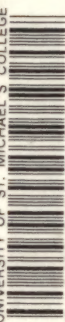


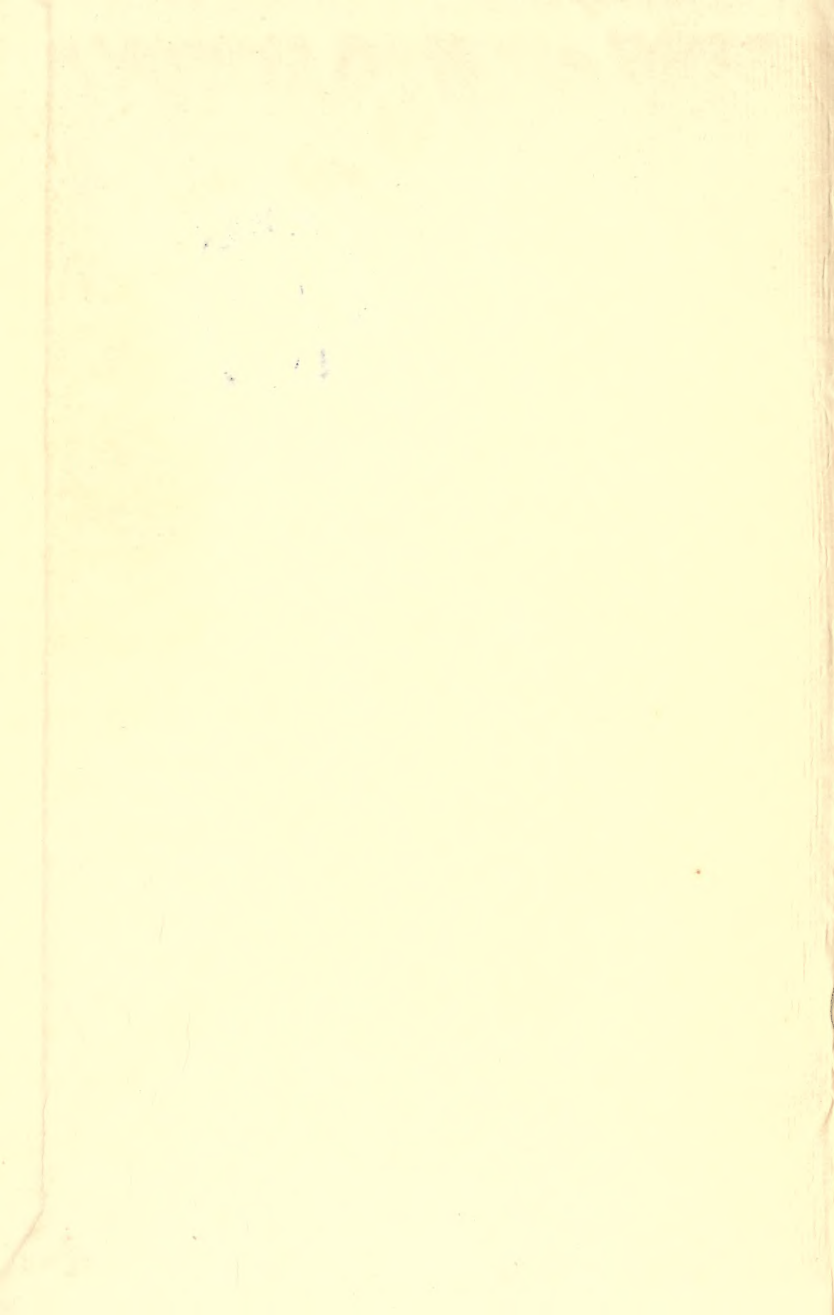
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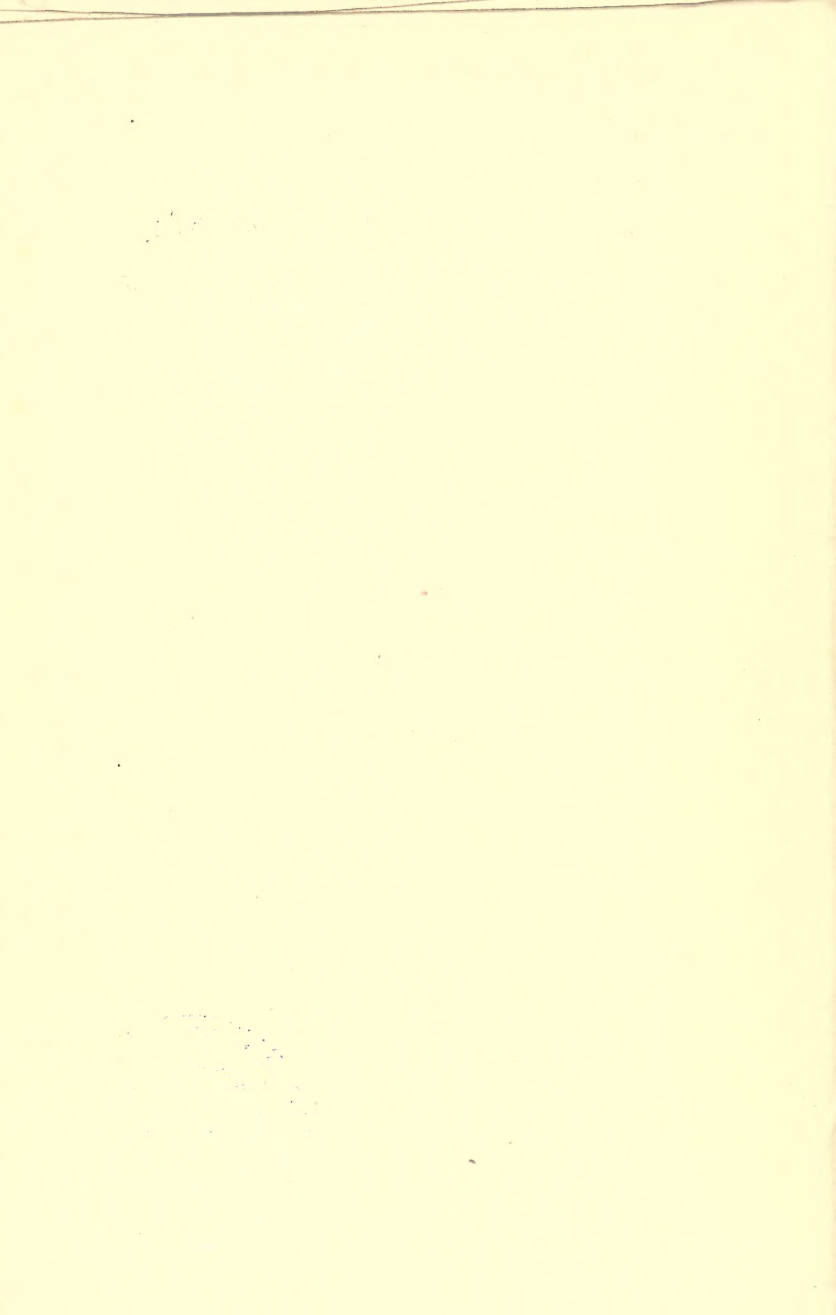
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THE ENGLISH DOMINICAN PROVINCE (1221-1921)











THE ENGLISH DOMINICAN PROVINCE

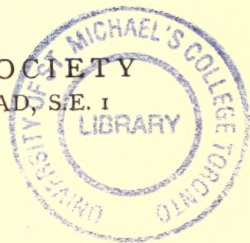




✓
The English
Dominican Province
(1221-1921)



LONDON
CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY
69 SOUTHWARK BRIDGE ROAD, S.E. 1
1921



FOREWORD

EVERY age has its own special need and call. For seven hundred years the children of St. Dominic, at their Father's command and helped by his prayers, have sought to meet the needs and answer the call of each succeeding age. The present book seeks to show how they tried in the past to do their duty.

Seven hundred years have passed since the first English Dominicans came to their native land to plant the Dominican tree. With many great successes and many great failures, with many great joys yet many deep and terrible trials and sorrows, their work through the centuries has gone on, and it is a great subject of rejoicing to see them to-day still at work in the land that gave them birth.

To pursue the simile of the tree (for the tree that St. Dominic planted is still growing in Rome in the garden of St. Sabina) we can always expect and indeed look for many branches to wither and to die. Each year the tree puts off its leaves and each year fresh ones come up. Though the new leaves know little of the ones that went before, save to see them lying dead at the foot of the tree, it is the hidden sap unseen by both that gives life to each and clothes them all with glory year by year—how foolish if the leaves were to boast and to take the glory to themselves! So when reading these pages, if the children of St. Dominic take the glory of the tree's appearance unto themselves and boast, they will do a very foolish thing.

The present book is not brought before the public eye in a boasting spirit, but in order that those who read may praise the Providence of God, who through His weak and sinful creatures has, by His life-giving grace, done such great things.

St. Dominic, so deeply misunderstood in every age by those who judge superficially, is specially loved by those who know him because to a saint's love and trust of God he added an almost limitless trust and reverence for the good sense and freedom of men. He so loved his children that he gave them in his fatherly love an abiding trust of

perfect liberty, such as no other saint ever dared to give his children. He wrote no rule, but bade them love God, and, with his love burning in their hearts, govern themselves according to the needs of each time and place.

When reading the following pages we cannot help being astonished at the wonderful trusting way of the Saint, and praising him for this wonderful trust of God and men that seven centuries still see at work in our midst.

How these poor Dominican friars and nuns lived in the days of their foundation and in the days of Faith we can perhaps readily understand ; but when the dark clouds of religious unbelief came and the dread hand of persecution fell on them and with a far reaching sweep scattered them abroad, we read with astonishment of their survival. At every page we expect to read that the last of them has expired, yet we still find one, two, or three keeping the torch alight. Sometimes the fire is very low—indeed it is only by crouching into the most protected corner that the holder of the torch keeps it from instant extinction. We watch them as we would watch a man walk down a draughty corridor with a naked candle in his hand ; it seems as though they were trying to do an impossibility : yet one after another they do it, and each finds a successor to whom he can hand down the torch. Thus for many weary years of patient striving, from hand to hand the torch of Dominic comes down to us, and we see it with a bright light, burning in our midst.

What the future has in store for us, God alone knows, but we do know that as the torch was handed to us we have to hand it down to others. The burning torch of praying, learning, teaching, is the thing that matters ; the bearers only interest us as far as they carry the torch and no further. Whence they came does not interest us much ; and we know that at the end they go to God.

May these pages kindle in the heart of those who read them a greater love for God and for the salvation of souls ; and a deeper trust in that Almighty Providence, who, in spite of the passions and ambitions of men, works out the sanctification and salvation of those who love Him.

✠ FELIX COUTURIER, O.P.

Bishop of Myriophytos.

London: Feast of the Commemoration of St. Paul, 1921.

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THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

I. THE FOUNDATION

By BEDE JARRETT, O.P.

IT was the white shores of Kent that first in England beheld the whiter wool of St. Dominic. On a summer's day in early August, 1221, following in the train of Bishop Peter des Roches, who was afterwards to become greatly unpopular as the foreign favourite of Henry III when he came of age, were a band of thirteen friars, headed by Gilbert de Fraxineto, sent by St. Dominic after the second Chapter General of the Order held two months before, in Bologna. Tradition has settled somehow that Gilbert was an Englishman, which would mean that he should more properly be called Gilbert Ash. He came, then, with his group, under the patronage of Bishop Peter of Winchester, and straightway after his arrival was introduced to the Primate, Cardinal Stephen Langton, at Canterbury. But it is simpler and better to tell the story of the coming of the friars in the words of an English Dominican born within a generation from the date of their arrival: "At the second General Chapter of the Order of Friar Preachers which was held at Bologna under the blessed Dominic, there were sent into England, Friar Preachers to the number of thirteen, having as their Prior, Friar Gilbert Ash. In the company of the venerable Father, Lord Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, they reached Canterbury. After they

had presented themselves to Lord Stephen, the Archbishop, and after he had understood that they were *preachers*, he straightway ordered Gilbert to preach before him in a certain church where he was himself that day to have preached. The prelate was so edified by the friar's sermon that henceforth during his episcopate he favoured and promoted the Order and its work. Leaving Canterbury, the friars came to London on the Feast of St. Lawrence, and finally reached Oxford on the Feast of the Assumption of the Glorious Virgin, to whose honour they built their Oratory. They held the schools that are now called St. Edward's, and settled in that parish for some time, but finding that they had no room for expanding, they removed to another site given them by the King, where, outside the city walls, they now dwell."

From this brief account of Nicholas Trivet,¹ we can suppose that the friars arrived at Canterbury on August 6th, the feast of the Transfiguration of our Lord, for it was only on the days of greater feasts that Bishops were accustomed to preach and to assist pontifically at the Mass. This date is further confirmed by the rate of the progress of the friars, who took five days in getting from London to Oxford, a distance of about fifty miles, and who, probably, therefore, would have taken four days to cover the ground between Canterbury and London. If this date of August 6th can be accepted as the day of their arrival, it is interesting to note it as also the day of St. Dominic's death: he died on the Feast of the Transfiguration, 1221.

But altogether apart from this question of dates, the main point to be noted in the above quotation,

¹ The son of a Justice-in-Eyre of Henry III, he lived from 1258 to 1328 chiefly in London, Oxford, and Paris. He became a Dominican early in life and was familiar with the court and person of Edward II. His most famous book is the *Annals of England* 1136-1307.

is that the true objective of the friars on their arrival was Oxford. They halted at Canterbury and London, but it is clear that they as yet made no foundation in either of these places. This is a noticeable fact, and it supplies the key-note of the Dominican ideal. These friars arrived in England, strange and unknown, their dress unfamiliar, their fashion of life new and so far untried in these islands ; they were welcomed in the ecclesiastical capital of the country, but they passed on. They arrived at the political capital where dwelt the Government and the commercial centre ; but this too they left. It was the intellectual capital of England that they " finally reached." They made their first settlement, not near the Primate nor the King but at the University, for in the Middle Ages it was a common saying that there were three great powers in Christendom, the *Sacerdotium*, the *Imperium*, and the *Studium*, and the greatest of these was the *Studium*.

The friars certainly had made their choice, and we can be reasonably sure that the choice was that of St. Dominic himself.

In English history since the Reformation, we have been brought up to look upon St. Dominic as a narrow and fanatical hammer of heretics. He was in reality the most broad-minded and boldest of those who aimed precisely not at persecuting, but at persuading, the unbeliever. His story is the long experiment of a new fashion of religious life ; he was considered by his contemporaries rather as a dangerous innovator who created an Order for an enterprise which even the Popes of his acquaintance dreaded as perilous. Thrown by what seemed an accident (the miscarriage of a political embassy to which he was accredited) among the keen heretical minds of Southern France, Dominic's experience of the very first innkeeper with whom he boarded taught him the truth he never forgot—that, with men

who go astray, it is the head and not the heart that is usually at fault. He realized that their exact need was to know the Christian faith better, and that the sin of ignorance was not to be laid to their charge, but to that of the clergy who had failed dismally in their duty of preaching the Gospel. Hence he came very determinedly to consider that the case of Southern France required immediately a band of preaching brethren, troubadours of Love Divine, who should pass over the countryside retelling simply and theologically the dogmas of the Catholic Faith. Therefore, when after a few years of this kind of work, done principally alone, St. Dominic began to find he was attracting others to his plan of campaign, his first care was to take them off with him to Toulouse to attend the lectures at the University—lectures that, as a matter of fact, were given by Alexander of Stavensby, later to become a benefactor of the friars as Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Dominic declared that it was only the skilled in theology who could properly and concisely explain to the people the dogmas of the faith. This little group of preachers was at first considered as a band of diocesan missionaries for Toulouse and Narbonne, but even so, St. Dominic judged that he ought to see the Pope and receive pontifical approval of the work.

Once in Rome, however, or perhaps it may be on the very road thither through Northern Italy, he realized that the conditions of ignorance due to lack of instruction were not limited to the Toulousains but probably extended over a good deal of Christendom. Moreover, secondly, he discovered that he would have to face certain difficulties from the Roman Court and overcome them, before he could hope to receive the official approbation he desired. The Council of the Lateran in 1215 had already forbidden the multiplication of religious orders, and had passed a canon

whereby in future any new institute would be permitted to exist only on condition of its accepting a rule already approved by the Holy See. This, as the event showed, was not at all difficult to fit in with his project, but it was on a quite separate point that the difficulty arose.

It is clear that, in order to produce the effect he considered to be required in the state of the Church at that time, St. Dominic intended (and had already taken steps to carry into effect his intention) his disciples to preach the dogmas of the faith.

Now, under the same Pontiff he was then approaching—Innocent III—had been brought about the reconciliation with the Church of two organizations which had been originally licensed to *preach*, then excommunicated for not teaching the true Catholic doctrine, and finally readmitted to the Church, and again permitted to preach, on their engaging not to explain the faith but only to devote themselves to moral exhortations—in the phrase of that time to devote themselves “to preaching penitence.” Had St. Dominic chosen this last, as did eventually St. Francis, he would have encountered no difficulty at all; but it was precisely this that he had no intention of doing. His whole point was that the people needed more doctrine and could not get it. After some months, Pope Innocent sent him back to his companions, in order that together they might discuss which of the older rules they should choose; and moved, say the later chroniclers, by a vision (and certainly when you consider the prejudice against the new idea, by a miracle), encouraged the new adventure. But this encouragement could not be an official approval till the brethren had decided their own rule. St. Dominic, therefore, hurriedly returned to Toulouse, to confer with his friars as to their next step. They decided unanimously in favour of the rule of St. Augustine, and

Dominic, with that point settled, returned to Rome. Meanwhile, Innocent had died, and Honorius III reigned in his stead.

