgatas, ac vere sitientes aures adjungetis, eas videlicet aures, quas æternus ille Sermo requirens in Evangelio, *Qui habet*, inquit, *aures ad audiendum, audiat*. Nos porro cur non audeamus rem hanc, arduam quidem illam sed tamen piam, aggredi? præsertim ipso adiutore Deo, in quo hoc plus potest mortalis infirmitas, quo minus suis nititur viribus, et in quo Paulus *omnia se posse* gloriatur. Jam vero cum tanto studio flagrent isti qui mundanæ, hoc est, diabolicæ militiæ dedere nomina, ut suum quique ducem laudibus vehant; nobis quid prius, aut antiquius esse debet, quam ut præceptorem, vindicem, imperatorem nostrum Jesum, ac eundem quidem omnium, sed tamen peculiariter nostrum, id est, puerorum principem, certatim piis celebremus præconiis? Hunc in primis cognoscere studeamus, cognitum laudemus, laudatum amemus, amatum exprimamus atque imitemur, imitantes eo fruamur, fruentes immortalis fœlicitate potiamur. Sed in tam ubere, tamque immensa rerum copia, unde quæso initium, aut ubi finem nostra reperiet oratio, cum is de quo loqui paramus, fons sit, vel (ut verius dicam) oceanus bonorum omnium. Verum ut ipse natura incomprehensus, et infinitus, tamen sese velut in arctum co-

hibuit contraxitque, itidem et nostra oratio in explicandis ejus laudibus, quæ modum nesciunt, modum tamen ipsa sibi faciat oportet. Equidem tria potissimum esse video, quæ vel discipulorum, vel militum animos solent ad graviter agendum inflammare, ea sunt ducis admiratio, amor, et præmium. Itaque quo præceptori nostro ac dulci Jesu studiis alacrioribus pareamus, agendum singulatim hæc in eo pia curiositate consideremus. Primo loco quam sit suspiciendus undique ac stupendus: deinde quantopere diligendus, atque ob id imitandus: postremo quam ingens dilectionis fructus. Ac mos quidem est rhetorum in hoc dicendi genere illustrium principum adhibere exempla, videlicet quo collatione crescat is quem conantur laudibus attollere. Verum Imperator noster usque adeo superat omne celsitudinis humanæ fastigium, ut quicquid quantumvis egregium adhibueris, tenebras ad moveris, non lucem. Cujus enim imagines ac natalium splendor non videatur esse fumus, si cum Jesu componas, qui quidem ineffabili, imo etiam incogitabili ratione Deus a Deo semper absque tempore nascitur æterno summoque Parenti per omnia æqualis? Quanquam hujus vel humana natiuitas nonne facile regum omnium claritatem obscuraverit? quippe qui stupente rerum natura, auctore Patre, afflante Spiritu, pronubo angelo, citra virilem operam, virgo de virgine cœlitus gravida, natus est homo in tempore, et rursum ita natus est homo, ut neque Deus esse desineret, neque sordium nostrarum quicquid omnino contraheret. Jam vero quid eo fingi potest amplius, qui infusus per omnia, nullo tamen loco cohibitus, in seipso manet immensus? Quid illo ditius qui summum illud est bonum, a quo bona promanant omnia, nec tamen ipse diminui potest? Quid illustrius eo, qui splendor est paternæ gloriæ, quique solus *illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum*? Quid illo potentius, cui Pater Omnipotens universam tradidit potestatem in cœlo et in terra? quid efficacius eo, qui simplici nutu condidit universa; ad cuius jussum silesceat mare, vertuntur rerum species, fugiunt morbi, concidunt armati, pelluntur dæmones, serviunt elementa, scinduntur petræ, reviviscunt mortui, resipiscunt peccatores, denique novantur omnia?

Quid augustius eo, quem admirantur superi, tremunt inferi, medius hic orbis supplex adorat, ad cujus comparationem summi reges nihil aliud quam vermiculos esse sese confitentur? Quid eo fortius et invictius, qui solus mortem aliis invictam, sua morte devicit, ac Satanæ tyrannidem cœlesti virtute demolitus est? Quid triumphantius eo, qui perfractis ac spoliatis inferis, tot piis comitatus animabus, victor cœlos adiit, ibique sedet ad dextram Dei Patris? Quid illo sapientius, qui tam admirabili ratione cuncta condidit, ut vel in apiculis tot tantaque suæ sapientiæ reliquerit miracula, quique tam stupendo rerum ordine atque harmonia nectit, continet, administrat universa, obiens omnia, nec tamen a seipso discedens, omnia movens, ipse immotus; omnia concutiens, ipse tranquillus: postremo in quo id quod stultissimum est universam mortalium sophorum sapientiam longo superat intervallo? cujus debet nobis esse gravior auctoritas, quam ejus de quo Pater ipse palam est testificatus, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui, ipsum audite?* Quid æque reverendum, atque is cujus oculis perspicua sunt omnia? Quid perinde formidandum atque ille, qui solo nutu potest et *animam et corpus in tartara mittere?* Quid autem formosius eo, cujus vultum intueri summa est felicitas? Denique, si multis pretium addit antiquitas, quid illo antiquius, qui nec initium habet, nec finem est habiturus? Sed fortasse magis convenerit, ut pueri puerum admiremur, quandoquidem hic quoque stupendus occurrit, usque adeo quod illius est infimum, sublimius est iis quæ sunt apud homines excelsissima. Quantum erat ille, quem infantulum vagientem, pannosum, abjectum in præsepe tamen cœlitus canunt angeli, adorant pastores, adorat et quæ genuit, agnoscunt bruta animantia, indicat stella, venerantur magi, timet rex Herodes, trepidat omnis Hierosolyma, sanctus amplectitur Symeon, vaticinatur Anna, et in spem salutis eriguntur pii. O humilem sublimitatem et sublimem humilitatem! Si nova miramur, quid simile unquam aut factum, aut auditum, aut cogitatum? Si magna suspicimus, quid nostro Jesu modis omnibus amplius, quem nulla creatura possit vel exprimere voce, vel cogitatione concipere? Hujus magnitudinem qui

velit oratione complecti, is multo stultius agat, quam si conetur vastissimum oceanum angusto exhaurire cyatho. Adoranda est ejus immensitas magis quam explicanda, quam vel hoc ipso magis mirari convenit, quo minus assequimur. Quidni nos faciamus, cum magnus ille præcursor indignum sese pronunciet, qui corrigiam calceamentorum ejus solvat? Agite igitur, pueri suavissimi, hoc tam inclyto puero Jesu præceptore, hoc tam insigni duce, sancta superbia gloriemur, hujus sublimitas nobis ad pie audendum animos addat, in hoc uno nobis ipsi placeamus ut existimantes illius omnia nobis esse communia, nos ipsos meliores arbitremur, quam qui, semel tali addicti imperatori, mundo vitiisve sordidissimis utique dominis serviamus.

Secunda pars.

Sed admirantur, et contremiscunt etiam dæmones, amant soli pii. Quamobrem altera hujus orationis pars, ut proprius ad nos pertinet, ita est attentioribus auribus accipienda, videlicet quot nominibus Jesus sit nobis amandus, vel redamandus magis, ut qui nos et nondum conditos, ante omne tempus amavit in se, in quo jam tum erant omnia. Itaque nativa sua bonitate cum nihil essemus, nos finxit, finxit autem non quodvis animal, sed homines, et finxit ad sui ipsius imaginem, hoc est summi boni capaces, ac sacro suo oris afflatu spiritum vitalem indidit. Ad hæc ceteris animantibus imperio nostro parere jussis, quin etiam angelis in nostri tutelam designatis, latissimam hanc, ac pulcherrimam mundi fabricam nostris addixit usibus. In qua nos velut in admirabili quodam theatro constituit, ut in rebus creatis opificis sapientiam admiraremur, bonitatem amaremus, potentiam veneremur, quoque id magis fieret, tot animi dotibus ornavit, tam perspicaci ingenii lumine condecoravit. Quid hoc animante fingi poterat vel admirabilius, vel felicius? Sed O semper felicitatis comitem invidiam. Rursum serpentis astu in peccatum, hoc est plus quam in nihilum relapsus est miser. Sed hic tu rursum optime Jesu, quam ineffabili consilio, quam inaudito exemplo, quam incomparabili charitate tuum figmentum restituisti? Nam ita restituisti, ut labi prope-

modum expedierit, eamque culpam quidam non absurde felicem vocaverit. Omnia debebamus Conditori, at Reparatori plusquam omnia debemus. Ulro temetipsum e regno patris in hoc nostrum exilium demisisti; ut nos paradiso exactos, cœli cives redderes: nostram humanam carnem assumpsisti, ut nos in tuæ divinitatis consortium ascisceres: nostrum hunc limum induisti, ut nos immortalitatis gloria vestires: nostra tectus forma, nobiscum in hoc calamitoso mundo complures annos agere voluisti, ut vel sic in tui raperes amorem; nudus in hanc lucem, imo noctem emersisti, nobiscum atque adeo pro nobis vagisti, sitisti, esuristi, alisisti, æstuasti, laborasti, delassatus es, eguisti, vigilasti, jejunasti: tot malis nostris obnoxius esse voluisti, ut nos ab omnibus exemptos malis, in tui, hoc est summi boni communionem assereres. Deinde per omnem sanctissimæ vitæ tuæ seriem, quam efficacibus exemplis animos nostros inflammas? quam salutaribus præceptis erudis, ac formas? quam stupendis miraculis expergefais? quam blandis monitis trahis? quam certis promissis invitas, ut non sit alia commodior via ad te, nisi per teipsum, qui unus es *via, veritas, et vita*. Sed viam non indicasti modo, verumetiam aperuisti, dum pro nobis vinciri, trahi, damnari, rideri, cœli, conspui, vapulari, probris affici, demum in ara crucis agnus sine macula immolari voluisti, ut nos tuis vinculis solveres, tuis sanares vulneribus, tuo lavares sanguine, tua morte ad immortalitatem evcheres. In summa totum te nobis impendisti, ut tui (si fieri possit) jactura nos perditos servares. Vitæ redditus, toties tuis apparuisti, atque illis intuentibus Patrem repetisti, ut membra confiderent eo se perventura, quo caput jam præcessisse conspicerent. Deinde quo magis confirmares amicos Patre placato, egregium illud perpetui amoris tui pignus misisti sacrum illum Spiritum, quo mortui mundo, longe verius ac felicius jam viveremus in te, quam nostro hoc spiritu vivimus. Quæso quid his summæ charitatis argumentis poterat accedere? Ne hæc quidem tam multa, tam magna flagrantissimo tuo in nos amori sat erant. Quis enim commemorare possit, quot martyrum mortibus nos ad hujus vitæ contemptum animas? quot virginum exemplis

ad continentiam accendis? quot sanctorum monumentis ad pietatem sollicitas? quam admirandis ecclesiæ tuæ sacramentis communis pariter et ditas? Ut consolaris, erigis, armas, doces, mones, trahis, rapis, mutas, transformas nos arcanis tuis literis, in quibus vivas quasdam tui scintillulas condi voluisti, magnum amoris incendium excitaturas, si quis modo pia diligentia conetur excutere. Denique quam undique nobis obvius es, ne quando liceat oblivisci tui. Ad hæc quam paterne toleras peccantes; quam elementer recipis ad te redeuntes? Nec imputas beneficia tua gratis, nec resipiscentibus nostra imputas malefacta. Ut subinde tacitis vellicas, ac trahis instinctibus? ut emendas adversis? ut allicis prosperis? ut omnem moves lapidem, ut nusquam cessat ardentissima tua charitas in fovendis, asserendis, tuendis, beandis nobis? Sed quam pauca de tam innumeris perstrinximus, commilitones? et tamen videtis quam sit immensus beneficiorum acervus. Eat nunc qui volet et Pyladas, Orestes, Perithoos, Theseos, Damonas, ac Pythias verbis phaleratis efferat, mera præ iis nugamenta. Atque hæc quidem contulit ultro nihil promeritis, imo transfugis, atque hostibus, et a quibus nihil omnino mutui beneficii redire poterat. Si mediocribus officiis homines ad amandum hominem accendimur, hunc conditorem, vindicem, sic amantem, sic promeritum, non saltem redamabimus? quandoquidem hanc solam gratiam ille a nobis reposcit, quam tamen ipsam in nostrum refundit lucrum. Adamas sanguine mollescit hircino. Aquilæ, leones, pardi, delphines, dracones, agnoscunt ac referunt beneficium: et O dritiam cordis humani plusquam adamantinam, si tam inaudita charitate non mitescit: O ingratitude plusquam belluinam, si tantorum meritorum potest oblivisci: O singularem impudentiam dicam an potius dementiam, si sic conditus, sic restitutus, sic locupletatus, tanta obrutus beneficentia, ad tantas vocatus spes, quicquam amare potest, præter illum unum, in quo et a quo sunt omnia, quique nobis omnia secum impertit. Porro autem quanquam hæc charitas mortales omnes complectitur, tamen nos illi peculiariter debemus, propterea quod in nostrum hoc est puerorum ordinem singularem quodam pro-

pensione atque indulgentia fuisse sese, pluribus declaravit argumentis. Primum quod ita ut erat vatam oraculis promissus, puer parvulus nasci voluit, cum esset immensus. Propterea quod adhuc uteri virginei latebris inclusus, infantis item nondum nati gesticulatione, atque exultatione gavisus est salutari. Deinde quod statim innocentium puerorum sanguine, suam nativitatem voluit consecrari, ut his quasi velitibus, dux invictus bellum auspicaretur. Adde his, quod instante morte triumphali Hierosolymam veniens puerorum occursum, atque officio decorari, puerorum voce suas laudes decantari maluit. Jam vero quam amantem, quamque sollicitum puerorum patronum agit, cum matribus infantes suos offerentibus ut Jesu contactu consecrarentur, discipulos ne possent admitti vetantibus indignans: *Sinite, inquit, parvulos venire ad me.* Neque vero pueris benedixit tantum, verum etiam negat ulli mortalium aditum patere in regnum cœlorum, nisi qui ad parvulorum formam descendere rit. Rursum, quam amanter et illud? cum tam graviter deterret ab offendendis pusillis, affirmans *magis expedire, ut molari saxo collo alligato præceps in mare detur aliquis, quam ut unum quemlibet ex his parvulis offendant.* Atque his quam insigne addidit elogium ad puerorum commendationem? *Amen dico vobis, Angeli eorum semper vident faciem Patris.* Gratias agit tibi tuus tibi que dicatus grex, Jesu præceptor, cui quæso ut sacras tuas manus semper admovere velis, et ab omni scandalo procul arceas. Quid illud? nonne magnum amoris indicium, cum puero in medium collato, discipulis eum exemplo proponit? *Nisi, inquit, conversi fueritis, et efficiamini sicut parvulus iste, non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum.* Annon eodem pertinet? cum Nicodemo sciscitanti, qua via possit ad vitam immortalem pertingere, jubet *ut denuo renascatur*, hoc est *in puerum redeat.* Usque adeo Christo duci nostro placuit infantia, ut senes etiam cogat repuerascere, si modo velint ad illius admitti consortium, extra quem nulla salutis spes est. Neque vero a Christo dissonat Petrus cum admonet, *ut tanquam nuper editi infantes lac concupiscamus.* Neque discrepat Paulus, *Filioli mei*, inquit, *quos iterum parturio,*

donec formetur Christus in vobis. Idem parvulos in Christo lacte potat. Multa sunt id genus in mysticis literis; omnino Christianismus nihil aliud est quam renascentia, quam re-puerascencia quædam. Magnum igitur pueri, magnum pueritiæ sacramentum, qua Jesus tantopere delectatus est. Non contemnatis ætatem nostram, quam verus ille rerum æstimator tanti fecit; tantum demus operam, ut ejusmodi simus pueri, cujusmodi diligit Jesus. Diligit autem innocuos pueros, dociles, simplices, atque illud interim meminerimus, hanc Deo gratam pueritiam non in annis esse sitam, sed in animis, non in temporibus, sed in moribus. Est enim præposterum quoddam, nobisque magnopere fugiendum puerorum genus, qui mento levi, mente sunt hirsuta, et ætate impuberes, vitiosa astutia senes sunt. Est igitur novum quoddam pueritiæ genus quod a Christo probatur, pueritia citra puerilitatem, et omnino senilis quædam pueritia, quæ non annorum numero constat, sed innocentia, sed ingenii simplicitate. An non id palam indicat Petrus cum ait, *Deponentes igitur omnem malitiam, et omnem dolum, et simulationes, et invidias, et detrectationes, sicut modo geniti infantes, rationale, et sine dolo lac concupiscite, ut in eo crescatis in salutem.* Cur addidit rationale? nempe ut excluderet stultitiam, quæ hujus fere ætatis consuevit esse comes. Cur detrahit invidias, simulationes, ac reliqua id genus vitia, quæ senum sunt quasi peculiariora? nimirum ut intelligeremus, Christi pueros simplicitate ac puritate æstimari non natalibus. Ad eundem modum et Paulus: *Malitia, inquit, parvuli estote, sensibus autem perfecti.* Quanquam est omnino in ipsa puerorum ætate nativa quædam bonitas, et velut umbra quædam ac simulachrum innocentia, vel spes potius atque indoles futuræ probitatis: mollis, et in quemvis habitum sequax animus, pudor optimus innocentia custod, ingenium vitis vacuum, corporis nitor, ac veluti flos quidam vernantis ævi, et nescio quomodo quiddam spiritibus cognatum ac familiare. Neque enim temere fit, ut quoties apparent angeli, puerili specie sese offerant oculis. Quin etiam magi, si quando suis incantamentis spiritum eliciunt, in puerile corpus feruntur accersere. At quanto libentius Spiritus ille

Divinus, piis ac sanctis evocatus votis, in hujusmodi domicilia demigrabit? Ergo ad has naturæ dotes si accesserit summi illius et absoluti pueri imitatio, tum demum et grati in illum, et illo digni pueri videbimur. Etenim sic promeritum quis possit non amare? Verum enimvero ea veri amoris vis est, ut ejus quod ames quam simillimus esse cupias. Quod si in nobis efficit amor humanus, quantum æmulandi studium excitabit amor divinus, cui ille collatus, vix amoris umbella est? Proinde si vere atque ex animo non verbo tenus Jesum amamus, Jesum pro nostra virili conemur exprimere, vel potius in illum transformari. Quod si virum assequi non possumus: saltem pueri puerum imitemur. Quanquam hoc ipsum facinus est haudquaquam puerile, imo senilibus etiam viribus majus, sed quod fere nusquam succedat felicius quam in pueris. Etenim quoties negotium ab humano pendet præsidio, tum robur, ætas, sexus expenditur, verum ubi gratiæ res agitur, non naturæ, tum hoc efficacius exerit sese miraculum spiritus, quo minus erat opis ac fiduciæ in carne. Denique quid dubitemus, aut diffidamus ipso formante, fingente, ac transformante nos, quem conamur exprimere? Quis Danieli puero tantum addidit prudentiæ? quis puero Solomoni tantum tribuit sapientiæ? quis tribus illis pueris tantum adjunxit tolerantiam? quis puerum Hely dignum divino fecit alloquio? quis Nicolao puero? quis Ægidio? quis Benedicto? quis Agneti? quis Ceciliam? quis tot tam teneris virgunculis tam masculam atque invictam virtutem dedit? profecto non natura, sed gratia, et ubi minus succurrit natura, ibi mirabilius operatur gratia. Hac igitur freti, magno animo studium æmulandi *puerum Jesum* capessamus, nec unquam oculos ab eo velut a scopo deflectamus. Absolutum exemplar habemus, nihil est quod aliunde petere oporteat. Omnis illius vita, quid nos sequi debeamus, clamat. Quid autem docuit ille puer purissimus de purissima virgine natus, nisi ut omnem hujus mundi spurcitiam et inquinamenta vitemus, atque angelicam quandam vitam jam nunc in terris medittemur, hoc est, id esse studeamus, quod illic semper sumus futuri. Porro spiritus Jesu cum omnes sordes aversatur, et

odit, tum præcipue belluinam illam, et prorsus homine indignam libidinem. Quid autem docuit nos, natus peregre, cditus in tuguriolo, abjectus in præsepe, pannis involutus, nisi ut semper meminimus nos hic paucorum dierum hospites esse, utque calcatis opibus, spretis mundi falsis honoribus, per pios labores ad cœlestem illam patriam expediti festinemus, in qua jam nunc animo vivamus oportet, etiamsi corporeis interim pedibus terram contingimus. Rursum quid admonuit in Ægyptum aufugiens, nisi ut inquinorum commercium modis omnibus devitemus, qui Jesum in nobis, hoc est, innocentiam, ac mundi neglectum conantur extinguere? Quid vero docuit circumcisus, nisi ut omnes carnis affectus, ad Christum properantibus obstrepentes, amputemus, ac tanquam in nobis ipsis mortui, solo Jesu spiritu ducamur ac vegetemur? Quid docuit oblatas in templo, nisi ut totos nos ab ipsa jam infantia Deo, rebusque sacris dicemus, consecremusque ac protinus recenti adhuc mentis testula Jesum imbibamus? Neque enim illa ætas ad discendam pietatem immatura est, imo non est alia magis tempestiva ad discendum Christum, quam ea quæ mundum adhuc nescit. Jam ipsi apud vos æstimate pueri, puer ille sic natus, sic Deo dicatus, quam sanctis studiis totam pueritiam transegerit, non otio, non cibo, non somno, non ineptis lusbibus, non stultis fabulis, non evagationibus, quemadmodum puerorum vulgus facit, sed aut parentum obsequiis, aut sacris precationibus, aut auscultandis doctoribus, aut piis meditationibus, aut sanctis ac seriis cum æqualibus pueris colloquiis. An non hæc cum multis similibus summam complexus est sanctus Lucas, cum scribit ad hunc modum? *Puer crescebat, et confortabatur plenus sapientia, et gratia Dei erat in illo.* An non palam videtis novum pueritiæ genus? De pristinis pueris dictum est: *Stultitia colligata est in corde pueri:* de novo hoc auditis, *plenus sapientia.* Quid adhuc ætatis insectiam præteximus, cum audiamus non sapientem, sed plenum sapientia puerum? Videte ut omnem rerum ordinem hic puer invertit, qui loquitur in Apocalypsi: *Ecce ego nova facio omnia.* Perditur sapientia senum, ac prudentia prudentium reprobatur, et pueri implentur sapi-

entia. Nimirum hoc nomine gratias agens Patri: *quoniam, inquit, abscondisti hæc a sapientibus, et revelasti parvulis.* Porro ne stultam hujus mundi, ac fucatam sapientiam affectarem, protinus adjecit, *et gratia Dei erat in illo.* Is vero demum sapit, qui mundo desipit et nil nisi Christum sapit. Is non e philosophorum libris, non e Scoticis argutiis, sed sincera fide cognoscitur, spe tenetur, charitate devincitur. Jam vero quam multa docuit nos ubi duodecim natus annos, a parentibus furtim subducit sese, ne inter notos quidem ac propinquos repertus, post triduum denique inventus est. Sed ubi tandem inventus est? num in circulis? num in choreis? num in viis? aut foro? Audite pueri, ubi repertus est Jesus, relictis parentibus, quodammodo fugitivus, et ubi vos versari conveniat intelligetis: *in templo, inquam, inventus est, in medio doctorum sedens, audiens illos, ac vicissim interrogans.* Quid docuit nos Jesus his tam admirandis factis? non dubium quin rem magnam, rem seriam, rem imitandam docuerit. Quid autem? quid? nisi ut grandescente in nobis Christo, quandoquidem et in nobis nascitur, et habet suos ætatum gradus, donec occurramus in *virum perfectum et in mensuram plenitudinis ejus?* Ergo cum grandescit in nobis, docet ut naturales parentum et amicorum affectus in Deum transferamus, nihil hic amemus, nihil miremur, nisi in Christo, et Christum in omnibus. Meminerimus nos verum patrem, patriam, cognatos, amicos habere in cœlis. Verum ne quis imaginetur hunc parentum neglectum, fastum, aut inobedientiam sapere, consequitur, *et erat subditus illis.* Imo nemo suos parentes verius amat, nemo magis pie colit, nemo observantius morem gerit, quam qui sic contemnit. Quid autem est sedere in templo, nisi in rebus sacris conquiescere, et ad discendum animum ab omnibus tranquillum curis adferre? nihil autem vitis est turbulentius, et otium ac quietem amat sapientia: jam a quo tandem nos gravemur discere, quam attentas aures præceptoribus præbere convenit, cum puer ille cœlestis, sapientia Dei Patris, in medio doctorum sedeat, audiens vicissim ac respondens, sed ita respondens, ut omnes ejus sapientiam admirarentur? neque id mirum, cum is esset, ad quem om-

nis mundi sapientia stulta est. Præclara res legum prudentia, egregia res philosophiæ cognitio, suspicienda res theologiæ professio, verum si quis Jesum audiat, illico stultescunt omnia. At nostra responsio, si sapientiæ miraculum excitare non potest, certe sapiat modestiam, sonet innocentiam. Rursum obsecro, quam morigeros, quam obsequentes nos esse decet parentibus ac præceptoribus, quos potiores velut ingenii parentes habemus, posteaquam ille Dominus omnium, cum a parentibus non intelligeretur, tamen subditus illis redierit in Nazareth. Debetur hoc pietati, debetur parentum reverentiæ, ut aliquoties illorum voluntati concedamus, etiam si nos meliora viderimus. Sed jam operæ pretium est audire, quam apto fini Lucas Jesu pueritiam concluderit. *Et Jesus*, inquit, *proficiebat sapientia, ætate, et gratia apud Deum, et apud homines.* Quam multa quam paucis nos docuit? Primum cum ætatis accessione pietatis item accessionem oportere copulari, ne illud in nos jure dici possit, quod in hominum vulgus divus dixit Augustinus, “ Qui major est ætate, major est iniquitate.” Neve in hoc pulcherrimo certamine unquam restemus, aut nos assecutos arbitremur, sed in morem currentium in stadio, a tergo relicta negligentes, in anteriora nitamur, ac semper a bonis ad meliora, a melioribus ad optima proficere conemur, donec ad metam, hoc est, hujus vitæ finem perventum erit. Socrates jam admodum senex perinde quasi nihil sciret, ita semper et a quovis discere sitiebat. Itidem et nos, quo magis in Christo fuerimus, hoc minus nobis placebimus, si modo vere in illo fuerimus progressi. Adeo *φιλαυτία* pestis est et studiorum, et pietatis, ac, juxta Fabium, præcox illud ingeniorum genus, non temere pervenit ad frugem vel eruditionis, vel innocentiae. Equidem nec ordinem otiosum esse puto apud Deum, et apud homines, ut intelligamus in primis dandam operam, ut vita nostra Deo placeat. Id agentes humanus favor ultro consequetur. Nihil enim virtute pulchrius, nihil amabilius, quam laus hæc magis sequi solet, quo minus appetitur. Paucis ut potuimus vobis expressimus exemplar pueri, quem et amare plurimum, et imitari studiosissime debemus. Atque omnino tantum videbimur amare, quantum

fuermus imitati. Rursum tanto plenius imitabimur, quanto amabimur ardentius. Proinde hoc ipsum ab illo quotidianis ac puris precibus flagitemus, ut nobis donet amore sui fragrare, sui similes evadere, hoc est, castos, puros, incontaminatos, mites, simplices, tractabiles, expertes fuci, ignaros doli, nescios invidiæ, parentibus morigeros, præceptoribus dicto audientes, mundi contemptores, rebus divinis addictos, piis literis intentos, nobisipsis quotidie meliores, probatos superis, gratos hominibus, odore bonæ famæ quam plurimos ad Christum allicientes. Hæc, inquam, assidue flagitemus, hæc manibus pedibusque conemur, dum habilis ætas, brevi alioqui fugitura. Etenim si recte monuit Fabius, optima statim ac primo discenda: quid prius disci debet quam Christus, quo nihil est melius, imo quid aliud discere oportet Christianum, quam eum unum, *quem nosse, vita est æterna?* quemadmodum ipse testatur, Patrem orans in Evangelio. Id si curabimus, utcunque pro virili gratiam referemus, tam singulariter de nobis merito, et illi referendo gratiam, ipsum nobis lucrificemus. Referemus autem hoc plenius, quo vehementius redamabimus. Porro hoc magis redamabimus, quo magis vita ac moribus exprimemus? Jam quo magis exprimemus, hoc magis ipso locupletabimur.