There followed now a long delay which is partly explained by the fact that, up to St. Dominic's request for authorization, there had been no instance known of a papal confirmation of a religious Order. Earlier, of course, under the influence of St. Benedict, each abbey was separate and autonomous, living its own life on the lines of the Rule, yet allowed within very wide limits ample scope for personal development according to the wisdom, energy, and dominance of an individual abbot. The reforms made at Citeaux and again in the case of the canons regular under St. Norbert, had introduced a group system in which several religious houses were banded together under a mother-house, and accepted its ruling and its decisions, promulgated by means of a Chapter General of superiors and a system of visitation. Following on these came the military Orders which all fell under the influence of St. Bernard and of Citeaux. These had a central form of government, a Grand Master with a Council of higher officials, were a single body throughout Europe, though divided into nations or *langués*, corresponding to the idea of provinces developed by St. Dominic. But the knightly *langués* were rather recruiting agencies and places of test for the young and of retirement for the old, than integral and equal departments of an organized society. St. Dominic's plan, therefore, disturbed the Roman Chancery. The idea was wholly new to it of a world-wide Order, divided into separate and equal provinces, directed by a central Master General, holding its Chapters of elected delegates, composed, as a unit, of priories which were linked into provinces and of provinces in turn forming a single body, throughout which every ruling official reached office by the election of his subjects.

It was one thing to approve of such a scheme ; quite another to cast that approval into formal language which could become in turn the norm of future developments ; for the Holy See, ruling from her Eternal City, can never merely devise an expedient, she has always to compose and promulgate a law.

As a matter of fact, it was only by issuing four successive Bulls between December 22nd, 1216, and February 7th, 1217, that the matter was fully dealt with, and the Dominican Order actually begun. Each Bull, till the last, was found to have omitted something essential : but in the end the Friar Preachers were canonically established under the high authority of the Pope. The purpose of their establishment comes out very clearly in the official acts. They are to preach everywhere the truths of the Faith : “ the true lights of the world ” is the very phrase used in the first Bull of December 22nd, 1216 : they are to preach, and to preach doctrine. As soon as St. Dominic had received this charter from the Holy See, he returned to his little band at Toulouse, took them to his foundation at Prouille, and then dispersed them on their work of the apostolate. The Bishop of Toulouse protested against this despatching of men, not yet formed, away from the Master’s guidance and with little knowledge of his practical ideas—so short a time had they been with him.

Even Earl Simon de Montfort, a ruler of men, and a friend of the Saint, was aghast. The friars themselves, too, were frightened at having to face the world ; for the most part they were young, had only a small experience of the missionary work or even none at all. To all of them, however, St. Dominic answered : “ I know what I am doing : you must sow the grain, not hoard it.” He was, above everything else, a firm believer in the principle of government which declares that the more you trust people, the more they respond

to that trust. To foster and protect people as often as not ends by reducing their sense of responsibility and ultimately their power and force of character. He believed implicitly in his children, because he had enormous faith in the power of prayer, and in the nice sense of loyalty to which human nature so easily responds. The mediæval legends that within thirty years gathered round him show that his "boys" were at first an object of ridicule, then of scandal, but finally of admiration. Folk first laughed at the idea of their doing any good, then were shocked at the thought of their going out unprotected alone or in twos among the perils of the world; but in the end came to recognize that the trust put in them by the Saint was fully justified by the eager return of devoted and successful labour. Said one of the friars to him: "I am wholly ignorant and how shall I preach the faith to the learned?" "Be of good heart, son," was the answer, "I shall remember you always before God." Nothing doubting, he went out to preach and found that he was indeed a great help to souls.

Of course, in pursuance of his purpose, it was precisely to the learned that the friars were sent by the Saint. He saw it was hopeless to cope with the ignorance of the people unless at the same time he went to the root of the whole evil and began on the very centres where clerical education was itself conducted.

Before he attacked the cities and villages, he made an effort to recover the Universities to the Church. Consequently, when he dispersed the brethren on August 15th, 1217, he sent them in groups to Paris, Toulouse, Bologna, Rome, and to Spain, that is, to the chief centres of learning then in Christendom: but it is necessary to note that he did this for a three-fold purpose which had great importance in his eyes

and which, for the sake of clearness, must be set down very shortly :

1. To learn theology.
2. To teach it to others.
3. To secure recruits from those who were students, graduates, or professors.

The relative importance of each of these purposes can be gathered precisely from the order in which they are here put.

St. Dominic found, with his shortest possible experience of Toulouse, that though he and his brethren had much to learn from the University, they had also much to teach it. Theology was its gift to them, faith and devotion was their gift to it. The University made the friars theologians, but the friars made the University Catholic. As a result of this mutual act the friars began at once to attract to them many of the students and of the professors. These realized how study can so develop the intellectual interests of the Faith as to make these paramount in the clerical outlook ; can absorb the attention to such an extent as to crowd out of memory the deeper purposes of revelation. Mere knowledge will not save the soul : for " in bare logic there is no pleasure to the Divine Will."

The Order, therefore, spread throughout Christendom because it stood exactly for intellectual capacities put to the service of God's Kingdom. It made study its chief means, with prayer, to the completion of the apostolate. It took man's noblest faculty and devoted it to the extension of the love of God. Unexpectedly, it meant that the Dominicans began to share in, and indeed, for a while, almost to direct, the clerical education of Christendom. Their priories were centres of study, having each its own professor who lectured daily to whoever wished to attend, becoming in effect in cathedral cities not unfrequently (as St.

Thomas Aquinas tells us) the only public school of theology.

From all this it will be clear that when the friars, on reaching England, went first of all to Oxford, they were only following out the very plan of campaign that St. Dominic himself must have given them. It was his own form of strategy.

At Oxford then, the friars began on the site now occupied by the Town Hall or thereabouts ; and here they opened their schools. Gilbert may have been himself once an Oxford student ; but in any case the form of culture then existing throughout Christendom was so constant and Catholic that it was possible and even usual for students to pass from one to another University without difficulty. There was sufficient community of thought, of faith, of language, to make this feasible.

But it should not be considered that the early Dominicans were merely a band of intellectuals who formed a literary club, and indulged incidentally in the excitements of preaching. The University, for them, was only the base of operations—the general headquarters, whence could be directed the whole of the campaign. Hence from Oxford the friars moved quickly over the rest of England. But Oxford, none the less, remained the centre of the friars' life. It was the final goal of the very remarkable scholastic organization which linked up the English Province, and which was so perfectly designed that the student in any local priory might, had he only sufficiency of talent, get to the University at last. In a very short time the number of priories had become so great that the Prior Provincial found it beyond his power to control them effectively, and as a consequence the fifty-three houses were grouped into four and eventually five "visitations," each patrolled by a separate visitor appointed by the Provincial. Similarly the Dominican

priories in Scotland and Ireland were ruled by Vicars appointed by the English Superior or confirmed by him after a local election. Each of these visitations had its own scheme of education, so that to one priory were allotted the students in grammar, to another those in natural philosophy, to another those who followed the course of theology. Among these last, the most brilliant passed on direct to Oxford.

Indeed Oxford held its place as the oldest priory of the English Province. The Chapter General was held here in the year 1280. In 1265 the Mad Parliament met within its walls ; but this was in the second priory to which the friars moved in 1246 as their first house was soon too narrow for their numbers, only (with a kind of sentimental attachment to dates such as we are accustomed to consider to be wholly modern), though the building was finished earlier, the friars deliberately delayed entering till the Feast of the Assumption, so that they might enter formally into the second priory on the very anniversary, the very festival, on which they had founded their first. The new ground, Trivet informs us, was given them by the King, but the actual records do not bear this out, for it is Isobella de Vere, Countess of Oxford, and Walter Mauclerk, Bishop of Carlisle, who were the donors of the site beyond the Southgate and to the west of Grandpont Street.

Possibly the King had some rights, which he surrendered, over the land ; or it may be that the Dominican historian had unwittingly taken the history of Oxford as parallel with that of the other priories, for it is remarkable how enormously the Friar Preachers in England owe almost every possession to a royal gift, or had their buildings repaired by royal munificence, or, at least, were supported and endowed by royal alms. Nor is there any case known in which the King took evil advantage of his position to barter with the

friars for any right of interference in their elections. We know of no single prior appointed by royal influence and of no superior retained in office by Court favour against the will of his brethren. On one occasion in a long fight sustained by the English Province against the Master General, due largely to a misunderstanding on his part, the General came to admit that he had been acting on false information supplied him by interested persons, and he was convinced as much by the arguments of the King as by the evidence produced on oath by the friars. On another occasion, Edward I sent an English friar to Rome to prevent him from occupying a post as professor in Germany, and secured thereby from the Holy See a dispensation from the obedience. But apart from these two cases, we find the Plantagenets singularly free, at any rate, as regards the English Dominicans, from any of those faults associated so often in history with royal patronage of ecclesiastical bodies.

London must have been one of the earliest foundations, first at Holborn and then at Ludgate; and the reasons which moved them to come here are clear and evident. Ultimately the Provincial fixed on this as his residence, though at the beginning it would seem that he had usually lived in Oxford; and here were held Parliaments, and the great rolls stored, and great ambassadors (and even Charles V himself at the end) had lodgings. To its construction the King gave liberally, not only in money, but in kind, free stone, timber, lime, and, among other things, part of a conduit that had been carved with some detail for the royal Abbey at Westminster, which was being built about the same time; it went with the friars in their removal from Holborn to Ludgate.

The General Chapter of 1250, at which naturally assembled the representatives of all the Dominican Provinces—from Hungary and Poland, from Kief

in Russia, from the central kingdoms of Europe, from Scandinavia, from Spain, France, Italy, Ireland, Scotland—was held in the London priory. Henry III himself supplied the whole assembly of four hundred friars with habits, and fed them for one day; the Queen, the Bishop of London, the Abbot of St. Albans, and others each stood sponsor for one day's food. At another Chapter, that of 1265, it is supposed that St. Thomas Aquinas was present, since he was officially elected to attend as the representative of the Roman Province, though there seems to be no actual record of his attendance.

But not royalty only was friendly to the Preaching Friars: men of every political party joined in welcoming them, ecclesiastics and lay folk as well. Hubert de Burgh left them his house in Westminster, the famous Whitehall, which they sold to the Archbishop of York, through whom it descended to Wolsey, and thus to the Crown. Peter des Roches, the Poitevin, it will be remembered, introduced them to the Kingdom. Simon de Montfort founded their priory in Leicester. Grossetete had some of them always at his side, and wrote complainingly to the Provincial when they were changed too often for his liking. Bishop Mauclerk of Carlisle and the Abbot of Maldon joined their ranks. The merchants left them bequests in their wills and their bodies at burial. The poor found in them the support of their old age, their comforters, and the defenders of their political rights. Wyclif, the chronicler of St. Albans, and the poet Langland, accuse them as the real authors of the Peasant Revolt of 1389. We find them further as ambassadors for the King, as composing the troubles between King and Barons, as plotting against Edward III and Henry IV in the belief in each case that the murdered predecessor yet lived, as chaplains to the nobility of the realm, as directing the royal conscience.

They stand between England and Scotland to avert war, between England and Wales to negotiate peace, between England and Scandinavia to create a political league that should isolate France and give to England the hegemony of Europe.

It is indeed astonishing to notice how widespread and how various was the friendly welcome extended to the friars, yet not astonishing when the times which preceded their arrival are recalled. Probably it was his knowledge of these that determined St. Dominic to send his children to these islands. Over in France and in Italy he must have heard of the terrible state of religion in England after the end of John's reign, with the terrible spiritual blight of the interdict, and John's indifference to it, the vacant Sees, the disordered abbeys, the sequestered livings that went to fill the impoverished exchequer of the Landless King, and to suggest opportunities for his military genius which only at the end had secured any real measure of success. It must, then, have been a commonplace of Christian knowledge to have learnt the evil plight of the Faith; and it was no less the consciousness of this that made people of all classes and political groupings rally to what seemed a new spiritual movement. Alone, at the time when the successive waves of reform begun at Cluny and at Citeaux had spent themselves, the friars opened a fresh chance of spiritual revival. Their severity of asceticism, learnt from the Manicheans, gave external manifestation to a spirit that held by the Christian way of penance. Their intellectual vigour was needed hardly less than their austerity, after the devastation of civil war and the long uneasy years of John's religious troubles, which had gone far to destroy the contented life at Oxford and Cambridge. Above all, however, the interdict and the desolation of the churches (which it must be remembered were also the places of schooling for the villages

and towns) had resulted in a grave ignorance of religion which is commented upon by almost every English chronicler. Want of religious instruction made the way easy for a total disregard for the Faith, and this had been further effected by the way in which the King had appointed his own Bishops or Abbots, or himself ruled the spiritualities and filled his pockets with their revenues. The result of all this was the sudden and peculiar success of the Dominicans in England to which we have already alluded, and which can be paralleled in speed and in numbers by no other country of Europe.

Such success was certain to be challenged. The other religious, who had lived till then in the public eye and had settled down to a more even-toned existence, and who, further, belonged to orders and communities which made stability (or the continued attachment to a particular abbey or monastery) an essential law of life, viewed with grave misgivings the rise of a new type, wholly contrary to everything they had been taught to look upon as essential to good monasticism. Here were men arriving in England, busy and full of zeal, who preached everywhere without needing licence,¹ who heard confessions independently of episcopal jurisdiction, and who moved about all over the country in a way that seemed full of danger and scandal to the minds of that age. St. Benedict, for example, had looked upon the cloister, and the fact that it was the home for life of the monk, as almost the chief safeguard of monasticism, and in this he had deliberately parted company with all the East. His "new model"—followed in turn by the various groups of canons—was the rule in Europe for seven hundred years: then came the rise of the friars, which meant the beginning of the break-up of the old order

¹ This general licence to preach, etc., was revoked by the Pope in 1301.

of things, from which even the monks themselves have never wholly recovered. They have in turn learnt much and copied much from their younger brethren. But at first, it was almost wholly with hostility (except for the Cistercians as a general rule) that the monks and canons regarded these new foundations. Matthew Paris, the most picturesque and almost the least accurate of English mediæval chroniclers, describes bitterly their arrival and the secret fashion in which they wound their way into the confidence of the upper classes, and founded their priories even upon monastic property without leave or licence. Fortunately, we are able to check his statements by official information, and we know that in the particular case he quotes, instead of the foundation being carried through in the underhand method he describes, the whole transaction was straightforward, the religious gave permission for the foundation, and this permission is recorded in the royal account books in the very words of the grant. The particular case quoted is that of Dunstable, where Paris says the friars arrived to preach a passing sermon, after which they professed their intention of leaving. Instead, they lingered on in the house of the good lay folk who had harboured them, pretended to be ill, and then set up a private altar and began to say Mass "in a very low tone of voice"—a delightful touch, considering that the good canons who were supposed to be in ignorance of the proceedings lived several streets away, and could hardly have heard had all the friars together shouted their chant.

Matthew Paris adds that when people had grown accustomed to their presence, the friars came boldly forward and built a church openly, and when interfered with, retorted by saying evil things of the canons. Will it be believed that almost every statement of this chronicler is absolutely untrue? His statements

are made in the account of the year 1259. In that very year, Henry III (as recorded in the Rot. Pat. 43. Hen. III, m. 10) writes to the canons of Dunstable asking them to favour the friars, and to give them leave to build, and on October 27th sends another letter, thanking them for their kindness and for the welcome they have given to the Dominicans. There is just this much of fact upon which it would seem Paris has built the whole structure of his fabricated account of their foundation—that in their own chronicle the Augustinian canons of Dunstable do very bitterly attack the Dominicans for their unfair rivalry. It is, therefore, almost certain that Paris had the Augustinian chronicle in front of him, and with that imaginative pen which on other themes has made him a perilous guide in history¹ has evolved the rest out of his inner consciousness. The chronicle of Dunstable informs us that in 1287 through Thomas, their janitor, they purchased a message to prevent the Dominicans enlarging their buildings; and that is all that bears out the statement of Matthew Paris.

It may seem ungrateful to this chronicler—to whom the world is indebted for much information, for many a chatty description of royal visitors, for the sayings and colourings so deftly chosen that, as we read them, the Middle Ages live again to our imaginations—to have thus laboriously disproved a chance statement, a mere passing remark; but in defence of the friars it is necessary to do this. For their accusers lay hold of this kind of passing reference to trivial misdeeds and repeat them till they have made the ordinary reader imagine that the friars were worthless vagabonds. Indeed, some of our English historians are content to cull choice passages from writers like Paris, Chaucer, and Langland, and to exhibit these as “a true and perfect image of life indeed.” All that we can urge

¹ Cf. A. L. Smith: *The Church and State in the Middle Ages.*

in reply is that wherever these mediæval writers who attack the friars come down to definite details, and we are able by means of other sources to examine critically the cases referred to, we can, at least as often as not, find them not to be substantiated by fact. It is well to remember that merely to quote a chronicler is not to prove a point: and it should also be remembered that the chroniclers, when they write of events outside their immediate experience, write largely of rumour that has reached them, and rumour is "many tongued" and yet "a lying jade."

Even the secular clergy, however, at times turned against them, as Langland notices. He, too, saw the ending of the quarrel only in the going down of the whole Church in England. It was precisely in this jealousy of canon and monk and friar, of regular and secular clergy, that he saw the widening rift that would split the Church asunder. Worse than any heresy was the possibility of sheer weariness on the part of the people, at the wasted and misdirected energy that would not combine to spread and to deepen the Kingdom of God. The absence of any effective heresy to make them close their ranks—for the struggle begun by Wyclif was really of very short duration—resulted in the drifting of each apart, until, for a brief period at the opening of the sixteenth century, there were everywhere signs of new life again: but before these signs had time to fulfil themselves and unfold their meaning, the blight of the royal despotism wholly destroyed them. Had Luther's quarrel been deferred another thirty years, had Katharine of Aragon's male children lived to maturity, had any other chance event (as we call it) put off the crisis half a century, it would seem as though the Faith would have re-established itself in security, and won its way to a renewal of all its earlier enthusiasm and devotion.

All this waste of spiritual power, occasioned by human jealousy that lay not wholly on one side or the other, this determined stand upon rights and position, alienated the people from all the Orders and from the whole of the clergy. At the beginning it was not so for the friars. Their spiritual intensity itself attracted people on their arrival, for it shone with all the greater brilliance against the background of the troubled ending of John's reign, the anarchy temporal and ecclesiastical that covered with gloom the first twenty years of the thirteenth century.

Moreover, the friars appealed particularly to the growingly articulate masses in the labouring and commercial centres, the busy towns that were becoming under the financial stress of the Angevin kings largely self-governing; for from these hives of industry the monks and even the canons held somewhat aloof. The country was on the whole well staffed with clergy, but the towns were much more desolate. The great abbeys lay off in the wide stretching flat lands or valleys, by the side perhaps of the high roads: even the canons had not laboured very busily in such of their collegiate churches as lay within the limits of the cities. Consequently, the friars found that they were almost the first, apart from the less mobile parochial system, to deal with the poorer people, or even the higher merchant class of guildsmen; and they set to their work with all the enthusiasm of their recent establishment. They cultivated at the Universities the medical sciences; the English Dominicans in particular had the high example of John of St. Giles, a great professor, who joined the Order in Paris, and, retaining as a friar his chair of theology, opened for the new Orders the way to the highest positions in the University. John had studied medicine at Montpellier, and was highly esteemed for his knowledge of therapeutics. The French King sent for him and was cured

by his prescription; Grossetete too, on his death-bed, asked for John of Giles, that he might have comfort from him spiritually and bodily.

John was only a type of many others who took up the science of medicine for the benefit of the people among whom they worked: moreover, the very democracy of the friars in their institutions made them the friends and instructors of the rising generation of politicians in the towns. The baronage who extorted from John freedom for the Church and for the individual were not merely the castle-holding peerage (to antedate a convenient expression), but the growing wealth also of the country, for among them figured the Mayor of London and his band of friends. Simon de Montfort summoned the towns to the Parliament of 1265 because he depended very largely upon the towns for his support against royal authority; and for precisely the same reason Edward I, his conqueror and his pupil, turned equally to the towns; he was the wisest of the Plantagenet line in seeing how really the interests of the Kingdom depended upon an alliance between the Crown and the trading community.

It was de Montfort—whose father was St. Dominic's dearest friend in the Albigensian war, whose brother had been knighted in St. Dominic's presence at Castelnaudary, whose sister was a Dominican nun, and who had himself founded a Dominican priory at Leicester—who first began the definite custom of Parliament with two burgesses from each town after the very fashion of the Dominican system of representation. Consequently, the townsfolk who have always, for low as well as for high motives, favoured the concentration of power in the hands of the wealthy as against the mere owners of land, found in the early friars their instructors and their political friends.

There followed later a curious political complication,

in which the wealth of the towns became as anarchic and as tyrannous as the older baronage in their castles had been, so that the peasant revolt of 1381 was an appeal for a larger freedom from the plutocratic government of the country that fostered and in time grew out of the commercial experiments of Edward III. This meant the coming to the front of a body of men who had made their wealth by trade and not by royal favour, who were devoting their political ambitions largely to the curtailment of that royal power, and who by a natural result were strangling the customary freedom of the lesser peasantry and journeymen. With a sudden flash of instinct, Richard II saw this at Blackheath, and cried out that the mob were to follow him; but the dagger of Lord Mayor Walworth terrified him as much as it terrified the followers of Wat Tyler and bound the monarchy in chains from which only Henry V and Richard III were warriors enough to free themselves.

Both the peasants and the kings now turned to the friars as to men with whom they had fellow-feeling in political ideals: whereas on the whole the monks found their friends among the traders. The higher nobility centred round the Abbeys; the people were led by the friars. There is hardly a revolt in all mediæval history which did not count an English friar among its leaders, and did not refer to the friars in its political ideals.

Wyclif, who leant heavily on the support of the wealthy traders, denounced the levelling doctrines of the Dominicans: the monks of St. Albans, who had heard the dreadful rumours from London of the orgies of Tyler, of Cade, of Jack Straw, were convinced that at the bottom of the mischief were the friars: Langland, the poet, who was always denouncing the working class, denounced as the abettors of their laziness and as the provokers of their unrest, the friar followers

of Plato and Aristotle and Seneca : and Parliament, which had then begun to be dominated by the commercial classes, forced the Provincials of the four Orders of friars to clear themselves by oath from any participation in the " recent excesses." So closely had the friars, because of their instinctive sympathy with the democracy, held steadily all along to their loyalty to the people and to the Crown.

At times it must be admitted that there was not always perfect harmony between the two forces ; but this was because the friars occasionally trespassed upon what has perhaps always been the dearest right of Englishmen, the right of way. As the need of the Dominicans for larger spaces increased, a need that continually developed, their buildings began to encroach upon the highways ; for the friars, as newcomers after the cities and towns had achieved a certain standard of life, nearly always had to settle just outside the city walls. Occasionally, as in London, these walls were pulled down and rebuilt outside the precinct of the friars, so as to enable them to enjoy the various freedoms guaranteed to the citizens ; but more often they remained just outside the old gates. As they needed land, they seem to have considered themselves fully justified by a mere reference to the King or at times by not even applying for this formality, merely squatting on the vacant fields. They thus blocked certain paths that had been accessible " as far as the memory of man runs." This occasioned much bitterness, and led to several inquisitions and occasionally to riots ; especially in Boston and Derby, where there were repeated acts of violence, in some of which recalcitrant friars participated in their endeavour to pay off old scores against members of the community.

But all these were later ebullitions after the first welcome had worn off ; and even these were countered

by a very large number of other acts of kindness and gratitude shown repeatedly to the Dominican friars by all sorts and conditions of men.

It is not sufficient to judge the popularity of persons by the caricatures of them that exist in contemporary literature: nor does it wholly show a very nice sense of humour to take as serious description the pen portraits of Chaucer. No doubt his friars and monks and pardoners existed; but to suppose that they were the only, or the predominating type, is as absurd as it would be to take Stiggins as the representative type of Nonconformist minister in the time of Dickens.

Any view which insists on the general unpopularity of the friars seems rendered impossible by the many benefactors who came forward to support the friars all through their history. The priory of King's Langley, founded by Edward II over the body of his beloved Piers Gaveston, is no doubt an exceptional case: but it was enriched by many succeeding kings. Edward himself provided an income at first to support forty-five friars, then fifty-five, and eventually in 1314 a hundred, for whom he drew from his impoverished Exchequer, from the year of Bannockburn onwards, five hundred marks a year. When Edward III was a minor the number of friars to be supported was put down to thirteen; when, however, he came of age, he raised the income to support forty, and this Richard II increased to sixty. It remained at this as a royal foundation till the reign of Henry VIII. Over and above these definite sums allocated annually, many gifts in kind were made by successive gifts of stone, wood, wine, cloth of gold. Richard II spent his Christmas here in 1395 and was laid here to rest after his murder in 1399. It is impossible to suppose all this while the friars were of the worthless type of lazy wandering preacher whom Chaucer so bitingly describes.

Finally take the following list of figures, statistics

as far as they can be gathered, just before the very date of Chaucer's writings :

King's Lang- ley in 1330 had 60	Warwick . . . in 1329 had 35
Oxford ,, 1305 ,, 96	Yarm ,, 1319 ,, 33
London ,, 1336 ,, 90	Newcastle-
Cambridge . . ,, 1338 ,, 61	on-Tyne . . ,, 1335 ,, 32
York ,, 1307 ,, 60	Leicester . . ,, 1335 ,, 32
Norwich ,, 1326 ,, 43	Sudbury ,, 1296 ,, 30
Winchester . . ,, 1325 ,, 46	Pontefract . . ,, 1335 ,, 29
King's Lynn . . ,, 1326 ,, 45	Dunstable . . . ,, 1328 ,, 28
Beverley ,, 1310 ,, 42	Derby ,, 1325 ,, 26
Salisbury ,, 1334 ,, 42	Chelmsford . . ,, 1325 ,, 24
Gloucester . . . ,, 1326 ,, 40	Guildford . . . ,, 1324 ,, 24
Stanford ,, 1324 ,, 38	Rhuddlam . . . ,, 1383 ,, 23
Northampton ,, 1329 ,, 36	Carlisle ,, 1307 ,, 15
Yarmouth ,, 1329 ,, 35	Hereford ,, 1352 ,, 12
	Barnborough ,, 1300 ,, 10

This gives a total of just under eleven hundred friars for twenty-eight houses, and leaves out twenty-five others, the numbers of which are unknown, including some of the greater priories like Exeter, Bristol, Canterbury, Ipswich, and Newcastle-under-Lyme, some of which are reported to have held more than fifty religious.

Is it logical to describe as unpopular an Order to which Englishmen, out of the small male population of these islands at that period, continued to flock in such numbers ?

The friars, then, of St. Dominic, here in England, can point during their era of foundation to a general welcome on the part of the people, and their crowded priories are the best witness to the ideals which they set before the generous spirit of that age. At a time when religion was ceasing to inspire the growing democracy of the towns, in the dawn of commerce during that wonderful thirteenth century, it is no mean achievement to have captured and held the affections of the poor, to have illumined the university with faith and the workshop with hope, and both with the love of God.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

II. IN PUBLIC LIFE

By WALTER GUMBLEY, O.P.

A WELL-KNOWN Protestant historian, Warton, speaking of the Mendicant Orders, says: "For the space of three centuries two of these Orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, appear to have governed the European Church and State with an absolute and universal sway; they filled during that period the most eminent ecclesiastical and civil stations; taught in the universities with an authority that silenced all opposition; and maintained the disputed prerogative of the Roman Pontiff, against the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled by its success. They were employed not only in spiritual matters, but in temporal affairs of the greatest consequence; in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, and concerting alliances. They presided in cabinet councils, levied national subsidies, influenced courts, and managed the machines of every important operation and event both in the religious and political world."¹

These words can be applied in a most marked manner to the English Dominicans. As we shall see later, they held in turn nearly all the episcopal sees from Canterbury to St. Asaph's. Friars of eminence, such

¹ *History of English Poetry*, ii, 179.

as John Darlington (1284) and William Hotham (1298), sat in the King's Privy Council. John Gilbert (1397) was twice Lord Treasurer of the Kingdom, and many times ambassador. Many other friars went on embassies to foreign courts, and one of them, Cardinal Jorz (1310) was sent as Papal Legate to Italy at the time of the Pope's sojourn in Avignon. In 1298 we find William Hotham, then Archbishop of Dublin, treating for peace with the French king's plenipotentiaries, in which affair he was successful. He was also employed about the same period in connection with the various claims made to the Scottish throne on the death of Alexander III, and he it was who suggested that Edward I should insist on an oath of allegiance from the claimants as a preliminary to arbitration. Other kings also chose members of the Order as their counsellors, and, till the troubled reign of Henry VI divided the house of Plantagenet against itself and opened the path to the ambitious Tudors, all the English monarchs chose their confessors from amongst the Friar Preachers. It is of interest to note that the Emperor and other European sovereigns likewise had Dominican confessors, a custom observed in Spain and the Empire till close on the eighteenth century.

The English Dominican Province in pre-Reformation days consisted of fifty-four convents in England and Wales, with fifty-nine in Scotland and Ireland, both of which countries were under the jurisdiction of the English Provincial till late in the fifteenth century. Scotland's dependence was merely nominal after 1300, but the Irish Dominicans were not so fortunate. This concentration of authority made the English Province, for a time at least, the largest in the Order. It is impossible to say how many friars there were on an average in the three countries, but State records of royal benefactions prove that there were more than two

thousand Dominicans in England about the end of the thirteenth century. This computation is made from the figures for each house carefully collected from various records by the late Father Raymund Palmer, and published in numerous archæological journals. Thus we find that Edward I gave £4 16s. on November 29th, 1305, to the ninety-six friars of Oxford; on September 13th, 1307, Edward II gave twenty shillings for a day's food for the friars of York, sixty in number. The forty-six Winchester Dominicans received an alms on April 29th, 1325, and the sixty-one friars of Cambridge obtained 4d. each from Edward III on September 28th, 1328. Ninety friars of London met Edward III in procession on the occasion of his passing through the city, and received thirty shillings for their courtesy; whilst the Norwich Blackfriars, who met Edward II on his visit to their city in 1326, were rewarded with 17s. 8d.: the grateful brethren thereupon presented him with fifty-three apples, an apple from each friar. These trivial details are very important, for through them we find that three convents—London, Oxford, and King's Langley—possessed communities of close upon a hundred, whilst Cambridge, York, Norwich, and nearly a dozen other convents accommodated between fifty and seventy friars. From these facts we can deduce that the Dominicans were very strong numerically, yet they fell short of the other great religious orders, such as the Benedictines and Austin Canons. We must remember, however, that though abbeys were more commodious than the convents of friars, not even great monastic houses such as Westminster ever possessed the communities that were accommodated in the Dominican and Franciscan houses.

We cannot pause here to enter into details concerning the buildings occupied by the Friar Preachers, but we may mention in passing that existing remains—such

as St. Andrew's Hall, at Norwich, which is the old Friary Church—show that they were usually commodious and well built, though they did not rival the massive structures of the Benedictines and Cistercians. The Dominican churches at Bristol and Norwich were the largest in the Province, being about three hundred feet in length and thus a good two hundred feet shorter than several Benedictine churches such as Glastonbury, Edmundsbury, and St. Albans. Of course, a modern church of three hundred feet would impress us immensely, but the modern ideas of church building are stunted. The conventual buildings of Blackfriars in Ludgate prove an exception to the other convents of the Province; they were extensive enough to include a large hall used frequently by the Parliament, and guest quarters which were sufficient to house the Emperor Charles V when he visited Henry VIII: it was here, too, that Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey held their court to try the divorce suit of Henry and Catherine. The English kings were frequent guests of the Dominicans, but as their visits were the source of great inconvenience, they could hardly have been very welcome. The friars of York and Newcastle were the chief sufferers in this respect, and as their convents were not built on the same scale as the London house, they had to give up their refectory and even dormitories to the invaders. We read in Froissart that when Edward III set out to invade Scotland in 1327, he stayed at the Blackfriars, York, for six weeks. On Trinity Sunday he held a great court here to welcome John Count of Hainault, who was lodged at the Carmelites or Whitefriars: five hundred knights were present on the occasion, and fifteen new ones were created. Queen Isabella, the King's mother, gave a banquet to sixty noble ladies in the dormitory, which repast was rudely interrupted by a great fight in the streets between the English

archers and the men of Hainault, who apparently began the quarrel.¹

The Dominicans were a popular Order with a distinctly democratic form of government—a fact which had a decided effect on their relations with the people. An Augustinian or Benedictine abbot was a great lord far removed from the common folk; for, always a great landlord and often a peer of the realm, his election was an object of interest to the ruling powers, who did not scruple to influence the voting. A Dominican prior, on the other hand, held office for a limited period, and hence his election was unprejudiced by the Government. For this reason it was of little concern to the King which member of the community might be chosen Superior, so that frequently a man not of the noble class must have found himself at the head of his convent: the same may be said of the prior of the whole province—the provincial prior, or Provincial, as he was called. Naturally, therefore, the people put great confidence in such a prelate; and on his side the prior, as far as existing records show, mixed freely in the affairs of the townsfolk.

The Dominican houses were for the most part built in the towns and often in the poorer quarters (as at Norwich and Oxford) where outdoor preaching, either in the market-place or at the preaching cross, became a great means of intercourse between the friars and the people: a beautiful example of the preaching cross still stands in the city of Hereford. Moreover, the friars lived on alms, and though they frequently received considerable benefactions from the higher classes, their chief means of subsistence must have depended on the generosity of the merchants and the common people who gave freely. This dependence on the goodwill of the populace was at times awkward,

¹ Froissart's *Chronicles*, ed. Johnes, i, 16, 17.

as in the case of the London friars who, in 1255, almost suffered death from starvation because they took up the cause of the Jews of London falsely accused of complicity in the murder of a boy at Lincoln. The Londoners were so enraged with the Dominicans for this championship of the despised race that they refused them alms for several days.¹

Though, as a rule, good friends of the people, the Dominicans had occasional disputes with their fellow-townsmen through their attempts to enclose some small public property. The quarrel which rose about Frog Lane, in Hereford, in 1325, is most instructive on this point. It appears that the friars sought to improve their property by enclosing this small thoroughfare—an attempt which resulted in a lawsuit of some thirty odd years in duration (1325–1359). Inquisitions favourable and unfavourable to their project were held, the cathedral chapter was drawn into the fray, and King Edward III was appealed to. The friars by a piece of rather sharp practice eventually outwitted the indignant citizens; they surrendered the lane in question to the King, who handed it back to them in 1359, on condition of their celebrating every year a solemn requiem for the repose of the soul of his murdered father, Edward II.² Several other convents enclosed public property, but affairs were more amicably settled. At Derby, however, in 1344, a party of the townsfolk broke into the convent grounds, felled some trees, and carried off goods to the value of sixty pounds, having beaten and wounded the servants of the priory. This seems to point to some claim to the friars' property—was it another enclosure dispute?³ These are but small incidents, which in

¹ *Annales Monastici*, i, 346. (Rolls Series).

² Palmer, "Blackfriars of Hereford," in *The Reliquary*, July, 1882, pp. 19, 20.