Tertia pars.

At interim nonnullis forsitan succurret animo, duram hanc esse militiam, repudiatis omnibus, cum Christo crucem tollere. Sed meminertis, fratres dilectissimi, longe diversam mundi et Christi esse naturam. Mundus ceu fucata meretrix, prima fronte blandus nobis et aureus occurrit, postea quo ingrediare altius, quo propius inspicias, hoc magis ac magis tetra, putida, fellita sunt omnia. E diverso Christus procul intuentibus durior apparet, dum cruces videmus, dum voluptatum ac vitæ contemptum. Verum si quis fidenti animo totum sese in illum rejiciat, reperiet nihil esse mollius, nihil expeditius, nihil dulcius. Nisi forte verum non dixit Veritas in evangelio, cum ait: *Tollite jugum meum super vos, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris; jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve.* Hæc nimirum

vere est ardua illa virtutis via, quam et olim tanto ante Christum utcunque somniavit Hesiodus, “primo aditu asperior, progressu semper et facilior, et amœnior.” Sed quid tandem asperum videri potest, quo ad tam ingens, tam certum itur præmium? Si juxta sapientis dictum “spes præmii minuit vim flagelli,” quis in hac momentanea vita, non leve, non dulce judicet, quo cœlestem illam, et nunquam desituram sibi paret vitam, æternum regnare cum Christo, assidue summum illud intueri bonum, versari in angelorum contubernio, ab omni malorum metu procul abesse? Quis oro tantum hoc premium, non vel sexcentis mortibus emptum velit? Atqui hoc tantum donativum pollicetur militibus suis imperator noster Jesus, qui neque fallere potest, neque mentiri novit. Jam apud vosmetipsos expendite fructus æternitatem, ac magnitudinem, contra quam breve hujus militiæ tempus, nimirum haud longius ipsa vita, quæ quid aliud est, quam vapor ad exiguum tempus apparens, aut unius horæ somnium? sed agedum, de hoc interim inestimabili præmio sileamus, atque inspiciamus quam abunde magna mercede dux noster militum suorum labores etiam in hac vita compenset, quamque disparem metant messem, qui mundo militant, et qui merent sub Christo Jesu. Audiamus quid ipsi dicant impij in libro Sapientiæ: *Lassati sumus in via iniquitatis, perditionis ambulavimus vias difficiles, viam autem Domini ignoravimus.* Illectat mundus fucatis bonorum simulacris, quæ nihil aliud sunt, quam melita venena. Mox attractos, et velut inautoratos, Deum immortalem! in quas curas, quas sollicitudines, quas turbas, quæ dispendia, quæ dedecora, in quam consciæ mentis carnificinam, in quam infelicem exitum miseros adducit? ut hic quoque jam abunde magnas impietatis pœnas dedisse videantur, etiamsi nulli consequantur inferi. At qui rejectis mundi fucis, in Jesum, hoc est, summum bonum, omnem amorem, curam, studiumque transferunt, totique ab illo pendunt, ii juxta promissum evangelicum, non modo vitam æternam possidebunt, verum etiam in hoc seculo centuplum accipient. Quid est autem accipere centuplum? Nempe pro fucatis bonis vera, pro incertis certa, pro fluxis æterna, pro

veneno tinctis sincera, pro curis ocium, pro sollicitudine fiduciam, pro turbulentia tranquillitatem, pro dispendiis utilitatem, pro flagitiis integritatem, pro conscientiae cruciatu secretum et ineffabile gaudium, pro turpi atque infelici exitu gloriosam ac triumphalem mortem. Sprevisisti divitias amore Christi, in ipso veros invenies thesauros: rejecisti falsos honores, in hoc longe eris honoratior: neglexisti parentum affectus, hoc indulgentius fovebit te Pater verus, qui est in cœlis: pro nihilo habuisti mundanam sapientiam, in Christo longe verius sapiens, ac felicius: aspernatus es pestiferas voluptates, in ipso multo alias invenies delicias. Breviter ubi arcanas illas, sed veras opes Christi, dispulsa mundi caligine videris, omnia quæ prius arridebant, quæ sollicitabant, ea non solum non admiraberis, sed perinde ut pestes quasdam fugies, rejicies, aversaberis. Fit enim mirum in modum, ut simul atque cœlestis illa lux animos nostros penitus attigerit, protinus nova quædam omnium rerum facies oboriatur. Itaque quod paulo ante dulce videbatur, nunc amarescit: quod amarum, dulcescit: quod horrendum, blanditur: quod blanditur, horrescit: quod splendidum ante, nunc sordidum: quod potens, infirmum: quod formosum, deforme: quod nobile, ignobile: quod opulentum, egenum: quod sublime, humile; quod lucrum, damnum: quod sapiens, stultum: quod vita, mors: quod expectandum, fugiendum, et contra: ut repente mutata rerum specie, nihil minus esse judices, quam id quod esse videbantur. Ergo in uno Christo compendio, ac vera reperiuntur omnia bona, quorum inanes ac mendaces imagines et umbras ceu præstigias mundus hic ostentat, quas miserum mortalium vulgus tanto animi tumultu, tantis dispendiis, tantis periculis, per fas nefasque persequitur. Quam obsecro beatitudinem cum hoc animo conferre queas? qui jam liber sit ab errore, liber ab affectibus, securus, semper gaudens ob testimonium conscientiae, nulla de re sollicitus, altus, sublimis, ac cœlo proximus, jamque supra sortem humanam, qui Christo excelsissima petra nixus, omnes hujus seculi fucos, tumultus, procellas ex alto rideat, negligat, vel potius commisere-tur? Quid autem timeat is, qui propugnatorem habeat

Deum? Ignominiam? At summa est gloria pro Christo ignominiam pati. Paupertatem? At opum sarcinam lubens abjicit, quisquis ad Christum properat. Mortem? At ea maxime in votis est, per quam scit sese ad immortalem vitam esse transmittendum. Qua de re sit sollicitus, cujus Pater cœlestis etiam pilos habet annumeratos? Quid autem cupiat is, qui in Christo possidet omnia? quid enim non commune membris et capiti? Jam vero quanta est hominis non modo felicitas, verum etiam dignitas, vivum esse membrum sanctissimi corporis ecclesiæ, idem esse cum Christo, eandem carnem, eundem spiritum, communem cum illo habere Patrem in cœlis, Christum habere fratrem, ad communem cum illo hæreditatem destinatum esse: breviter jam non hominem esse, sed Deum? Adde his gustum quandam fœlicitatis futuræ, quem piæ mentes subinde percipiunt. Hæc nimirum viderat, hæc senserat propheta, cum ait: *Nec auris audivit, nec oculus vidit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quæ præparasti Deus diligentibus te.* Proinde charissimi sodales, si dabimus operam, ut vere Christi membra simus, juxta illud propheticum dictum: *Justus ut palma florebit,* etiam in hac vita perpetua quadam adolescentia vernabimus, non animo tantum, verum etiam corpore. Etenim quemadmodum floridus ille Jesu spiritus in nostrum spiritum redundabit, ita noster vicissim in suum corpus influet, et quoad fieri potest, in sese transformabit. Nec poterit tantus animi ac corporis nitor vestium sordes ferre. Nam animus noster habitaculum est Dei, animi domicilium est corpus, porro vestis et ipsa corporis quodammodo corpus est. Ita fiet ut capitis puritati totus homo respondeat, donec peracta hac vita ad immortalitatem traducatur.

Epilogus.

Agite igitur, optimi commilitones, ad hanc tantam felicitatem summis viribus enitamur, duces nostrum Jesum unum admiremur, quo majus nihil esse potest, immo sine quo nihil est omnino magnum. Hunc unum amemus, quo nihil esse melius potest, immo extra quem nihil est omnino bonum. Hunc imitemur, qui solus est verum et absolutum

pietatis exemplar, extra quem quisque sapit, desipit. Huic uni inhæreamus, hunc unum amplectamur, hoc uno fruamur, in quo est vera pax, gaudium, tranquillitas, voluptas, vita, immortalitas. Quid multis? summa bonorum est omnium. Extra hunc nihil suspiciamus, nihil amemus, nihil appetamus, huic uni placere studeamus. Meminerimus nos sub illius oculis, et illius angelis testibus, quicquid agimus, agere. Zelotypus est, nec ullas mundi sordes patitur. Quare puram et angelicam in illo vivamus vitam, ille sit nobis in corde, in ore, in omni vita. Hunc penitus sapiamus, hunc loquamur, hunc moribus exprimamus. In illo negotium, otium, gaudium, solatium, spem, præsidium omne collochemus. Hic a vigilantium animis nunquam discedat, hic dormientibus occurset. Hunc et literæ nostræ, et lusus etiam sapiant, per hunc et in hoc crescamus donec occurramus in *virum perfectum*, et gnaviter obita militia perpetuum cum illo triumphum agamus in cœlis. Dixi.

Number V.

The Statutes of S. Paul's School.

PROLOGUS.

JOHN COLETT the sonne of Henry Colett dean of Pauls desiring nothyng more thanne education and bringing uppe children in good maners, and literature, in the yere of our Lorde A M fyve hundreth and twelwe bylded a schole in the estende of Paulis church of CLIII to be taught fre in the same. And ordeyned there a maister, and a surmaister, and a chappelyn, with sufficiente and perpetuale stipendes ever to endure, and sett patrones and defenders governours and rulers of that same schoole the most honest and faithful fellowship of the mercers of London. And for because nothing can continue longe and endure in good ordre without lawes and statutes, I the said John have expressed and shewed my minde what I wolde shoulde be truly and diligently observed and kepte of the sayde maister and sur-

maister, and chapelyn, and of the mercers governours of the schole that in this boke may appere to what intent I founde this schole^a.

Capitulum primum de magistro primario.

In the grammar scole founded in the churchye yard of Pauls at the estende in the yeaere of our Lorde 1518 by John Colet deane of the same churchye in the honour of Christe Jesu *in pueritia* and of his blessid modir Marie. In that scole shall be firste an hyghe maister. This hyghe maister in doctrine learnyng and teachinge shall directe all the scole, this maister shall be chosen by the wardens and assistance of the mercery; a man hoole in body honest and vertuous and lerned in good and cleane Latin literature, and also in Greke, yf such may be gotten a wedded man, a single man, or a preste that hath no benefice with cure, nor service that may lett the due besinesse in the scole.

The mercers shall assemble together in the scole house with such advise and counsell of well literatur and learned men as they can gett, they shall chose this maister and give unto him his charge saying unto him on this wyse.

Sir, we have chosen you to be maister and teacher of this scole to teache the children of the same not allonly good literature, but also good maners certifieing you that this is no rome of continuance and perpetuitie, but upon your dewtie in the scole. And every yere at Candlemasse when the mercers be assembled in the scole-house ye shall submit you to our examination, and found doinge your duetie accordyng ye shall continue, otherwise reasonable warned, ye shall contente you to departe, and you of your partie not warned of us, but of your mynde in any season willing to departe ye shall give us warning XII monthes before, without we can be shortlyer well provided of another.

Also being maister ye shall not absente you, but upon license of the surveyors for the tyme being.

^a In the original book was this memorandum prefixed: "Hunc libellum ego Johannes Collett tra-

" didi manibus W. Lili die Julii
" niii, anno Dom. MCCCCXVIII."

Also yf any controversy and stryfe shall be betwixt you and surmaister, or the chapelyne of the scole, ye shall stande at the direction of the surveyors being for that yere.

And yf the chosen maister will promise this, then admytt him and name him to it, and stall him in his seat in the scole and shew him his lodginge, that is to saye all the sellers bynethe the halle, the kytchin, and butterye, and over that the hool storye, and chambers, and in the house rooffe the litell middel chamber, and the galarye on the south side. As touching all the storye of chambers nexte underneth the galary, he shall nothing meddell withall, and they shall geve hym the ymplements of his house by indenture.

All these lodgings he shall have fre without any payment and in this lodging he shall dwell and kepe householde to his power.

His wagis shall be a mark a weke, and a livery gowne of iiii nobles delivered in cloth.

His absence shall be but onys in the yere, and not above XXX dayes which he shall take *conjunctim* or *divisim*, yf the maister be syke of sykenesse incurable or fall into such age that he may not conveniently teache, and hath bene a man that longe and laudably hath taught in the scole, thanne let another be chosyn, and by the discrete charitie of the mercery let there be assigned to the olde maister a reasonable levinge of xl. or otherwise as it shall seme convenyent, so that the olde maister after his longe labor in no wise be lefte destitute. Yf the maister be syke of sekenesse curable yet neverthelesse I will he shall have his wages, and in suche sekenes yf he may not teache, let hym reward the undermaister for his more labor somewhat according. Yf the undermaister be in literature and in honest lyfe accordynge, then the hygh maisters rome vacante, let him be chosen before another.

The hyghe maister shall have the tenement in Stebenhith now in the handes of Crystofer Myddelton to resorte unto, whiche tenement the mercers shall mayntein and repayre.

The Surmaister.

There shall be also a surmaister, some manne vertuouse in levinge, and well lettered that shall teache under the maister as the hygh maister shall appoynt hym, some single man, or wedded, or a preste that hath no benefice with cure, nor service that may let his due diligence in the scole.

This surmaister the hyghe maister shall chose as often as the rome shall be voide, A man hoole in body and when the high maister hath appointed him upon one he shall call to the scole the surveyors of the scole, and before them he shall say to the surmaister on this wise; Sir, before these my maisters here the surveyors of this scole; I shew unto you that I have chosen you to be under maister of this scole, and to teache alway from tyme to tyme as I shall appoynte you, and supply my rome in my absence when it shall be graunted me by my maisters the mercers, wardens, and surveyors, And for such more labor in my absence I shall somewhat se to you as my maisters here shall thinke best, thanne the surveyors shall exorte the surmaister diligently to do his dewtie. And shall saye unto hym on this wyse. Your rome is no perpetuite but according to your labor and diligence ye shall continue, otherwise found not according and reasonable warned of us ye shall departe. Yf it shall be so that at any tyme ye will departe of your owne mynde ye shall geve us a half years warninge.

Yf any controversy be betwixt you and the highe maister ye shall stande at our discretion in every thinge.

Yf he will promise this, thenne let the mercers approve the election of the surmaister, and assigne him his lodging in the old Chaunge.

His wagis shall be *vis. viiid.* a weke and a livery gowne of *iiii* nobles delivered in clothe, he shall go to comyns with the hyghe maister if he may conveniently.

He shall be absent in all the yere not above XXX dayes, and yet than for cause reasonable, and with licence had of the highe maister and also of the surveyors.

In sekenes curable as aches, or suche sekenes for a tyme he shal be tolerated and have his full wagis.

Yf after his comynge he fall sick into sickenes incurable as lepry, or Frenche poxe, or after his longe labor in the scole fall into age ympotent, thenne I commit him to the charite of the mercers, they of the coler of the scole to provide him a lyvinge as it may be possible praying them to be charitable in that behalf.

Of both Maisters at onys.

Yf both maisters be sicke at onys, thenne let the scole cease for that while.

Yf there be suche sicknesse in the citie contagious, that the scole cannot continue, yet neverthesse bothe maisters shall have their wagis being always readie for to teache.

Neyther of these maisters shall take office of lectorshype or proctorsshype or any such other besyness, which shall let their diligence and their necessary labor in the scole; yf they do and warned lawfully, yf they will not cease from suche besyness, then lett them be warned to departe.

Lett the highe maister se the scole to be kept cleane by the poor childe, and be swepte every Saturday, and also the leades, and from tyme to tyme to call upon the mercers for necessary reparations.

The Chapelyn.

There shall be also in the scole a preste, that dayly as he can be disposed shall singe masse in the chapell of the scole, and pray for the children to prosper in good life and in good literature, to the honor of God and our Lord Christ Jesu. At his masse when the bell in the scole shall knyll to sacringe, then all the children in the scole knelynge in their seats shall with lift upp handes pray in the tyme of sacringe. After the sacringe when the bell knylleth agayne, they shall sitt downe agayne to their bokes learninge. This preste some good honest and vertuouse man shall be chosen from tyme to tyme by the wardens and assistance of the mercery,

he shall also learne, or yf he be lerned helpe to teache in the scole, if it shall seme convenient to the highe maister or else not. He shall have no benefice with cure nor service nor no other office, nor occupation, but attende allonly upon the scole, he shall teache the children the Catechyzon and instruction of the Articles of the Faythe and the X Commandments in Englishe.

His wagis shall be viii*l.* by the yere, and a lyvery gowne of xxvis. viii*d.* delivered in clothe.

His chamber and lodginge shall be in the newe house in the olde Chayn, or in the maisters lodging as shall be thought beste.

He shall not have his rome by writinge, or seale, but at libertie according to his deserving.

His absence may be once in the yere, yf it nede be, as yt shall seme best to the surveyors of the scole for that yere. And than with license askyd and obteyned of the said surveyors.

In sekenesse he shall be nothing abridged of his wages. But let it be sene that he be hoole in body when he is chosen.

Yf he fall to unthriftiness and misbehaviour after lefull warning, let him be repellid and another chosen within viii dayes or assone after as can be.

The Children.

There shall be taught in the scole children of all nations and contres indifferently to the number of cliii^a according to the number of the seates in the scole. The maister shall admit these children as they be offrid from tyme to tyme, but first se that they canne saye the Catechyzon and also that he can rede, and write competently else let him not be admitted in no wise.

A childe at the first admission once for ever shall paye ii*ii**d.* for wrytinge of his name, this money of the admissions shall the poor scoler have that swepeth the scole and kepeth the seats cleane.

^a Alluding to the number of fish taken by St. Peter, John xxi. 11.

In every forme one principall childe shal be placid in the chayre, president of that forme.

The children shall come unto the scole in the mornyng at vii of the clocke bothe winter and somer, and tarye there untyll a xi, and returne againe at one of the clocke and departe at v and thrise in the daye prostrate they shall say the prayers with due tract and pawsing as they be conteyned in a table in the scole, that is to say in the mornyng, and at none, and at eveninge.

In the scole in no tyme in the yere, they shall use talough candell in no wise, but alonly waxe candell, at the costes of theyr frendes.

Also I will they bring no meate nor drinke, nor bottell nor use in the school no breakefasts, nor drinkings, in the tyme of learnyng in no wise, yf they nede drincke let them be provided in some other place.

I will they use no cockfightinge, nor rydinge about of victorie, nor disputing at saint Bartilmewe, which is but foolish babling, and losse of time. I will also that they shall have no remedies [play-dayes]. Yf the maister grantith any remedies he shall forfeit xls. *totiens quotiens* excepte the kyng, or an archbissopp, or a bishop present in his own person in the scole desire it.

All these children shall every Childermas daye come to Paulis churche and hear the childe bishop sermon; and after be at the hygh masse, and each of them offer a *id.* to the childe bysshop^b and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole.

^b Mr. Strype, in his Memorials Ecclesiastical under Queen Mary, p. 206, gives the following account of the ceremony of the boy bishop mentioned in these statutes, viz. "Re-
" cause the way of celebrating St.
" Nicolas' day is so odd and strange,
" let me add here a word or two explanatory of it. The memory of this
" saint and bishop Nicolas was thus
" solemnized by a child, the better
" to remember the holy man, even
" when he was a child, and his
" childlike virtues when he became

" a man. The Popish Festival tells
" us, that while he lay in his cradle,
" he fasted Wednesdays and Fri-
" days, sucking but once a day on
" those days. And his meekness and
" simplicity, the proper virtues of
" children, he maintained from his
" childhood as long as he lived: 'and
" therefore, saith the Festival, chil-
" dren done him worship before all
" other saints.' This boy-bishop, or
" St. Nicolas, was commonly one of
" the choristers, and therefore in
" the old offices was called *episcopus*

In general processions when they be warnid they shall go twayne and twayne together soberlye, and not singe out, but say devoutlye tweyne and tweyne vii psalmes with the letanye.

To theyr vrine they shall go thereby to a place appointed, and a poore childe of the scole shall se it conveyed awaye fro tyme to tyme, and have the avayle of the vrine, for other causes yf nede be they shall go to the watersyde.

Yf any childe after he is receyved, and admitted into the scole go to any other scole, to learne there after the maner of that scole, than I will that suche childe for no mans suite shall be hereafter received into our scole, but go where him lyst, where his frendes shall thincke shall be better learninge. And this I will be shewed unto his frendes or other that offer him at his first presenting in to the scole.

What shall be taught.

As touching in this scole what shall be taught of the maisters and learned of the scolars, it passeth my witte to devyse, and determyne in particular, but in general to speake and sume what to saye my mynde, I would they

“ *choristarum, bishop of the choristers,* and chosen by the rest to this honour. But afterward there were many St. Nicolases, and every parish almost had his St. Nicolas. And from this St. Nicolas' day to Innocents' day at night, this boy bore the name of a bishop, and the state and habit too, wearing the mitre and the pastoral staff, and the rest of the pontifical attire; nay, and reading the holy offices. While he went his procession, he was much feasted and treated by the people, as, it seems, much valuing his blessing, which made the citizens so fond of keeping this holyday.”

He mentions also, p. 208, a procession on St. Paul's day by every parish in the city, before which went two schools; that is, first all the

children of the Gray Fryars, and then those of St. Paul's school.

As also another general procession on March 8, 1554, wherein the processioners were all the children of Paul's school, &c.

These last are only mentioned to shew how considerable St. Paul's school was in that reign, but seem not to be what is hinted at here of the boy-bishop, of whom the learned Mr. Gregory of Christ-church observes, in his posthumous pieces, that there is one of them at Salisbury buried in his *pontificalibus*, as dying in that office. I shall only remark, that there might this at least be said in favour of this old custom, that it gave a spirit to the children; and the hopes that they might one time or other attain to the real mitre, made them mind their books.

were taught always in good literature bothe Laten and Greke, and good autors such as have the verrye Romaine eloquence joyned with wisdom, specially Cristen autors, that wrote theire wisdom with clean and chaste Laten, other in verse or in prose, for my intent is by this scole specially to encrease knowlege and worshippinge of God and our Lord Christ Jesu, and good Cristen life and maners in the children. And for that entent I will the children learne first above all the catechizon in Englishe and after the accidens, that I made, or some other, yf any be better to the purpose, to induce children more spedely to Laten speeche. And then *Institutum Christiani Hominis*, which that learned Erasmus made at my requeste, and the boke called *Copia* of the same Erasmus. And then other authors Christian, as Lactantius, Prudentius, and Proba and Sedulius, and Juvencus and Baptista Mantuanus, and suche other as shall be thought convenient and most to purpose unto the true Laten speeche, all barbary, all corruption, all Laten adulterate which ignorant blinde foles brought into this worlde and with the same hath dystained and poysonyd the olde Laten speche and the veraye Romaine tongue whiche in the tyme of Tully and Salust, and Virgill, and Terence, was usid, whiche also sainte Jerome and sainte Ambrose and saint Austen and many holy doctors lernid in theyre tymes. I saye that fylthines and all suche abusion whiche the later blynde worlde brought in whiche more rather may be called blotterature then litterature, I utterly abannyshe and exclude out of this scole, and charge the maisters that they teache alwaye that is beste, and instruct the children in Greke and redyngge Laten in redyngge unto them suche autors that hathe with wisdom joyned the pure chaste eloquence.

The Mercers.

The honourable company of mercers of London, that is to saye, the maister and all the wardens, and all the assistance of the felowshyppe, shall have all the care and charge rule and governaunce of the scole, and they shall

every yere chose of their companye II honeste and substantiall men called the surveyors of the schole, whiche in the name of the hoole felowship shall take all the charge and besynesse about the schole, for that one yere. They shall oversee and receave all the landes of the scole, and see them repayred from tyme to tyme by their officers, and such officer as they appoint to be renter, or to other besynesse of the scole for his more labor in the scole besyness; I wyll he have xx*s.* a yere, and a gowne price xiii*s.* 4*d.*

The surveyors of the scole shall come into the scole vi dayes before Xtmasse vi dayes before Ester, vi dayes before sainte John Baptiste daye, and vi dayes before Michaelmass, and paye the highe maister and the surmaister, and the preste their quarter wages, and at the latir end of the yere, they shall gyve accompte to the maisters, wardens and assistence of the felowshype.

Their accompts shall be about Candlemasse, three dayes before or three dayes after Candlemasse. In that daye appointed shall be an assembly, and a litell dinner ordeyned by the surveyors not exceedinge the pryce of fower nobles.

In that daye they shall call to a rekeninge all the estate of the scole, and see the accompte and discharge the olde surveyors, and to the younger chose another and in that daye after the accompte they shall geve to the maister warden a noble yf he be present or else not. To eche of the other wardens *V*s.** yf they be present or else not.

To the surveyors eche of them *XI*s.** for theyre labors for that yere. For theyr ryding and vysityng of theyre landes to eche of them *XI*s.** yf they ryde.

The clerke of the mercery shall inacte all thinges that daye and have for his labor *ii*s.* iii*d.**

See that the stuarde bring in his court rolles ear he have his fee.

See that the bayliffes renewe theyr rentals every yere. Let not the landes of the schole, but by the space of five yeres.

That is spared that daye in rewardes and charges lett it be put in the treasure of the scole.

They shall dyvers tymes in the quarter come to the scole and see how they do.

Every yere at the foot of the accompte all ordynary charges done, the overplus of the monye which at this daye is extemed, this I hooly gyve to the felowshippe of the mercery to the mainteyning and supporting and repaying of that longeth to the scole from tyme to tyme.

And albeit my mynde is that they shall have this surplusage for thentent aboveseyd, yet nevertheless I will the sayd surplusage as much as shall be spared of it, above reparations and casuelties at every accompte be brought and put in a cofir of iron gyven of me to the mercers standyng in ther hall, and there from yere to yere remayne aparte by it self that it may appere how the scole by the owne selfe maynteneth it self. And at length over and above the own lyvelode; if the saide scole shall grow to any further charge to the mercery that than also that may appere to the laude and prayse and meryte of the sayde felowshippe.

Libertye to declare the Statutes.

And notwithstanding these statutes and ordinances before written in which I have declared my mynde and will. Yet because in tyme to come many thyngs may and shall survyve and growe by many occasions and causes whiche at the making of this booke was not possible to come to mynde. In consideration of the assured truthe and circumspect wisdom and faithfull goodnes of the most honest and substantial felowshype of the mercery of London to whome I have commytted all the care of the schole, and trustyng in theyre fidelite and love that they have to God and man and to the scole, and also belevyng verely, that they shall allwaye drede the great wrath of God. Both all this that is sayde, and all that is not sayde whiche hereafter shall come unto my mynde whyle I live to be sayde, I leve it hooly to theyre discretion and charite: I mean of the wardens and assistances of the felowshype with suche other counsell as they shall call unto them good lettered and learned men, they to adde and diminishe of this boke,

and to supply in it every defaulte. And also to declare in it every obscure and darknes as tyme and place and just occasion shall require; calling the dredefull God to loke upon them in all suche besynes and exorting them to feare the terrible judgment of God whiche seeth in derkness, and shall render to everye man accordynge to his workes. And finally prayinge the great Lorde of mercye for theyre faythfull dealing in this matters now and alweye to send unto them in this worlde muche wealth and prosperyte, and after this lyfe muche joye and glorye.