³ Palmer, "Blackfriars of Derby," *Reliquary*, July, 1877, pp. 19, 20.

no way disprove the popularity of the Dominicans amongst the people. In none of the great insurrections were the friars attacked, though the rebels did much harm to the possessions of the great abbeys. The insults and criminal charges hurled at the Mendicant Orders by Gower and other Lollard writers prove nothing but their own antagonism to those protected by Rome. That the Friar Preachers were popular with all classes up to the very eve of their suppression is amply proved by the numerous bequests made to them, especially by the merchants and that portion of the community which was engaged in trade. These legacies were often in money, and not infrequently of trade produce and household goods; for instance, Margaret Cuttler, of Ipswich, by will dated 1511, bequeathed "to Friar Harry of the Black Fryars of Ipswich, a feather bed, blanket, bolsters and sheets, with the candle light he now uses in his sickness"; and Bridget Edwards of the same town left by will in 1526 "to friar John Ducheman of the friar preachers, her ghostly father, a crucifix of timber carved, a tick for a feather bed, a firepan, a trammel, and a pair of tongs."¹

Nor were the Dominicans less popular with the baronial families: many of the great nobles and princes of the blood chose them for their confessors and were liberal in their donations to the Order. Nor, of course, did the popularity of the friars amongst the lesser people appear to have prejudiced the nobles against them. Disunited and quarrelsome as the nobility frequently were, they could at least agree sometimes in their love for the Friar Preachers. That powerful baron, Hubert de Burgh, Grand Justiciar of England, and son-in-law of the King of Scots, was one of the Order's chief patrons in England, and he continued thus during his long and bitter quarrel with the friars'

¹ Palmer, "Blackfriars of Ipswich," *Reliquary*, April, 1887, p. 75.

greatest friend, King Henry III. Simon de Montfort, son of St. Dominic's friend, also remained true to the Order whilst he kept in prison Henry III and his son Edward, both of whom the Dominicans supported. Again, John of Gaunt, the political sponsor to Wycliff, continued friendly to the Order, which had the principal share in condemning the heresiarch.

The relations of the Dominicans with the clergy were not so happy, but we may say that on the whole there was less friction between the seculars and regulars in England than on the Continent. Thus, for example, throughout the three centuries preceding the great pillage, the bishops remained staunch friends to the Friar Preachers, from whom they frequently chose an auxiliary bishop to administer their diocese while they themselves were busy at Court. Prelates like Stavensby of Lichfield and Grosseteste of Lincoln saw the value of their influence from the very beginning, and warmly welcomed them. Walter Mauclerc, Bishop of Carlisle and Lord High Treasurer of the Kingdom, gave up all his dignities and wealth to enter as a humble novice the convent at Oxford, where he died in 1248.¹ The three canonized prelates, Edmund of Canterbury, Richard of Chichester, and Thomas of Hereford, were all in a special manner devoted to the Order. These are but a few of those who befriended the Dominicans in the thirteenth century; during the succeeding centuries this close friendship with the hierarchy continued, and, as we shall see later, the hierarchy itself contained many bishops chosen from amongst the Friar Preachers.

The lower ranks of the clergy also appreciated the labours and toils of the Dominicans, and not a few *parsons* remembered the Preachers in their wills. Of course, there were disputes and occasional differences, frequently on the subject of burials. Two such

¹ *Dict. National Biogr.*, s.v.

disputes took place at Exeter. The first happened in 1301, on the death of Sir William Raleigh. This knight directed by his last will and testament that his body should be laid to rest in the Dominican church. The Chapter, however, demanded that it should be first brought to the cathedral, which demand the friars resisted. Thereupon the canons came and took the corpse by force to the cathedral, and triumphantly sang a requiem over it, after which they brought it back to the friars, who, in the meantime, had locked and barred their gates, and now obdurately refused to bury the body, which was left out in the street till it became so grave a nuisance that the canons were forced to bury it in the cathedral.¹ The second quarrel (in 1379) was due to the action of the vicar of the parish of Modbury, who buried in his cemetery the remains of Brother Thomas Edwards, who happened to die in that place, and this in spite of the protests of the prior of Exeter: eventually the body was exhumed and buried at the convent.² Both these disputes were undoubtedly concerning questions of parochial rights: another fruitful cause of quarrel was the question of rights between abbey and convent. Some of the great Monastic Orders did not relish the idea of Mendicant Orders encroaching on their ancient rights and privileges. Matthew Paris and his fellow-chroniclers have many hard things to say against the friars, owing to the latter settling down in localities where the monks had formerly reigned supreme. But despite outbursts of temper on both sides, the Dominicans seem to have got on very well with the Benedictines, and many of the abbots were their liberal benefactors. The Augustinian canons, the most numerous monastic body in the country, were in a special sense brothers to the

¹ Palmer, "Blackfriars of Exeter," *Reliquary*, July, 1886, pp. 254-255.

² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Preachers in the common fatherhood of St. Augustine, whose rule they both followed; many benefactions from the Augustinians are recorded, amongst which the names of the abbots of Waltham are conspicuous. With their brother friars—the Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians—their relations seem to have been very happy, though they had occasional differences with the Franciscans owing to divergent schools of philosophy and the delicate question of Evangelical poverty. These disputes took place, for the most part, at Oxford, where both Orders had flourishing schools. The universities were in truth the real centre of Dominican activity in England. From Oxford and Cambridge came equally a long line of eminent Dominicans, capable of taking charge of a parish, or a diocese, an embassy, or a government office. The Oxford house from its members produced four cardinals, three archbishops, and eleven bishops; undoubtedly there were more than these, for though many other English Dominican bishops were doctors in theology, we cannot always be sure to which university they belonged. The four cardinals were all great theological writers—Robert de Kilwardby, Cardinal Bishop of Porto, 1279, William de Macclesfield, 1303, Walter de Winterbourne, 1305, and Thomas de Jorz, 1310, the last three being Cardinal Priests of St. Sabina.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the great days of the English Dominicans at the universities. Indeed, it may be said that the Friar Preachers played a great part in establishing Oxford as the great theological rival of Paris. The three professors among them, who were mainly responsible for this, were John of St. Giles, Robert Bacon, and Richard Fishacre.¹ When the two latter died, in 1248, they were accounted, according to the testimony of Matthew Paris, the two greatest doctors of their time; this was no

¹ Matthew Paris, iv., 16. (Rolls Series).

small praise as coming from one who showed himself no friend of the friars. Another well-known man at Oxford—Alard, who was chancellor of the university in 1211—became a Dominican shortly after the coming of the friars to England, and about the year 1230 was elected Provincial in succession to Gilbert de Fresney, founder of the Province.¹ Simon de Bovill became chancellor in 1238, and again in 1244, during which time he was also prior of the Oxford convent.² The sister university of Cambridge did not yield supremacy to Oxford in the learning of her Dominican sons. She produced great prelates like Thomas de Lisle of Ely and Thomas Ringstead of Bangor, and also eminent theologians like Robert Holcot, in some way perhaps the greatest of English Dominicans, yet who, truly set among the wise, did not hesitate to sacrifice his life in his care for the plague-stricken during the awful reign of the Black Death in 1349.³ Another celebrated theologian was John Bromyard (c. 1420), who, after many years spent as professor at Oxford subsequently taught at Cambridge where he became chancellor in 1383.⁴ Dominican activity in the two universities can be measured by the number of friars, nearly one hundred, who produced works either theological, historical, or scientific. Doctors from both places appeared in the lists against Wycliff, and triumphantly upheld the true teaching of the Church.

A certain amount of friction arose at different times between the university authorities and the friars on the subject of conferring degrees. The former wished to force the students of the regular clergy to graduate

¹ *Epistolæ Roberti Grosseteste*, 449. (Rolls Series).

² Palmer, "Blackfriars of Oxford," *Reliquary*, January, 1883, p. 148.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

⁴ Ant. à Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, i, 161. Palmer, "Blackfriars of Hereford," *Reliquary*, July, 1882, p. 21.

in Arts in the university before being admitted to theological degrees, a regulation which the friars, in particular, stoutly resisted. Pope and King were drawn into the struggle, which lasted for nearly fifty years. A compromise, largely in favour of the university, was the outcome of the struggle, so that by the end of the fifteenth century, relations between the universities and the friars were more amicable—a state of things amply proved by the great number of degrees granted to the Mendicant Orders, especially the Dominicans, during this period.¹

All we have said so far gives but a scanty idea of the general influence on public life exercised by the Friar Preachers, due in great measure to the very ideas and purpose of their institute. To this we must now add the influence they possessed through their intimate relations with King and Government, an influence obtained by the personal qualities of individual members of the Order. This power they wielded from the very first years of their existence in England. They arrived in this country in August of the year 1221, the month of St. Dominic's death, and certainly his spirit came with them. They were led by Gilbert de Fresney (or Ash), an Englishman, and came in the train of the powerful prelate, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. The great prelate and patriot, Cardinal Langton, on hearing that they were preachers, bade Gilbert preach before him. The friar, no whit perturbed, though he knew that grave issues depended on his success, acquitted himself most creditably, and so gained for the friars the friendship and powerful protection of the Cardinal. During the minority of Henry III the Dominicans were befriended by the chief men in the Government, and on his assumption of power, the King also proved himself their most signal friend and benefactor. What is more, he

¹ *Registrum Universitatis Oxoniæ*, ed. Boase, Oxford, 1885.

listened to their advice concerning his Government, even when it was evidently contrary to his inclinations—witness the bold remark of Robert Bacon in reference to the then all-powerful minister, Peter des Roches, who had himself introduced them to the kingdom. When none dared tell the King the chief cause of his unpopularity, Bacon said to him, “Lord King, what is the greatest danger to those who are crossing the Straits?” Henry muttered something scriptural in reference to the perils of the deep. “Nay, O King!” answered Robert, “I will tell thee—*Petræ et Rupes*” (stones and rocks)—a bitter play on the name of the Bishop of Winchester, “*Petrus de Rupibus*.” The King took the hint and banished his favourite, much to the country’s joy.¹

But the Dominican most dear to Henry was John Darlington, the finest type of ecclesiastical politician, a man trusted by all. His biographer, Father H. MacInerny, O.P., truly says of him: “In the brilliant group of English Dominicans who played so notable a part in the ecclesiastical life of their nation during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, John Darlington occupies a foremost place. Whether we regard him as a scholar or writer, churchman or courtier, his record is distinctly honourable. His talents and learning extorted the admiration of Matthew Paris, assuredly no lenient critic of the newer Orders; and in this particular the monastic chronicler’s verdict has been uniformly and heartily endorsed by responsible writers of later ages.”² Darlington was chosen a member of the King’s Council in 1256, and was probably about the same time royal confessor. In 1258, when Parliament demanded the appointment of a commission of twenty-four to draw up a scheme of

¹ Matthew Paris, iii, 244–245.

² MacInerny, *Hist. Irish Dominicans*, Vol. I, p. 297, ed. Dublin, 1916.

reform for the better government of the realm, of which commission Henry himself was to choose twelve and the Parliament the remainder. John was selected for the King's party, and as the twenty-three others were great prelates and nobles, the mendicant friar found himself in a goodly company.¹ He was kept busy in political affairs till Henry's death in 1272. Some time before 1265, Darlington had managed to get back into his convent, only to receive a royal command, backed up by the authority of the Provincial, Robert Kilwardby, to return to the King's household, for the latter declared that Friar John's advice was absolutely necessary for the government of the country at that juncture. The tone of Henry's letter to Kilwardby on this occasion showed his great affection to the Order.² Perhaps some of this favour was due to the fact that Henry's half-brother Bartholomew had joined the Dominicans.³ Darlington was also in favour with Edward I, and acted as ambassador to Rome in 1278. He died as Archbishop of Dublin in 1284.

Edward I bore the same affection to the Friar Preachers as his father had done. He continued the custom of choosing royal confessors from the Order, and those he selected were in every way remarkable men; two of them, in fact, Walter de Winterbourne and Thomas de Jorz, became cardinals. The King also placed complete confidence in the counsels of William Hotham, the Provincial, to whom he entrusted the most important affairs of State, such as arranging peace with France and going on embassy to the Pope, Boniface VIII: he also it was who arranged that the Scottish claimants should do homage to Edward I before their titles to the Crown of Scotland were

¹ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii, 75, 76, ed. Oxford, 1877.

² MacInerny, p. 319, 320.

³ Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers*, i, 281-286-305.

examined. Hotham was, in truth, one of the most important men in the kingdom, and was engaged in all the chief affairs of the time. He obtained the see of Dublin and would probably have received the red hat had he not died rather suddenly at Dijon in 1298.¹

Of less importance, but of sufficient interest to be mentioned, is William de Fresney, whose name suggests kinship with the founder of the Province. This friar, who had laboured for many years in the East, had been consecrated bishop by Pope Urban IV in 1263. Hindered from returning to his distant see by the invasion of the Saracens, he remained in England, where he was befriended by Henry III and his son Edward. When after the Battle of Evesham in 1265, the rebels took refuge in the castle of Kenilworth, Archbishop William was associated with the Papal Legate, Cardinal Ottobuoni (afterwards Pope Adrian V) in bringing the rebels to terms. He lived till well on in the reign of Edward I, and died about 1290 in the Dominican convent of Rhuddlan, in the diocese of St. Asaph, where his tombstone, built into the wall of what is now used as a barn, can still be seen.²

Edward II was as good a friend to the friars as his father had been, and they as a body remained faithful to him in his misfortunes. For them he built the convent of King's Langley, and here he laid to rest the mortal remains of his unhappy favourite, Piers Gaveston. When the latter was so cruelly done to death by Warwick, "the black dog," a Dominican present picked up the severed head and carried it in his hood to the King. When the King himself was deposed (1327) a friar of London, Thomas Dunheved by name, set out to besiege Berkeley Castle with a goodly company of armed men. He was, however, defeated and

¹ See his life in MacInerny, pp. 378-476.

² For a sketch of his life see *Flintshire Historical Journal*, 1915, pp. 36-41.

captured by the Queen's party and imprisoned in the castle of Pontefract. After attempting in vain to break out of prison, he was thrown into a loathsome dungeon, where he died in great misery.¹ The Provincial himself, Simon de Bolaston, was implicated in the conspiracy of the Earl of Kent, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; from this he was freed by Edward III after the fall of the tyrant Mortimer.² Richard de Wincle, Simon's successor, became confessor to Edward III, who reposed great trust in his counsel and employed him in many embassies. In 1339 the General Chapter of the Order held at Clermont, in France, released Wincle from his office of Provincial, much to the annoyance of King Edward, who, in a fit of temper, wrote a sharp letter to the Master-General and the Chapter, taxing them with injustice, and withdrawing his customary alms towards the support of the capitular fathers. Wincle, though no longer in office, continued to enjoy the royal favour—he went on several embassies to Pope Benedict XII, and on his retirement received a pension from the King: we hear of him for the last time in 1347.³

No two kings in English history more resemble each other in their characters and fortunes than Edward II and his great-grandson Richard II. Both were weak, yet lovable, both were betrayed by those from whom they should have received nothing but kindness, and both were dragged from the throne to suffer the same sad, mysterious end. Both, too, were singular friends and protectors of the Friar Preachers, though Richard II perhaps excelled in his devotion to them; at no other period of their history in this country were the latter more powerful than during Richard's reign.

¹ *English Historical Review*, January, 1916, pp. 119-123.

² *Ibid.*, April, 1918, p. 245.

³ Palmer, "Provincials of Blackfriars," *Archæological Journal*, xxxv, 1878. Reprint pp. 18-20.

The King is said to have been affiliated to the Order ; he certainly was attached to the Friar Preachers in no ordinary degree, for he obtained permission for himself and his chaplains to follow the ritual and use the breviary of the Order. Richard made three of his confessors bishops—Rushook of Chichester, Bache of St. Asaph's, and Burghill of Lichfield. Thomas Rushook stood by his side during the struggles with the great barons, and in company with the rest of the King's friends, fell a victim to the cruelty of his enemies. He was impeached of treason by the Merciless Parliament in 1388 ; narrowly escaping death, he was robbed of his goods, and condemned to perpetual exile.¹ One Dominican, however, was found in political opposition to the King—John Gilbert, a Blackfriar of Guildford, and bishop in turn of Bangor, Hereford, and St. David's. He had been employed on many embassies during the last years of Edward III, but on the accession of Richard supported the party of Gloucester, the King's uncle, from whom he obtained the position of Lord High Treasurer in 1387. On Gloucester's fall from power in 1389, Gilbert was forced to resign, but was reappointed in the autumn of the same year. That he was no mean politician is proved by the fact that he was the only minister acceptable to both parties, and almost the only one who escaped death or exile in the turmoils of the time. He died at London in 1397, during the only peaceful period of Richard's reign.² On the deposition of Richard, the Dominicans held faithful to him as they had done to Edward II, a loyalty for which several of them paid dearly with imprisonment, if not with death. After his mysterious end, Richard's remains were quietly, almost secretly, buried in the Dominican convent of King's Langley :

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

² *Hawkesyard Review* (private circulation), December, 1919, pp. 12-20.

Bishop Burghill, O.P., of Lichfield, presided at the obsequies, assisted by the abbots of St. Albans and Waltham. No other friends assisted at the last sad rites, none of the great nobles were present, and even the common people stayed away. "Neither was any-one found," says Walsingham, "to invite them (the bishop and abbots) to dinner after all their trouble."¹

Henry IV very early in his reign decided that the clergy were the most powerful body in his kingdom, and that it behoved him to make friends of them. In pursuance of this policy, he became a benefactor to the Dominicans, and chose their Provincial, John Till, to be his confessor. When the hand of death struck the King down suddenly, whilst he was kneeling in prayer before the shrine of the confessor, Till was hastily summoned to his side. According to the Augustinian chronicler, John Capgrave, of Lynn, who wrote about thirty years later (c. 1438), Till demanded that the King should "repent him and do penauns, in special for thre thingis. On, for the deth on Kyng Richard. The othir, for the deth of the Archbishop Scrop. The third, for the wrong titil of the crowne." The King replied that as regards the first two points he had clearly opened his conscience to the Pope and received from him suitable penance which he had fulfilled; as for the third point he added "it is hard to sette remedy; for my childirn will not suffir that the regalie go oute of oure lynage."² Henry's great son, the warrior king, also chose as his confessor a Friar Preacher, Thomas Wareyn, who succeeded Till as Provincial,³ but the Dominicans took little part in politics during his reign or in the troubled period that followed.

The Wars of the Roses do not appear to have dis-

¹ Walsingham, *Hist. Angliæ*, ii, 246. (Rolls Series).

² Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, p. 303. (Rolls Series).

³ *Patent Rolls*, cf. Hen. V, p. 1, m. 5.

turbed the Dominicans very much, but one incident is worthy of note as illustrative of the period. Whilst the Duke of York was fighting his last battle, at Wakefield, on December 30th, 1460, his son Edward IV, then Earl of March, was spending his Christmas in the house of the Dominicans at Shrewsbury, and when his claim to the kingdom was finally settled in 1471, he chose the guest-quarters of the Shrewsbury Friars for the residence of his queen, Elizabeth Woodville, till the year 1473, he himself being often absent in pacifying the country. Two of his sons were born here—Richard, Duke of York, one of the poor children afterwards cruelly murdered in the Tower, and George, Duke of Bedford, who died an infant.¹

With the coming of the first Tudor, Henry VII, civil war ceased, and the Dominicans doubtless rejoiced with their countrymen. But with the passing of the Plantagenets, the political influence of the Friar Preachers passed also. No longer did they guide the royal conscience, a merciful relief in view of what was to come; no longer were their counsels sought for at Court: in fact their only dabblings in politics were in opposition to the reigning dynasty. Such was the case of John Payn, ex-Provincial and Bishop of Meath, who crowned the impostor, Lambert Simnel, at Dublin; on the latter's defeat at Stoke, Payn hastened to make his peace and received a royal pardon.² William Richford, who succeeded Payn as Provincial, was accused of complicity in the alleged conspiracy of Sir William Stanley, and condemned to death at the Guildhall on January 30th, 1494, but privilege of clergy saved his life. In the obituary list of the Guildford Blackfriars he is described as one who "by his virtues and true doctrine was an ornament to the whole Order."³

¹ Palmer, "Blackfriars of Shrewsbury," *Reliquary*, October, 1885, p. 79.

² *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

³ Palmer, *Provincials*, 29.

The considerable influence wielded by the Dominicans in politics under the Plantagenet rule was accompanied by the very great influence exercised by many members of the Order as bishops. Twenty-four Friar Preachers ruled English sees prior to the so-called Reformation, a greater number than those of the other religious Orders together, with the exception of the Benedictines, who, however, formed the chapters of many dioceses to which they could, and frequently did, introduce members of their own Order. The first English Friar Preacher called to a bishopric was one Friar Hugh, who was chosen for St. Asaph's in 1235 and consecrated together with the celebrated Grosseteste by St. Edmund Rich, at Reading.¹ Little is known of Bishop Hugh, but of Anian de Nanneu, "the Blackfriar of Nanneu," as he was called, who became bishop of the same diocese in 1268 and ruled it till 1293, we have enough material for a considerable biography. Generally regarded as the ablest of all the St. Asaph's prelates, he made himself conspicuous by his stern defence of the rights of his see. In this good cause he quarrelled successfully with all his powerful neighbours; and when during the Welsh wars the English soldiery burnt down his cathedral, he boldly sallied forth and excommunicated the whole army. For this courageous act he was driven from his see by the irate King, and probably suffered imprisonment. Even from this misfortune and disgrace, Bishop Anian emerged triumphant; for things went so badly in his absence that Edward was prevailed upon to allow his return and even paid for the new cathedral.² Perhaps the best known English Dominican prelate is Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1272 to 1278. As a great theologian, much respected both at Paris and Oxford, and as Provincial of the Friar

¹ Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, ed. 1858, p. 40.

² *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

Preachers, he came prominently into view during the last years of Henry III, so that when the Archbishopric of Canterbury fell vacant, little surprise was caused at the action of Pope Gregory X in setting aside several other candidates and nominating Kilwardby to the Primacy. One of his first acts as Archbishop was to crown the new King, Edward I; but as Primate he refrained from politics, and devoted his time to his pastoral charge and the completion of his numerous theological works. In 1278 Kilwardby was created Cardinal Bishop of Porto; he died at Viterbo in September of the following year.¹ The English Dominicans had particular cause for rejoicing in 1276, because that year they had a Dominican Pope, Blessed Innocent V, and a Dominican Primate.

We have already spoken of two friar-Archbishops of Dublin, John Darlington and William Hotham. Their episcopates were spent in England or elsewhere, Darlington as collector of the Papal tithe and Hotham as ambassador and peacemaker. Two English Dominicans, Walter and Roland Jorz, both brothers of the Cardinal mentioned above, became in turn Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland; but they found the experience so unpleasant that Walter resigned in 1311 and his brother Roland in 1321.² In the two centuries that followed, many English Dominicans were called to govern Irish sees; but more often than not their rule was merely nominal owing to various causes, and they seem usually to have acted as auxiliaries to the English Bishops. Frequently, too, their appointment to an Irish see was but a step to preferment in the English Church. Another step to a more important see was a Welsh bishopric: no fewer than seven Friar Preachers were appointed to Llandaff, of whom four were translated to English

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

² MacInerny, 603; Stubbs, *Registrum*, 148.

bishoprics. It is pleasant, however, to notice that ten friar-bishops retained their small Welsh churches till their death. The first Dominican bishop of Llandaff was John de Eggescliffe, 1323-47. He had been appointed to Glasgow in 1318 during the Scottish wars; and, as the Scotch would have none of him, he acted as auxiliary to the Archbishop of York till 1322, when he was appointed to Connor, in Ireland. In 1323 he was translated to Llandaff, where he remained till his death in 1347, doubtless only too glad to settle down peacefully in a diocese, however small, after so much travelling.¹ His quiet episcopate contrasts vividly with that of Thomas de Lisle at Ely. When Prior of Winchester and ambassador at the Papal Court at Avignon, Thomas was appointed to the see of Ely, for which the monks, in whose hands the election lay, had chosen their own prior, Alan of Walsingham, the celebrated architect of the lantern tower of the cathedral; Alan was set aside by Pope Clement VI, and de Lisle was chosen instead in 1345. The first years of his rule coincided with the years of that terrible scourge known as the Black Death, to which numbers of his clergy fell victims. No sooner had the plague disappeared than the bishop was embroiled in certain quarrels which eventually caused his exile. Lady Blanche Wake, niece of Edward III, had encroached on some of the bishop's property, and in the disputes that ensued, one of her servants was killed by the bishop's men. The prelate was declared guilty of complicity, and, owing to his audacity in accusing the King of favouring his kinswoman's cause, drew upon himself the anger of Edward. He added to the King's annoyance by protesting against the appointment of Robert Stretton to the see of Lichfield on the ground of incompetence. In this, de Lisle was acting as both the Pope (Innocent VI) and the Archbishop of

¹ Stubbs, *Registrum*, 52; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, p. 275.

Canterbury had done, for it was credibly reported Stretton could neither read nor write. Nothing, however, enrages so much as truth, and Edward's anger against de Lisle became so fierce that the bishop judged it best to leave the country. He took refuge at Avignon, where his rather timely death in 1361 relieved both Pope and King of an embarrassing situation, for under the circumstances the Pope had been forced to side with the bishop.¹

During the reign of Richard II no fewer than nine dioceses were confided to the charge of the Friar Preachers. Three of these went to royal confessors—Chichester to Thomas Rushook, Lichfield to John Burghill, and St. Asaph to Alexander Bache. The continuation of Higden's Chronicle gives us an interesting but possibly biased account of the latter :

“ On the 8th of May [1390] Brother Alexander was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph at Westminster by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was, and is, confessor of the Lord King and a Master in Theology of the Order of Preachers. To this ceremony came the King and Queen and many noble lords. When this friar first came to the notice of the King, he was sufficiently humble and modest in his bearing and manners, sparing in his food and wants, and moderate in all his actions. Nor would he ride on horseback, but when following the Court from place to place he travelled on foot. He even at first refused the episcopate, but a short while afterwards his manner changed and he began to act proudly and insolently in complete opposition to his former ways.”² Whatever truth there may be in this, we know that he left the bulk of his little fortune to the poor.³ Of Burghill we read that he “ deserved so well and in so many ways of all

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

² Higden ix, 255-256. (Rolls Series).

³ Palmer, “ Blackfriars of Hereford,” *Reliquary*, July, 1882, p. 22.

the orders of the Church, that he was pray'd for in the Church publickly as their greatest Benefactor. When he died (May, 1414) an Anniversary was decreed for him at Litchfield, August 29, with a distribution of money to the poor, and the monks (of Coventry) did the like, with a large distribution of an hundred and four shillings."¹ William Bottlesham, or Bottisham, one time Provincial (1368-70) deserves mention, for he was one of the most important friars of the time. He suffered for his devotion to Urban VI, at whose side he stood when the Pope was besieged in the town of Nocera. As preacher, theologian, and bishop, William made himself very obnoxious to the Lollards.² Robert Reade, of Chichester (1394-1414), was a splendid example of a pastor who made the care of his flock the chief object of his episcopate. The records of his visitations given in his register allow us a good insight into the various abuses of the time.³

Bangor, in Wales, claims five Dominican bishops, one of whom, John Gilbert, has been spoken of at length. At least one of the others has a claim to fame for his learning—Thomas Ringstead, a theologian of Cambridge, who ruled the diocese from 1357 to 1366.⁴ The last Dominican appointed to Llandaff was a Spaniard, George de Ateca, or Athequa, confessor to the much injured queen, Catherine of Aragon, whom he attended on her death-bed. For refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, he was imprisoned in his own house, and, after attempting to flee the country, was thrown into the Tower, where he lay practically under sentence of death. Eventually, through fear of the Emperor, Charles V, whose subject Ateca was, he was released (1537) and given a passport

¹ Cox's *Staffordshire*, ed. 1700, p. 136.

² *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

³ *Diocesan History of Chichester*.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

to Spain, where he died in the convent of Catalayud in 1549. He had spent more than thirty years in England, during the last twenty of which he governed the see of Llandaff.¹ Two Dominicans figured amongst the last of the ancient hierarchy—Maurice Griffin of Rochester, and John Hopton of Norwich, confessor to Queen Mary. Both had fallen away during the troubles of Henry's reign, but nobly made amends; so that they were considered by Mary and Cardinal Pole to be worthy of a high post in the Church. Neither survived Mary's reign, both dying about the same time as the last Catholic Queen.²

Much might be written on the numerous prelates chosen from amongst the English Dominicans to govern dioceses in Ireland and in foreign countries, for English friars became bishops in Finland, Russia, Asia Minor, and Palestine; but such would be beyond the scope of this sketch. We cannot, however, neglect an important class of Dominican bishops whose influence was felt throughout the country. These were the auxiliary, or suffragan bishops, as they were styled, who were either Irish bishops assisting English diocesans in order to make a living, or titular bishops of sees *in partibus infidelium* consecrated expressly as auxiliaries. These latter were employed all over Europe, more especially where diocesan bishops were either not consecrated, holding their sees *in commendam*, or busy at Court. The auxiliaries were for the most part drawn from the Mendicant Orders, chiefly the Franciscans and Dominicans who can count their titular bishops by the hundred. This custom, though perhaps so widespread as to become an abuse, had certain advantages, for it at least insured a resident bishop and one generally sufficiently versed in theology.

¹ See an account of his life in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Feb., 1916.

² *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.; Stubbs, 81.

Some of the best known Dominican theologians during the later middle ages were suffragan bishops, and almost every titular bishop chosen from the Order is styled in the bulls of provision "Magister in Sacra Theologia." In England a great many diocesan bishops found it convenient to employ auxiliaries: the bishops of Worcester in particular frequently chose Dominicans for the office, one of these being Richard Wycherley, a Blackfriar of Warwick, who acted as auxiliary between 1481 and 1501.¹ We also find the names of more than twenty other Friar Preachers assisting in other dioceses. From this great number of diocesan and auxiliary bishops, chosen from the Order in pre-Reformation days, we can obtain some idea of the important part played by the Dominicans in the ecclesiastical government of the country at a time when the Church was all-powerful, and its bishops real princes of the people, with vast power and influence.

The following conclusion may, we think, be drawn from the points dwelt on in this sketch of Dominican influence on public life. The English Dominicans appear to have been fully successful in their mission of evangelizing and helping the people—that is, in their care for the spiritual well-being of men of all classes, from the peasant in his cottage to the king on his throne. In their duties as teachers in the schools they had a great share in the education of the clergy, and by their preaching they helped to educate the lay folk and ensure their allegiance to the Church. Outside the sphere of their ordinary life, they were on the whole successful because their training fitted them for dealings in worldly affairs in a way impossible to the older religious orders. Where the Dominicans failed, they failed from a mistaken zeal or from a motive of ambition which came from neglecting the safeguards of their rule. The silence of the Order

¹ Stubbs, *Registrum*, 146.

during Henry VIII's schism was, alas ! the silence of most other religious bodies. The dark cloud has not yet risen from Reformation history, but here and there indications can be seen of a resistance to despotic power not usually attributed to the English Friar Preachers. Bishop Ateca was not the only Dominican who remained steadfast. We know the names of nearly a score of others who resisted the tyrant and singled themselves out for persecution ; and as their names appear no more in history, it may be that they suffered the extreme penalty. Many friars also escaped from the country and took refuge in various convents of the Order. The Province, suppressed by Henry VIII, was erected into a Congregation in 1555 through the efforts of Queen Mary. From that date to the present, the Dominicans have never been absent from this country, where, during the days of persecution, not a few of them suffered imprisonment, one of them, the Venerable Joseph Kemeys, even unto death.¹

¹ *Dominican Martyrs of Great Britain*, by R. Devas, O.P., ed. 1912, pp. 54-74.

ST. DOMINIC

(died August 6, 1221)

"He shone in his days as the morning star . . . and as the moon at the full . . . and as the sun when it shineth, so did he shine in the temple of God."—*Ecclus. L, vi-vii.*

From the Office of his Feast.

EVEN as these, your days ;
I have no higher praise
Than this prophetic phrase.

Full cycle of the light
God set against the night,
Your own immortal flight.

No sun its circuit through
Was brighter shod, more true,
No star, no moon, than you.

No darkness fled away
Before the face of day
As error from your way.

Rise, then, our Orient !
The centuries are spent
Since to the Light you went,

As some imperial sun,
Its flaming course outrun,
Its fiery message done,

Returns from whence it came,
To Him who called its name
And built its burning frame.

Rise in this world of night !
Of beatific light
Give to our blindness *sight* !

EDWIN ESSEX, O.P.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

III. IN THEOLOGY

By WALTER GUMBLEY, O.P.

ST. DOMINIC founded his order of Friar Preachers principally to teach the truths of faith to the people, at a time when truth was in great danger of becoming obscured by the false teachings of the Albigenses and other sects then prevalent in Southern Europe. In order that his brethren might be well equipped for their task, the Saint laid the foundations of that strict and close study of theology and scripture which has throughout the ages marked the life of the Friar Preachers. St. Dominic's ideas were carried into effect by his successors, Blessed Jordan of Saxony and St. Raymund of Peñafort. These were men of more than ordinary intellectual ability; Jordan was one of the most renowned of the professors of Paris and Raymund the greatest Canonist the Church has produced. These two men planned with great care the course to be followed in Dominican schools, and their work was completed by the fifth Master-General of the Order—Humbert de Romanis, one of the best scholars of his day.

These superiors found excellent co-operators amongst their subjects, not a few of whom were English. One of the foremost was John of St. Giles, who taught at Paris on medicine, philosophy, and theology, and became physician to the French king, Philip Augustus, about 1210. Preaching one day on voluntary poverty

in the presence of a great multitude which included Blessed Jordan, John descended from the pulpit during his discourse, knelt at the feet of the Master and begged to receive the habit of the Order. Jordan threw his own scapular over the shoulders of John, who thereupon returned to the pulpit and completed his sermon.¹ At the request of the University he continued his lectures in the schools. His example was followed by several English scholars of repute of whom we shall speak later.

When, in 1221, twelve Dominicans under the leadership of Gilbert de Fresney landed on the shores of Kent they proceeded at once to Canterbury where they met the Archbishop—Cardinal Stephen Langton, himself a renowned scholar. Stephen listened to Gilbert's preaching with great pleasure and ever afterwards remained a staunch friend to the friars. Having thus gained the Primate's favour the party journeyed to London and then on to Oxford, where they arrived on the feast of the Assumption.² Here they at once established a convent and school in the Jewry. Friar Gilbert became Provincial, and was also Prior of Oxford till such a time as the Province could be regularly organized. In 1230 the first Provincial Chapter was held in the new convent, and Friar Alard, who in 1212 had been Chancellor of the University, was elected to succeed Gilbert. The choice of such a man reflected the mind of the friars, who by this time included in their ranks some of the best scholars of the University. Robert Bacon and his friend Richard Fishacre, two renowned doctors, had put on the Dominican habit (probably in 1229) and continued as friars to lecture on theology.³ Their reputation placed the Dominican school on a firm basis. A certain Friar Jocius had succeeded Fresney

¹ Trivet, O.P. *Annales*, ed. Hog (Engl. Hist. Soc.), 1845, p. 211.

² Trivet, 209.

³ *Ibid.*, 229.

as Prior of Oxford in 1230,¹ and he in turn was followed by Simon de Bovill, who during his term of office was twice Chancellor of the University, the first time in 1238 and again in 1244.² In 1235 John of St. Giles came to teach at Oxford and the friars opened a second school to accommodate the students whom his fame attracted. With two ex-Chancellors at the helm and three famous professors, the Order in England was well equipped for its scholastic work; and can claim not a little share in making Oxford a University with a reputation second only to Paris.