The Landes of the Scolle.

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Fyrste of the olde scole		xx	
<i>Item</i> the iiij shoppes in the holde of Berel	iiij		
<i>Item</i> the tenements in Bridge-strete	viii	vi	viii
<i>Item</i> the tenements in Soperlane ...	vi	xiii	iiij
<i>Item</i> the tenements in Poding-lane...	vi	xiii	iiij
<i>Item</i> the holdes without Aldgate ...	vi	xviii	
Summa.....	xxxiii	xi	iiij
<i>Item</i> the maners and landes and tenements in the counte of Buck. ...	lii	xi	ix
<i>Item</i> the maner of Vach in Barton with the members	viii	iiij	vi ob
<i>Item</i> the maner of Berwieke	viii		
<i>Item</i> of landes in Colchester	iii	xiii	iiij
Summa	lxxii	ix	vii ob
<i>Item</i> a tenement and certen closes late in the holde of William Role by the yere		l	
<i>Item</i> a tenement and a close late in the holde of Clyfton		xxvi	viii
<i>Item</i> a close late in the holde of maister Wellis		xxiii	iiij

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Item</i> another litell close in the holde of the same maister Wellis		v	
<i>Item</i> a barne late in the holde of the same man.....		vi	viii
<i>Item</i> of Edmonde Role for iiii acres of lande of the backside of White- hart-strete		v	
<i>Item</i> of Chrystopher Hall for certen lande late John Atfeux by the yere	vii		
<i>Item</i> of the same Hall for viii acres of lande in London felde		xvi	
<i>Item</i> of Mr. Crystofer Middleton for a certen tenement there		xx	
<i>Item</i> iiii little tenements there		xiii	iiii
<i>Item</i> ix acres pasture next the place there		xxx	
<i>Item</i> a place with gardens there		xl	
Summa.....	xviii	xvi	
Payde to the bisshopp of London yerely at iiii termes of londes and tenements before		lii	iiii
Summa clar	xvi	iii	viii
Summa totalis	cxxii	iiii	vii ob
Whereof deducted for the shoppes in the holdyng of Berell for a } certain tyme	iiii		
Remayneth clere	cxviii	iiii	vii ob

Charges ordinarie out payde yerely.

To the hye maister	lii marc.
The under maister	xxvi marc.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The preste	viii		
Theyr lyverye.....	iiii		
The supervisours	iiii		
For the visitation of landes	iiii		
The clerke		iii	iiii
The maister warden		v	
To stuardes		xl	
To baylyffs		xl	
The costes of the dyner		xxvi	viii
The officer of the mercery renter of the scole		xx	
For his gowne		xiii	iiii
<hr/>			
Summa.....	lxxix	viii	iiii
<hr/>			
So resteth to the reparations suytes casuelties and all other charges } extraordinarye	xxxviii	xvi	iii ob

Joannes Colett fundator nove scole manu mea propria.

Number VI.

An account of the high masters of St. Paul's school.

WILLIAM LILLY, the first master of this school, was born at Odiham, in Hampshire. After he had travelled abroad in Italy, where he acquired the knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, and had made some stay in the isle of Rhodes for the same purpose, having also visited Jerusalem, at his return to England he set up a private school, till Dr. Colet pitched upon him for the head master of his new erected school at Paul's, where he taught ten years; preferring him the rather for his being a married man, and the father of many children. He was the godson of the famous William Grocyn, who dying in 1522 left a legacy to him. The Latin Graumar commonly used goes

under his name, though, as is before shewn, his patron Dr. Colet and others had a hand in it: however, he is said to be the first English traveller that brought Greek out of Italy to Oxford about the year 1490^c. He was author and translator of several miscellaneous pieces^d, though Mr. Wood, in his account of him, forgets to mention any of them. He was greatly valued by the learned men of his time: we have a great elogy of him in Ric. Pace's ded. epist. to Colet, prefixed before his book of *The Use of Learning*, set down in this Appendix.

He composed (in gratitude to his patron dean Colet) the epitaph in Latin verse which was inscribed upon his monument in St. Paul's church.

He himself died of the plague in the year 1522; was buried in St. Paul's church; having, on a brass plate fixed in the wall by the north door, an epitaph composed by his son George Lilly, and was as follows:

*Gulielmo Lilio
Paulinæ scholæ olim præceptor
primario, et Agnetæ conjugii
sacratissimo in hujus templi
Cæmeterio hinc a tergo
nunc destructo, consepultis
Georgius Lilius
hujus ecclesiæ canonicus
Parentum memoriæ
piè consulens
Tabellam hanc ab amicis conservatam
hic reponendum curavit.*

^c Polydore Vergil gives him this character: that he was "Vir (quem admodum dicit Horatius) integer vitæ scelerisque purus, postquam in Italia aliquot per annos perfectis literis operam dederat, domum reversus Anglorum primus eas docuit." *Angl. Hist.* lib. xxvi. folio 1534.

^d Gulielmus Lilius Mori sodalis, cum quo vertendis Græcis epigrammatibus jam olim collusit, quæ pro-

gymnasmatum titulo sunt inscripta, Britannus est, vir omnifariam doctus, non modo Græcos authores, sed et ejus nationis mores vernaculos domestice notos habens, ut qui in insula Rhodo fuerit aliquos annos commoratus; is nunc ludum literarium quem Londini Coletus instituit magna cum laude exeret. *Beati Rhenani Epistola ad Bilibaldum in principio Epigram. Thomæ Mori, Ato. Bas.* 1518.

Erasmus gives Lilly, before the epistle to the Syntax, this character: that he was *utriusque literaturæ hand vulgariter peritus, et recte instituendæ pubis artifex*; i. e. that he was a man singularly skilful in both kinds of literature, [Latin and Greek,] and an artist in the bringing up of youth. He had many great scholars, who proved afterwards famous in their generations; as Lupset, sir Anth. Denny, sir Edw. North, sir Will. Paget, &c.

His son-in-law and successor Ritwyse has left these verses on him:

*Vivere perpetuis si possunt nomina chartis,
Ac cineri quemquam est fuis superesse suo;
Credere tuo hoc, Lili, doctrinæ munere claro,
Dignus es æterna posteritate frui.*

His own son George, being born in London, was educated in Magdalen college in Oxford; travelled afterwards to Rome, where he was received into the protection of cardinal Pole, and became noted there for his singular parts and learning; and after his return, (in queen Mary's reign,) was made canon of St. Paul's cathedral and prebendary of Canterbury. He was author of *Elogia Doctorum Virorum in Anglia, et Chronicon Angl. Regum. 4to. Francof. 1565.*

JOHN RITWYSE, or RIGHTWYSE, in Latin *Justus*, was the second head master, having before been Mr. Will. Lilly's usher. He was born at Sawl, in Norfolk, educated in Eton school, elected into King's college in Cambridge anno 1507. He made the tragedy of Dido out of Virgil, and acted the same with the scholars of his school before cardinal Wolsey with great applause. He married Dionysia, the daughter of Mr. Will. Lilly, whom he succeeded in the head master's place, 24th Hen. VIII. anno 1522. After his death she was married again to James Jacob, one of the

^e Leland dedicates a copy of verses to him under the following title: *Ad Justum Paulinæ Scholæ Moderatorem.*

Qui linguas teneris nova refingis

*Quadam dextertate, nec ruinam
Musarum pateris nitentium ut-
lam,
Tu nunc Juste, meum manu be-
nigna
Carmen suscipe ———*

masters of this school, by whom she had a son, called Polydore Jacob, probably the godson of Polyd. Vergil. This Ritwyse was a most eminent grammarian and critic: he revised and corrected his father Lilly's Latin Grammar, and made useful additions to it: for whereas the Grammar, as completed by Lilly, was mostly in prose Latin, under the four parts of *Orthographia*, *Etymologia*, *Syntaxis*, and *Prosodia*, master Rytwyse put the finishing hand to *Propria quæ maribus*, and like rules of finding the præterperfect tenses and supines of verbs, called *As in presentif*; as Mr. Robinson afterwards added the rules of *Heteroclitites*, beginning *Quæ genus*, &c. He was head master ten years, as his father-in-law had been before him, and dying in the year 1532, was succeeded by

RICHARD JONES, who entered upon the government of the school the same year, of whom a learned foreigner gives a very good character^g.

THOMAS FREEMAN succeeded in 1549, having remained here ten years, gave way to

JOHN COOK, M. A. admitted into King's college, Cambridge, anno 1533. He seems to be a native of Lincolnshire, and schoolfellow with the lord treasurer Burleigh; as may be conjectured from a letter of the said Cook to the said lord, thankfully acknowledging the obliging reception that great minister of state once gave him after a long absence and intermission of acquaintance. He was rector of North Cadbury in Somersetshire, given him by the earl of Huntingdon, by the interest of lord Burleigh.

We have nothing more to remark of him, but that he succeeded in this place the very year that queen Elizabeth came to the crown: and by his direction and care, one of

^f Gulielmi Liliæ grammatici et poetæ eximii, Paulinæ scholæ olim moderatoris, de generibus nominum ac verborum præteritis et supinis regulæ pueris apprime utiles. Opus recognitum et adauctum cum nominum ac verborum interpretamentis, per Joannem Rituissum scholæ Paul-

inæ præceptorem. *Antverpiæ apud Mich. Hillenium. An. M.D.XXXIII.*

^g — Lilio mortuo Ryghthusus et Ryghthuso Ricardus Jonys homo doctus atque modestus successerit. *Polyd. Verg. Urb. Angl. Hist. p. 1534.*

the scholars of his school spoke a congratulatory oration to her in her passage through the city, as she came over-against the school, with some verses to the same purpose; which were graciously received by her majesty, and are as follows, out of Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 1177.

Philosophus ille divinus Plato inter multa præclare ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit; rempublicam illam felicissimam fore, cui princeps sophiæ studiosa, virtutibusque ornata contigerit. Quem si vere dixisse censamus (ut quidem verissime) cur non terra Britannica plauderet? Cur non populus gaudium ac lætitiã agitaret? Immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notarct? Quo princeps talis nobis adest, qualem priores non viderunt, qualemque posteritas haud facile cernere poterit, dotibus quam animi, tam corporis undique felicissima. Casti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ sunt, ut oratione non cgeant. Animi vero tot tantæque ut ne verbis quidem caprini possint. Hæc nempe regibus summis orta morum atque animi nobilitate genus cæuperat.

Hujus pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britannicam virtutibus illustrabit, clypeoque justitiæ teget. Hæc literis Græcis et Latinis cæmia, ingenioque præpollens est. Hac imperante pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea secula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli tot comoda accepturi, Elizabetham reginam nostram celeberrimam, ab ipso Christo hujus regni imperio destinatam, honore debito prosequimini. Hujus imperiis animo libentissimo subditi estote, vosque tali principe dignos præbete, et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus officium præstare possunt, nos alumni hujus scholæ ab ipso Colto olim templi Paulini decano extractæ, teneras palmas ad cælum tendentes, Christum Opt. Max. precaturi sumus, ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestorcos summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matremque pignoribus charis beatam reddat. Amen.

*Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, lætare, resulta,
Præsto jam vita est, præsidiumque tibi.*

*En tua spes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne,
 Venit jam solidam quæ tibi præstat opem,
 Succurritque tuis rebus quæ pessum abiectæ,
 Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet.
 Omnia floreant, redeunt nunc circa sæcla,
 In melius surgent, quæ cecidere bona.
 Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam,
 Cujus in accessu commoda tot capies.
 Salve igitur dicas, imo de pectore summo,
 Elizabeth regni non dubitanda salus,
 Virgo venit, veniatque optes comitata deinceps,
 Pignoribus charis, læta parens veniat.
 Hoc Deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,
 Qui cælum et terram condidit atque regit.*

WILLIAM MALIN, OF MALIM^h, of King's college in Cambridge, afterwards lived at the court; son (perhaps) to John Malin, physician, buried in St. Peter's, Cornhill, London, and that gave 40*l.* to the poor of the parish; a neat scholar, writ a fine hand, and master of a very good Latin style, and had been a great traveller, having seen Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and many other famous cities in Asia. Upon his return, he was presented to secretary Cecyl by sir Ambrose Cave: the secretary retained him at his table, and he, with the then earl of Leicester, recommended him to the queen. Sir Will. Cecyl afterwards employed him to retrieve what he could of the writings of sir Tho. Chaloner, and he prepared and published his ingenious work *De Republ. Anglorum*, wrote in Latin verse. He had two great patrons, viz. the aforesaid Cecyl, after lord treasurer, and the great earl of Leicester. After he had been near seven years master of this schoolⁱ, he grew weary of his work, in rolling of Sisiphus's stone, (as he called it,) and applied himself to his great patron the lord treasurer, acquainting him with his resolution of resigning, and praying his favour

^h Grant of arms and crest to Wm. Malyn, comit. Kent, gentleman, master of arts, and knight of the sepulchre, by Robert Cooke, clarencieux. MS. in Bibl. Harleian. No.

1116. p. 69. NORTH.

ⁱ An oration in Latin by Mr. Wm. Malin, master of St. Paul's school, to duke John Cassimer. 1578. NORTH.

to provide him somewhat more agreeable, more easy, and more profitable employment, (for in those times the salary was not so weighty and encouraging as since it hath been;) he complained to his foresaid patron, *Me nimium paupertate gravari, libertate privari, conculcari doctrinam, spes meas exinaniri*; he desired not, he said, a freedom from all labours, but

Mitius exilium, pauloque quietius opto;

he wished for a milder and more quiet banishment; concluding his letter with these verses:

*Adsis tu Cynosura mihi, ter nobilis heros,
Ne tenui in mensa desit mediocre salinum,
Ne nimium fractum, me rodant tristis egestas,
Nec ego perpetuo curis involvar acerbis.
Hæc mea vota precor supplex, ne segnius hauri
Candide Mæcnas, unus qui singula possis.
Sic tibi multiplices current feliciter anni
Prospera magnanimi, numeres et lustra Metelli.*

He stayed about two years after this application to the lord treasurer, and then departed, and seems to have got a prebendship of Lincoln, and became afterwards master of Eton school.

JOHN HARRISON, M.A. he was was also of King's college in Cambridge: a great antiquary for coins and English history. He had some contest with the mercers about his salary; and by an order agreed and established, it was considerably increased to him and his successors^k. He was master fifteen years.

RICHARD MULCASTER came in upper master in the year 1596: he was born in the city, at least the county of Carlisle, Mr. Strype says more largely Cumberland or Westmorland; educated in Eton school; elected scholar of King's college in Cambridge in 1548, and student of Christ's church in Oxford in the year 1555, (as Mr. Wood says.) He was

^k Mr. Strype, in his Additions to Stow's Survey.

chosen the first master of Merchant Tailors' school in London, anno 1561; where, after he had spent twenty-five years, and had brought up many excellent scholars, among whom the most eminent was Lancelot Andrews, afterwards bishop of Winchester, who had alway such a regard for him, that he placed his picture over his study door, and in his last will left his son Peter Mulcaster a legacy of twenty pounds¹. The Merchant Tailors were desirous to have had him ended his days in their service; but, as Mr. Strype says, he did not care to do so, saying, *Fidelis servus perpetuus asinus*.

Such was his discipline in his school, that the indulgence of parents rather increased than mitigated his severity on their offending children; but though he was, as one calls him^m, *Plagosus Orbilius*, yet this somewhat qualified the matter, he was impartial.

He was also of great account for his learning of all sortsⁿ at that time, especially for his knowledge of the oriental languages, for which he was highly valued by that great English rabbi, Hugh Broughton. For the use of his school, he wrote a Catechism in Latin in hexameter and pentameter verses: and two books; the former he dedicated to queen Elizabeth, it being of public service, viz. concerning the training up of children in both health and learning: the latter, or *Elementarie*, teaches the writing of English, dedicated to the earl of Leicester. *This is mentioned in the Catalogue of Authors before Mr. Strype's edition of Stow's Survey of London.* Having resigned Paul's school three years before his death, we find him prebendary of Yatesbury, in the church of Sarum; and at the same time, if not soon afterwards, in the rectory of Stanford Rivers in Essex, given him by queen Elizabeth; where he died 15th April, 1611, and lies there buried in the chancel of that church.

ALEXANDER GILL, senior, born in Lincolnshire, 27th

¹ Bishop Buckridge's Funeral Sermon for the said bishop, at the end of bishop Andrews's Century of Sermons.

^m Dr. Fuller.

ⁿ He published Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ in Latin, and his own translation in English. 8vo. 1599. NORTH.

Febr. 1564; admitted scholar of Corpus Christi, Oxon, in Sept. 1583; M.A. 1590; left the college, and became an instructor of youth (possibly in Norwich) where he lived, in 1597, and then wrote his Treatise of the Trinity. In 1608 he became the chief master of St. Paul's school, esteemed by most persons to be a learned man, a noted Latinist, critic, and divine; and also to have such an excellent way in training up of youth, that none in his time went beyond him. He died in his own house, in St. Paul's churchyard, 17th Nov. 1635, and was buried in Mercers' chapel, or rather the antechapel, near the monument of Mr. Brown and Mr. Fishbourne^o. He wrote a book, (as Mr. Strype says,) entitled *Logonomia*, for amending and rectifying the writing of the English language^p; and being a divine as well as a critic, he wrote that tract (before mentioned) of the Trinity in Unity against a certain anabaptist; and another book, entitled, *Sacred Philosophy of holy Scripture*^q.

ALEX. GILL, jun. 1635, (was made master here,) born in London, commoner of Trinity college, Oxon, in the beginning of 1612, having an exhibition from the Mercers' company. When M.A. he became usher under his father in St. Paul's school, and under Thomas Farnabie, the famous schoolmaster in Goldsmith's-rents. He succeeded his father in the office of chief master 1635, and in the next year took the degree of doctor of divinity, being then accounted one of the best Latin poets in the nation. In 1640 he was removed from the school, with an allowance of 25*l.* per ann. whereupon he taught certain youths privately in Aldersgate-street, London, where he died in 1642, and was buried in the church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate. To what Mr. Wood says of Dr. Gill, Mr. Strype only adds, that he was not only one of the best Latin poets of his time, but that many pieces of his poetry are extant, but doth not mention where. He has a copy of Latin verses before lord Verulam's *Instauratio magna*, and probably some others

^o Wood's Athen.

^p And a copy of verses printed

before Speed's History. NORTH.

^q Both bound together. NORTH.

of the like nature. He remained master of the school the shortest time of any master before or since; coming in 1635, and being removed five years after, very probably for his too great severity, though with the above-mentioned allowance.

JOHN LANGLEY, born near Banbury in Oxfordshire; commoner of Magdalen hall, Oxon, 1612; took the degrees in arts, and some years after was made master of the college school, and prebendary of the cathedral church of Gloucester; elected chief master of St. Paul's school in Jan. 1640; an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian, cosmographer, and artist; as also a most judicious divine, and great antiquary; yet a puritan, and a witness against archbishop Laud. He died in his house, joining to St. Paul's school, 13th Sept. 1657, and was buried in Mercers' chapel, with a funeral sermon by Dr. Edward Reynolds, touching the use of human learning, wherein he said much to the honour of the defunct. He was so much in favour with the worshipful company of Mercers, his patrons, that they accepted of his recommendation of his successor. Mr. Strype says he was a general scholar, and especially a great antiquary in matters of our own country, of the stories and curiosities whereof he made a considerable collection in his travels. He was known and beloved by the learned Selden. He composed a short Rhetoric, and a compendious *Prosodia*, for the use of his school, besides divers amendments, additions, and explanations of the Latin and Greek Grammars used by his scholars. He had a very awful presence and speech, that struck a mighty respect and fear in his scholars, which however wore off after they were a little used to him; and his management of himself towards them was such, that they both loved and feared him. He was a single man. When buried, all the scholars attended his funeral, walking before the corpse (hung with verses instead of escutcheons) from the school through Cheapside, with white gloves on, to Mercers' chapel. His funeral text was in Acts vii. *And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the*

Egyptians: in which^r, Dr. Reynolds says, “he was learned
 “in the whole body of learning; not only an excellent lin-
 “guist and grammarian, historian, cosmographer, artist,
 “but a most judicious divine, and a great antiquary in the
 “most memorable things of this nation. Into whatsoever
 “parts of the land he travelled, he was able to refresh and
 “to instruct his fellow-travellers in the most remarkable
 “particulars of every country. Pausanias was not more
 “accurate in the description of Greece than he of Eng-
 “land. And I have heard, that he had it sometimes in his
 “thoughts to have published something in this kind. He
 “was a man of a solid judgment; he always spake *e sulco*
 “*pectoris*; and I have not without very great satisfaction
 “heard him give his notions upon difficult places of scrip-
 “ture, and arguments of divinity in ordinary discourse, as
 “if he had elaborately studied them: says he, I never
 “knew any learned subject spoken of in his company,
 “wherein he was not able most dexterously to deliver his
 “opinion. He was a man of a copious discourse, but withal
 “so solid a judgment, as did ever delight his auditors,
 “never weary them.

“He was most exactly answerable to the trust of his
 “place: *opprimi potius onere officii maluit, quam illud*
 “*deponere*, as once Tully spoke. It was hardly possible
 “for any friend, by any importunity, to draw him from a
 “most punctual observation of timely attendance upon the
 “duties of his place. And so tenderly fearful was he of
 “miscarriage herein, and so sensible of any the least defect,
 “that in a former sickness he desired, if he should then
 “have died, to have been buried at the school door, in re-
 “gard he had in his ministration there, come short of the
 “duties which he owed unto the school.” See more in the
 same sermon in bishop Reynolds’s works, fol. Lond. 1679.
 p. 881.

SAMUEL CROMLEHOLME, or CRUMLUM, of Corpus Christi,

^r St. Paul’s school flourishes this day as much as ever under the care of Mr. John Langley, the able and

religious schoolmaster thereof. *Dr. Tho. Fuller’s Church History*, book v. p. 168.

Oxon, who (as Mr. Strype says) was removed from the government of Gloucester school hither. I am apt to believe it should have been Dorchester, where I am assured he taught school with great reputation for several years. He was *πολύγλωττος*, one that understood a great many languages, and exceeded his predecessor in that part of learning. In his time the school was burnt in the great fire, and he lost an incomparable library, for he was very curious in books; but he lived to teach school there again after the beautiful rebuilding of it. He died a married man, but without children. He was very happy in sending out many excellent scholars from under his care. And this (as Dr. Fuller says) should, amongst other motives, make schoolmasters careful in their place; because the eminencies of their scholars have commended the memories of their schoolmasters to posterity, who otherwise in obscurity had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. Bond, in Lancashire, but for the breeding of learned Ascham, his scholar? Or of Hartgrave, in Brundly school, in the same county, but because he was the first that did teach the worthy Dr. Whitaker? Nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaster for any thing so much as for his scholar, that gulf of learning, bishop Andrews. This made the Athenians, (says^s the same author,) the day before that great feast of Theseus, their founder, to sacrifice a ram to the memory of Conidas his schoolmaster that first instructed him. I could enumerate many of this man's scholars who arrived to great eminency of one kind or other, besides the great duke of Marlborough, bishop Cumberland, Mr. Dodington, Dr. Gower, Mr. Strype, &c. were it needful †.

THOMAS GALE, D. D. was born at Scruton, in Yorkshire, and educated at Westminster school; from whence he went to Cambridge, was admitted into Trinity college, and afterwards became fellow of the same, and Greek pro-

^s Fuller's Holy State, p. 102. Cantab. 1648.

† He died Sunday, July 21, 1672, and was buried the Fryday following at the lord mayor's chappel by

Guildhall. Dr. Wells, of Aldersgate, preached his funeral sermon. Rings were given, whose poesie was *Redime Tempus*. Smith's Obituary, NORTH.

fessor of the university. In 1672 he was chosen head master of St. Paul's school in London, and had the honour to be employed by the city in writing their elegant inscriptions on the Monument, erected in memory of the dreadful conflagration 1666. In the year 1676 he was made prebendary of St. Paul's, being one of them called *Consumpt. per Marc.* He was also a member of the Royal Society^u; and gave to the repository of Gresham college a Roman urn with its ashes. About the year 1697 he gave to the new library of Trinity college a great number of curious Arabic manuscripts. After he had continued head master of St. Paul's school for twenty-five years, he was in the year 1697 made dean of the metropolitan church of York; where he kept a good table, and was particularly remarkable for his care and good government, and repairing and beautifying the fabric of the cathedral. As to his character, he was a learned divine, a great historian, antiquary, and one of the best Grecians of the age; *and to whom I must ever own myself indebted upon many accounts.*

The several works he has published are undeniable evidences of his indefatigable industry and labour, of which this following is a catalogue: 1. *Herodoti Halicarnassæi Historiarum*, lib. ix. 2. *Jamblicus de Mysteriis Ægyptiorum*. 3. *Rhetores Selecti*. 4. *Historiæ Poeticæ Scriptores Antiqui*. 5. *Opuscula Mythologica, Physica, et Ethica*. 6. *Græcum Psalterium juxta Exemplar Alexandrinum*. 7. *Historiæ Britannicæ et Anglicanæ Scriptores XXV.* vol. ii. Besides which, there were amongst his papers manuscripts very near ready for the press: 1. *Jamblicus de Vita Pythagoræ*. 2. *Origenis Philocalia variis MSS. collecta emendata, et nova Versione donata*. 3. *Antonini Imperatoris Itinerarium Inscriptionibus et Scholiis illustratum*. And, 4. *Sermons on several Festivals*. The two last were published since his death.

He was master of a noble library of choice and valuable books, as well as of a curious collection of many esteemed manuscripts, which, with his estate, he has left to his worthy

^u Admitted 6 Dec. 1677. NORTH.

son, Roger Gale, esq. As he was conversant with the learned of our nation, so also he was well known to foreigners, and had a particular correspondence with Huetius, Mabillion, Baluzius, Jacobus Cappellus, Sebastian Feschius, Jo. Rudolfus, Wetsteinius of Basil, Henry Wetsteinius of Amsterdam, Grævius, Ludovicus Picques, and many others. He departed this life in the 67th year of his age, at the deanery of York, April the 8th, 1702.

Dr. Gale was interred at the east end of the cathedral church of York, and over him is a black marble with the following epitaph :

Æ. M. S.

Thomæ Gale, S. T. P. decani Ebor.

Viri, si quis alius,

Ob multifariam eruditionem

Apud suos ceterosque celeberrimi.

Quale nomen sibi conquisivit.

Apud Cantabrigienses

Collegium S. S. Trinitatis, et

Græcæ linguæ professoris regii cathedra;

Apud Londinates,

Viri literatissimi ad rem publicam

Et patriæ commodum

Ex gymnasio Paulino emissi;

Apud Eboracenses,

Hujus res ecclesiæ,

Heu! vix quinquennio,

At dum per mortem licuit

Sedulo et fideliter administrata,

Et ubicunque agebat donata luce

Veneranda linguæ Græcæ

Et historiæ Anglicanæ

Monumenta,

Marmore loquaciora,

Perenniora,

Testantur.