In 1242 the Dominicans transferred their schools from the Jewry to a river island in the south suburb of the town. The site was given by King Henry III and was much enlarged by grants made to the friars by Isabel de Bolbec, Countess of Oxford, and Walter Mauclerc, Bishop of Carlisle. Not content with mere benefactions, Bishop Walter cast aside all his riches and dignities to enter as a humble novice amongst the brethren whom he loved. This act was all the more heroic in view of the prelate's career, which had been one of worldly grandeur and ambition; for he had attained to the very highest positions in the State, having been Lord High Treasurer and actually Regent of the Kingdom during Henry III's absence in Wales.³ He did not long survive his generous sacrifice, for death took him in October, 1248. This year was a sad one for the Oxford friars, for in December they also lost their two great doctors, Bacon and Fishacre.

In 1246 the school had been erected into a general house of studies for the Order by the Chapter assembled at Paris, and permission was granted to each provincial

¹ Palmer, O.P., "Blackfriars of Oxford" in the *Reliquary Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1883, p. 147.

² Palmer, *ibid.*, 147, 148.

³ *Dict. National Biography*, s.v.

to send hither two students. This ruling, however, was opposed some years later by the English Provincial, Simon de Henton, who though a theologian of repute apparently possessed his share of the Englishman's traditional objection to foreigners. He was consequently deprived of his office by the General Chapter of Barcelona in 1261 and sent as professor to Cologne; but the following year was allowed to return.¹ This was not the only occasion when the presence of foreign friars proved a source of difficulty to the community. In 1370 a veritable rebellion took place amongst the students, and the Provincial, William de Bottlesham (afterwards Bishop of Rochester), was forced to appeal to the secular power, whereupon under threat of imprisonment the rebels submitted. Amongst the rebellious friars we find such English names as John Chesham, Henry of Gloucester, and John Banaster in company with foreigners such as Lupus of Spain, Egbert of Dacia, and Fortanerius de Candareru.²

Despite these little quarrels, life at Oxford was a very happy and successful one for the Dominicans. On the deposition of Simon de Henton the friars chose Robert Kilwardby as Provincial, and he remained in office till his elevation to the see of Canterbury in 1272.³ Up to the time of his election in 1261 Robert held the chief theological chair in the Dominican schools for a period of thirteen years; and during this time the friars made great progress. They built a splendid church and convent, to which they afterwards made great additions, owing to the influx of foreign students. Of this imposing edifice, which accommodated more than a hundred friars, nothing now remains; even the site is uncertain.

¹ Reichert, *Acta Capitulum Generalium*, Rome, 1898, i, 110, 111, 117.

² Palmer, "Blackfriars of Oxford," pp. 157, 158.

³ Palmer, *Provincials*, p. 4.

The course of study was that largely carried on in the other great universities, consisting of so many years of humanities, philosophy, Canon Law, theology, and Sacred Scripture. The theological text-book was the Book or rather Four Books of *Sentences* compiled by Peter Lombard, who died Bishop of Paris in 1159 or 1160. All the great doctors of succeeding ages, including the Angelic Doctor himself, commented on and expounded this celebrated work; and so popular did it become in the schools that well on into the fifteenth century the formal teaching of theology was styled "reading in the *Sentences*." Moreover, no one could claim eminence in the theological world unless he wrote a commentary on the Lombard's book. This feat was accomplished by wellnigh a hundred English Dominicans, many of whom also wrote a *Sum of Theology*.

We must not, however, give the false impression that English Dominican studies as a whole and theology in particular were chiefly bound up with Oxford. This would be a grave injustice to the sister university of Cambridge, in which the Friar Preachers had a flourishing school that ranked in company with Oxford and Paris as one of the *Studia Generalia* of the Order. The Dominicans first appeared in Cambridge in 1233 and soon established a convent and school. Though we do not know the names of any great doctors who taught in this school we find mention before 1260 of two friars who taught in the University.¹ The site of the convent was greatly enlarged in 1290 through the generosity of Alice, widow of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and the same benefactress erected new buildings on an extensive scale with accommodation for upwards of a hundred friars. Here was erected a *Studium Generale* which in 1320 is mentioned as ranking with Oxford and

¹ *Vitæ Fratrum*, ed. Reichert. Transl. by Conway, O.P., p. 145.

Paris as one of the principal universities or *studia* of the Order.¹ It is of interest to note that at this period the studies here were directed by the renowned professor Robert Holcot, perhaps the most learned of all English Dominicans, whose profound love of study earned for him the title of "Doctor Firmus et Indefatigabilis." He gave his life for the plague-stricken in 1349.²

Oxford and Cambridge became the centre of Dominican study in England; but this does not imply that theological studies were only carried on in the Universities. These were for the more brilliant students, who were considered fit to obtain degrees and to become professors themselves in course of time. The original Dominican plan was to have a professor in each convent who should lecture daily in theology and Sacred Scripture, from attendance at whose lectures none should be excused, not even the Prior himself. Probably secular students also attended these classes, especially in cathedral cities. Perhaps that is why sometimes the Dean and Chapter themselves suggested some celebrated friar as lecturer: for example, we find John Prophete, Dean of Hereford and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, writing about 1400 to the Provincial Chapter to ask them to send as lector to Hereford Friar John David, D.D., who was then in the convent of Guildford.³ As the number of convents increased it was found more convenient to group the students in the greater, where a full course of study was given. Convents such as London, Norwich, York, King's Lynn, and King's Langley being of great size were well able to accommodate flourishing schools. Apart from their own great

¹ *Acta, Cap. Gen.*, ii, 124.

² *Dict. National Biography*, s.v.

³ Palmer, "Blackfriars of Hereford," *Reliquary*, July, 1882, p. 23.

educational work in England the English Dominicans were frequently called upon to supply professors for the foreign houses of studies, such as Paris, Cologne, and Bologna. The Acts of the General Chapters abound in references to English theologians sent abroad to teach : William de Hotham and Nicholas de Stratton, both Provincials, were absolved from office in order to teach at Paris, the former in 1287 and the latter in 1312.¹ It is curious to notice among celebrated doctors such homely English names as Nicholas Lee, sent to teach at Bologna in 1342.²

During the first half century of their existence in England the friars followed the philosophical teaching of their great masters, Bacon and Fishacre, which was based on the system of Plato as Christianised by St. Augustine. Meanwhile Blessed Albert the Great and his young disciple St. Thomas Aquinas had brought all the resources of their genius to bear on Aristotle's philosophy, which they succeeded in transforming into a marvellous ally of Christian thought. Kilwardby, the successor of Bacon and Fishacre, was not only the foremost English Dominican theologian but was also at the head of the Province from 1261-72. Being a much older man than St. Thomas, he disliked the teachings of the younger school and steadfastly set his face against them. In 1272 he was appointed to the see of Canterbury by Blessed Gregory X and used his authority to add weight to his attacks on the Thomistic school. The chief point of his attack was St. Thomas's theory of the unity of forms ; for the Platonists held that of the plurality of forms. The Angelic Doctor died in 1274, and three years later Archbishop Kilwardby and Stephen Tempier, Bishop of Paris, condemned certain propositions which favoured the opinion of St. Thomas and Blessed Albert. Tempier, encouraged by

¹ *Acta*, i, 242 : ii, 60.

² *Acta*, ii, 283.

Kilwardby's action, prepared further to attack St. Thomas's teaching; but was silenced by the College of Cardinals who ruled the Church during the short vacancy of the Holy See between the death of John XXI and the election of Nicholas III. The new Pope created Kilwardby Cardinal Bishop of Porto in 1278; and the venerable prelate, said then to have been in his eightieth year, set out for the Papal Court. He died at Viterbo in September, 1279.¹

Whilst Kilwardby was bidding farewell to his native land, the General Chapter of the Order assembled at Milan (1278) was busying itself about the English antagonism to St. Thomas's doctrine. Two friars—John Vigouroux and Raymund de Mévouillon (afterwards Archbishop of Embrun, 1289–94)—were sent post-haste into England to enquire into Dominican teaching there, and to punish with the utmost severity any friar showing disrespect to the teaching or the memory of "the venerable father Thomas of Aquin."² Their visit was undoubtedly the means of assuring the higher authorities of the real devotion entertained by the English friars towards the doctrine of the Angelic Teacher; for the Province was now ruled by superiors who had been either fellow-students with or pupils of St. Thomas. Recognition of the great work done for the Province by Kilwardby, and the consequent loyalty of the friars to one who had been an associate and helper of the actual founders of the Province itself, prevented during his life any attacks on the Augustinian school. The English Dominicans owed nearly everything to Kilwardby and recognized their debt; but after his death they stoutly attacked the Platonists, of whom the recognized leader in England was John Peckham, a Franciscan and the successor of Kilwardby in the Primatial see. When this prelate reaffirmed the con-

¹ Palmer, *Provincials*, pp. 4–6.

² *Acta*, i, 199.

demnation made by Kilwardby he met with strong opposition from the Friar Preachers; and when he condemned the teaching of Richard Claypole (or Knapwell), the Dominican regent at Oxford, the Provincial, William de Hotham, plainly told him that he was exceeding his powers, and promptly carried the affair to Rome. Pope Nicholas IV, himself a Franciscan, did not entirely support Archbishop Peckham; but in order to calm troubled minds he prohibited Claypole from teaching openly on the question in dispute. The death of the latter at Bologna in 1288 seems to have closed the controversy in England,¹ but Claypole was by no means the last English friar to take up his pen against the adversaries of Thomism. Space prevents a long incursion into the polemics of the late thirteenth century, or into the controversy with Scotus and his disciples; but we must mention one great name, that of William Macclesfield, known as "the Renowned Doctor," who died Cardinal of S. Sabina in 1303. He was the chief defender of St. Thomas's writings against the attacks of Henry of Ghent, known as "the Solemn Doctor."² Another fruitful source of controversy was the question of Evangelical Poverty. At the request of Pope Clement V another Oxford Dominican and Cardinal, Thomas de Jorz, wrote in 1310 a treatise entitled *De paupertate Christi*, which was regarded as the best work on the subject.³

During the first half of the fourteenth century the friars had difficulties with the University authorities on the much-vexed question of degrees; but the advent of Wycliffe again brought the Dominicans to the fore, and so strengthened their position in the Universities that one of their number, John Bromyard,

¹ Palmer, *Provincials*, p. 9.

² Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ord., FF. Praed.*, i, 493, 494.

³ Palmer, *Provincials*, pp. 12-15.

was actually elected Chancellor of Cambridge in 1383.¹ At this time Europe was divided by the great Schism of the West. England lived under the obedience of the legitimate line of Pontiffs who ruled at Rome; and as a consequence the English Friar Preachers, who had been treated harshly by the French Master-General, Elias Raymond, accepted the rival and true Master-General, Blessed Raymund of Capua. Raymund wrote a letter to the English Dominicans exhorting them to defend the true faith, both by writing and preaching, against the errors of Wycliffe. Mentioning this letter, Fontana tells us that Robert Humbleton, a great champion of the true faith, narrowly escaped death from poison.² Everywhere the friars attacked Lollardy, both by the spoken and written word; and though some carping critics, following the example of Wycliffe, would have us believe that at this period the English Dominican Province was utterly relaxed and had sunk into disrepute, seldom do we find at any one time such a number of eminent men. We have the names of more than thirty Dominican doctors who entered the lists against Lollardy: nine were Provincials, five were honoured with the episcopate, and four were royal confessors.

The Council which condemned Wycliffe's teaching on May 21st, 1382, was held in the Dominican convent at London; and of the ten bishops present, two were Friar Preachers—John Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, and William Bottlesham, Bishop of Nantes.³ Curiously enough these two were the

¹ Fuller's *Hist. of Cambridge Univ.*, ed. 1840, p. 116, n.

² *Literæ*, etc., B. Ray, *Capuani*, ed. 1899.

³ *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, ed. Rolls Series, p. 286. Bottlesham is styled "Epūs Nanatensis." This name has puzzled historians of this period, but it seems certain that it means Nantes. At this time, owing to the Schism, there were frequently two nominees to a bishopric, one of the Roman, the other of the Avignon Obedience. He was afterwards made Bishop of Llandaff in 1386 and of Rochester in 1389 (cf. *Dict. National Biog.*, s.v.).

only prelates with theological degrees; Gilbert was a Bachelor of Oxford and Bottlesham a Doctor of Cambridge. Three other doctors of the Order were prominent at the Council—William Siward, Prior of London and Royal Confessor, also Provincial from 1383–93, John Paris, Regent of the Cambridge Schools, and Thomas Langley, Professor at Oxford. We also find in the list of members three Bachelors in Theology, Robert Humbleton, John Pickworth, Provincial in 1397, and John Lyndlowe. In the second session of the Council held June 12th of the same year John Bromyard was present, and in the fifth session, July 1st, yet another Dominican doctor, William Boscombe (or Brushecoumbe), Prior of Canterbury, was admitted to the assembly.¹ Moreover, as we have already stated, the influence of the Friar Preachers extended beyond the Council Hall and several theologians of repute who were not actually present in the assembly wrote against Wycliffe. Roger Dymoke, Prior of Boston in Lincolnshire, composed an answer to the “Twelve errors and heresies of the Lollards” which was presented by him to King Richard II in full Parliament (1396–7). A MS. copy of this work is still preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge. This MS. which originally belonged to Anthony Roper, grandson of Blessed Thomas More, is stamped with the royal arms and addressed to Richard in person; for H. S. Cronin, writing in the *English Historical Review*, April, 1907, has no doubt in declaring it to be the original MS. presented to the King in 1396. When the followers of Wycliffe claimed the Bible as the only guide for Christians, Thomas Palmer, who was Provincial from 1393–6, clearly showed the errors and dangers of this teaching in his treatise, “*De translatione sacræ scripturæ in linguam anglicanum.*”²

¹ *Fasc. Ziz.*, 2–291.

² *The Lollard Bible*, Margaret Deanesly, M.A., ed. Cambridge, pp. 418–431.

Another Provincial, John Tille, D.D., confessor to King Henry IV, spoke plainly in his sermons concerning the same matter, as is proved by the attacks made on him by the heretic John Purvey.¹

In every place where heresy showed itself the Dominicans attacked it. When Henry Croumpe, a Cistercian, was suspected of heresy at Oxford, we find the Bishop of Meath—an Oxford Dominican, by name William Andrew—writing to the University authorities pointing out the various errors for which he had already condemned Croumpe at a Synod held at Meath when the latter was teaching in Ireland.² John Bromyard, whom we have mentioned several times, was sent from Oxford to Cambridge in 1382 to combat the Lollard teaching there. The Protestant historian gives the date 1390 and describes Bromyard's mission as a design "to ferret out the Wycliffists, to whom he was a professed enemy."³ We know, however, that he was Chancellor in 1383. Many works came from his pen at this period, several being sources of theology for preachers to supply an antidote to the teachings of the Lollards. His *Summa Prædicantium*, or Sum for Preachers, was a standard work long after his death.

With the passing of Lollardy the prominence of English Dominican theology declined, probably on account of lack of opportunity. That the Friar Preachers continued to cultivate the Mistress of Sciences is amply proved by a study of such of the University Registers as are extant: from these we glean the names of more than sixty Friar Preachers who took theological degrees at Oxford between 1450 and 1530.⁴ A new incentive to theological work was

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

² *Fasc. Zizan.*, 348, 349.

³ Fuller, *Hist. Camb. Univ.*, p. 123.

⁴ *Registr. Univ. Oxoniæ*, vol. i, ed. C. W. Boase, M.A. Oxford, 1885.

provided by the errors which arose early in the fifteenth century, and the English Dominicans can claim such eminent theologians as William Richford, Provincial (1483-95, died 1501), "qui moribus ac sana doctrina totum ordinem decoravit," William Beeth,¹ Provincial (1495-1501), and John Harley (living in 1515),² all three doctors of Oxford. When the great Tudor schism tore the English Church from the parent stem it is only too true that, instead of boldly and openly withstanding error, the English Friar Preachers as a body remained silent. Not a few fled abroad, including Doctor Richard Marshall, Prior of the Dominicans of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He escaped across the border into Scotland, but left behind him the letter which is an excellent reply to the claim of the Royal Supremacy.

Marshall escaped into Scotland in the spring of 1537. In 1539 he was abroad, and the General Chapter gave him leave to sojourn in any convent in Italy or Saxony till he could make a safe journey to Scotland to which Province he was declared to be affiliated.³ In 1551 he was a member of the Dominican convent at St. Andrews.⁴

Not a few friars, bolder than Marshall, were not afraid openly to preach against the royal despot, and were silenced—whether by exile, imprisonment, or the halter we shall probably never know. Robert Buckenham, D.D., Prior of Cambridge, preached against the Royal Supremacy and fled to Scotland in 1534. He went to Louvain at Easter 1535 and lived with the Friar Preachers of that town. A work of his entitled *De reconciliacione locorum S. Scripturæ* is said still to be in existence in the English College at Rome.⁵

¹ Palmer, *Provincials*, 29, 30.

² Dodd, *Church History*, ed. Tierney, i, 241.

³ *Acta*, Cap. Gen., iv, 283.

⁴ Palmer, *ibid.*

⁵ Palmer, Blackfriars of Cambridge, *Reliquary*, Jan., 1885, p. 141.

When Mary re-established the Order in England, she gave over to them the Church of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield ; at the head of the new convent was placed William Peryn, B.D., of Oxford, who left three works : " Thre godly and most learned sermons of the most honourable and blessed Sacrament of the Aulter," " Spiritual exercyses and goostly meditations," and another on frequent celebration of Holy Mass. Peryn, who was also Vicar-General of the Province, died in August, 1558 ; his successor, Richard Hargrave, was exiled and the convent disbanded by Elizabeth.