Ob. Apr. viii A. S. H. MDCCII. æt. suæ LXVII.

JOHN POSTLETHWAYTE, M.A. born at Millom in Cumberland, master of St. Martin's school in the fields, founded by archbishop Tenison; where, by his singular industry and happy way of teaching youth, he acquired such a character from persons of the highest rank, that he was chosen to St. Paul's school anno 1697, upon Dr. Gale's promotion to the deanery of York; where he remitted nothing of his wonted diligence, and from whence also he sent forth very excellent scholars, who have since made a figure in several stations of life. We have a just character of him in the reverend Dr. Hancock's sermon at his funeral, preached at St. Austin's church at his interment, which may supersede any thing farther that I can say of him: only the reader will forgive me in paying a debt of gratitude to his memory by inserting the epitaph designed for him in the aforesaid church, which will give a true idea of him, especially as it concerns that character upon which he stands in this place, a good schoolmaster, and his incessant and almost unparalleled labours to the very last; as also his public benefactions, and gratitude, both to his great patron archbishop Tenison, who raised him; and to Merton college in Oxford, where he was educated, and took the degree of master of arts^x. Upon the experience and thorough knowledge of him, the said archbishop Tenison recommended him with a most ample commendation to the Mercers' company, which Mr. Strype, in his Survey, has set down at large, to say nothing of other very considerable persons who did the same. I shall only add the clause of his will, dated Sept. 5th, 1713, wherein he bequeathes the rectory of Denton, in Norfolk, (about 200*l.* value,) to Merton college in Oxford, where he had his education, at the discretion of the reverend archbishop Tenison, who had been a great patron to him, and encourager of his studies, wherein are these words:

“I give to the most reverend father in God Thomas
“lord archbishop of Canterbury, and to his successors

^x 19 June, 1678. NORTH.

“ lords archbishops of Canterbury for ever, the perpetual
 “ advowson and patronage of the rectory of Denton, in the
 “ county of Norfolk, as I purchased the same of his grace
 “ the duke of Norfolk; and my will and desire is, that
 “ they, the said lords archbishops of Canterbury succes-
 “ sively, collate, whensoever it shall become void, such per-
 “ sons as shall be at those times respectively fellows of Merton
 “ college in Oxford, or such as have been formerly fellows
 “ of the said college, as their graces shall judge fittest and
 “ most worthy.” He gave also 200*l.* for the adorning and
 beautifying of the chancel of the said church, as appears
 from an inscription in the east window thereunto belonging,
 and is as follows:

In the middle of the east window of Denton chancel.

JOANNES POSTLETHWAYTE, A. M.

Hujus ecclesiæ nuper patronus,

*Testamento legavit 200*l.**

Quibus

Tota hæc fenestra

Multicolor conficeretur,

Cancelli hi ornarentur,

Mensa Dominica instruerentur,

Plumboque cooperirentur.

Quæ

Omnia perfecit

MATTHEUS POSTLETHWAYTE,

Patroni nepos

Et

Ecclesiæ rector,

A. D. MDCCXVII.

He had designed to have shewn a specimen of his gratitude, in giving the world some account of the life of dean Colet; but death prevented him.

He died Sept. 26, 1713. The epitaph designed to be put up for him in St. Austin's church is as follows:

*Hic sitæ sunt cæviæ
Joannis Postlethwayt, E. A. P. et A. M.*

De quo, lector, hæc accipe.

Jacobo II^{do}. regnante,

A reverendissimo Tenisono,

Ludo literario, quem ille Jesuitico opposuerat,

Præfectus fuit.

Inde evocatus, scholæ Paulinæ,

per sedecim annos præfuit;

Latinæ linguæ ad optimarum scriptorum normam

Præceptor accuratissimus;

Græcæ et Orientalium plerarumque

tam peritus, quam fuitor singularis;

Necque in bonis ullius generis literis hospes;

Pucrorum ingenia nemo sagacius exploravit,

Feliccius direxit,

aut studiosius promovit;

Id quod testantur ipsius olim discipuli,

Nunc academiarum, ecclesiæ, et reipublicæ

Ornamenta summa.

Vir erat integer, frugi, pius, de omnibus bene meritus,

Omni virtutis genere exornatus;

Principibus in ecclesia viris perquam charus;

Ita non ambitiosus, ut honores,

Aut oblatos ultro recusaret,

Aut, facile impetrabiles, petere noluerit,

sua sorte contentus;

Et tota mente in curam discipulorum incumbens,

Quos cum in schola diutius instituere non potuit,

In suo erudibat cubiculo;

Et cum vi morbi, quo plures menses laborarat,

Lecto affixus esset,

Illic quoque, ferme etiam moriens, docebat.

Obiit 26^o. die Septembr. anno Dni. MDCCXIII. ætatis suæ 63.

Patruo bene merenti posuit Mæstissimus M. P.

PHILIP ASCOUGH, M. A. of Trin. coll. in Cambridge,

was presented by king George to the rectory of St. Olave's, Southwark, and was succeeded by

BENJAMIN MORLANDY, F.R.S. under whom, I must in justice to him say, that this school is in a very flourishing state: so that we need not doubt of hereafter having several more worthies added, to complete the following list of those who have been educated in this school.

A list of the high or upper masters of St. Paul's school, who were chosen as followeth.

1512.	William Lillie.....	Continued 10 years.
1522.	John Ritwyse	10
1532.	Richard Jones	17
1549.	Thomas Freeman	10
1559.	John Cooke	14
1573.	William Malym	8
1581.	John Harrison	15
1596.	Richard Mulcaster	12
1608.	Alexander Gill.....	27
1635.	Dr. Alexander Gill	5
1640.	John Langley	17
1657.	Samuel Cromleholme	15
1672.	Dr. Thomas Gale	25
1697.	John Postlethwayte.....	16
1713.	Philip Ascough	8
1721.	Benjamin Morland	12
1733.	Timothy Crumpe, died Jan. 31, 1737	4
1737.	George Charles ^z , D.D.	11
1748.	George Thicknesse, resigned	21 ^{NORTH.}
1769.	Richard Roberts, D.D.	45 ^{NORTH.}
1814.	John Sleath, D.D.	

^y He died Oct. 9, 1733, aged 80.

^z Dr. Charles resigned in 1748, appointed secretary to the earl of

Rochford, ambassador to the court of Turin. ^{NORTH.}

Number VII.

A short account of the scholars educated at St. Paul's school.

THOMAS NIGHTINGALE, born in London, and, as Mr. Wood thinks, educated under Mr. Will. Lilly in 1515, was in Oxford admired for his wit, especially for the things he published: viz. *De obitu Joannis Colet carmen: In mortem Gul. Liliæ Elegiæ*. Which are both very scarce.

THOMAS LUPSET was one of the first eminent scholars of this school under the same master; having laid a foundation there of knowledge in the learned tongues, and other studies of humanity, he was enabled thereby to become very useful in the university of Oxford, where (as Mr. Moore, in an epistle to Erasmus, informs us) he taught the learned languages, especially the Greek tongue. Erasmus also, in a letter to Colet, mentions him as having been very useful to him in his studies, as well as agreeable to him for his conversation, while he was at Cambridge^a. He died in the year 1531^b, as Erasmus hints to cardinal Poole.

All that Mr. Wood says of him is, that he was the son of William Lupset, goldsmith, in London, born in St. Mildred's, Bread-street, and amanuensis, or study servant, to dean Colet, and by him sent from Paul's school to the university of Oxford; and therefore remembered by dean Colet in his last will, who there calls him his scholar^c. He was buried in St. Alphage church in London.

Amongst the manuscripts of the foresaid Mr. Wood in Oxford, we have a somewhat larger account of him, which for the more curious is here inserted:

^d*Vix ulli felicius unquam inter Britannos quam Thomæ*

^a — Tuus ac vere tuus alumnus Tho. Lupsetus, magno mihi est usui quotidiana consuetudine, et opera, quam mihi commodat in his castigationibus; et operam opera penso, facturum idem copiosius, si per illius studia vacaret, a quibus nolim abducere adolescentem; crede mihi nihil est eo, tui amantius. *Eras. Epist.*

^b St. Martin's, Ludgate. Wm. Revett, LL.D. institut. 1 Jan. 1530. per mortem Thomæ Lupset. NORTH.

^c Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. cor. 28.

^d Vita D. Thomæ Lupseti ex Elogiis Georgii Liliæ Britannii aliisque Scriptoribus collecta per Henricum Jacksonum. *Inter MSS. Ant. a Wood in Musæo Ashmol.*

Lupseto ingenium contingit. Is enim Londini honesto loco natus, et a Johanne Coletto ob egregiam indolem in tutelam aliquamdiu, familiaritatemque receptus, sub Gulielmo Lilio Græcæ et Latinæ linguæ rudimenta didicit, moxque admirabili studio et industria, in optimarum artium cognitione tantus evasit, ut adolescens in Oxoniensi gymnasio Ciceronis Philippicas expressis oratoriæ facultatis coloribus cum magna eruditi ingenii admiratione publice perlegerit. Sed Ludovico Vive homine Hispano, difficiliore prope æmulatione ejus scholam excipiente, in Italiam optimorum ingeniorum parentem transcendit, ac Reginaldo Polo regio sanguine illustri, quem per id tempus rex Henricus VIII. studiorum causa Patavium miserat, se adjunxit; ubi annis aliquot per omnia disciplinarum genera evagatus, mox in patriam reversus, auream illam Chrysostomi eloquentiam precipue admiratus, in sacrarum literarum arce constitit. Cum tamen Thomæ Wolsæi cardinalis Eboracensis importunis efflagitationibus, invitam studiorum suorum rationem perinvitus relinquere coactus est, Thomæ Winterio ejusdem cardinalis alumno, magnis sumptibus Lutetiæ Parisiorum præceptor aliquandiu adhibitus. At inclinata paulo post Eboracensis fortuna, cum jam iterum sui juris esse cœperat, ad antiquam illam Poli familiaritatem, qui etiam ad id tempus peropportune cum summa regis sui gratia in Galliam trajecerat, atque ad pristina sacrarum literarum studia se recepit: cumque jam omnes in summam sui admirationem conjecisset, et honestissimo sacerdotio auctus, ab Henrico rege, haud obscuris benevolentiaë indiciis, repetita sæpe memoria, ad majora destinaretur, pituitæ distillatione a capite, exulceratis pulmonibus tussi, ac febre diu laborans, juvenis adhuc quarto circiter, ac trigesimo ætatis suæ anno, Londini contabuit. Ex ejus scriptis nihil usquam adhuc publice prodiit, eum omnia potius ad privatam usum penes se domi suæ vivens deponeret, quam ulibi post mortem publicanda relinqueret, eademque ut plerunque patrio sermone conscripta, cum tamen et Latino promptissime atque eleganter, non in scriptis tantum sed in familiaribus colloquiis sæpe uteretur. Ex eis autem, quæ nobis adhuc

pueris ab eo ipso aliquando ad describendum tradita meminimus, vel hæc in primis fuere;

1. *Homiliæ aliquot ad Chrysostomi imitationem ad amicos conscriptæ.*
2. *Dialogus, in quo acerrima quadam reprehensione in corruptos sui seculi mores invehitur, maxime vero in depravatam quorundam in aula regia consuetudinem, qui de rebus sacris disputationes in mediis epulis et comotationibus, profanis verborum jurgiis mutuo inter se agitantes, de sacerdotali ordine et dignitate parum reverenter jam tum sentire cæperant.*
3. *Ad juvenem quendam in civili hominum commercio, de formando optimæ vitæ statu.*
4. *Ad alterum familiarem suum de futuræ vitæ generosa præmeditatione, deque morte nequaquam Christiano homini pertimescenda.*

Estant familiares aliquot epistolæ ad Lupsetum ab Erasmo Roterodamo peramanter conscriptæ, maxime vero illa, in qua de Edovardo Læo gravioribus censuræ notis in Novi Testamenti traductione, ejus nomini detractant, et obeliscis quibusdam ejus scripta confodiente, apud Lupsetum, qui Erasmus ipsum a Læi calumnia defendere videbatur, prolixè conqueritur. Obiit quinto et trigesimo circiter ætatis suæ anno; quo tempore Henricus VIII. rex Catherinæ reginæ repudium moliri cæperat.

Hactenus de Lupseto totidem verbis Lilius.

Magnus ille Thomas Morus in epistola quadam ad Erasmus (edita inter alia opuscula Basileæ, 1563.) pag. 454. Lupsetus, inquit, noster magno auditorio summa cum laude sua, nec minore scholasticorum fruge, bonas literas in utraque lingua profitetur Oxoniæ. Intimam cum Moro amicitiam coluit Lupsetus. Alios, inquit Stapletonus in

* This book is printed at London in English; the title runs thus: *An Exhortation to yonge Men, perswadyng them to walk in the pathe way that leadeth to honestie and goodnes, written to a frende of his, by Thomas Lupsete, Londoner.* It

is written from More, a place of my lorde cardinals, (Wolsey,) in the feast of saynt Bartholomew 1529. *Londini in ædibus Thomæ Bartheleti regis impressoris anno MDXXXVIII. Cum privilegio.*

Vitæ Thomæ Mori, cap. v. pag. 196, in politiori literatura amicos et socios habuit Morus, Thomam Lupsetum, ad quem variæ extant Erasmi Epistolæ, in quibus, quanta fuerit ejus et egregia eruditio et intima cum Moro amicitia, evidenter apparet.

Sir ANTHONY DENNY was second son to Edward Denny, one of the barons of the Exchequer, in credit and favour with Edw. IV. and Hen. VII.: he was one of William Lilly's scholars, afterwards was knighted by Hen. VIII. made gentleman of his bedchamber, and privy counsellor. At the dissolution, his master gave him the site of Waltham abbey, with rich lands, for the term of thirty years. He was a great *Mæcenas* to learned men; and to his honour it is recorded, that he did restore the great school of Sedberg in the north to its pristine state, when the buildings were dilapidated, and the lands embezzled. Mr. Ascham gives him the following character; *Religio, doctrina, respublica, omnes curas tuas sic occupant, ut, extra has tres res, nullum tempus consumas*: that he divided his time between religion, learning, and his care for the public. Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, made the following ^fepitaph upon him:

*Death and the king did, as it were, contend
Which of them two bare Denny greatest love:
The king, to show his love gan farre extend,
Did him advance his betters farre above;
Nere place, much wealth, great honour eke him gave,
To make it knowene what power great princes have.
But when death came with his triumphant gift,
From worldly carke he quit his wearied ghost,
Free from the corpes, and straight to heaven it lift.
Now deme, that can, who did for Denny most:
The king gave welth, but fading and unsure;
Death brought him blisse that ever shall endure.*

Sir Anthony died in the 2d of Edward VIth.

WILLIAM PAGET, knight, was born in London of honest parents, who gave him his education in St. Paul's school.

^f Weever's Fun. Monum. p. 832.

Afterwards, his learning and capacity raised him to be a favourite of king Henry VIII. who made him, in the 23d of his reign, first, one of the clerks of the signet; and in the 33d year, clerk of the council, and privy seal; and a little after, clerk of the parliament for life: afterwards he made him his secretary, and employed him as ambassador to Charles the Vth emperor, and Francis king of France. King Edward the VIth made him chancellor of the duchy, comptroller of the household, and created him baron of Beaudesert. Queen Mary made him keeper of the privy seal; and queen Elizabeth, though she dispensed with his attendance at court, yet highly respected him. He died very old, in the year 1563, and his corpse (as Mr. Fuller says) was buried at Litchfield: of whom I shall add no more (referring the reader to the histories of that time) but this one remark; that his being privy counsellor to four successive princes is perhaps a single instance, and not to be paralleled in history, especially if we consider from how low a descent he rose, being only a son to a serjeant at mace in London.

Sir EDWARD NORTH, afterward Edward lord North, baron of Kirtling in Cambridgeshire, was another of those eminent persons who were very early educated in this school under its first master Lillie: he was the son of Roger North, citizen and mercer of London. When he was by age and study fitted for public service, he had various marks of honour conferred upon him by his king and country; and making the law his profession, he was made a serjeant in the year 1536; and at the dissolution of monasteries he was made treasurer of the court of augmentations: in 1542 he was knighted, and served as high sheriff of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon: soon after he became privy counsellor, and at last one of the executors to king Henry VIII. He seemed not in the next short reign of king Edward to have gained ground, being no favourite of the protector Seymour; but soon after queen Mary's accession to the throne, he was not only continued privy counsellor, but also made a baron of the realm. In

her sister's reign, my lord North, being in years, did not desire any public business; and though he seemed not to be a favourite, yet was he not under any visible displeasure of queen Elizabeth, since he had the lieutenantancy for command of the militia for Cambridgeshire and the isle of Ely. He was also employed in a commission by her about those who made claims to perform service by tenure upon the day of her coronation. This was all that he had or would have of the public trust to the day of his death; which happened Dec. 31, 1563, and in the 68th year of his age, at his house, called the Charter-house, near London. His epitaph, as is now to be seen in the chapel adjoining to the south side of the chancel of the church of Kirtling in Cambridgeshire, is as follows:

Serva fidem:

*Edvardum finxit Northum natura beatum,
Addiderat magnas gracia regis opes.
Providus, et sapiens, claros suscepit honores;
Et tamen in tanto comis honore fuit.
Quæ natura dedit, quæ gracia principis auxit,
Omnia mors una sustulit atra die.
Qui obiit ultimo Decembris
Anno Domini 1564.*

Habuit filios Rogerum, nunc dominum North, et Thomam; filias vero Christianam et Mariam quarum altera Willi'mi comitis Wigornie uxor, altera Henrico dom. Scroope nupta.

See more of this noble lord in the MS. life of him in the public library at Cambridge, by Dudley lord North, a descendant, with an account of his gifts to the university, and to Peter-house college in Cambridge; (in the parlour of which college is the picture of this noble lord, amongst other benefactors, with a Latin distich;) to the former of the parsonage of Burwel, and to the latter of that of Ellington in Huntingdonshire. This life was printed at the end of several other pieces of the said Dudley, the second lord North, in the year 1684.

JOHN LELAND was born in London, and educated in St. Paul's school under the famous William Lillie, as that verse of his testifies,

— *Instructor Lilius ille fuit.*

He went afterwards to Christ's college in Cambridge: from thence he transplanted himself into All Souls college in Oxford: where having spent his time very usefully, he made a journey to Paris: there he was received into the friendship of divers very learned men, viz. Budæus, Faber, Paulus Æmilius, and Ruellus. At his return he entered into holy orders, and became rector of Poppeling, in the marches of Calais. Afterwards he became library-keeper to king Henry VIII. and had a commission from him to search into all libraries of cathedrals, abbeys, or colleges, for every thing he could find of antiquities relating to England. 37 of Hen. VIII. he presented the king with a scheme of the whole, under the title of *A new year's gift*; wherein he promised a description of the state of Britain under the Romans, a survey and history of each county in sixty books, a survey of the British isles in six books, and an account of the nobility of Britain in three books. He was afterwards made canon of King's college, (now Christ-church in Oxon,) and had also a prebendship in the church of Sarum. The latter part of his life he spent in the parish of St. Michael in le Querne in London, in writing and composing of those few books he left behind him, and which are of great account amongst antiquaries. Soon after falling distracted, and continuing so, he left his papers in confusion, the greatest part of which are in the public library at Oxford. His *Itinerarium* and *Collectanea* were lately published by Mr. Tho. Hearne at Oxford. His book *De Viris illustribus Angliæ* is almost wholly transcribed by Bale, and from him by Pitts. We have reason to hope for a noble edition of this work, with very valuable additions from a very eminent hand, which will carry it down to the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign. We may see by the subjoined

ε T. Tanner. LEWIS.

z 2

note^b what a value Leland put upon this work. His treatises already printed are, *The Assertion of King Arthur; The Birth of Prince Edward; The Song of the Swan; The Decease of Sir Tho. Wiat; The Winning of Bullein; and Commendation of Peace;* all in Latin.

WILLIAM WHITTAKER, D.D. and king's professor of divinity, deserves a place in this account: his effigies is in Holland's Herologia.

In the first year of king Edward VI. he was born at the manor of Holme, in the parish of Burndley, in the county of Lancaster.

Under his parents he was brought up at grammar-school, until he was ten years of age. About the time of the second restoration of the sincere profession of religion, shortly after the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, he was by his uncle, Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, sent for up to London from his parents, with whom he had been nursed up in popish superstitions, taken into his family, and trained up in further learning, fit for his years, in the public school, founded by Dr. Colet, his pious predecessor.

There he so profited in good literature, and gave such presages of what would afterwards ensue, that being now eighteen years old, he was by the foresaid venerable dean, his uncle, sent to the university of Cambridge, and there admitted into Trinity college; where, making further progress answerable to his former beginnings, he was chosen first scholar, and after fellow of that house; and having received the degree of master of arts, he began now to grow into no small esteem and fame by reason of disputes and other exercises performed by him, with the good approba-

^b Hoc opus magna diligentia, cura, et labore congegimus, atque adeo jam in tomos quatuor * digessimus, ne Britanniae nostrae, fama tot eruditorum, et elegantium scriptorum deperiret. Quotus enim quisque est hac nostra ætate, vel inter eruditos

qui recte novit quos literarum flores Britanniae hortus protulerit. Certe ut ingratitude notam multi in hac parte eluant, nunquam profecto desidia maculam abstergent. *Lelandi Comment. in Cygneam Cantionem.*

* Of these, it seems, he finished only two tomes, which were printed at Oxford 1709, from the author's autograph by Dr. Anthony Hall. LEWIS.

tion and to the great admiration even of the best and chiefest persons. He left this world, to the great loss of God's church, on the fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1595, and in the 47th of his age; having held the professor's chair about sixteen years, and the mastership of St. John's college almost nine. His corpse was, with very great solemnity and general lamentation, brought to the ground, and lieth interred in the chapel of the foresaid college; his epitaph being engraven with letters of gold on a fair stone in the wall near to the place of its interment. Which is as follows:

HIC SITVS EST DOCTOR WHITAKERVS, REGIVS
 OLIM
 SCRIPTVRÆ INTERPRES, QVEM ORNABANT GRA-
 TIA LINGVÆ,
 IVDICIQVE ACIES, ET LVCIDVS ORDO, MEMOR-
 QVE
 PECTVS, ET INVICTVS LABOR, ET SANCTIS-
 SIMA VITA;
 VNA SED ENITVIT VIRTVS RARISSIMA, TAN-
 TAS
 INGENII INTER OPES, SVBMISSIO CANDIDA
 MENTIS:
 HVIVS GYMNASII SVPER ANNOS OCTO MAGI-
 STER
 PROVIDVS, ET RECTI DEFENSOR, ET VLTOR
 INIQVI.

He was at that time the greatest champion of the protestant cause, even by the confession of cardinal Bellarmine himself, who, though he had been so often baffled by him, yet had so great a veneration for his learning, that he had his picture over his study door, and would be often wishing that he was one of his own communion.

He has left behind him the following works: 1. His translation of Dr. Nowel's Catechism into Greek. 2. His translation of bishop Jewel's Dispute against Harding into Latin. 3. His Answer to Edmund Campian his ten Reasons. 4. His Defence of that his Answer against John Du-

rey. 5. His Refutation of Nicolas Sander's Demonstration, whereby he would prove that the Pope is not Antichrist. 6. A Collection thereto added of ancient Heresies, raked up again to make up the popish apostasy. 7. His Thesis propounded and defended at the Commencement 1582, that the Pope is the Antichrist spoken of in Scripture. 8. Answer to William Reynolds against the Preface to that against Sanders, in English. 9. His Disputation concerning the Scripture against the Papists of these times, Bellarmine and Stapleton especially. 10. Defence of the Authority of the Scriptures, against Thomas Stapleton his Defence of the Authority of the Churches. 11. His Lectures on the Controversies concerning the Bishop of Rome, set forth by John Allenson after his decease. 12. His Lectures on the Controversy concerning the Church, set forth by the same party. 13. His Lectures on the Controversy concerning Councils, set forth by the same. 14. A Treatise of Original Sin, against Stapleton's three former books of Justification, set forth by the same. 15. A Lecture on the first of Timothy ii. 4, read on February 27, 1594, before the earl of Essex, and some other honourable persons. 16. His Lectures concerning the Sacraments in general; the Eucharist and Baptism in special: taken by John Allenson, and set forth by Dr. Samuel Ward.

N. B. His learned uncle, Dr. Alex. Nowel, besides his honouring St. Paul's school with the education of this extraordinary person, is said to have been a great favourer of it; which was intimated upon his monument, where it is said, among other things,

— *Præsidi scholæ Paulinæ plurima bona fecit.*

This monument did very much resemble that of dean Colet, and seemed to have it for its pattern; which being consumed together in 1666, are only preserved in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Church: but that set up in the dean's time we have no memorial of it, but that it was a very decent one.

Bishop Aylmer of London, in his will bearing date April

22, 1596, desires to be buried in some convenient place in the cathedral of St. Paul, on the north side, with some decent monument to be erected for him, and his figure set up in imitation of that of John Colet, sometime dean of the said church, standing on the south side. *Strype's Life of Aylmer*, p. 173.

JOHN HOWSON, D. D. bishop of Durham, was of St. Paul's school. Vide *Wood's Athenæ*. NORTH.

WILLIAM CAMDEN was born in 1550, in the Old Bailey, London. From Paul's school, at fifteen years of age, where (as Dr. Smith says) he had laid a good foundation of learning and accuracy in both the Greek and Latin tongues, he was removed to Magdalen college in Oxfordⁱ. Afterwards he became student of Christ Church; from thence, his merit making him famous, he was preferred to be master of Westminster school, where he composed that Greek Grammar which bears his name. After some time spent here very profitably, he was, by queen Elizabeth, first made Richmond herald, and then Clarencieux king of arms. His knowledge in the antiquities of his own country is sufficiently witnessed in his immortal work of his *Britannia*. He was much esteemed by the learned men of his time, abroad as well as at home, such as Thuanus, Is. Casaubon, archbishop Usher, &c. His Annals of Queen Elizabeth is a work justly esteemed by all; and though he had some enemies who carped at him, yet he was far superior to them. He shewed his great zeal for the improvement of learning by his founding a history professorship in Oxford, to which he gave the manor of Bexley in Kent, containing lands to a considerable value; so that he merited that distich,

*Est tibi pro tumulo, Camdene, Britannia tota ;
Oxonium vivens est epigramma tibi.*

ⁱ — Post ad scholam Coletinam quæ ad S. Pauli est, ubi sub vigilantissimis præceptoribus disciplina et cultura ingeniorum maxime viguit, se recepit, inde postquam mentem artibus, quibus ætas juvenilis imbui

solet, sedulo excoluisset (ueque enim ab ineunte ætate bonam indolem destituit industria) ad academiam Oxoniensem opportuno tempore transplantandus. *Vita Camdeni per Smith, præfixa Epistolis*. 1691. 4to.

His *Annals ab anno 1603 ad 1623*, under his own hand, are in Trinity college library at Cambridge, which are lately printed by Dr. Smith after his Epistles. *Lond.* 1691. 4to. He died Novemb. 9th, anno 1623, in the 74th year of his age, and is buried at Westminster. His epitaph is as follows :

QUI · FIDE · ANTIQUA · ET · OPERA · ASSIDUA ·
 BRITANNICAM · ANTIQUITATEM ·
 INDAGAVIT ·
 SIMPLICITATEM · INNATAM · HONESTIS ·
 STUDIIS · EXCOLUIT ·
 ANIMI · SOLERTIAM · CANDORE · ILLUSTRAVIT ·
 GUILIELMUS · CAMDENUS ·
 AB · ELIZABETHA · R · AD · REGIS · ARMORUM ·
 (CLARENTII · TITULO ·) DIGNITATEM ·
 EVOCATUS ·
 HIC · SPE · CERTA · RESURGENDI · IN ·
 CHRISTO · S · E ·
 Q ·
 OBIT · AN · DNI · 1623 · 9 · NOVEMBRIS ·
 ÆTATIS · SUÆ · 74 ·

WILLIAM BURTON, son of William Burton, sometime of Atcham in Shropshire, second son of Thomas Burton of Longnore, near to Shrewsbury, son and heir of Edward Burton of the same place, (who died in 1658,) was born within the precincts of the Austin Friars in London, was educated in Paul's school under Alex. Gill, sen. became a student in Queen's college, Oxon, in Easter term 1625, aged 16 years, being accounted a good Grecian; but having not withal to maintain himself, he learned Mr. Allen, who found him to be an ingenious youth, took him to himself to Gloucester hall, and conferred on him the Greek lecture there, which he kept during his continuance in the university. In 1630 he took the degree of bachelor of civil law; but indigence (which commonly attends good wits) forcing him to leave the university, he became the assistant or usher of Mr. Tho. Farnabie, the famous schoolmaster of Kent; with whom remaining some years, he was at length

made master of the free-school at Kingston-upon-Thames in Surrey, where he continued till two years before his death: at which time, being taken with the dead palsy, he retired to London, where he lived to see the most part of his last book, called *A Comm. on Antoninus his Itinerary*, printed. He was an excellent Latinist, noted philologist, was well skilled in the tongues, an excellent critic and antiquary, and therefore beloved of all learned men, especially the famous archbishop Usher. He hath written and published these following pieces:

Laudatio funebris in obitum viri excellentissimi D. Thomæ Alleni, Lond. 1633. Oxon. 4to. The said speech was spoken by the author in the refectory of Gloucester hall, before the body was carried thence. Afterwards another was spoken at the grave, in Trinity college chapel, by George Bathurst, as I have elsewhere told you; which, with Burton's, were both printed together.

Annotations on the first epistle of Clement the apostle to the Corinthians. Lond. 1647 and 1652, in 4to.: wherein, as much reading is shewed by the author, so some things therein do rankly smell of presbytery. The said first epistle being set forth in Latin by Patrick Young in 1633, was translated into English by our author; who thereunto did add the said annotations, as a very proper and suitable remedy, if rightly attended to, to cure the many distracting schisms of those loose and dissolute times when published.

Græcæ Linguae Historia. Lond. 1657. octavo. It is the sum of one or more speeches delivered in the refectory of Gloucester hall, 1631.

Veteris Linguae Persicæ Historia. Lond. 1657. oct. This is printed with the former book; and before them is an epistle, written by way of commendation, by the learned Langbaine, friend to our author.

A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary, or Journeys of the Rom. Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain, &c. Lond. 1658. fol. with the author's picture before it. He also translated from Latin into English a book entitled,

The beloved City; or, The Saints Reign on Earth a thousand years, asserted and illustrated from sixty-five places of holy Scripture. Lond. 1643. quarto: written originally by Jo. Hen. Alstedius, professor of the university of Herborne. Our author, Will. Burton, gave way to fate on the 28th of December, in sixteen hundred fifty and seven, and was buried the same day in a vault belonging to the students of St. Clement's Inn, under part of the church of St. Clement's Danes, without Temple-bar, near London: leaving then behind him several papers and collections of antiquity, manuscripts, and coins, which came into the hands of Tho. Thynne, esq. sometime his scholar at Kingston, afterwards gent.-commoner of Christ Church; then of the bedchamber to the duke of York; a baronet after the death of his father, (sir Hen. Fred. Thynne, of Kemsford in Gloucestershire;) possessor of the large estate belonging to Tho. Thynne, of Longleet in Wilts, (murdered by certain foreigners 12 Feb. 1681;) and at length viscount Weymouth^k.

EDWARD LANE, M. A. of Cambridge. This person, who was educated in Paul's school, and afterwards of St. John's college in the said university, became vicar of North Strobury in Essex, by the favour of the lord keeper Coventry 1630, and was thence removed, by the same hand, to the vicarage of Spersholt, near to Rumsey in Hampshire. He hath written, *Look unto Jesus; or, An Ascent to the holy Mount to see Jesus Christ in his Glory, &c.* Lond. 1663. quarto. And *Mercy Triumphant: the Kingdom of Christ enlarged beyond the narrow bounds which have been put to it by Dr. Lewis du Moulin, in his most antichristian book called Moral Reflections on the Number of the Elect, &c.* Lond. 1680. quarto: in which year the author lived at Spersholt. The said book was reprinted in the year following, with this title: *Du Moulin's Reflections reverberated, being a full Answer to a pamphlet, entitled, Moral Reflections on the Number of the Elect; together with several ar-*

^k Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 215. edit. 1723.

*guments about Transubstantiation, not in any author yet. To which is added, an Answer to Mr. Edw. Hickeringil's scurrilous piece, styled, The second Part of naked Truth*¹.

JOHN MILTON was born in Bread-street, the 9th of December in 1608: his father was a scrivener in the said street, but a native of Halton in Oxfordshire; his mother was of the ancient family of the Bradshaws. He was educated mostly at St. Paul's school, under Alexander Gill, senior, (to whom we have three elegant epistles amongst his juvenile works, which shew how great a master he was of the Latin tongue :) and thence, at fifteen years of age, he was sent to Christ's college in Cambridge, where he was put under the care of Will. Chappell, afterwards bishop of Rosse in Ireland; and there, as he had done at school for three years before, it was usual with him to sit up till midnight at his book, which was the first thing that brought his eyes into danger of blindness. By his indefatigable study he profited exceedingly, and wrote several poems, paraphrased some of David's Psalms, performed the collegiate and academical exercises to the admiration of all; being esteemed also a sober and virtuous man. After he left the college he travelled abroad: first into Italy, where he gained that tongue; in his way thither he passed through Paris, where he became acquainted with the famous Hugo Grotius, there ambassador from the queen of Sweden: he visited also Geneva, Leghorn, and Pisa: from thence he proceeded to Sena and Rome; where, among other learned men, he became acquainted with Lucas Holstenius. At his return from his travels he settled at home, and writ many books: but his inimitable poem of Paradise Lost gained him the greatest reputation; of which a late writer says not too much when he tells us, "That after his concealment, he lived many years much visited by all strangers, and much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, though he was then blind; chiefly that of Paradise Lost, in which there is a nobleness of contrivance and execution, that though he affected to write in blank verse without rhyme, and made

¹ Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. p. 898. inter Fastos, edit. 1723.

“many new and rough words, yet it was esteemed the “beautifullest and perfectest poem that ever was writ, at “least in our language ^m.”

He lived till 1674; when dying in Bunhill-fields, he was buried in the chancel of St. Giles’s Cripplegate, London, not far from the monuments of Fox the martyrologist and the industrious Mr. Speed, where he lies without so much as the least remembrance by any stone or inscription. It were to be wished, that as the humour has lately very much prevailed of doing honour to the memory of some of our chief English poets, that Milton, who shines as bright as any of them, may not always lie neglected; but that some wealthy Paul’s scholar, or any one that hath a mind to perpetuate their own as well as his memory, would erect an honorary monument to him among the Chaucers, Spencers, Cowleys, Drydens, Priors, &c. None of our poets were so well known abroad as he; so that before the fire in 1666, the very house in Bread-street where he was born was frequently, out of curiosity, visited by foreigners, of whom he was had in the greatest admiration, as appears by many epistles from them, especially one from a nobleman of Florence here subjoined; which, though it may seem to savour of an Italian flourish, yet is notwithstanding sincere, and penned by an honest man ⁿ.

^m Bishop Burnet’s History of his own Time, p. 163.

ⁿ Joanni Miltono, Londinensi, juveni patriæ et virtutibus eximio.

Viro qui multa peregrinatione, studio cuncta orbis terrarum perspexit, ut novus Ulysses omnia ubique ab omnibus apprehenderet. Polyglotto, in cujus ore linguæ jam deperditæ sic reviviscunt, ut idiomatica omnia sint in ejus laudibus infacunda; et jure ea percallet, ut admirationes et plausus populorum ab propria sapientia excitatos, intelligat. Illi, cujus animi dotes corporisque sensus ad admirationem commovent, et per ipsam motum cuique auferunt: cujus opera ad plausus hortantur, sed venustate vocem auditoribus adimunt. Cui in memoria totus orbis: in intellectu sapientia:

in voluntate ardor gloriæ: in ore eloquentia. Harmonicos celestium sphaerarum sonitus, astronomia duce, audienti; characteres mirabilium naturæ, per quos Dei magnitudo describitur, magistra philosophia legenti, antiquitatum latebras, vetustatis excidia, eruditionis ambages, comite assidua autorum lectione, exquirenti, restauranti, percurrenti. At cur nitor in arduum? Illi in cujus virtutibus evulgandis ora famæ non sufficiant, nec hominum stupor in laudandis satis est. Reverentiæ et amoris ergo hoc ejus meritis debitum admirationis tributum offert.

Carolus Datus patricius Florentinus,

Tanto homini servus, tantæ virtutis amator.

But the omission of doing honour to our great men is too much to our scandal and reproach in almost every place, where many eminent persons have no regard paid to them after their decease. One instance, instead of many, is in that college in which Milton was bred. It has been observed, that the famous Jos. Mede, who was as great a man as any college could boast of, yet lies in the chapel of his own college, to which he left his whole substance, (which was not indeed very considerable,) without so much as the two initial letters of his name to remember him by^o.

All that I shall add relating to this great man is, that we would make allowance for his peculiar notions and opinions, some of which are not easily to be defended. But yet Mr. Wood, very different from him as to principles, says, that he was a very extraordinary person as to his learning and abilities.

PETER PETT, son, grandson, and great-grandson of Peter Pett, (which last, who was grandson of Peter Pett of Cumberland, had been master-builder in the navy-royal to queen Mary, and afterwards to queen Elizabeth,) was born at Deptford in Kent, educated in St. Paul's school in London, afterwards in Sidney college^p in Cambridge, till he was bachelor of arts; whence going to Oxon anno 1647, he was entered a student in Pembroke college, and in the year following became fellow of that of All Souls, by the favour of the visitors, and incorporated in the same degree. Afterwards he entered on the law line, took the degree of bachelor of the civil law, and some years after was admitted a student of the common law in Gray's Inn; continuing still fellow of All Souls college till about a year before his majesty's restoration, and then he settled for good and all in the said Inn. Afterwards, being esteemed a man of parts,

^o See Mede's Life, prefixed to his works.

^p Anno 1645, Petrus Pett filius Pet. Pett regi Carolo archiepiscopi (sive primarii fabri navalis) natus Deptfordiæ in Cantio, præceptorem habuit Grenovici magistrum Young per triennium, Loudini in schola

divi Pauli magistrum Langley, alterum triennium anno ætatis 15, vel 18. [litora obducitur] admissus est pensionarius minor Junii 28. Tutore Th. Dillingham theologiæ baccal. solvit *vs. Regist. Coll. Sidney. Cant. E Collectaneis Reverendi Tho. Baker, S. T. B.*

he was elected fellow of the royal society at its first foundation; was soon after made advocate-general to king Charles II. his heirs and successors, for the kingdom of Ireland; chosen a member of the house of commons for that kingdom; and at length received the honour of knighthood from James duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant thereof. He hath written the following treatises:

In obitum Joannis Reynoldi, qui in Angliam nuper remigrans naufragio interiit, ΘΡΗΝΩΔΙΑ.

A Discourse concerning Liberty of Conscience. Printed 1660, in octavo.

The happy future Estate of England; or a discourse by way of letter to the late earl of Anglesey, vindicating him from the reflections of an affidavit published by the house of commons, anno 1680.

A casuistical Discussion of the Obligation of the King, his heirs, and successors, wherein many of the moral offices of absolute and unconditional loyalty are asserted, &c.—Or thus: The obligation resulting from the oath of supremacy, to assist and defend the preeminence or prerogative of his dispensative power belonging to the king, his heirs and successors. In the asserting of that power, various historical passages occurring in the usurpation after the year 1641 are mentioned, &c.

Several letters to Dr. Thom. Barlow: one of which is at large printed in his *Genuine Remains*, p. 360. Sir Peter Pett hath also published, with an epistle dedicatory to the lord Altham, a book entitled, *Memoirs intermixed with moral, political, and historical Observations*, &c. Lond. 1693. octavo. Written by Arthur earl of Anglesey⁹.

Sir CHARLES SCARBOROUGH was educated in St. Paul's school, became afterwards fellow of Caius college in Cambridge. In the time of the troubles he was spoiled of his library, and deprived. He spent some time afterwards in Oxford, in Merton college, where he had great intimacy with Dr. Harvey, then warden of that house, and was as-

⁹ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. ed. Lond. 1722.

sisting to him in his book *De Generatione Animalium*. He became a most learned and incomparable anatomist, one of the college of physicians, principal physician to king Charles, (from whom he received the honour of knighthood on the 15th of August, 1669,) as also to king James II. and king William III. He was the first that introduced geometrical and mechanical speculations into anatomy; and applied them, as well in all his learned conversation, as more particularly in his famous lectures upon the muscles of human bodies for sixteen or seventeen years together in the public theatre at Surgeons'-hall, which were read by him with infinite applause and admiration of all sorts of learned men in that great city. He was also admirably well skilled in the mathematics, and was esteemed much by the learned Mr. William Oughtred; who speaks of him after this manner in his preface to his *Clavis Mathematica*, after he had given a character of Christ. Wren:—*Accessit et alter hortator vehemens D. Car. Scarborough, doctor medicinæ, suavissimis moribus, perspicacissimo ingenio, cujus tanta est in mathesi solertia, et supra fidem felix tenaxque memoria, ut omnes Euclidis, Archimedis, aliorumque nonnullorum ex antiquis propositiones recitare ordine et in usum proferre potis sit, &c.* He hath extant under his name, *Syllabus Musculorum*; which is added to the Anatomical Administration of all the Muscles of an human Body, as they rise in Dissection, &c.

Trigonometry, in 4to. He hath also compendiously methodized the Grammar of the famous William Lilye, which shews him to have been a critical grammarian. He also penned an ingenious elegy on the death of Mr. Abraham Cowley, but I think it was never printed. See Mr. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* p. 733. I shall only add, relating to this person, that he was a most intimate friend of Dr. Seth Ward, the learned bishop of Sarum.

SAMUEL PEPYS, esq. of the ancient family of the Pepys's in Cambridgeshire, was born at Brampton in Huntingdonshire in 1632; and after he had spent a considerable time at this school, was removed to Magdalen college in Cam-

bridge: from whence, by the interest of general Montague, (to whom he was related,) he was introduced into public business. After he had approved himself well in several secret negotiations for the service of king Charles II. he was put into one of the offices of the navy; where rendering himself conspicuous for his diligence and fidelity, he was removed in 1673 to the secretaryship of the admiralty: in which post he continued, though not without some intermissions, for many years during the reigns of king Charles II. and king James II. but retired from public business at the revolution in 1690. He published his incomparable memoirs relating to the state of the royal navy; which abundantly shew how well fitted he was for the trust reposed in him in that important post. He was also very much esteemed for his learning of all sorts, as well as his zeal in promoting it by his uncommon munificence towards the advancing of it, as member of the royal society, or in any other capacity. He left behind him a library well furnished with books, but especially what relates to the affairs of the navy; which, had he lived longer, he designed to have made useful to the public. He died of an advanced age, and was buried in St. Olave's, Hart-street, in London. He left his incomparable library to Mary Magdalen college in Cambridge, under certain conditions, which if not accepted, to another place; but this after the death of his heir^r.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born in Warwickshire in 1649, sent to London, and bred in St. Paul's school; where he acquired a good stock of learning, not only in the Greek and Latin, but in the oriental languages: he went from thence to Cambridge, but to what college^s we are not certain. He had afterwards the living of Curingham, in the hundreds of Essex, conferred upon him; which though it exceeded not the value of 80*l.* a year, yet was the only church preferment he ever had. He was chaplain to the lord Russel who was beheaded, who much valued him,

^r Accordingly it was sent to Maudlin college, 1725. LEWIS.

^s Trinity. LEWIS.

looking upon him to be a person well versed in the constitution and laws of his country; and for speaking his mind freely he underwent a great many hardships after his patron's death, especially for that piece of his, entitled, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity*; and another pamphlet, called *An humble and hearty Address to all the Protestants in King James's Army, &c.* for which, besides imprisonment and other corporal punishment, he was at last degraded by the then bishops of Durham, Peterborough, and Rochester, whose sentence and attestation to it I have by me under their own hands: but it seems, it being defective in one single instance, he still preserved his small living to the last. After the revolution, though he had no more church preferment, yet the king gave him 300*l.* a year out of the post-office for his and his son's life, besides a thousand pounds in money, and likewise a place of about a hundred pounds a year to his son. He was set upon even in that reign by some ruffians who owed him a spite for his book before mentioned; but though wounded, yet he escaped with his life, and died at last in his bed. See more of him in the Memorials prefixed to his works. London. fol. 1710. One remark however of him must not be omitted, viz. that even those who differed very much from him as to principles, yet looked upon him as an honest man, and the most considerable of his party. The writer of Mr. Kettlewell's Life says, "That in his books, written both before and after the revolution, the principles which he espoused are better and more consistently explained, than perhaps in any one writer whatsoever: who being a more hearty friend of, and advocate for the revolution, than many who pretended to be so, and a man of true old Roman principles, which nothing could ever make him swerve from^s.—Yet though so considerable an actor and sufferer for the cause, he was too much neglected by his party afterwards." That this author should say so much, and bishop Burnet in his history say nothing of him,

^s Kettlewell's Life. 8vo. Lond. 1718. p.331.

cannot but be surprising to any one that considers the former diametrically opposite to, and the other attached to the same principles, and who knew Mr. Johnson's parts and sufferings.

Dr. BENJAMIN CALAMY, D. D. of Katherine hall in Cambridge, vicar of St. Laurence Jewry. He was reckoned a very eloquent preacher, as doth also his volume of sermons testify. See his character in his funeral sermon, by the learned Dr. Will. Sherlock, late dean of St. Paul's, at the end of his Discourses; wherein, amongst other things, he says, "That the defunct had taken care to inform himself, and to furnish his own mind with all useful knowledge; and his constant preaching, though without any vain affectation of learning, which serves only to amuse, not to instruct, did sufficiently discover both his natural and acquired abilities. He had a clear and distinct apprehension of things, an easy and manly rhetoric, strong sense conveyed to the mind in familiar words, good reasons inspired with a decent passion, which did not only teach, but move and transport the hearers, and at the same time gave both light and heat; for indeed he was a good man," &c.

Dr. RICHARD MEGGOT was the son of an eminent brewer in the parish of St. Olave's, Southwark. After he had passed through this school and the university, he became dean of Winchester and canon of Windsor: of whom the same Dr. Sherlock says, "That he was abundantly furnished with all good learning, both for use and ornament. He was an accomplished scholar, and a well studied divine: he knew books, and read them, and judged of them.—He was an admirable preacher, not for noise and lungs, but for well digested, useful, pious discourses, delivered with all that becoming gravity, seriousness, and a commanding elocution, as made them sink deep into the minds of his hearers, and made them hear, &c. He was not only a good preacher and a prudent guide, but a very good man; he preached continually by his life and example. His conversation was innocent, entertaining, and useful.

“ He was a true, sincere friend, very courteous, affable, “ civil to all men, but never pretended friendship where he “ had none. He was ready to do all good offices,” &c. He died about the 60th year of his age, of an ulcer in his lungs, at Twickenham, near London; which living he quitted upon his being made canon of Windsor in 1692, and was buried at Twickenham aforesaid.

EDWARD REYNOLDS, D. D. son of Edward Reynolds, bishop of Norwich, was archdeacon of Norwich, and prebendary of Worcester; of whom, having no more to say, but that he was a very able and judicious divine, and a very worthy son of so good a father, I shall only give the rest of his character as I find it in the inscription upon his monument, which is as follows:

In Kingsthorpe church, near Northampton.

Subtus dormit

Eruditi otii a prima juventa cultor religiosus

Edvardus Reynolds, S. T. P.

Edvardi Reynolds episcopi Norvicensis

Filius unicus

Scholæ Paulinæ apud Loudinenses suos

Alumnus.

Collegii Magdalenis apud Oxon^{ses} Socius,

Ecclesiæ Sti. Petri Northton^{sis} } per annos

cui annexa est hæc capella } 40 rector.

Ecclesiæ Vigorniensis } per annos { 38 præbendarius,
et Norfolciæ } { 37 archidiaconus.

Vir sæculi decus,

Si animum ejus alacrem et venustum spectes

Doctrinam omniugenam, mores integerrimos,

Pictatem priscam et infucatam,

Exemplum posteris imitandum.

Obiit Jun. 28 { salutis nostræ 1698

Anno { ætatis suæ 69

Francisca uxor

J. Alston de Patenham in agro Bedfordiensi

Armig. filia

A a 2

*Conjugi piissimo cui peperit 7 filios, filias 6.
Et quocum jucunde fefellit annos plus minus 40
Mærens posuit.*

WILLIAM CORKER, M. A. senior fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge; he was also proctor to the university: but he is more especially here remembered amongst the scholars of Paul's school, for the intimacy that was between him and the famous Dr. Is. Barrow; by whose interest with Dr. Seth Ward, then lord bishop of Sarum, he got him into the prebendship of that church, which he quitted upon his taking the mastership of Trinity college: and for his being a benefactor to St. Paul's school library in the year 1673, as appears by the tables of the said school; and to the college, whereof he had been so long a member, by giving to it 700*l.* towards buying books for the library and beautifying the chapel: which society, in gratitude to his memory, have, in the ante-chapel on the south side, caused a black marble stone to be laid over him, with the following inscription:

H. S. E.

*Gulielmus Corker Art. Mag. Collegii hujus Socius senior
qui septuagenarius moriens an. Dni. 1702 mens. Aprilis die
31. sacello et bibliothecæ libras DCC. testamento donavit.
Viro doctissimo et munificentissimo, monumentum hoc col-
legium posuit*

A. D. 1709.

THOMAS SMITH, A. M. of Christ's college in Cambridge, and public library-keeper to that university, was a very industrious, learned man. Out of gratitude to St. Paul's school, he published a modern translation of dean Colet's sermon before the convocation, with notes upon it; as also dean Colet's Life, translated from Erasmus's account of him, &c. printed at Cambridge, 1661. 8vo. In his preface to which book there is mention of a discourse by the same author, of the *Rise and Growth of Quakerism*; but whether ever printed I know not, nor any further account of him: only that he succeeded Mr. William Moore in the library-keeper's

place, and that he preached at his funeral: part of which sermon, entitled, *The Life and Death of Mr. William Moore*, was printed at Cambridge 1660, in 8vo. dedicated to Charles Scarborough, one of his pupils: and he translated also *Dalleus de usu Patrum* into English. But so much for this person, who, as he did so much consult the honour of our pious founder, in justice deserves a place in this list.

THOMAS GIPPS, fellow of Trinity college, appears to be another of this school, being in the table of benefactors to the library. He was afterwards chaplain to William earl of Derby, and by him presented to the rectory of Bury in Lancashire. He printed a sermon about corrupting the word of God, in 1696; which was answered by John Owen, a dissenting minister at Oswestry, 1699. He writ a defence of his charge upon dissenters in that point, which was also answered by the same author.

WILLIAM NICHOLLS, son of an eminent counsellor in London, went from St. Paul's school, when he was fifteen years old, to Merton college in Oxon, of which he became fellow, D.D. and rector of Selsey in Sussex. He was reckoned a very excellent scholar, and was known abroad as well as at home by the learned correspondence he kept with foreigners, as also by his publishing some of his works in Latin. He had the honour of receiving letters from the king of Prussia; abbot Molanus, superintendent general of Brunswick and Lunenburgh; monsieur Ostervald of Neufchatell; Benedictus Pictetus, professor of Geneva, and others. He died April 18, 1711, near the Bath, in the 48th year of his age, and was buried in St. Swithin's church, London. He lived not to finish some things he designed. What he did are as follows:

An Answer to the *Naked Gospel*, &c. To which is added a short History of Socinianism. Printed 1691.

A practical Essay on the Contempt of the World, with a Preface to the Deists of the age, &c. 8vo. 1694.

The Duty of Inferiors towards their Superiors, in five practical Discourses; with a Dissertation on the divine reign of Princes. 1701.

The Religion of a Prince; in opposition to Machiavel, Hobbes, &c.: written upon occasion of the Queen's giving up the Tenths and First-fruits for the poorer Clergy. 1704.

A Conference with a Theist, in five parts. 8vo. Lond. 1703.

A Treatise of Consolation to Parents for the Death of their Children: written upon occasion of the Death of the Duke of Gloucester.

Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. 8vo. 1707.

The same in English.

Historiæ sacræ Libri VII. In usum scholarum, et juventutis Christianæ. 1710.

The Sunday and Holy-day Service, with the Psalms of David paraphrased. 8vo. 1707.

A Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, &c. in folio.

A Supplement to the same, in folio.

A Sermon before the Gentlemen of St. Paul's School, 1697½.

God's Blessing on the Use of Mineral Waters; a sermon preached at the chapel of Tunbridge Wells, Sept. 6, 1702.

A Sermon occasioned by the Death of Prince George of Denmark, 1709.

RICHARD BLONDEL, a very able surgeon of this city, was also bred up in this school: he justly acquired that character by his great skill and diligence in his profession; and by making himself very useful to the public by his charity to the poor, justice to the rich, and compassion to all. He was remarkable also for his piety and goodness, and all other virtues which denominate a man more *excellent* than *his neighbour*. You have his character exactly, as well as truly, drawn by the ingenious pen of Dr. Nath. Marshall, in his sermon preached at his funeral, May 27, 1718, in the church of St. Laurence Jewry, on Psal. xxxvii. 37. *Mark the perfect man*, &c.: where the reader may see a great deal said to his honour, and with the greatest veracity. He was interred in the abovementioned church.

SIR THOMAS DAVIES, knt. was an eminent bookseller in

the city, though free of the Drapers' company. He was son of John Davies, of London, draper; became sheriff of London and Middlesex in the year 1667, and gave good proofs of his being an useful man, and of a public spirit, in that difficult time when London was just beginning to raise itself out of its ashes. In the year 1677 he became lord mayor, and behaved himself like a good magistrate in every respect; so that there still remain some marks of his concern for the welfare of the city upon some of the public buildings^t. We are not at a loss to know how long he survived this honour by his epitaph: to which only I add this remark of his character; that he had so much knowledge in the European languages, that he was able to converse with the several foreign ambassadors in their known different languages. The inscription upon his monument in St. Sepulchre's church in London, in which parish he died, will supply very truly the rest of his character :

*Siste, quisquis es, lector, parumper gradum,
Oculum, animum : monet hoc spectabile exemplum,
ut te esse mortalem memineris.*

H. S. E.

*Vir, si quis alius, egregius et venerabilis D. THOMAS DAVIES
Miles: cujus inviolata in REGEM fides, amor erga
patriam incorruptus, mira animi præsentia et constantia, eruditio
non vulgaris, linguarum atque legum peritia, cæteræque eximiæ dotes
magno illi in rebus gerendis adjumento, magno post res gestas
ornamento fuere. In toga, prætor cathedram suis meritis
implevit. In sago, TRIBUNITIAM potestatem cum laude*

^t On the monument erected in memory of the dreadful fire, an. 1666.