But during Mary's short reign Oxford and Cambridge had the advantage of hearing lectures on theology from three celebrated Spanish professors—Bartholomew de Carranza, Confessor of Philip II King of Spain, afterwards Archbishop of Toledo ; Peter de Soto, Councillor and Confessor of the great Emperor Charles V, Philip's father ; and Juan de Villagarcia. On the death of Mary they were forced to leave the country. Soto, one of the most renowned theologians of the day, attended the Council of Trent as principal theologian of Pope Pius IV and died at his post in 1563.¹

The Vicar-General of the English Dominicans during the reign of Queen Elizabeth was Thomas Heskins, an Oxford man and Doctor in Theology. He wrote in support of Catholicism a well-known polemical work entitled *The Parliament of Christ* ; this was attacked by the celebrated Protestant divine Fulk, who styled his answer *Heskins's Parliament repealed*.² The after-history of the Province—the story of heroic work done by a few for the upholding of the Catholic faith—could not from its nature be one marked by success and renown in the schools ; but, nevertheless, true to their ideal, the English Friar

¹ Hurter, *Nomenclator Theologiæ*, ii, 1462.

² *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v. ; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1918, in article " Provincials of Dominicans."

Preachers made every effort in their power to maintain a high level of ecclesiastical learning. For this purpose they established a college at Louvain expressly for the study of the sacred sciences. Many of their students did brilliant things during their course; and when later they were sent on the English mission not a few of them ably defended the faith by their writings. Amongst these may be noted Ambrose Burgis (1673-1747), Thomas Worthington (1671-1754), four times Provincial, Antoninus Hatton (1701-1783), twice Provincial, and Lewis Brittain (1745-1827), also Provincial.¹

The present house of studies for the Dominicans in England—St. Thomas's Priory, Hawkesyard, Rugeley, Staffs—was erected into a theological university by Pope Pius X in 1906. It is hoped in the near future that a general House of Studies will be again opened at Oxford, where the English Friar Preachers first began to teach.

We append a few notices of the most important English Dominican theologians.

ROBERT BACON, D.D.,² entered the Order sometime before 1233. He continued to teach in Oxford after joining the Dominicans and died 1248. He wrote on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, also a book on the Psalter, and the life of his friend, St. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; Hurter, ii, 269.)

RICHARD FISHACRE, D.D., of Oxford. Joined the Dominicans about the same time as his friend Bacon with whom he continued to teach. He also died in

¹ Palmer, *Obituary Notices of Friar Preachers*, ed. Burns and Oates, 1884.

² The abbreviation D.D. is used instead of S.T.M., or Master in Sacred Theology, which was the mediæval title.

1248. He commented on the Lombard's book, a MS. of which is at Oriel College, Oxford. He also wrote on Scripture. (Quétif and Echard, i, 118, 119; Hurter, ii, 266; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.)

JOHN OF ST. GILES, D.D., of Paris. He was physician to Philip Augustus, King of France, and lectured in the University of Paris on Medicine, Philosophy, and Theology. He joined the Order in 1228 and was the first friar to teach in the University. He came to Oxford about 1235, where he taught in the Dominican schools. In 1236 he was made Archdeacon of Oxford by his friend, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who also in 1239 appointed him Chancellor of the diocese. He was living in 1258, for that year he was called upon to attend Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was ill from poison. He also attended at the deathbed of Grosseteste in 1253. He is the reputed author of many works, both theological and medicinal. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; Palmer, "Blackfriars of Oxford," in *Reliquary*, Jan., 1883.)

SIMON DE HENTON, D.D., of Oxford, was Provincial between 1254-61. Owing to his refusal to accept foreign students at Oxford he was discharged from office and sent to teach at Cologne. He was allowed to return in 1262. A MS. of his *Moralia* is at New College, Oxford, and he also wrote a Commentary on the Ten Commandments. (*Nat. Dict. Biogr.* s.v.; *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1918; *Acta*, Cap. Gen., i, 110, III, 117.)

ROBERT KILWARDBY, D.D., of Paris, was one of the earliest Dominican professors at Oxford, and he succeeded Bacon and Fishacre as head of the theological school. He became Provincial in 1261 and ruled the Province till 1272, when he was nominated to the see of Canterbury. In the Acts of the General Chapter

of Montpellier, which he attended in 1271, he is styled "Magnus magister in theologia." As Primate he crowned King Edward I and attended in 1274 the General Council of Lyons. In 1278 Pope Nicholas III raised him to the dignity of Cardinal Bishop of Porto. He died at Viterbo Sept. 11th, 1279. He wrote voluminously on philosophy and theology and left forty-five folio volumes, amongst which we may mention a Commentary on the Four Books of *Sentences*, on Aristotle's philosophy, on the Prophets and Epistles of St. Paul. (Palmer, *Provincials*, 4-7; Hurter, ii, 387; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.)

WILLIAM DE HOTHAM, D.D., of Paris, though a Professor with a reputation second only to that of St. Thomas, is better known in history as a politician than as a theologian. He was twice Provincial of the English Dominicans, and in 1296 was elevated to the archbishopric of Dublin. He died in 1299 at Dijon whilst returning from an embassy to Pope Boniface VIII, on which he had been sent by Edward I, whose favourite minister he was. Amongst his works are treatises on Philosophy and Theology, of which the chief are *De unitate formarum*, *Tres libri de Anima*, and a Commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; MacInerney, *Hist. Irish Dominicans* (1916), i, ch. x.)

WILLIAM OF MACCLESFIELD, D.D., of Oxford, taught at Paris and Oxford. His native convent was Chester, not Coventry as most authors maintain, for the Dominicans had no settlement in the latter town. In 1303 he was raised to the Cardinalate by Blessed Benedict XI, also a Dominican. Cardinal William, however, died at Canterbury before the news of his elevation reached England. As a theologian he was famed for his defence of St. Thomas's doctrine. His principal works were *Postillæ in S. Biblia* and *De*

unitate formarum. He also produced a work entitled *De Angelis*. (Trivet, *Annales*, p. 400; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, *vd.*, Mykelfield; Quétif and Echard, i, 493.)

WALTER WINTERBOURNE, D.D., took his degree at Oxford or Paris and became Confessor to Edward I. On the death of Macclesfield, Pope Benedict named Winterbourne Cardinal in his stead with the title of S. Sabina in February, 1304. In 1305 he was present at the Conclave which elected Clement V, but died September 25th at Genoa on his way to join the new Pope at Lyons. His remains were brought to London and laid to rest by the side of Cardinal Macclesfield in the choir of the London Blackfriars. He is said to have written a Commentary on the Lombard's book and also left some sermons preached "coram populo et rege." (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; Hurter, ii, 480.)

THOMAS DE JORZ, D.D., taught at Naples, Paris, London, and Oxford, of which latter house he became Prior about 1290. In 1297 he was chosen Provincial and ruled till 1304. In 1305 he was sent on embassy by Edward I, whose confessor he was, to greet the new Pope Clement V: in December that Pontiff created him Cardinal of S. Sabina. He was sent as Legate to Italy in 1310, but died on his way at Grenoble, Dec. 13th of the same year, and was buried in the Dominican choir at Oxford. Apart from his work, *De paupertate Christi*, already mentioned, Jorz wrote many other works, some on Scripture. He had five brothers, all of whom entered the Order: two of them, Walter and Roland, became in succession Archbishops of Armagh. Archbishop Walter wrote a *Summa Theologica*. (Quétif and Echard, i, 508-10; Hurter, ii, 462; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.)

THOMAS LANGFORD, D.D., of Cambridge, was a friar of the convent of Chelmsford. He wrote several

theological and historical works, amongst which may be noted *Disputationes Theologicæ*, *Postillæ super Job*, and a chronicle of the history of the world from the Creation down to his own time. He lived about 1320. (Palmer, "Blackfriars of Chelmsford," *Reliquary*, July, 1889; Quétif and Echard, i, 523; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.)

ROBERT HOLCOT, D.D., of Oxford, is said to have been a Dominican of the convent of Northampton. He taught for many years at Cambridge and on account of his great work in the schools and his many writings was styled by his contemporaries the "Firm and Unwearied Doctor." During the terrible scourge of the Black Death he suspended his work as a lecturer in order to attend the plague-stricken. He fell a victim to his charity, for he died of the infection in 1349 and was buried at Northampton. His works, both scriptural and theological, were very numerous: twelve have been printed: one of them entitled *In librum Sapientiæ Prælectiones*, ccxiii, no fewer than sixteen times, and his *Moralizationes Historiarum* passed through the press on five occasions. Many other works are still in existence in MS. (Palmer, *Life of Cardinal Howard*, ed. Baker, London, 1888, introd. p. 64; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; Palmer, "Friar Preachers of Northampton," *Reliquary*, July, 1880.)

NICHOLAS TRIVET, D.D., of Oxford, was born about 1258; he studied first at Paris and then at Oxford, where he took his degree. He died in 1328. He wrote largely on history and theology and also produced many commentaries on classical authors, including Seneca, Livy, Juvenal, and Ovid. His chief claim to fame rests on his well-known history of the Six Angevin kings (1136-1307): the best edition is that of Hog (1845), undertaken for the English Historical

Society. Several other works exist in MS., including "Expositio in Psalterium" (Hereford Cathedral), "Expositio in Leviticum" (Merton College), "De Fato cum Opusculis" (Bodleian). (Hog's Introduction; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; Quétif and Echard, i, 561-5.)

THOMAS WALLEYS, D.D., of Oxford, taught for many years in the Dominican schools. He became the centre of a heated controversy concerning the immediate vision of God by the souls of the just before the resurrection of the body, and found himself in the prison of the Inquisition. It is said that the Pope (John XXII) held an opinion contrary to the accepted view; but when the point was taken up by the University of Paris he openly confessed his belief in the generally accepted doctrine; Walleys was released at the intercession of the Paris doctors. A certain Thomas Walleys, a Dominican, was licensed to be consecrated titular Bishop of Lycostomium in 1353 and as such assisted at the consecration of Bishop Houghton of St. David's in 1362; but as Walleys the theologian describes himself in 1349 as old and infirm he is probably not to be identified with the bishop. Walleys is credited with thirty folios of theological and scriptural works, some of which have been attributed to St. Thomas or to Cardinal Jorz. He commented on St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and the *Sentences*. His "Campus Florum" in MS. is at Peterhouse, Cambridge. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; Hurter, ii, 563; Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 1858, p. 143.)

WILLIAM JORDAN, D.D., of Oxford, and Professor in the University. In 1355 a writ was ordered for his arrest by Edward III for going abroad without a royal licence: he was probably implicated in the affair of Bishop de Lisle (*vd. infra.*). In 1358, when Prior of York, he received a safe-conduct for leaving the

country, but this time on the King's business. He defended the mendicant orders before the Pope (Innocent VI) against the attacks made on them by Archbishop Fitz-Ralph of Armagh. He also disputed with John Mardesley, Provincial of the Franciscans, concerning the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. (Palmer, "Blackfriars of Chelmsford," *Reliquary*, July, 1889; *Patent Rolls*, 29 Edw. III, m.6.d and 33.m.24; Raynaldus, *Annales*, ad an. 1321 n.20, 1358 n.6.)

THOMAS DE LISLE, D.D., of Cambridge. As Prior of Winchester he was at the Papal Court at Avignon on royal business. When the see of Ely fell vacant, 1345, Clement IV appointed him to the bishopric, and he was consecrated on July 24th of the same year. As bishop he was a great benefactor to Cambridge University. Owing to a quarrel with Blanche, Lady Wake, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, de Lisle was forced to flee the country, as the King most unjustly sided with his kinswoman. Innocent VI threatened Edward III with ecclesiastical censures unless he desisted from unjustly persecuting the bishop, but de Lisle died on June 23rd, 1361, before any further steps could be taken; he was buried in the Church of the Dominican Nuns of S. Praxedes, Avignon. De Lisle commented on the *Sentences*, and wrote *Conciones per Annum* and *Scholasticæ Questiones*. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; Hurter, ii, 628.)

WILLIAM ROTHWELL, D.D. (c. 1360), taught in the Dominican School at London. Seventeen works are attributed to his pen, including *Postillæ* on various books of S. Scripture, and a Commentary on the Four Books of *Sentences*. (Palmer, "Blackfriars of London" in *Merry England*, July, 1889, p. 126; Hurter, ii, 637.)

THOMAS DE RINGSTEAD, D.D., of Cambridge, and

Professor in that University, was made a Papal Penitentiary by Innocent VI, who also appointed him to the see of Bangor in 1357. He was consecrated at the Papal Court and died in the Dominican convent at Shrewsbury in December, 1365. His remains were taken to London and interred in Blackfriars Church. He was the author of several works, amongst which was a Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, MSS. of which are still in existence at Oxford. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v. ; Stubbs, 56 ; Hurter, ii, 637.)

THOMAS STUBBS, D.D., was a member of the convent of York. He was ordained priest in 1343. We do not know when he died, but he continued the history of the Archbishops of York down to 1372. He also wrote works on Theology, S. Scripture, and Canon Law, of which we may mention *Commentarium super Cantica Canticorum* and *Scutum contra impugnantes ecclesiastica statuta*. (Palmer, "Blackfriars of York," in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, 1881 ; Lives of the Archbishops of York, Rolls Series ; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

ROBERT HUMBLETON, D.D., of Oxford, was present at the Council of London (1382) which condemned Wycliffe's teaching. In 1393 he ruled the Province as Vicar-General after the resignation of William Siward. He attacked the teachings of the Lollards, against whom he composed his *Summa Theologica* and *Lectiones Scholasticæ*. So obnoxious is he said to have been to the heretics that they attempted to poison him, and though he escaped death by a miracle he suffered from the effects of the poison for the remainder of his life. (Litteræ et Opusc, B. Raymundi de Capua, ed. 1899, Quétif and Echard, i, 699 ; " Provincials of English Dominicans " in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1918.)

JOHN DE BROMYARD, D.D., of Oxford, was doubtless a native of the little village of that name in Here-

fordshire. He took his degree and taught at Oxford till 1380 when he went to Cambridge, of which University he became Chancellor in 1383. In 1397 he was made Vicar of the visitation of Oxford, which comprised more than twenty convents: he was still living in 1419. De Bromyard was renowned as a teacher and preacher and left works on Theology and Preaching. His *Summa Prædicantium* and *Opus Trivium* have often been printed; his unpublished works include a "Summa juris moralis," "Summa de B. Virgine," and a "Dictionarium Theologicum." (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.; Quétif and Echard, i, 700.)

ROGER DYMOKE, D.D., of Oxford, was Prior of the Dominicans at Boston in 1390 and head of the Dominican School at London in 1395. He wrote an answer to the Twelve Errors and Heresies of the Lollards which was presented to Richard II in Parliament. Nothing is known of the time of Dymoke's death. Two MSS. of his work remain—one at Trinity College, Cambridge, and another in the National Library, Paris. (*Engl. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1907. Palmer, "Blackfriars of London" in *Merry England*, June, 1889, p. 127; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.)

THOMAS PALMER, D.D., was a Court Preacher, and in 1393 was elected Provincial, which office he held till 1396. In the following year he was chosen Prior of London, and held that post till 1407. In 1413 he was present at the trial of Sir John Oldcastle. Palmer was one of the chief opponents of Wycliffe, against whom he wrote much, including MSS. treatises, *De adoratione imaginum* and *De originali peccato*, which are in Merton College, Oxford. Another short work, *De translatione sacræ scripturæ in linguam anglicanum*, has been printed in full by M. Deanesly in *The Lollard Bible*, pp. 418-37. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* s.v.; *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 443; Palmer, *Provincials*, 25.)

WILLIAM BEETH, D.D., of Oxford, was Provincial from 1495 to 1501. He wrote Commentaries on the *Sentences*, *Lecturæ Scholasticæ*, and *De unitate formarum*. It is interesting to find so late a theologian doing exactly the same work as those of the late thirteenth century. (Palmer, *Provincials*, 30 ; *Dodd's Church History*, ed. Tierney, i, 234.)

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

IV. THE BIBLE

By HUGH POPE, O.P.

I

THE PLACE OF THE BIBLE IN DOMINICAN STUDIES

NOWADAYS a professor of biblical literature is a very different person from a professor of theology. He is regarded as a specialist and he works in a department. But since he has presumably taken his Doctorate in Theology and has at any rate passed through the theological schools, theology—whether speculative or practical, dogmatic or moral—is by no means *terra incognita* to him. The same must be said of philosophy, which he must have studied with some minuteness as a preparation for his theological course. In general estimation, however, the Biblical Professor ranks lower than the Professor of Theology ; his work can be dispensed with if necessary, that of the other cannot. But it was not always so ; and if we would estimate aright the Dominican biblical writers of the period before the dissolution of the monasteries we must bear this fact in mind. For it may safely be said that the great Professors of Theology in those days began and ended with the Bible.

This statement may sound incredible to some, but it

is easily proved. Ecclesiastical studies in those days fell roughly into two categories: Logic and the Arts on the one hand and Theology on the other; the former were regarded as ancillary to the latter; and the latter—Theology—meant the exposition of the Bible as the written record of God's Revelation to man. Confining ourselves to the Dominican Order and its teachers, their aim could hardly be more summarily expressed than in the words of Blessed Humbert, the fifth Master-General of the Order: "The house of studies is meant for the formation of preachers; the preachers are meant to save souls—and that is the end in view." Hence it was that with the Dominicans or Friar Preachers there was at first a certain dislike of the liberal Arts; thus the Constitutions of A.D. 1228¹ lay down that the friars are not to study the works of the heathen philosophers, though they may look into them now and again. It was speedily seen, however, that the study of these same Arts was necessary if a preacher would cope with the heresies then prevailing. This was largely due, of course, to the influence of such men as St. Thomas Aquinas and Blessed Albert the Great, his master, and also to the polemics of Roger Bacon the Franciscan. But while thus bowing to necessity, the friars ever insisted that such studies were but preparatory, and that theology was the queen of sciences. But what was theology save the knowledge of God? And whence could this knowledge be derived save from the Bible? The great problem was how to teach the Bible and the theology derived from it so as best to form the future preacher. It was at least clear that the future preacher must first know the actual text of the Bible; consequently prodigious pains were expended on securing this fundamental condition.