Perfecta
Thoma Davies eq. præ. urb.
Anno Dⁿi. MDCLXXVII.

On Lamb's Conduit, near Holbourn :

Rebuilt in the year 1677
Sir Thomas Davies then lord mayor;
Burnt in the fire in the year 1666.
Incendio consumptum an^o. MDCLXVI
Restituit S. P. Q. L. MDCLXXVII
Thoma Davies milite præctore.

exercuit. In maximo honore quum esset apud omnes bonos vivus, par sui desiderium bonis omnibus mortuus reliquit; uxorem duxit D. ELIZABETHAM RIDGE ex qua suscepit filios quatuor, THOMAM, JOHANNEM, ROBERTUM, et JACOBUM. Obiit anno salutis humanæ MDCLXXIX, ætatis suæ XLVIII, dignus longiore vita, nisi ad meliorem festinasset.
Abi sis LECTOR et si potis es

Imitare.

*Conjux mæsta
 optimo marito*

P.

HUMPHREY GOWER^u, D.D. master of St. John's college, Cambridge, and Margaret professor of divinity, was educated in this school under Samuel Cromleholme, with whom he removed from Dorchester free-school to this of Paul's. He was an excellent governor of his college; and though a learned man, has left nothing extant but two sermons preached on the occasion of bishop Gunning's death, in the cathedral of Ely, (where he was prebendary.) He has left in his will, dated June 10, 1708, twenty pounds rent charge out of his Triplo w estate in Cambridgeshire, after the death of his executor, for exhibitions towards the maintenance of two indigent scholars, which shall be sons of clergymen, and educated in one or both of the aforementioned schools. He died in his own lodge in St. John's college, and being buried there in the college chapel, had the following inscription upon a marble stone:

M. S.

Depositum

Viri admodum reverendi

Humfrædi Gower,

S. T. P.

Coll. div. Johannis

Præfecti

^u Son of Stanley Gower, rector of Brampton Bryan in Herefordshire. NORTH.

*S. Theol. pro Dna Margarcta
 Professoris,
 Ecclesiæ Eliensis
 Canonici,
 Qui collegium per annos
 Triginta et amplius
 strenue ac feliciter
 rexerat.
 Obiit xxvii Martii, annoque
 Dom. MDCCXI.
 Æt. suæ 74.*

ROBERT NELSON, esq. was born upon the 22d day of June, 1656; being the son of John Nelson, a considerable Turkey merchant of the city of London, and Deliciæ his wife, sister to sir Gabriel Roberts, a Turkey merchant also of the same city. His father, Mr. John Nelson, had three sons: John, who died young; this Robert; and Gabriel, who also died in minority; so that Robert was left the only son: and his father dying before he arrived at maturity, he was committed to the care of his mother and her brother sir Gabriel; who, being made his guardian, was not wanting to take care about the education of his nephew, who was exceedingly beloved by every one, being a most beautiful youth, and of fine natural endowments. The first part of his education was at St. Paul's school in London, but the latter and finishing part was under a private tutor in his mother's house; and moreover I must add, that the seeds of knowledge and virtue were partly sown in his tender mind by the reverend bishop Bull. He was then entered fellow-commoner of Trinity college in Cambridge. When he travelled the first time in 1682, he made himself acceptable, wherever he came, to persons of distinction and merit. Returning from his travels in 1685, he married the lady Theophila Lucy, relict of sir Kingsmill Lucy, and daughter of George earl of Berkeley. His lady enjoying but an ill state of health, for the recovery of it he passed with her into France, and went to Aix in Provence, where he con-

tinued some time: and then, having first made a short trip into England, where all things were found by him in the greatest confusion at the end of 1688, he proceeded in his travels, with his lady, through all France and Italy, and returned for England through Germany. Never was any Englishman known to be so much caressed as he in the foreign courts which he visited; as the many letters written to him from princes, ministers of state, noblemen, and persons of character, do abundantly witness. He was a gentleman of a very exemplary life and conversation; a sincere friend; of so generous and public a spirit, that no good design was ever proposed but he readily and cheerfully embraced it. He was likewise a great promoter of the societies for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and for promoting Christian knowledge at home, and a great benefactor to the charity schools: all which he was the more able to do upon account of his plentiful fortune, of which he was a discreet, though generous spender. He left the whole of his estate to charitable bequests; and died in January 1714. I shall not enlarge farther on this good man's character, but refer the reader to the inscription on his monument which is erected to his memory in the cemetery of St. George's chapel, (now a parochial church,) not far from Lamb's-conduit, drawn up by the learned George Smalldridge, late bishop of Bristol, his very intimate and dear friend.

*Epitaphium Roberti Nelson armig. qui sepultus est
Jan. 28, 1714.*

H. S. E.

ROBERTUS NELSON armiger:

Qui

*patre ortus Johanne, cive Londinensi,
ex societate mercatorum cum Turcis commercium
habentium, matre Deliciis sorore
Gabrielis Roberts, equitis aurati, ex eadem
civitate, et eodem sodalicio; uxorem habuit
honoratissimam dominam Theophilam*

*Lucy, Kingsmilli Lucy baronetti viduam,
prænobilis Johannis comitis de BERKELEY
Filiam, quam Aquisgranum usque valetudinis
recuperandæ causâ proficiscentem lubenter
comitatus, ad extremum vitæ terminum
summo amore fovit, morte divulsam
per novem annos superstes plurimum desideravit.*

*Literis Græcis et Latinis,
quas partim in scholâ Paulinâ,
partim intra domesticos parietes didicerat,
linguarum Gallicæ et Italicæ peritiam,
Lutetiæ et Romæ agens, faciliè adjunxit.
In omni fèrè literarum genere versatus,
ad theologiæ studium animum præcipue appulit;
et felici paritèr memoriâ atque acri judicio pollens,
antiquitatum ecclesiasticarum scientiâ
inter clericos enituit laicus.
Perugratâ semel atque iterum Europâ,
postquam diversas civitatum
et religionum formas exploraverat,
nullam reipublicæ administrandæ rationem
monarchiæ domi constitutæ præposuit,
ceteras omnes ecclesias Anglicanæ longè posthabuit.
Hanc ipsi semper charam
beneficiis auxit,
vitâ exornavit,
scriptis defendit
filius ipsius obsequentissimus,
et propugnator imprimis strenuus.
Nulla erat bonorum virorum communitas,
aut ad pauperum liberos sumptu locupletiorum
bene instituendos,
aut ad augendam utilitatem publicam,
aut ad promovendam Dei gloriam instituta,
cui non se libenter socium addidit.*

*Hisce studiis, et temporis et opum
partem longè maximam impendit.*

*Quicquid facultatum supererat,
id ferè omne supremis tabulis
in eodem usus legavit.*

*Dum id sibi negotiù unicè dedit, Deo ut placeret,
severam interim Christianæ religionis,
ad quam se composuit, disciplinam
suavissimâ morum facilitate ita temperavit,
ut hominibus perrarò displiceret:
in illo enim, si in alio quopiam mortalium,
forma ipsa honesti mirè elucebat,
et amorem omnium facilè excitabat.
Cum naturæ satis, et gloriæ,
bonis omnibus et Ecclesiæ
parum diu vixisset,
fatali asthma correptus,
Kensingtoniæ animam Deo reddidit,
vitæ jam exactæ recordatione lætus,
et futuræ spe plenus.*

*Dum Christianum sacrificium ritè celebrabitur,
apud sanctæ cænæ participes
NELSONI vigebit memoria.
Dum solennia recurrent festa et jejunia,
NELSONI fastos jugiter revolvent pii.
Illum habebunt inter hymnos et preces,
illum inter sacra gaudia et suspiria
comitem paritèr et adiutorem.
Vivit adhuc, et in omne ævum vivet
vir pius, simplex, candidus, urbanus:
adhuc in scriptis post mortem editis,
et nunquam morituris,
cum nobilibus et locupletibus miscet colloquia;
adhuc eos sermonibus,
multâ pietate et eruditione refertis,
delectare pergit et instruere.*

Ob. 16^o. Jan. an. Domi. 1714.

Æt. suæ 59.

Books written by Robert Nelson, esq.

A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England, &c. Printed 1703.

Practice of true Devotion, in relation to the End as well as Means of Religion: with an Office for the holy Communion. Printed 1708.

Great Duty of frequenting the Christian Sacrifice, &c. with suitable Prayers, partly collected from the ancient Liturgies. Printed 1707.

His Letter to an English Priest of the Roman Communion at Rome; printed at page 328 of several Letters which passed between Dr. George Hickes and a Popish Priest. Printed 1705.

A Letter of Church Government, in answer to a pamphlet entitled, *The Principles of the Protestant Reformation*. Printed 1705.

The Life of Dr. George Bull, late Lord Bishop of St. David's, &c. Printed 1713.

An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate: to which is added an Appendix of some original Papers. Printed 1715.

The whole Duty of a Christian, by way of question and answer, &c. Printed 1718.

Transubstantiation contrary to Scripture; or the Protestant's Answer to the Seeker's Request. Printed 1688.

He published also Mr. Kettlewell's Five Discourses, with an Account of his Life and Writings.

Bishop Bull's important Points of Primitive Christianity maintained and defended: in three vols. 8vo.

The Christian Exercise by Thomas a Kempis.

The Scripture Doctrine of the holy Trinity, with a Letter to Doctor Clark.

The Archbishop of Cambray's Pastoral Letter, with some posthumous pieces of Bishop Bull. Printed 1715.

A Sermon preached on the sixth of February 1714, in the Chapel of Ormond-street, occasioned by the Death of Robert Nelson, Esq. By J. Marshal, LL.D. Lond. 1714-15.

RICHARD CUMBERLAND was born in 1632, in Fleet-street, London, the son of worthy parents. He was sent early to St. Paul's school, and was under the care of Mr. William Langley, where he laid the foundation of that eminence to which he afterwards arrived; and to which school he always bore the most tender regard, honouring it with his presence at their anniversary meetings, even in his most advanced age. After he was well furnished with school learning, he was removed to Magdalen college in Cambridge; of which college he afterwards became a fellow. While he continued at the university, he was singled out to keep an act for his bachelor of divinity's degree, at a public commencement, which he did with great applause; as afterwards for his doctor's degree, when he had discontinued several years from the university. Here he contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with Dr. Hezekiah Burton, secretary Pepys, and sir Orlando Bridgman, afterwards lord keeper, to whom he afterwards became chaplain. His first preferment was Brampton in Northamptonshire, given him by sir John Norwich: here he remained for some time before his aforementioned patron called him to the living of All-hallows in Stamford, where he lived many years, doing the duty of a vigilant pastor; and in the difficult times preceding the revolution he behaved himself with the greatest courage imaginable against the enemies of our constitution, and was not afraid to oppose popery in that most critical juncture, by his zeal and steadiness in the protestant cause. When the storm was blown over, respect was had to him, and he was advanced to the see of Peterborough, without his own seeking, not knowing of his being pitched upon for that dignity till he saw it in a newspaper. He was very diligent and careful in his diocese, and on all occasions treated his clergy with singular regard and indulgence. His speeches and exhortations to them sufficiently testified his zeal to do good amongst them. He was remarkable for humility of mind, benevolence of temper, and innocence of life: in short, for every thing that was truly episcopal. He pursued his studies and searches into things to the very last: the

the best of friends, and a person of great honour: he loved to do good offices for others, without expecting any other returns besides grateful acknowledgments. As he was master of a good compass of knowledge himself, so he was also a great encourager of learning in others, having a good taste for every curiosity of art or nature: he left behind him a noble collection of pictures and other curiosities, &c. He died suddenly in the year 1720, aged 63, at his house in Covent-garden, and was buried at Darrington, near Blandford in Dorsetshire; where he was building a most magnificent house, called Eastbury, which he lived not to finish. This, with a fair estate, descended to his nephew George Doddington, esq. now lord lieutenant of the county of Somerset, and member of parliament for Bridgewater in the said county.

THOMAS TOOKE, D.D. born at Dover in Kent, was bred under Dr. Tho. Gale, master of St. Paul's school: from under whose care he was removed to Corpus Christi or Benet college in Cambridge, where he became fellow of that society, and continued so many years. He afterwards became master of Bishop Stortford school in Hertfordshire; which, by his great industry and happy way of teaching and governing, he raised to a very great fame, so that for many years it flourished amongst the very best in the kingdom, and sent out many excellent scholars. It still continues to keep up an anniversary, or school feast, for the gentlemen educated therein; the present archbishop of York, (sir William Dawes;) the reverend Dr. Rob. Mosse, dean of Ely; Dr. Nic. Claget, now archdeacon of Bucks, &c. have honoured these meetings with preaching on that occasion. After refusing the public schools of Norwich and Bury, he died at Bishop Stortford in the year 1720; having by his will given to Benet college aforementioned, after a certain number of years, the perpetuity of the rectory of Lambourn in Essex, where he had an estate; as also the living of Braxted in Norfolk.

SAMUEL ROSEWELL, M.A. He was the son of Thomas Rosewell, an eminent dissenting preacher; who met with

very hard usage in his trial before lord chief justice Jefferies, Nov. 18, 1684, at king's bench bar, the latter end of king Charles the second's reign, but was providentially delivered from death by the interposition of sir John Talbot, (a perfect stranger to him,) who, upon the representation of the hardship of his case to king Charles II. he was graciously pleased to remove the cruel sentence passed upon him: the lord Harcourt mentions this in a late trial^x. His son was of some eminency amongst the dissenters for his preaching and genteel deportment, as well as his great moderation towards those that differed from him. He was first chaplain to the lady Clinton, then chosen to be an assistant to the learned Mr. How, who had a great value for him. He died the seventh of April 1722, in the forty-second year of his age, at Hackney. There was a sermon preached at his funeral by Mr. Jeremiah Smith.

He has writ a Confession of Faith, delivered at his ordination, 1705.

The Revolution, a sermon on the 4th of Novemb. 1711.

A short and plain Account of the Method a Sinner ought to take, in order to his Conversion and Salvation.

Seasonable Instructions for the Afflicted.

A faithful Warning to young Men.

A Discourse of Temptation, and the Means to prevent its Prevalency, and several other things.

The Arraignment and Trial of the late Rev. Mr. Thomas Rosewel, for High Treason, before Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, &c. Published by Samuel Rosewel, M. A. Lond. 1718. 8vo.

ROGER COTES, the son of Robert Cotes, rector of Burbage in Leicestershire; which rectory was remarkable for being held by the right honourable Anthony earl of Kent, grandfather to the present duke of Kent, for many years.

^x Mr. Rosewel—was indicted in the 36 Car. 2. for words spoken by him—It was a prosecution carried on through the violence of those times, and generally detested. He was convicted: but on cooler thoughts and consideration of the uncertainty

in the expressions, that they could not amount to such a crime as he stood charged with, [judgment was arrested and] Mr. Rosewel discharged. *Lord Harcourt at Dr. Sachevel's Trial*, p. 119.

He was educated at St. Paul's, partly under Dr. Gale and Mr. Postlethwayt: from thence he removed to Trinity college in Cambridge, where he became fellow; and afterwards professor of astronomy in the professorship founded by Dr. Plume, he being chosen the first in that chair for his great merit and learning. He was highly esteemed for his knowledge in the most abstruse parts of mathematics by the greatest men of the age; especially the renowned sir Isaac Newton, of whose most valuable book (*Principia Philosophiæ*) he gave a second edition at the desire of the author. He had prepared several useful books for the public; one of which, viz. *Harmonia mensurarum sive Analysis et Synthesis per rationum et angulorum mensuras promota, accedunt alia opuscula mathematica per Rogerum Cotes*, (4to. Lond. 1722.) has been, since his death, published by his learned successor Robert Smith, LL.D. He lived but a little while to carry on those improvements he had designed for the public, dying in the prime of his age, to the great regret of all lovers of these mathematical studies. He lies buried in Trinity college chapel in Cambridge, with the following epitaph, penned by the reverend and learned Dr. Ric. Bentley, master of the said college, (who highly valued him;) which, out of respect to his memory, is here subjoined. I could run out many pages in the just character of this extraordinary man, being very intimate with him, and having the opportunity of knowing him perfectly, by being his chamber-fellow many years in Trinity college in Cambridge; but am obliged not to exceed the bounds of a short account, as I first proposed.

Sir JOHN TREVOR, knt. master of the rolls, and speaker of the house of commons, laid the foundation of his after-eminence in this school, and bore a regard to it after he arrived at his highest fortune, which he was not wanting to make manifest upon every occasion; therefore he deserves a place amongst our worthies. We are unwilling to enlarge upon the characters of those whose memories are fresh, but refer the reader to the annals of our English history, which are in every one's hands.



H. S. E.

Rogerus Roberti Filius Cotes,
 Collegi Hujus S. Trinitatis Socius.
 Astronomiæ et Experimentalis
 Philosophiæ Professor Plumianus
 Cui immatura morte præceptus
 Pauca quidem inœcni sui
 Pignora reliquit.
 Sed exœcia sed admiranda.
 Ex inaccessis matheseos Penetrabilibus
 Felici solertia tam præcipuum eruta
 Post magnum illum Newtonum
 Societatis hujus spes altera
 Et deus gemellum:
 Cui ad summam doctrine laudem
 Omnes morum virtutumq; dotes
 In cumulam accersierunt:
 Eo magis Spectabiles Annibrosq;
 Quos in ærmoso corpore
 Gratiore venirent
 Jatus Burbagei in Aere Leicest:
 Jul. 21682 obiit Jan. 7. 1716.

Amoris ergo. Rob. Smith L.L.D. Cotesii Succesor fieri fecit.



ARCHIBALD earl of FORFAR was also a scholar in this school for some time; where having attained to a competent measure of learning, his genius inclining him to martial affairs, (being endued with great sprightliness and vigour,) he engaged in them very early, and was glad of an opportunity to distinguish himself by his prowess and bravery, which he did very much to his honour at the battle of Dunblain in Scotland, in the beginning of the present king's reign; but had the misfortune to be surprised by a party of the rebels, who most inhumanly murdered him in cool blood, and made him die many deaths in one, by giving him many and repeated stabs, till they had satiated their malice by his death; thus ridding themselves of the fear of so brave a man. Had he lived longer, it is no doubt he would have added to the foregoing character.

CHARLES duke and earl of MANCHESTER, and baron Montague of Kimbolton, was born at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire; bred up under the reverend Dr. Gale in this school; afterwards passed through several great employments for the service of his country: at the revolution more especially (in which he heartily engaged) he raised a troop of horse, was a volunteer at the battle of the Boyne, and at the siege of Limerick; was then made captain of the yeomen of the guards, on his return. Went ambassador extraordinary to Venice in 1697; with the same character to Paris in 1699; to Venice in 1704; then upon his return to England he was made secretary of state, from which he was removed in the beginning of queen Anne's reign, and continued without any public employment till the accession of his present majesty, (excepting his being lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon.) He was early made one of the lords of the bedchamber to his majesty, and had the honour of the dukedom conferred on him. He married Doddington, the youngest of the two daughters and coheirs to Robert Grevil late lord Brook, by whom he left two sons and four daughters: the present William duke of Manchester, born in France in 1702, when his father was ambassador there; lord Robert; the ladies

Anne, Doddington, Elizabeth, and Charlotte. This noble lord died at London of a mortification, at his house in Arlington-street near St. James's, in the year 1721, being about sixty years old, and lies buried at Kimbolton; where he built a most magnificent castle or seat, which may justly be esteemed one of the best houses in England. This place was remarkable for being the residence of Catherine, king Henry VIII.'s queen; who, after the divorce, ended her days here. So much relating to this noble peer, who had (as all that knew him must own) many good qualities; being a complete economist, and discreet manager of his estate, a very good husband, a most tender father, humane and courteous to all persons. He lived beloved, and died lamented: and as he kept a good *conscience towards God and towards men* during his life, so he shewed true Christian fortitude at his death.

JOHN duke of MARLBOROUGH is a person too considerable not to be reckoned amongst the worthies of our schools, of whom not to say much is to say nothing. I shall not pretend to give therefore an account of his glorious actions, since history is full of them, but sum up his character as I find it in one of our late anniversary sermons: "— Thus
 " when late posterity shall hear the beneficial and glorious
 " fatigues and dangers of that great man, who never be-
 " sieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle
 " which he did not gain; the number and importance of
 " his successes; those personal endowments; that courage,
 " presence of mind, and conduct shewn in the field; that
 " affability, counsel, and skill out of it; when they shall see
 " the public places crowded with trophies wrested from a
 " most warlike enemy; how will they bless the times that
 " produced such an one; applaud the excellent prince that
 " had, and made choice of, such a general! And it will be
 " esteemed, that the foundation of the beneficent Colet has
 " received a lasting honour, in having contributed some
 " part to the forming of so extraordinary a character^y."

^y Archdeacon Tenison's Sermon preached before the Gentlemen educated in St. Paul's School.

Sir EDWARD NORTHEY, knt. adds likewise to the honour of this school, being justly esteemed one of the most able lawyers of the age. His abilities in his profession had justly gained him so much reputation, that he was resorted to as to an oracle in his profession, and might have had the most eminent places, if he had been ambitious of them; but he contented himself with that of the attorney-general. His character that he left behind him is, that he was a strict lover of justice, and very compassionate to the distressed; to whom he was very charitable, as occasion offered. He died very lately, and left behind him a considerable estate, which he acquired by his practice, besides that he had from his father; who was likewise of the same profession, as also of the same society, the Middle-temple.

I might now give a long detail of persons of eminence both in church and state now living, who deserve to be mentioned with honour; but as their modesty is as great as their merit, I must not venture upon their characters: viz. the right reverend George Hooper, lord bishop of Bath and Wells; Samuel Bradford, lord bishop of Rochester; John Leng, lord bishop of Norwich; the right honourable Spencer Compton, speaker of the house of commons; Spencer Cooper, chief justice of Chester; and many others, whose names you have amongst the Benefactors to the Library, and the list of subscribers to this work.

Number VIII.

Inscriptions in and about St. Paul's school.

IN the front, over the windows, is this that follows:

*Schola catechizationis puerorum in Christi Opt. Max.
fide et bonis literis.*

Over the school door:

Anno Verbi incarnati MDX.

Restaurata feliciter MDCLXX.
Ædes præceptoris grammatices.
 Repaired and beautified in the year 1702,
Sir Sam. Moyer, baronet, master;
Mr. Tho. Raymond, surveyor;
Mr. Tho. Serocold, } wardens.
Mr. Francis Levett, }
Ingretere ut proficias.

In the entrance between the school and master's house :

*Hoc vestibulo catechizentur pueri in fide moribusque
 Christianis, neque non prius grammatices rudimentis
 instituantur, priusquam ad proximam hujus scholæ
 classem admittantur.*

Upon a mural stone there :

*Pueritiæ Christianæ Joh. Colet, dec. sancti Pauli,
 posuit.*

Over the master's seat is the bust of the founder, dean Colet, (where the image of the child Jesus was anciently,) of exquisite art, the same which was placed there before the fire in 1666, found in the rubbish afterwards by a curious man in the city-antiquities, who observed it was cast ; an hollow plate whereof you have in the Life.

The second master's house was before the fire in the Old Change; but now his house, on the south end of the school, hath a very handsome front, answerable to that of the high master, on which is engraven also this :

Ædes præceptoris grammatices.

At the upper seat of each class is the word *Capitaneus*, and the number of scholars as ordered by the founder, viz. 153, are in each class :

Classis	Classis	Classis	Classis
1	2	3	4
XXI	XXI	XXI	XVIII

Classis	Classis	Classis	Classis
5	6	7	8
XVIII	XVIII	XVIII	XVIII

Under the clock over the school door :

*Pueri in hac scholâ gratis erudicendi sunt CLIII tantum,
ad numerum sedium.*

Quod Faustum sit et Fœlix.

Ad seræ posteritatis imitationem, famæque suæ æternitatem, post luctuosam urb. Lond. deflagrationem A. D. MDCLXVI. amplissima MERCERORUM societas, fidem fundatori τῷ μακαρίτῃ datam sanctissime persolvens, scholam hanc de integro extruendam suscepit, annoque MDCLXX. perfecit, D^{no} RICHARDO FORD, equite urbis prætore, Richardo Clutterbuck armigero societatis magistro, scholæ vero custode, totiusque negotii assiduo diligentissimoque procuratore ROBERTO WARE armigero.

Εὐλογία Κυρίου ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς δικαίου, Prov. x. 6.
Μνήμη αὐτοῦ μετ' ἐγκωμίων. v. 8.

Upon each window painted on glass throughout the school were these words, almost now defaced, *Doce, disce, aut discede*; suggesting both to scholar and teacher their duty.

At the upper end of the school there was, as now, a library, which being consumed by the fire, 1666, another has been erected; which, by the contributions chiefly of those who have had their education in this school, has been well replenished with good books, chiefly relating to classical learning, as most proper for the place. A list of the names of the benefactors, which are hung up in the school, is here subjoined. The stewards of the anniversary school-feast have always been mindful to promote this good work, as well as helpful towards the education of some indigent scholar going to the university; so that the interruption of this solemnity has been a considerable loss in both these re-

spects. It may possibly be thought too trivial a matter to set down an account of the several years it hath been kept up since the restoration; but I must not omit any thing relating to the school, especially what has proved so serviceable to its interest. The first general meeting or feast of the scholars was on St. Paul's day 1660, or year following. In the year 1664 it was intermitted till 1674, four years after the new school was erected; then revived again, and continued till 1679, when it had again an unhappy chasm till 1699, and some few years since: but now, as it is again encouraged and promoted, it is to be hoped it will continue a lasting monument of gratitude, that cannot be more decently shewn than in this way by those who have had the happiness of being educated in this school.

Number IX.

*Benefactores bibliothecæ, plerique alumni scholæ Paulinæ;
et procuratores convivii publici.*

1669.	Henry Simmonds.
Bernard Skelton.	Henry Crispe.
1670.	Will. Bridges.
Thomas Tyte.	Radulph. Gray, arm. postea
1671.	vero bar. Gray de Werk
John Davenport.	comes de Tankerville.
Samuel Mellish.	Edmund Gardiner.
Charles Cooke.	William Butler.
1672.	Rowland Wynne.
Thomas Gale.	Jos. Bosworth.
Walter Hampton.	1675.
1673.	Sam. Pepys.
Thomas Gipps.	Ric. Lightfoot.
William Corker.	Tho. Crauley.
Thomas Townsend.	James Cardrow.
1674.	Charles Chamberlayn.
Charles Scarborough, knt.	Francis Nixon.
Joseph Lane.	Thomas Swallow.

- Edward Trotman.
1676.
- Stephen Skinner.
Will. Stonestreet.
Tobiah Harvey.
Gregory Butler.
1677.
- George Chaire.
Sir George Croke.
Sir Hugh Cholinly.
Thomas Goddard.
Robert Thompson.
Ralph Grey.
Edward Stillingfleet.
Dimmock Windus.
Samuel Draper.
Edward Ent.
1678.
- Thomas Davies, knt.
James Hayes, knt.
John Knight, arm.
John Escourt.
James Brace.
Will. Bartlett.
1679.
- John Ayres.
Jos. Lane, soc. dom. sancti
Petri Cantab.
1680.
- Edward Gwynne.
Dimothus Wynd.
1681.
- Edward Whitaker.
1682.
- John Johnson, arm. postea
cq. auratus.
1684.
- Sam. Draper.
- Francis Fox.
Sir Peter Vandeput.
Mr. John Johnson.
Mr. George Thomasin.
Mr. Thomas Caister.
John Williams, S.T.B. post-
ea episc. Cicestr.
1686.
- John Davenport, arm.
1689.
- Ric. Busby, S.T.P. scholæ
Westm. rector.
Edward Turner.
1690.
- Thomas Brown.
1699.
- Robert Fowle, arm.
John Killingworth, arm.
Geo. Smith, arm.
Sam. Lloyd, arm.
John Baggs, arm.
Gul. Bonner, arm.
John Chetwynd, arm. postea
legatus a serenissima prin-
cipe ad seren. Sabaudia
ducem.
- Rogerus Cotes, mox alum-
nus, dein socius coll. Trin.
Cant. et astronomia pro-
fessor Plumianus.
Ben. Marshall, mox alum-
nus Ædis Christi.
Dan. Lock, coll. Trin. Cant.
alumnus.
1700.
- Gabriel Neve.
1704.
- Joh. Postlethwayt, schol. rect.

1705.

Tho. Bell, mox alumnus
coll. Trin. Cant.

1706.

Algernonus Coote, Caroli co-
mitis de Montrath, filius
natu tertius.

1708.

The honourable Spencer
Compton, esq.

Sir Hen. Bendyshe, bart.

Roger Gale, esq.

William Dewe, esq.

John Gresham, gent.

Mr. Henry Bull.

Mr. Thomas Barrôw.

Mr. Benj. Tooke.

1709.

Sir Thomas Clarges, bart.

Joseph Hodges, esq.

Mr. Sam. Haywood.

Mr. Sam. Palmer.

Mr. Nicholas Feild.

Thomas Batson, gent.

William Timms, gent.

Mr. Robert Hulls.

1710.

The right honourable the
earl of Orrery.

The right honourable the
lord Wandell.

The honourable Algernoon
Coote, esq.

Robert Clarges, esq.

Humphry Hide, esq.

Fitz-William Plumtree, esq.

Charles Welham, esq.

Timothy Alley, esq.

1711.

William Lightfoot, esq.

Joseph Major, esq.

John Benson, esq.

Simon Morse, gent.

John Jacob, gent.

John Hatley, gent.

George Morton Pitt, esq.

Mr. Maurice Atkins.

1712.

Sam. Gale, gent.

Thomas Gill, esq.

Mr. Thomas Trenchfield.

Mr. Joseph Goddard.

Mr. Gabriel Neve.

Mr. Nathaniel Blanford.

Robert Cooke, esq.

Mr. Daniel Wilcocks.

1713.

Mr. Pet. Normansel, gent.

Richard Clifton, esq.

Mr. Benj. Mawson, gent.

Edmund Wiseman, esq.

Mr. William Lock.

Mr. Richard Young.

Mr. Anth. Chamberlayn.

Mr. John Fotherby.

1715.

Mr. Henry Boone.

Mr. Sherard Pickering.

Mr. Charles Crumpe.

Mr. John Chauncy.

Mr. Leonard Pead.

Mr. John Brace.

Mr. Thomas Carter.

Mr. John Bethell.

1717.

William Glanville, esq.

Capt. Stephen Bateman.	Mr. Edward Bentley.
Mr. Charles Blackstone.	Mr. James Anderton.
Mr. Edward Blackstone.	Mr. John Hall.
Mr. Ric. Rogerson.	1724.
Mr. Barth. Dandridge.	The Rev. Dr. S. Knight.
Mr. John Kersey.	The Rev. Mr. A. A. Sykes.
Mr. Thomas Needham.	The Rev. Mr. A. Clarke.
1718.	The Rev. Mr. Hen. Parker.
Mr. Charles Townley.	Benj. Marriott, esq.
Robert Williams, esq.	Mr. Sam. Herring.
Mr. William Browne.	Mr. Ch. Gardner.
Mr. Francis Loggin.	Mr. Rich. Trubey, jun.
Mr. Ric. Collet.	

Number X.

Sermons preached and published at the anniversary meeting of the gentlemen educated at St. Paul's school, to this time.

DR. Ric. Meggot, late dean of Winchester, p. 63. of the volume of his Sermons, printed Lond. 1696. 8vo.^z

Dr. Benjamin Calamy, vicar of St. Laurence Jewry. See his volume of Sermons, p. 157. Lond. 1700. 8vo.

W. Wyat, M. A. student of Christ's Church, in 1678-9.

Dr. Will. Nichols, rector of Selsey in Sussex, Sermon on the Advantage of a learned Education; preached at the school-feast, 1697-8.

John Pulleyn, prebendary of Paul's, 1698-9.

Dr. Sam. Bradford's, now bishop of Rochester, Sermon on the Description and Benefits of a regular Education, 1699-700.

William Stoncstreet, M. A. rector of St. Stephen's, Walbroke, 1700-1.

Mr. William Bramston's, now D. D. and prebendary of Worcester, Sermon, or short Apology for human Learning, 1701.

^z Preached in St. Michael's, Cornhill, 1675, on St. Paul's day; printed then in 4to. NORTH.

Robert Newton, D.D. late rector of St. Austin's, on Religion and Learning, or the happy Effects of an early Education, 1702.

William Smith, M.A. on the Benefit of good Instruction, 1707-8.

Henry Stonestreet, M.A. 1708-9.

Richard Chambre, M.A. on the Duty of being public-spirited, 1709-10.

Edward Tenison, D.D. archdeacon of Carmarthen, and prebendary of Canterbury, on the Excellency and Usefulness of a public Spirit, 1710-11.

John Leng, D.D. now bishop of Norwich, 1713.

Samuel Dod, M.A. late fellow of Clare hall, on the right Use of the manifold Gifts of God, 1713-14.

Matthew Postlethwayt, M.A. and rector of Denton in Norfolk, on the Necessity of understanding the Grounds and Principles of Religion, briefly represented, 1714-15.

Clement Tookie, M.A. late sur-master of the school, 1716-17.

Dr. Sam. Knight, prebendary of Ely, on the Child Jesus, the great Exemplar of Youth, 1717-18.

Matth. Mawson, B.D. fellow of Corpus Christi college in Cambridge, upon the Revival of the Feast in 1723-4.

Arth. Ash. Sykes, 1724. NORTH.

Alured Clarke, 1725. NORTH.

John Leng, bishop of Norwich, 1726. NORTH.

Henry Parker, A.M. 1727. NORTH.

Thomas Hough, A.M. fellow of Trin. coll. Camb. 1728. NORTH.

Thomas Fairchild. A Sermon on the Benefits of a liberal and religious Education, preached at St. Paul's on June 29, 1757, being the annual meeting of the Gentlemen educated at St. Paul's.

Number XI.

Dean Colet's Institution of a Christian Man, for the Use of his School, prefixed to the Rudiments of the Latin Tongue. Svo.

The Artycles of the Faythe.

I BYLEVE in God the Father almyghty creatour of heven, and of erth, &c.

Then follow the sacramentes.

Charyte. The Love of God.

In trewe byleve I shall fyrste love God the Father almyghty that made me, and our Lorde Jesu Chryste that redemed me, and the Holy Goost that alway inspireth me. This blessed holy Trinite I shall alway love and honour, and serve with all my herte, mynde, and strength, and fere God alonely, and put my trust in hym alonely.

The love of thyne owne selfe.

Seconde, I shal love my selfe to God warde, and shall abstayne fro all synne as moche as I may, specially from the synnes deedly.

I shall not be proude, nor envyous, nor wrothfull, I shall not be glotenous, nor lecherous, nor slouthfull, I shal not be covetous desiring superfluite of worldly thynges, and yvell company I shall eschewe, and flye as moche as I may.

I shall gyve me to grace and virtue, and connyng in God. I shall pray often, specially on the holy dayes. I shall lyve alway temperatly, and sobre of my mouthe.

I shal fast the dayes commaunded in Christes chyrche. I shall kepe my mynde fro yvell and foule thoughtes. I shall kepe my mouth from swearying, lyenge, and foule spekyng.

I shall kepe my handes fro stelyng and pykyng. Thynges taken away I shall restore agayne. Thynges founde I shall rendre agayne.

The love of thy neyghbour.

Thyrde, I shal love my neyghbour: that is every man

to Godwarde, as my owne selfe. And shall helpe hym in all necessytes spyritually and bodyly, as I wolde be holpen my owne selfe: specially my father and my moder, that brought me into this worlde. The mayster that teacheth me I shall honour and obey.

My felowes that lerne with me I shall love.

Penaunce.

If I fall to synne I shall anone ryse agayne by penaunce and pure confessyon.

Houslynge.

As often as I shall receive my Lorde in sacrament, I shall with all study dispose me to pure clenynesse and devocon.

In sycknesse.

Whan I shall dye, I shal call for the sacramentes and rightes of Chrystes church by tymes, and be confessed, and receyve my Lorde and Redemer Jesu Chryst.

In dethe.

And in peryll of dethe I shal gladly call to be enealed, and so armed in God I shal departe to hym in truste of his mercy, in our Lorde Chryst Jesu.

Hoc fac, et vives.

Preceptes of lycynge.

Feare God.	Forget trespaces.
Love God.	Forgyve gladly.
Desyre to be with hym.	Chastyse thy body.
Serve hym dayly with some prayer.	Be sobre of thy mouth.
Brydle the affectyons of thy mynde.	Be sobre of meet and drinke.
Subdue thy sensual appetites.	Be sobre in talkynge.
Thrust downe pryde.	Flye swearynge.
Refrayne thy wrathe.	Flye foule language.
	Love clenynesse and chastyte.
	Use honest company.

Beware of ryot.	Lose no tyme.
Dispende measurably.	Stand in grace.
Flye dishonesty.	Fallyng down dispayre not.
Be true in worde and dede.	Ever take a fresshe newe good purpose.
Reverende thy elders.	Persever constauntly.
Obeie thy superyours.	Use oft tymes confessyon.
Be felowe to thyne equales.	Wasshe cleane.
Be benygne and lovyng to thyne inferyours.	Sorowe for thy synnes.
Love all men in God.	Aske often mercy.
Byleve and trust in Christ	Be no slogarde.
Jesu, worshyp hym, and hym serve and obey.	Awake quyckly.
Call often for grace of the Holy Goost.	Enryche the with vertue.
Love peace and equitye.	Lerne dyligently.
Thynke on deth.	Teche that thou hast lerned lovingly.
Drede the judgment of God.	By this way thou shalt come to grace and to glory.
Trust in Goddes mercy.	Amen.
Be alway well occupied.	

Symbolum Apostolorum.

Credo in Deum Patrem, &c.

Oratio Dominica.

Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, &c.

Oratiuncula ad puerum Jesum scholæ præsidem.

Mi Domine Jesu suavissime, qui puer adhuc anno ætatis tuæ duodecimo in Hierosolymitano templo inter doctores illos sic disputasti, ut stupefacti universi tuam superexcellentem sapientiam admirarentur: te quæso, ut in hac tua schola, cui præes, et patrocinaris, eam quotidie discam, et literaturam, et sapientiam, qua possim in primis te, Jesu, qui es ipsa vera sapientia, cognoscere, deinde cognitum eundem te colere, et imitari, atque in hac brevi vita sic ambulare in via doctrinæ tuæ sequax vestigiorum tuorum, ut quo pervenisti ipse ad aliquam ejus gloriæ partem decedens ex hac luce, possim ego quoque tua gratia feliciter pervenire.
Amen.

Christiani Hominis Institutum, per Erasmus Rot. scriptum in usum scholæ Londini institutæ per Joannem Coletum, inter epigrammata Des. Erasmi Rot. Ato. Bas. 1518.

Valet in Christo fides quæ per dilectionem operatur.

Fides.

I. *Articulus. Credo.*

Confiteor primum ore pio, venerorque fideli
Mente Deum Patrem, vel nutu cuncta potentem.
Hunc, qui stelligeri spaciosa volumina cœli,
Et solidum omniparæ telluris condidit orbem.

II. *Et in Jesum.*

Ejus item gnatum Jesum, cognomine Christum,
Quem Dominum nobis agnoscimus, et veneramur.

III. *Qui conceptus.*

Hunc Maria, afflatu divini numinis, alvo
Concepit virgo, peperit purissima virgo.

IV. *Passus sub Pontio.*

Et grave supplicium immeritus damnante Pilato
Pertulit, infami suffixus in arbore, mortem
Oppetiit, tumulatus humo est, claususque sepulchro,
Interea penetrat populator ad infera regna.

V. *Tertio die.*

Mox ubi tertia lux mæsto se prompserat orbi,
Emersit tumulo superas redivivus in auras.

VI. *Ascendit.*

Inde palam ætheream scandit sublimis in arcem,
Illic jam dexter Patri assidet omnipotenti.

VII. *Iterum venturus est.*

Idem olim rediturus, ut omnem judicet orbem,
Et vivos pariter, vitæque et lumine cassos.

VIII. *Credo in Spiritum.*

Te quoque credo fide simili spirabile numen
Halitus, afflatusque Dei sacer, omnia lustrans.

IX. *Sanctam ecclesiam.*

Et te confiteor sanctissima concio, qua gens
Christigena arcano nexu coit omnis in unum

Corpus et unanimis capiti sociatur Iesu,
Hinc proprium nescit, sed habet communia cuncta.

X. *Remissionem peccatorum.*

Hoc equidem in cœtu sancto, peccata remitti
Credo, vel his sacro fuerint qui fonte renati,
Vel qui diluerint ultro sua crimina fletu.

XI. *Carnis resurrectionem.*

Nec dubito quin exanimata cadavera rursus
In vitam redeant, animas sortita priores.

XII. *Vitam æternam.*

Utraque pars nostri, corpusque animusque deinceps
Juncta simul, vitam ducent sine fine perennem.

Amor Dei.

Hæc est indubitata fides, cui pectore certo
Nixus, amabo Patrem super omnia cunctipotentem,
Qui me condideritque, et in hunc produxerit orbem.
Rursus amore pari Dominum complectar Iesum,
Qui nos asseruit, pretioque redemit amico
Spiritus item Sanctum, qui me sine fine benigno
Afflatu fovet, atque animi penetralia ditans
Dotibus arcanis, vitali recreat aura.
Atque hic Ternio Sanctus, et omni laude ferendus
Toto ex corde mihi, tota de mente, supremis
Viribus, obsequio, meritoque coletur honore.
Hunc unum reverebor, et hoc semel omnis in uno
Spes mea figetur, hoc omnia metiar uno.
Hic propter sese mihi semper amabitur unus.

Amor sui.

Post hunc haud alia ratione, ac nomine charus
Ipse mihi fuero, nisi quatenus omnis in illum
Ille mei referatur amor, fontemque revisat.

Fuga peccati.

Culpam præterea fugiam pro viribus omnem.
Præcipue capitale tamen vitavero crimen,
Quod necat, atque animam letali vulnerat ictu.

Superbia, invidia, ira.

Ne fastu tumeam, ne vel livore maligno
Torquear, aut bili rapiar fervente, cavebo.

Gula, luxuria, pigritia.

Ne vel spurca libido, vel insatiabilis alvus
Imperet, enitar, nec turpis inertia vincat.

Avaritia.

Ne nunquam saturanda fames me vexet habendi,
Plus satis ut cupiam fallacis munera mundi.

Fuga malorum hominum.

Improba pestiferi fugiam commercia cœtus
Omnia, summo animi conatu, proque virili.

Studium pietatis.

Atque huc incumbam nervis, ac pectore toto ;
Ut magis atque magis superet mihi gratia, virtus,
Augescatque piæ divina scientia menti.

Deprecatio.

Orabo, superosque precum libamine puro
Placare adnitar, cum tempore sedulus omni,
Tum vero eximie, quoties lux festa recurret.

Frugalitas victus.

Frugales epulæ semper, mensæque placebit
Sobria mundities, et avari nescia luxus.

Jejunium.

Servabo reverens, quoties jejunia nobis
Indicit certis ecclesia sancta diebus.

Mentis custodia.

Sancta uti sint mihi secretæ penetralia mentis,
Ne quid co subeat fœdumve, nocensve, studebo.

Linguae custodia.

Ne temere juret, ne unquam mendacia promat,
Turpia ne dictu dicat mea lingua, cavebo.

Manus custodia.

A furto cohibebo manus, nec ad ulla minuta
Viscatis mittam digitos, et si quid ademptum
Cuiquam erit, id domino properabo reddere vero.

Restitutio rei forte reperta.

Id quoque restituum, si quid mihi forte repertum est,
Me penes haud patiar prudens, aliena morari.

Amor proximi.

Nec secus atque mihi sum charus, amabitur omnis

Proximus : est autem (ni fallor) proximus ille,
 Quisquis homo est, ac sic ut amor referatur amici
 In Christum, vitamque piam, veramque salutem.
 Huic igitur fuerit quoties opus, atque necesse,
 Sedulus officio corpusque, animumque juvabo,
 Ut mihi succurri cupiam, si forsán egerem.
 Id tamen in primis præstabo utrique parenti,
 Per quos corporeo hoc nasci mihi contigit orbe.
 Tum præceptori, qui me erudit, instituitque
 Morigerus fuero, ac merito verebor honore.
 At rursus dulcisque scholæ, studiique sodales,
 Semper (uti par est) sincero amplectar amore.

Assidua confessio.

Si quando crimen fuero prolapsus in ullum,
 Protinus enitar, pura ut confessio lapsum
 Erigat, ac justa tergatur noxia pœna.

Sumptio corporis Christi in vita.

Ast ubi sacrati me ad corporis atque cruoris
 Cælestes epulas pietasque diesque vocabit,
 Illotis manibus metuens accedere, pectus
 Ante meum, quanta cura studioque licebit,
 Purgabo maculis, virtutum ornabo nitelis.

Morbus.

Porro ubi fatalis jam terminus ingruet ævi,
 Extremumque diem cum morbus adesse monebit,
 Mature sacramentis me armare studebo,
 Atque his muneribus, quæ ecclesia sancta ministrat
 Christigenis, reteget confessio crimina vitæ,
 Sacrificio, sumam Christi venerabile corpus.

Hoc fac, et vives.

Number XII.

A short paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, by Dr. Colet, inserted in the collection of prayers, &c. entitled, The Prymer of Salysbury Use; or, Hore beatissime Virginis Marie secundum usum Sarum totaliter ad longum. Paris. 1532. 24mo.

The seven peticyons of the Pater-noster, by John Colet, deane of Poules.

The fyrste peticyon.

O father in heuen, holowed be thy name amonge men in erth, as yt is among angels in heuen.

The seconde peticyon.

O father lette thy kyngedome come: and reygne amonge vs men in erthe, as thou reygnest amonge thy angels in heuen.

The thyrde peticyon.

O father thy wyll be fulfilled, that is to say, make vs to fulfill thy wyll here in erthe, as thy angels do in heuen.

The fourth peticyon.

O father, gyue vs our dayly sustinaunce alway and helpe vs, as we gyue and helpe them that haue nede of vs.

The fyfte peticyon.

O father, forgyue vs oure synnes done to the, as we do forgyue them, that trespas agaynste vs.

The vi. peticyon.

O father lette vs not be ouercome wyth temptacyon.

The vii. peticyon.

But o father, delyuer vs from all euylles. Amen.

Number XIII.

A lytell prohemc to the booke called Grammatices Rudimenta, by dean Colet.

AL be it many have wryten, and have made certayne introducyons into Latyn speche, called *Donates*, and *Accidens* in Latyn tongue and in Englysshe, in suche plenty that it

shulde seme to suffyse; yet never the lesse, for the love and zeale that I have to the newe schole of Powles, and to the children of the same, somewhat I have also compyled of the mater, and of the viii partes of grammer have made this lytell boke, not thynkyng that I coude say any thing better than hath be sayd before, but I toke this besynesse havynge great pleasure to shew the testimony of my good mynde unto that schole. In whiche lytell warke if any new thynges be of me, it is alonely that I have put these partes in a more clere ordre, and have made them a lytell more easy to yonge wyttes, than (me thynketh) they were before. Judgyng that no thyng may be to soft, nor to famylier for lytell chyldren, speccially lernynge a tongue unto them all straunge. In whiche lytell boke I have left many thynges out of purpose, consyderynge the tendernesse and small capacitye of lytell myndes. And that I have spoken also I have affirmed it none otherwyse, but as it happeth most commonly in Latyn tongue. For many be the excepcyons, and hard it is any thyng generally to assure in a speche so various. I praye God all may be to his honour, and to the erudycion and profyete of chyldren, my countrey men Londoners speccially, whom dygestynge this lytell werke I had alway before mine eyen, consyderynge more what was for them, than to shewe any great connyng, wylling to speke the thynges often before spoken, in suche maner as gladly yonge begynners and tender wyttes myght take and conceyve. Wherefore I pray you all lytell babes, all lytell chyldren, lerne gladly this lytell treatyse, and commende it dyligently unto your memories, trustynge of this begynnynge that ye shall procede, and growe to perfyte lyterature, and come at the laste to be great clerks. And lyfte up your lytell whyte handes for me, whiche prayeth for you to God; to whom be all honour, and imperiall maiesty and glory. *Amen.*

Prologi finis.

Of these viii partes of speche in ordre wel. construed be made reasons and sentences, and longe oracyons. But howe and in what maner, and with what constructyon of wordes, and all the varietees, and dyversytees, and chaunges in

Latyn speche, whiche be innumerable, if any man wyll know, and by that knowledge attayne to understande Latyn boke, and to speke and to wryte the clene Latyn: let hym above all besyly lerne and rede good Latyn auctours of chosen poetes and oratours, and note wisely howe they wrote, and spake, and study alway to folowe them, desiryng none other rules but their examples. For in the begynning men spake not Latyn, bycause suche rules were made; but contrary wyse, bycause men spake suche Latyn, upon that folowed the rules were made. That is to saye, Latyn speche was before the rules, not the rules before the Latyn speche. Wherefore, well beloved maysters and techers of grammer, after the partes of speche suffyciently knowen in your scholes, rede and expounde playnly unto your scholers good authours, and shewe to them every word and in every sentence what they shall note and observe, warnyng them besyly to folowe and to do lyke, both in wrytyng and in spekyng, and be to them your own selfe also spekyng with them the pure Latyn very present, and leave the rules. For redyng of good boke, dilygent informacion of taught maysters, studyous advertence, and takyng hede of lerners, heryng eloquent men speke, and finally besy imytacyon with tonge and penne, more avayleth shortly to get the trewe eloquent speche, than all the tradycions, rules, and preceptes of maysters.

Explicit Coleti æditio.

These be the viii partes of spekyng, whiche for an introduction of children in to Latyn speche I have thus compyled, dygested, and declared: prayng God that it maye profyte to the more spedy lernyng of yonge begynnners, finally to his honour, to whom be all prayse and glory without end. *Amen.*

Joannis Colcti theologi, olim decani Divi Pauli, æditio, una cum quibusdam G. Lili Grammatices Rudimentis.

G. Lili epigramma.

*Pocula si linguæ cupias gustare Latine,
Quale tibi monstrat, ecce, Colctus iter.*

*Non per Caucasos montes, cui summa Pyrenes ;
Te ista per Hybleos, sed via ducit agros.*

Londini, in ædibus Winandi de Worde anno MDXXXIIII.

Number XIV.

*Epistola dedicatoria, præfixa libro Ric. Pacei de Fructu qui
ex doctrina percipitur. Bas. 1517. 4to. Vid. pag. 12.*

*Richardus Paceus Joanni Colete, theologo eruditissimo
atque optimo viro, S. P. D.*

NULLÆ (mi Colete) occupationes quantumvis magnæ, efficere possunt, ut meorum isthic amicorum, doctorum præsertim, quorum in numero tu excellis, non sæpissime recorder, eorumque jucundissimam consuetudinem vehementer desiderem. Quemadmodum igitur aliis quibusdam amicis meis nuper literarum aliquid a me efflagitantibus libenter scripsi, ita tibi quoque mea sponte in præsentia feci. Et ne ægre feras, me in scribendo tibi quam aliis fuisse tardiolem, tarditatem scribendi ipso muneris pretio compensare volui. Quod tametsi nec argenteum, nec aureum sit, (est enim literarium) tibi tamen non ingratum fore puto, immo certe scio. Quippe qui magno studio laborasse videris, ut omnes literarum studiosos, tui amantissimos reddas, tibi que devincias. Siquidem hinc et non aliunde, sentiunt omnes celeberrimum illud ludi literarii tui, quem Londini crexisti, et puleherrime sustentas, monumentum prodiisse. Et (quod ipsi scholæ non est postponendum, ne dicam præferendum) curasti, ut honestissimus simul et peritissimus vir, pueros adolescentesque erudiat, Isoeratem imitatus, qui sapienter (ut omnia) nemini pueros ad erudiendum tradendos censuit, nisi in quo doctrinam satis magnam, par quoque honestas vitæ sequeretur, ut non doctrinam solum, sed etiam bonos mores, quum ad imitationem præceptorum totos se dederent, imbiberent. Quorum utrumque nunc, te autore, facillime possunt assequi. Habent enim præceptorem, cujus vita, moresque sunt probatissimi.

Tanta præterea eruditio, ut extrusa pene omni barbarie, (in qua nostri olim adolescentes solebant fere ætatem consumere, et longissimo tempore, ut nihil boni discerent, laborare,) politioem Latinitatem, atque ipsam Romanam linguam, in Britanniam nostram introduxisse videatur. Quæ quum ita sint, cum alios omnes, tum præcipue doctos, et doctrinæ studiosos, his cœptis favere, id est, in commune prodesse, vehementer convenit. Sed quia ita natura comparatum est, ut qui maxima vellent, minima possint, illi qui benignissimis animis suis re ipsa satisfacere nequeunt, verbis suum implere officium coguntur, id quod mihi cum aliis (puto) multis contigit. Nam cum libentissime laudatissimum opus a te inceptum, promovere in majus, atque (si facultatum angustia non obsesset) augere vellem, cogit necessitas verbis efficere, quod re ipsa præstare mallet. Accipe igitur meum libellum tuo dedicatum nomini, cui titulus est, *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*. In quo si res tam bene a me tractaretur, quam pueris et juvenibus titulus convenit, haud scio an in primis illis esset legendus. Solent enim omnes homines illis libentius vacare rebus, quarum fructus percipiendus, manifeste ante oculos proponitur. Sed si meum exiguum me fefellit ingenium, tibi, alisque relinquam, ut Virgilium imitati, aurum colligatis ex stercore, et ex persona quadam vivam effingatis imaginem. Ego vero hoc solo contentus ero, quod tibi atque illis pulcherrimum, in quo vos exerceretis, (quippe in utilitatem omnium studiosorum adolescentum,) argumentum præbuerim. Restat ut jam tibi explicem, quid me moveat ad libellum hoc titulo conscribendum et publicandum. Quum duobus annis plus minus jam præteritis, ex Romana urbe in patriam rediissem, interfui cuidam convivio multis incognitus. Ubi quum satis fuisset potatum, unus, nescio quis, ex convivis, non imprudens, ut ex verbis vultuque conjicere licuit, cœpit mentionem facere de liberis suis bene instituendis. Et primum omnium, bonum præceptorem illis sibi quærendum, et scholam omnino frequentandam censuit. Aderat forte unus ex his, quos nos generosos vocamus, et qui semper cornu aliquod a tergo pendens gestant, acsi etiam inter prandendum venarentur.

Is audita literarum laude, percitus repentina ira, furibundus prorupit in hæc verba: Quid nugaris, inquit, amice? abeant in malam rem istæ stultæ literæ, omnes docti sunt mendici, etiam Erasmus ille doctissimus (ut audio) pauper est, et in quadam sua epistola vocat τὴν κατάρρατον πενίαν uxorem suam, id est, execrandam paupertatem, et vehementer conqueritur se non posse illam humeris suis usque in βαθυκίττα πόντα, id est, profundum mare excutere. (Corpus Dei juro) volo filius meus pendeat potius quam literis studeat. Decet enim generosorum filios, apte inflare cornu, perite venari, accipitrem pulchre gestare et educare. Studia vero literarum, rusticorum filiis sunt relinquenda. Hic ego cohibere me non potui, quin aliquid homini loquacissimo in defensione bonarum literarum responderem. Non videris, inquam, mihi (bone vir) recte sentire. Nam si veniret ad regem aliquis vir exterus, quales sunt principum oratores, et ei dandum esset responsum, filius tuus, sic ut tu vis, institutus, inflaret duntaxat cornu, et rusticorum filii docti, ad respondendum vocarentur, ac filio tuo venatori vel aucupi longe anteponebantur, et sua erudita usi libertate, tibi in faciem dicerent, Nos malumus docti esse, et per doctrinam non imprudentes, quam stulta gloriari nobilitate. Tum ille hinc inde circumspiciens; Quis est iste, inquit, qui hæc loquitur? hominem non cognosco. Et quum diceretur in aurem ei quisnam essem, nescio quid submissa voce sibimet susurrans, et stulto usus auditore, illico arripuit vini poculum. Et quum nihil haberet respondendum, cœpit bibere, et in alia sermonem transferre. Et sic me liberavit, non Apollo, ut Horatium a garrulo, sed Bacchus a vesani hominis disputatione, quam diutius longe duraturam vehementer timebam. Ad ultimum, illud unice rogem necesse est, ut siquid in hoc meo opusculo minus eruditum, quam eruditis tuis auribus convenit, reperies, non omnia meæ imperitiæ et ignorantiae, sed aliquid huic quoque attribuas incommodo, quod hic nunc sum, ubi nec docti viri sunt, nec libri, quos aliunde mihi advehendos curassem, si ita fuisset consultum. Sed hic non tam permaneo, quam pendeo, ut ubi sum hodie, nesciam an sim futurus cras. Atque tu probe nosti hominem literis dedi-

tum, si desint libri, similem esse militis, cui desunt arma. Quare si qui erunt, qui aliquid puerilius in hoc libello notabunt, quam longum deceat studium, sciant illi opusculum pueris esse scriptum.

Vale. Ex Constantia.

Towards the conclusion of the above-mentioned book there is also this passage, relating to Colet's school.

— Hæc sunt, mi Colete, quibus studiosos literarum juvenes ad doctrinam amplexandam hortandos, instruendosque putavi. Quæ si tibi, vel juvenibus tuis, qui per te publice erudiuntur, placere intellexero, operam me non luisse judicabo. Hoc unum non dubito quin assecuturus sim, ut si non omnia probare velitis, multa saltem rideatis. P. 111.

Number XV.

At the end of the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, before the collation of the texts in the manuscript mentioned p. 223, which was written in the dean's house at Paul's, is the following inscription :

Ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis incomprehensibilis invisibilis Dei ad honorem quoque dulcissimæ Mariæ Virginis genetricis ejusdem totiusque cælestis exercitus, opus hoc duorum evangelistarum Matthæi scilicet et Marci conscriptum est jussu et expensis reverendi d'ni et venerabilis viri D. Joannis Colett ecclesiæ cath. divi Pauli Londini decani sacræque theologiæ professoris.

Egregij viri Henrici Colett militis opulentissimæ civitatis Londini quondam senatoris, et ejusdem bis consulis filij. arte et industria Petri Meghen monoculi Teutonici, natione Brabantini oppidi Buschiducensis Leodiensis dioc. Anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo nono mensis vero Maij, die octavo.

Eodem anno mensis Aprilis . . . die illustrissimus rex Angliæ (piæ memoriæ) Henricus VII. (qui ut alter Solomon sapiens, dives pacificus) diem clausit extremum, hæredem regni relinquens non ut Solomon

Reboam filium stolidum: sed nobilissimu'

Hen. VIII. filium patre sapientiorementium bonam

in-
cia.

—
O

omnipotens Deus sua ineffabili pietate ad optima dignetur perducere extrema.
AMEN.

Number XVI.

An Act for the Approbation of Physicians and Surgeons in the third year of Henry VIII. 1511-12, made in favour of dean Colet.

FORASMUCHE as the science and conyng of physicke and surgerie to the perfecte knowledge whereof be requisite both great lernyng and ripe experience is daily within this relme exercysed by a grete multitude of ignorant persons of whom the great part have no maner of insight in the same, nor in any other kynde of lernyng. Some also can no letters in the booke.

Be it enacted, that no persone within the citie of London nor within seven myles of the same, take upon hym to exercise or occupy as a physicion or surgeon excepte he be firste examyned approv'd and admitted by the byshop of London or by the deane of Poules for the tyme beyng callunge to him or them foure doctours of physeke for examinacyon and gevyng letters testimonials under their seale to hym that they shall so approve.

Statutes of Hen. VIII. cap. xi. edit. Pynson.

 Number XVII.

Bishop Longlond's character of dean Colet's preaching, in his Dedication to king Hen. VIII. before his Latin Sermons, fol. impres. anno Dom. 1518. per Ric. Pynson, Lond. ad 17 cal. Jun.

Serenissimo regi Henrico VIII. Joannes Longlondus, Dei gratia, &c. Lincol. epise. salutem.

— NEC id satis esse ratus, ut doctissimus princeps ad ea quæ scribuntur ab aliis et conciones etiam coram sua majestate recitatas, tam accurate tam vigilanter advertit, ut semper aliquam singularis virtutis ac doctrinæ lubens ansam arripiat, unde factum est ut conciones ejusmodi quas pater ejus, rex invictissimus, prudentissimus, gravissimus,

et maximopere in rem divinam affectus, cæterique sui majores illustrissimi frequenter audierunt: ipse frequentissimas audire velit Coletum sui temporis in ea re Phœnicem, persæpe concionantem solenni saltem parascæve (quamdiu superstes erat) solebat inaudire.

Number XVIII.

A short account of that learned foreigner Justus Jonas, to whom Erasmus sent his account of Colet's life.

JUSTUS JONAS was born at Northusa in Germany, anno Christi 1493, where his father was a senator. He was first brought up at school: afterwards he studied law, and made a good progress therein; but upon better thoughts he studied divinity, and proceeded doctor, and embraced the reformed religion; and was called, anno Christi 1521, to a pastoral charge in Wittenberg. He was present at most of the disputations about religion, where he defended the truth strenuously, and endeavoured to promote peace. He was also made a professor in that university. He, with Spalatine and Amsdorffus, was employed by the elector of Saxony to reform the churches in Misnia and Thuringia: from thence he was called unto Halle in Saxony, where he preached and promoted religion exceedingly. Luther sometimes resorted thither to him, and took him along with him in his last journey to Isleben, where he died. After whose death he remained a while in the duke of Saxony's court, and was a constant companion of John Frederick's sons in all their afflictions. And lastly, he was set over the church in Eisleben; where he ended his days in much peace and comfort anno Christi 1555, and of his age 63. We are so much beholden to this friend of Erasmus for instigating him to give some account of dean Colet, that he deserves this notice to be taken of him here.

Number XIX.

The Will of sir Henry Colet, father of dean Colet.

IN the name of God amen: the xxviii day of September the yere of our Lord God MD and fyve I Henry Colete citezein and alderman of London, beyng hole in mynd, and in good memory, laude and praying be to almighty God, make, and ordeyne, this present testament and last will in manner and forme ensuing: that is to witte, 1st I bequeth and recommend my soule to Almighty God my maker and redemer, to the most glorious virgyn his moder our lady seynt Mary, and to all the holy company of saynts in heven, and my body to be buried in the cathedral church of seynt Paule of London, in sum convenyent place there after the discretion of myn executors, if it happen me to decesse within the cite of London, or else if it happen me to decesse at Stebunhith, then I will that my body be buried in the parish-church there, at sepulchre before seynt Dunston in the same church, if the vicary thereof be so pleased, and my body so buried, than I wyll that all suche detts as I owe to any persone or persones of right, or of conscience, be well and truely paid. *Item* I bequeth to the high awt' of the parisshe church of seynte Antonye of London, whereof I am now a parishioner for my tithes and oblations forgotten or negligently with-holden, if any such be in discharge-ying of my conscience, as I know noon so to be and to the intent the curat there pray for my soule x s.

Item, I bequeth to the high altar to the said parishe-church of Stebunhith, for the like intent x s. Also I will that my executors here undernam'd as soone as they may goodly after my decesse, provide and ordeyn 11 honest chapeleyns of good name and fame, and honest conversation that oon to syng and say masse and other divine service daily when he is dispos'd, in the parishe church of Stebunhith aforesaid, and the other in the parishe church of seynt Anthonye beforesaid, and to pray especially for my soule, the soules of my fader, and moder, and of my children, and for all Cristen soules by the space of xv yeres next folowing

after my decesse, and that either of the same chapleyns have for their labour yerely during the said xv yeres vii^l. vi^s. viii^d.

Item, I bequeth to the exhibition of poore scholers studying in holy divinitie at the universities of Oxenford and Cambridge, to be disposed amongs them after the discretion of myn executors *Cl*.

Item, I bequeth another *Cl*. to be dispos'd by the discretion of my said executors in *noyows-wayses* where they shall thinke most nedful and most merytoryous for my soule.

If I bequeth to the mariages of poor maydens of good name and fame *Cl*. and I will that every of my mayden servants which shall happen to be in household service with me at the tyme of my decesse, have to her marriage a portion of the said *Cl*. after the discretion of myn executors and beside that a gowne clothe of blakeclothe.

If I bequeth to Wm. Colete my brother's son his children and other of my kynne to the nombre of x persones with the same William and his children to be nam'd by the discrecion of myn executors *Cl*. to be paid and deliver'd unto them wekly that is to say to every of them iii^d. by the weke.

If I bequeth to the works of the body of the parishe church of Stebunhith aforesaid xls. And I bequeth to every man servant being in service with me at the tyme of my decesse xls. in money and a blake gowne beside their wages. And I bequeth to William Middilton late my servant xls. and a blake gowne.

If I bequeth to William Bayle of Wendover xls.

If I bequeth to William Rote of Stebunhith aforesaid xls. and the residue of all my goods cattals and detts whatsoever they be after my detts paid my funeral expences fully doon, and the legacies comprised in this my present testament perform'd, I geve and bequeth holly unto dame Cristian my wife, and to M. John Colete doctour of holy divinity my sone, the which dame Cristian and the said M. John Colete I make and ordeyne myn executors of this my present testament. In wittnes wherof to this my present

testament and last will I have putt my seale yeven the day and yere above rehersed and all other testaments and wills of my mooveable goodes by me afore this made I utterly revoke and adnulle by this my present writting, and none othe testament or will of my mooveable goods to take effect except this present writting alone.

Probatum fuit suprascript' test' coram d'no apud Lamehith xx^o die mens' Octobris anno Domini mill'mo quingentesimo quinto jur' M. Johannis Colete executores in hujusmodi test' nominati, &c. Ex officio prerog. Holgrave 14.

Number XX.

Testam. Johannis Collet, decani ecclesiæ cathedralis Sti Pauli Londinensis.

IN Dei nomine amen: the xxii day of August in the yere of our Lord God MD and XIX. I John Colett dean of the cathedral church of seint Paule in London beyng of hole mynde and memorie, make and ordeyne this my present testament and last will of my goodes moveable, by reason whereof I revoke and renounce all other wills testaments and codicils whatsoever they be heretofore by me or by any other in my name made of the said goodes moveable this to stand firm and stable in maner and form followyng First I bequeth my soule to God and to our Lord Crist Jesu, my body to the chireh of seinte Paule aforesaid to be buried nyghe unto the image of seint Wilgefert where I made a lytel monyment. As touchyng my burying, and funeralls, with the circu'stance thereof I commit to the discrecion of myne executours hereafter named in thende of this my present testament.

Item I bequeth to Edmond Knyvet esquier sergeant porter to our soveraine lord the kyng; forty pounds in money, or in money worth to be paid to hym assoone as it may be conveniently.

Item I bequeth to John Colett the sonne of William Colett my kennesman fourty pounds to be paid unto hym in lyk maner.

Item to maister doct'r Aleyn, the cupp with the cover that he gave unto me.

Item I wyll that my maister doct'r Morgan have my best gown with the hode, my best cote of chamlet furred with blake bogye and a yestment.

Item I bequethe to maister John Banbrughe a silver pott having on the ere wryten John Colett my bed at Charterhous that I ley upon my self with matresse and blanketts, to the said bed belonging, and certeine of my prynted books called seint Jerom works, and other that may be conveniently gyven unto hym.

Item I will that master Dancaster have in money to supporte hym in hys vertue six pounds xiii*s.* iiiii*d.*

Item I bequethe to syr Rob. Hopwood a lytell goblet with a cover havynge a whyte rose in the toppe of the cover, a lytill square salt with a cover gilt, the which I bought of maister Lycheheld halfe a dosen silver spones and a *maser owver* and above 40 shelings by yere for term of his lyf, to be paid oute of the mercery of London accordyng to their promise therupon to me made.

Item I will that Thomas Lupeshed my schollar be remember'd after the discrecion of myn executors and to have all suche bookes prynted as may be most necessary for his lernyng.

Item to maister William Garrard a cupp with a cover of silver and gilt chased; stondyng on a rose.

Item to master Nycholas Curlews a standyng cup with the cover gilt with the moris daunce on it.

Item to John Danet my godson a litil silver pott havynge on the top H and R which his father gave me.

Item to Bartilmewe Barham sometyme my servant a silver pott having on the ere wryten John Colett.

Item the New Testament, and oder of myne own making wryting in parchement, as Coments on Paulis Epesteles and Abbreviacions with many such other, I will shall be dis-

poased at the disposition of myn executours whiche disposition I leve to their discrecion and all my boke imprinted in paper I will also by them be disposed to poore studentes and especially to suche as hath bene schollars with me.

Item as touchyng my logyng at the Charter-hous, I wyl that all bordwork made of waynskott as tables, trestils, greate coffers, cupboards, and all paynted images upon the walls remayne to that lodgyng *in perpetuum*, all other stuff there besydes afore rehersed I wyl be disposed by the discrecion of myne executours.

Item I wyl that fyffty pounds sterlings, be distributed amongst my household servants accordyng to the tenour of a bill subscribed with myne own hande over and above theyre wages due at the quarter day after my deceas.

Item to William Bowrman fyve marks by yere to be paid by the mercers aforesaid during his lyf.

Item I bequethe to Benjamin Dygby my ewer of silver and gilte.

Item to Henry Digby my lytell primer cover'd with green velvet.

Item I bequeth to the church of Cheswyke a vestment of whyte damask.

Item to the church of Sandon a vestment of green damask.

Item to the church of Lambourn a vestment of bawdkin wyth flowers.

Item to the church of Borne a vestment. Furthermore where I the said John Colett all thyngs abovenam'd hathe gyven and bequeath'd, nevertheles yf any thing happenor to myne executours to whom I putt my trust or any just cause be seen that the said bequestis and legacies cannot be duly perform'd that then of the said legacies and bequests be made defalcacion after the discrecion of my said executours. In which thinge I charge theyre conscience, and discharge as the cause from tyme to tyme shall require the residue of all my goodes moveable and immoveable, catalls, and detts, not bequeth'd my detts pay'd and this my present

testament fulfill'd in manner and form as is afore rehersed. *I gyve* and bequeth unto myne executours whom I name ordeyne and make my moder dame Christian Colett, maister William Garrard, and maister Nicolas Curlews they to order and dispoase them as they shall thynk best to the most comforte of theym that have nede. In wytness wherof I have subscribed this testament with myne owne hande the day and yere above wryten. These beyng witnesses of the same syr Robert Asheleyne sub dean of the church of Pawlis, sir John Rogers almoner of the same, and sir William Taylor prest with other. *Hoc testamentum meum de bonis meis omnibus, ego Johannes Colett subscripsi et subscripsi meca manu propria die et anno supradicto.*

In Dei nomine amen. This is the testament and last will of me John Colet deane of the cathedrall church of seinte Pawle in London and sonne and heire of syr Henry Colett knyght made the xxiid daie of August in the yere of our Lord MD and XIX, and in the XIth yere of the reigne of king Henry the VIIIth, as to the disposicion of all and singular my manors, mesuages, londes, and tenements, woddes, medowes, lesues, pastures, mores, rents, services, hæreditaments hereunder wryten. 1st I wyl if it happen me to deceas oute of this transitorie world, lyvyng dame Christian Colett shall have and enjoy to her and her assignes duryng her lyf natural, all my mesuages londs and tenements revercions, and hæreditances, in the town fields and parishe of Wendover in the county of Bucks whereof I ever during my lyf or any other to my use or for the performance of my last will was seased of a state of fee symple, also all my manors of Weldon, Denthorp, Kirkby-Dene, Bulwyk and Thyrrning with all the appurtenances in the counties of Northampton and Hunt. which the said syr Henry Colet my fader purchas'd of sir William Knyvet knyght my mesuages tenements rents revercions and services medows lesues meres and pastures also with all other rights comodities and appurtenances set and lying in the towns and fields of great Weldon, and lytell Weldon in the

county of Northampton which the said sir Henry Colett my fader purchas'd of Eusby Catesby and other, also all my vi mesuages 11 hundred acres of londe 40 acres of medowe, xx acres of pasture and xx acres of wood and xs. rent with the appurtenance in great Weldon and lytell Weldon in the said county of Northampton which the said syr Henry Colett my fader purchas'd of Edward Cumberford also all my londs, tenements, woddess, lesues, and pastures with there appurtenances in Kirby-Dean and Bulwyke in the county of Northampton which the said syr Henry Colett my fader purchas'd of Thomas Stok gentleman also the manor of Thyrnynge called Mullesworth manor with the appurtenances and the advowson of the church of Thyrnynge six mesuages oon hundred acres of lande xi acres of medowe oon hundred acres of pasture and xs. of rent with the appurtenances in Thyrnynge in the said county of Hunt. which the said sir Henry Colett my fader purchas'd of Thomas Mullesworth, also my two mesuages in the town of Thyrnynge and xxv acres of lond and medow to the same mesuages appertaining which the said sir Henry Colett my fader purchas'd of Thomas Henson, also my mesuage with a curtelage in the same town of Thyrnynge and half a yere and iii acres of land to the saide mesuage appertain'd with the appurtenances which the said Henry Colett my fader purchas'd of Thomas Newman also all those my londs and tenements rents, services wardes, marriages, relefis, eschestes, pightill, and medowes, lesues, pastures, mores, and maresses, with all other ryghte, profyts, and comodities to the same londes and tenements belongyng or apperteyning in the townes feldes and maresse of Clippesby Rollesby Brough Billokby Outly Repps Batewick, Martham Askby and Cherne or elsewhere within the hundred of East-Flegge and West-Flegge in the county of Norfolk also I wyll that all such persones as shall happen to be feoffed and seased to my use the day of my decease in all the said manors londes and tenements and other the premises to the said dame Cristian bequeth'd or any parcel of theym, if the said dame Cristian over lyve me shall stonde and be feoffed

to the use of the said dame Cristian during the lyf natural of the said dame Cristian. Also I wyl that all such persons as shall happen feoff'd and seased to my use and for the performance of my last wyl of and in all my said manors of Weldon Denethorp, Kirkby-Dene, Bulwyke and Thyrynyng in the county of Northampton and Hunt. with their appurtenances which was purchas'd of syr William Knyvet knyght immediately after the decease of me and of the said dame Cristian Colet my moder shall make astate unto Edmond Knyvet esq; sergeant porter to our sovereign lord the king of and in all the said manors with their membres and appurtenances To have and to hold all the said manors with all their membres and appurtenances to the said Edmunde Knyvet and to his heirs of his body lawfully begotten and for default of such issue to remayne to Cristofer Knyvet brother to the said Edmund and to the heirs of the body of the said Cristofer lawfully begotten And for defaute of such issue to remain to Antony Knyvett brother to the said Edmund and Cristopher and heirs of the body of the said Antony lawfully begotten provided alway that the said Edmund Knyvet his heirs or whosoever shall fortune to have the said manors of Weldon and other the premises by demyse of this my present will or otherwise shall truly pay or cause to be paid yerly unto William Newbold my servant duryng his lyf natural, the annuall rent of 40*s.* according to tenor, form, and effect, of a dede by me to hym thereof made beryng date the xii day of May in the xith yere of the reigne of king Henry the VIIIth. Also I wyll that all such persons as shall happen to be feoff'd and seas'd to my use and for the performance of my last will of and in all my mesuages, tenements, rents, reversions and services, medowes, lesues, mores and pastures, with all other rights commodities and appurtenances sett and lying in the town and fields of great Weldon and lytell Weldon in the said county of Northampton which the said sir Henry Colet my fader purchas'd of the said Eusby Catesby and other and of and in my said six mesuages two hundreth acres of londs, xi acres medowe, xx acres of pasture xx acres of wod and *x*s.** rent

with the appurtenances in greate Weldon and lytell Weldon in the said county of Northampton which the said syr Henry Colet my fader purchas'd of the said Edward Comeberford and of and in all my said londes and tenements wodds lesues and pastures with their appurtenances in Kirkby Dene and Bulwyk in the said county of Northampton which the said sir Henry Colett purchased of the said Thomas Stoke gentleman and of and in all my said manor of Thyrnyng call'd Mullesworth maner with thappurtenances and the advowson of the church of Thyrnyng vi mesuages oon hundreth acres of londe xii acres of medowe oon hundreth acres in pasture and xs. of rent with thappurtenances in Thyrnyng in the said county of Hunt. which the said syr Henry Colett my fader purchas'd of the said Thomas Mullesworth and of and in my said two mesuages in the same town of Thyrnyng and xxv acres of lande and medowe to the same mesuages apperteyning which the said sir Henry Colett my fader purchased of the said Thomas Henson of and in my said mesuage with a curtelage in the same towne of Thyrnyng and half a yard and iii acres of londe to the same mesuage apperteynyng with thappurtenances which the said sir Henry Colett my fader purchased of the said Thomas Newman immediately after the deceas of me and of the said dame Cristian Colett my moder, shall make astate to the said Cristofer Knyvet of and in all my said mesuages tenements rents reversions and services medowes lesues mares and pastures with all other ryghts comodities and profitts with thappertenances sett and lying in the townes and felds of greate Weldon and lytell Weldon in the said counte of Northampton purchas'd of the said Eusby Catesby and other and of and in my said six mesuages two hundreth acres of londe xl acres of medowe xx acres of pasture xx acres of wode and xs. of rent with thappurtenances in great Weldon and in lytell Weldon in the same countie of Northampton purchased of the same Edward Cumberford and of and in all my said londs tenements wodds lesues and pastures with their appurtenances in Kirkby Dene and Bulwyke in the same countie of North-

ampton purchased of the same Thomas Stok And of and in all my said maner of Thyrrnyng called Mullesworth maner with the appurtenances and the advouson of the chyrche of Thyrrnyng six mesuages C acres of londe xii acres medowe C acres pasture and xs. of rent with thappurtenances in Thyrrnyng in the said county of Hunt. purchas'd of the said Thomas Mullesworth And of and in the said twoo mesuages in the same towne of Thyrrnyng xxv acres of londe and medowe to the same mesuages appertaynyng with thappurtenances purchased of the said Thomas Henson And of and in my said mesuage with a curtelage in the same towne of Thyrrnyng and half a yarde and iii acres of londe to the same mesuage apperteynyng with thappurtenances purchased of the said Thomas Newman To have and to hold all the same mesuages man' landes tenements wodds medowes mares lesues pastures rents services and revercions with all and singular the premisses and appurtenances to the said Cristofer Knyvet and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten And for defaulte of such issue to remayne to the said Edmund Knyvet and to the heirs of his bodye lawfully begotten And for defaulte of such issue to remayne to the said Antony Knyvet and to the heires of his bodye lawfully begotten Also I wyl that all suche persones as shall hapen to be seased to my use and for the performance of my last will of and in all my said mesuages shoppes landes tenements wodds medowes lesues pastures rents services and revercions with their appurtenances in the said towne fieldes and parishe of Weldon in the said counte of Buck immediately after the decease of me and of the said dame Cristyan Colett my moder shall make astate to John Colet the sone of William Colett of Wendov' of and in all my said mesuages shoppes landes ten'ts wodds medowes lesues pastures rents services and revercions with their appurtenances in the same towne fields and parish of Wendov' wherof I duryng my lif or any other to my use was seased of any astate of fee simple To have and to hold all the same mesuages shoppes landes ten'ts woddes medowes lesues pastures rents services and revercions with their appurtenances to the said John Colett

and to his heirs and assigns for ever Also I will that all such persones as shall happen to be feoffed and seased to my use of and for the performance of my will of and in all those my sayd landes ten'ts rents service wardes mariages releffes eschets pighyts medowes lesues pastures mores mares with all other rights profitts and comodities to the same landes and ten'ts and other the premises belongyng or apperteyning in the townes felds and mares of Ceippesby Rollesby Burgh Billokesby Outeby Reppis Batwyk Martham Askeby and Therne or elsewhere within the hundreth of Estflegge and Westflegge in the said countie of Norff. immediately after the deceas of me and of the said dame Cristiane Colett my moder shall make astate to John Neele my servant of and in all my said londes and ten'ts rents services wardes mariages reliffes eschets pyghills medowes lesues pastures mores maresse with all other rights profitts and comodities to the same landes and tenements and other the premisses belongyng or apperteynyng in the said townes feldis and maresse of Clippesby Rollesby Burghe Billokby Outeby Reppis Batewyke Martham Askeby and Therne or ellswhere within the said hundrethes of Estflegge and Westflegge in the said countie of Norff. to have and to hold all the said landes with all and singular the premises and appurtenaunces to the said John Neale and to his heirs for ever Also I woll that all suche persones as shall happen to be feoffed and seased to my use and for the performauce of my last will of and in all those my vii acres of pasture and iiij acres of londe in the parish of Stebunhith in the county of Middx. which the said syr Henry Colett my fader purchased of Edmond Ratcliff immediately after the deceas of me and of the said dame Cristian Colett my moder shall make astate to William Bourman my servante of and in all the same vii acres of pasture and iiij acres of lande to have and to holde all the said vii acres of pastures and iiij acres of londe to the said William Bourman and to his heires and assigns for ever. In wytnes wherof to this my present testament and last will concernyng my maners mesuages landes and tenements and other the premises I have

sett my seale and the same subscribed with myn owne hande the daye and yere afore wrytten. These beryng wytnesse and testymony to the same. Benjamyn Dygby, mercer, of London, syr Willi'm Taylour, syr Robert Hopwood, prests, and other moo. *Hoc testamentum ego Joh'es Colett subscripsi mea manu propria et sigillavi die et anno supradic'is.*

Exhibit per mag'ros Willi'm Garrard et Nicho'm Curlews executores infra scriptos quinto die mensis Octobris milli'mo quingentesimo decimo nono pro vero integro et ultimo testamento ac ultima voluntate ipsius defuncti except', &c.

[*E curia prærogat' Aylooffe 19.*]

Number XXI.

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^a From this very book John Churchill, scholar of this school, afterwards the renowned duke of Marlborough, first learnt the elements of the art of war; as was told to me, G. North, on St. Paul's day,

1724-5, by an old clergyman, who said he was a cotemporary scholar, was then well acquainted with him, and frequently saw him read it. This I testify to be true. G. NORTH.

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