¹ The same legislation occurs in the General Chapters held in 1243 and 1271.

Hence we find it repeatedly laid down that (a) before a student can go to a House of Studies he must have passed two years in the Order, and with commendation ; (b) that he cannot go to a House of Studies where " the Natural Sciences," viz. Moral Philosophy, Ethics, and Psychology are studied unless he has studied Logic—namely, the very severe Arts course—for three years ; (c) that he cannot attend lectures on the *Sentences* unless he has studied in the Natural Sciences as above for two years ; (d) that in these subjects he must have daily classes and weekly examinations ; (e) that he cannot go to the " General " House of Study, not even to that of his own Province, unless he has attended lectures as above in Arts and Natural Sciences and has, moreover, attended lectures on the *Sentences* for two years and shown promise of making a good professor. A further condition was—and it is with this that we are particularly concerned—that he should have spent one whole year in a House of Studies set apart for studying the Bible " biblically."¹

This curious expression will repay study. What was meant by studying the Bible " biblically " ? We are not exaggerating when we say that the true understanding of this expression is the key to the whole system of Dominican studies. From a multitude of passages it is clear that " biblical " study of the Bible meant the study of the text itself as distinguished from commentary on it. Thus the General Chapter of 1308 held at Padua enacts that since the study of Scripture has of late been much neglected all efforts are to be directed to its re-establishment ; therefore " in every Province let there be established one or more convents in which there shall only be biblical lectures on the Bible, and fit students must be sent to such houses." This enactment was repeated in the next Chapter at Turin in 1309, which further enacted that, as pointed

¹ See the General Chapter of Genoa, 1305.

out above, no student could go to a "General" House of Study unless he had spent a year in one of these "biblical" houses. The same Chapter severely punished the Definitors of the Provincial Chapter held in 1308 in the kingdom of Sicily "because they did not appoint a Lector 'to lecture on the Bible biblically in some convent of the Province.'" A further piece of legislation is instructive in two ways: the Chapter held at Naples in 1311 laid down that "in every convent Lectors were to lecture regularly on the text of the Bible, and this previous to any other lecture." This is instructive, since it shows us that the above-mentioned legislation about the special houses for biblical study was not meant to imply that the Bible was to be studied only there but—as a matter of course—in every convent; also because it affords us a hint as to the nature of this "biblical" reading of the Bible, it was "textual" study, i.e. the text was read and expounded without theological commentary. Pope John XXII, writing in 1317, makes this quite clear: "Bibliam 'biblice' seu textualiter legere."¹

But what was the object of this study of the simple text of the Bible? And what relation did it bear to the more formal theological teaching and to the great work of commenting on the various books of the Bible? It must be borne in mind that the only text-book of formulated theology was the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. And this, of course, was based upon the Bible. How then could a man teach the *Sentences* unless he had a previous knowledge of the sacred text itself? This is well brought out in the protest formulated by the Oxford Dominicans in 1311. The

¹ This is well expressed in the *Acta* of the General Chapter held at Ferrara in 1290: "In every General House of Studies lectures are to be given on the Bible 'cursorily and biblically.' And if such lectures cannot be given publicly in the schools then the Doctor of theology must always lecture 'cursorily' on some portion of the text without, however, omitting the lecture on the *Sentences*."

University authorities had insisted that a professor should lecture on the *Sentences* before he could lecture on the Bible. This would have been intelligible had these lectures on the Bible referred to formal commentary; but they did not; they referred to the "biblical" or "textual" lectures, and, as the Dominicans rightly pointed out, "This enactment is unreasonable since it perverts the order of teaching. For the acquisition of a knowledge of the meaning of the text—which is gained by lecturing on the Bible—must precede the handling of difficult questions such as occur in lecturing on the *Sentences*. There are many who are fit to lecture on the Bible but who are not fit to lecture on the *Sentences*; hence it is that at Paris they lecture on two 'courses' of the Bible before they can lecture on the *Sentences*."¹

The term "course" is itself instructive: the said Lector had to lecture "cursorily," if he thus passed in review two books of the Bible he was said to have given two "courses." In the Universities, as a rule, it was sufficient for such a Lector to have thus treated of only two books previous to lecturing on the *Sentences*. The Mendicant Orders insisted that such a "cursory" treatment must extend to the entire Bible before the Lector could be admitted to lecture on the *Sentences*. This suffices to show the importance they attached to such fundamental knowledge of the biblical text; it was invaluable alike for the future professor and the future preacher.

The relative position of the Masters, Bachelors, and "biblical" Lectors is illustrated by the enactment of 1330 in the General Chapter held that year at Liège: "We entrust to the Master of the Order the arrangement of the House of Studies at Paris, and also of the other Houses of Study, so that he may arrange and

¹ *Collectanea*, Second Series, ed. Burrows, Oxford, 1890, pp. 218, 226; cf. Denifle, *Revue Thomiste*, 1894, p. 159.

provide for Masters, Bachelors, and Biblical Lectors as he may think fit for the general good of the Order." So, too, note the words of the Chapter of 1312: "No one shall be assigned to a General House of Study, whether to one in his Province or out of it, unless he has attended lectures on the Bible biblically for one year. At the same time we desire that Lectors who are especially deputed thus to lecture on the Bible should—like other Lectors—take part in the (theological) disputations. Consequently, lest younger Friars who are destined for such biblical study should have no chance of hearing the (theological) 'question,'¹ we order that in the aforesaid Houses of Biblical Study there should be a sufficient number of suitable Lectors on the *Sentences*."

The successive professional positions occupied by a teacher in the Order are well illustrated in the case of Friar Hermann Korner of whom we are told that he was "Cursor in the *Sentences* at Magdeburg, then Lector at Lubeck, and finally Master in Scripture 1436, dying in 1437."²

The legislation of the Order harmonizes at every point with the fundamental position thus assigned to the Bible in the scheme of studies. Thus students were permitted to sell books, but the Bible and the works of St. Thomas were excepted;³ while the Chapter of 1240 deprived "Brother Bartholomew of his Bible" as a grave punishment for some offence. It is the same spirit which leads to the frequent designation of particular professors for lecturing on the Bible, e.g. in 1311 the Chapter at Naples sent Friar James of Lausanne "pro Biblia legenda"; similarly the

¹ See p. 87, *infra*.

² Hurter, *Nomenclator*, ii. 837.

³ See the General Chapters of 1233, 1234, 1303; at the same time it should be noted that the restrictions on selling even books other than the Bible or the works of St. Thomas became very stringent, *cf.* the Chapters of 1240, 1249, and 1250.

Chapter held at Siena in 1462 sent Friar John Mores to Oxford as "biblical" Lector and at the same time sent to Cambridge two "biblical" Lectors, Friars Peter Outin and Henry Rostock, the latter belonging to the Province of Saxony. Hence, too, the constant insistence on the need of keeping up the supply of men competent to be "biblical" Lectors;¹ hence also the reiterated declarations by the Masters-General of the Order in their Encyclical Letters that a Preaching Friar must be steeped in the Bible if he would be a really useful preacher.² As a commentary on this it is instructive to note how often it is said of some friar who had become famous as a professor that he was also a most apostolic preacher; this is expressly asserted—to take but two instances out of many—of the English friars, Holcot and Rothwell, q.v. A further interesting commentary on the preponderant part played by the Bible in the lives of the English Friar Preachers is afforded in the fact that "of the extant MSS. formerly in the possession of English (Dominican) friars a large proportion consists of Bibles or of portions of Bibles."³

But if the function of the "Lectores Biblici" was as described above, what did the Masters in Theology teach? If the Bachelors taught the *Sentences*, or systematized theology of the Church, what was left for the Masters? The simple truth is that, having lectured "biblice" on the simple text for some years and having then as Bachelors expounded the *Sentences* or systematized theology, they returned in their maturity to the Bible itself which they now expounded "magisterially." The Bible for them was "Theology"

¹ E.g. in the Chapters held at Carcassone in 1312 and at Metz in 1313.

² See, for example, the Encyclical Letters of John the Teutonic in 1246 and 1250; also those of John of Vercelli in 1265, etc. etc.

³ Little, *Transactions of the Historical Society*, viii., 1894, p. 62.

and their formal title was "Magister Sacræ Paginæ" or "Sacræ Scripturæ." We have an example of this in the case of Friar Roger Dymmok, who died in 1390. He was chosen by public decree and vote of the Oxford theologians to dispute with Wyclif and the Lollards, and is termed "sacræ paginæ Professor."¹ The same title is given to Thomas Ringstede, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, q.v.

When, then, the friars came to Oxford they came furnished with the methods and principles acquired in the schools of Paris, and found themselves in the midst of a world of literary activity which they were destined in a very brief time to guide and intensify. The literary activity of the friars of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in England is extraordinary. In the pages of Quetif and Echard² at least eighty of those who are regarded as famous men of European reputation are Englishmen and sons of the English Province. These were, of course, the élite; but they were also the trainers of a vast crowd of friars who, though not known to fame in the learned world, were yet, owing to the severe training they had received in the Universities, able to realize the supreme aim and object of the Order—Evangelical preaching for the salvation of the souls of men. The Dominican convents at the time of the Reformation numbered over fifty, and it is interesting to note how many of these were specially designated as Houses of Study. The following list is by no means exhaustive:—

Kings Langley (founded in 1311). The story of its foundation is a romantic one: when the unlucky "favourite" Piers Gaveston was slain a Dominican wrapped the head in his hood and took it to the king who founded a church at Kings Langley for the repose of

¹ *SS.O.P.*, i., 653 and 699. Cf. also Burrows, *Collectanea* ii. p. 219, and Denifle in the *Revue Thomiste*, 1894, p. 152.

² *Scriptores Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum*.

Gaveston's soul. A large number of students were supported there.¹

Lincoln (1390); a Lector of Theology and a Master of the students.

Thetford (1395); there was a Lector principalis there.

Newcastle-on-Tyne (1397); for theological students.

Guildford (1397); for theological students.

Yarmouth (1397); for theological students.

Worcester (1397); for theological students.

Norwich (1398); for theological students.

Hereford (1400); there was a Regent of studies there.

London (1475); this, of course, does not mean that the convent was only founded then but that the studies were established there at that date; as a matter of fact the General Chapter of 1250 was held in the Dominican house at London.²

The system of teaching, then, was highly developed in the Order and was the fruit of the experience of the men who had formed the great Universities of Bologna and Paris to which the early friars had gone and from which—indeed from its professorial staffs—so many of its most illustrious members had been drawn. This teaching they engrafted into the sister Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; for very few years elapsed ere the friars, Dominican and Franciscan alike, had won a recognized place in the Universities, where they occupied many chairs. It was a strange world, the world of University life, in those days—perhaps it is impossible for us at this distance of time to conjure it up again. This much is certain; theology held undisputed sway as the queen of all the sciences. But the Dominicans entered the arena to capture theology for the pulpit. In their eyes theological disputation

¹ See Palmer, O. P., in *The Reliquary*, xix., and Little, *Trans. Historical Society*, viii. 1894.

² See Little, *l.c.* p. 54, and Palmer, *Addit. MSS.* in British Museum.

was not an end in itself, it was the handmaiden of apostolic preaching; and it was based on the Bible.

A Dominican who was destined to teach in his own Order to his own brethren had to take his degree in theology first. If it was felt desirable that he should fill one of the University chairs he naturally had to stand for the University degrees as well. These degrees were not a matter of favour; they involved a course of reading and lecturing which would probably dismay most men nowadays. Later on, no doubt, these degrees were at times unfairly obtained, and did not represent the amount of laboriously acquired knowledge they were presumed to carry with them. Thus when Dominic Soto, the Dominican theologian, was asked during one of the Sessions of the Council of Trent how it had come to pass that biblical studies had fallen so low, he gave the cryptic reply that it was due to the existence of the Counts Palatine. When asked to elucidate his remark he pointed out that so long as the Counts Palatine—and others too—had the power of conferring the Doctorate on their favourites at will and without previous examination, studies could not be expected to flourish! Antony à Wood has left us some account of the courses of study and lecturing demanded of a candidate for the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts at Oxford:—

“The exercises which of old were set for those who would attain the Degree of Master in Arts were exceedingly laborious and difficult; for those who aspired to this degree had to lecture often and also frequent the public lectures, so that few in consequence went in for them. This was more particularly the case before the Bachelorship in Arts was instituted; when this was done a portion of the matter to be dealt with was thus transferred to the Bachelorship examination so that less remained when it became question of the Mastership.”

Wood then sets out in detail the course prescribed for the degree:—

“ (a) The *Book of Metaphysics* (of Aristotle) had to be lectured on for a whole year, including feast days.

(b) The *Book of Ethics* for four months, including feast days.

(c) *Geometry* for seven weeks, exclusive of feast days.

(d) Eight days, excluding feast days, had to be devoted to *Algorism*, the study of the Sphere, and to computation.

(e) Lectures had to be given on the *Arithmetic* of Bœthius for three weeks except when feast days fell.

(f) Six full weeks, exclusive of feast days, were to be given to Priscian—a huge volume—or to the *Book of the Politics*, or to the ten books concerning *Living Things (Animalia)*, including the books on the *Movement and Progress of Living Things*.

(g) Each was to devote one term each year to Priscian the grammarian on the *Construction of Parts* as also to the book on the *Heavens and the Earth* as well as on *Meteors*.

(h) The fourth book of the *Topica* of Bœthius.

(i) Also the candidate must lecture on at least two books of the *Logicialia*, one on the older Logic and one on the new, or both on the new; one of the books on *Naturalia*, viz. the four books on *Heaven and Earth* or the three books on *Living Things (Animalia)*; the four books on *Meteors* or the two on *Generation and Corruption*, or the book on *Sense and Sensation* with the treatises on *Memory and Reminiscence*, on *Sleep and Waking*, or the treatise on the *Movement of Living Things* with the two lesser treatises on *Nature*.

(j) Further, he must twice have defended these and have four times been the Objector in the Solemn Magisterial Disputations and he must also have taken part in the Disputations known as the ‘Quodlibet,’ that is, he must twice have defended the ‘Quæstio’¹ and once the ‘Problem.’

(k) Further still, he must have lectured publicly in the schools on one treatise of Aristotle, that is on the text with the questions.”

¹ Cp. p. 82, *supra*.

This was the Arts course and was quite distinct from the theological course which, strictly speaking, held the pre-eminence. Oxford had always had a great reputation for its biblical teaching. Thus we read of Robert Pulleyn, that in the time of Henry I he lectured on Sacred Scripture to the students at Oxford with such profit that, as Thomas Wyke, the compiler of the *Chronicle of Osney*, says,¹ the Church of England as well as that of France derived immense gain from the valuable teaching he gave. He lectured at Oxford for five years and every Sunday he preached the word of God to the people to their great profit. He was the intimate friend of St. Bernard, and numbered amongst his disciples the famous John of Salisbury. Pupils of his afterwards carried to Cambridge the lessons they had learned from him and thus the sister University profited as well as Oxford. He was made Cardinal by Pope Innocent II.² Some sixty years later we find Oxford still famous for its biblical studies. Thus Bravonius writes to William of Tonbridge that at Oxford he will find "a precious garden of delights, where the plantation of Holy Scripture with its rose of sweet perfume grows."

But there can be no doubt that the same disease which had devastated the University at Paris soon spread also to England. What this disease was we learn from Daniel Merlach, who was a famous philosopher first at Oxford, afterwards at Paris, and later in Spain, whither he went to acquire what knowledge the Arabian philosophers could give him ; he says :

"When I left England recently to prosecute my studies, and when I stayed some little time in Paris I saw there certain bestial folk [he is not ashamed to use strong language] occupying the chairs and clothed about with vast authority ; they had before them several benches on

¹ Antony à Wood, *Hist. Univ.*, pp. 28 and 49.

² A.D. 1141.

which lay manuscripts of huge weight written in gilded letters and containing the teachings of Ulpian, and they held in their hands a leaden stylus wherewith they marked in their books with reverent solemnity certain asterisks and obelisks. And although by reason of their stupidity they looked for all the world like statues, yet were they desirous to appear wise by their mere taciturnity. But when these men strove to say something I found them to be but babbling infants."¹

In other words: when the study of Law became the fashion at Bologna, always the legal University *par excellence*, the Doctors of Paris took it up and, at least for a time, allowed the study of Scripture to fall into decay. Roger Bacon inveighs against this in characteristic fashion:

"The Bachelor," he says, "who lectures on the text (of the Bible) has to give in to the lecturer on the *Sentences* (at Paris) since the latter is there held in greater honour than he in all points; for at Paris the lecturer on the *Sentences* lectures at the best hour according to his own choice, indeed amongst the Religious he has a companion appointed him and a room of his own. Whereas the lecturer on the Bible has neither of these and has to go about begging an hour in which to lecture, according as shall suit the whim of the lecturer on the *Sentences*. Similarly the professor who lectures on the *Summas* (of theology) holds disputations wherever he likes and is regarded as a 'Magister' whereas the lecturer on the text (of the Bible) is unable to hold disputations—as indeed was actually the case this very year (about A.D. 1267) at Bologna and in many other places too. But this is absurd, for it is clear that the text of that Faculty is under the heel of the Magisterial *Summa*. But it is the principle of every Faculty—for every Faculty has its own text and this text is read in the schools—that when such text is once known then all those things too are known which come under the Faculty for whose sake the texts were

¹ *Præf. in Philosophiam*, quoted by Antony à Wood, *Hist. Universitatis*, p. 57.

drawn up. Surely it is a much more important point than this text (namely, that of the Bible) should be studied, for it was given to the world by the mouth of the Lord Himself and His Saints and is so vast a subject that a lecturer would hardly be able to treat it all in the course of his life. Elsewhere (than in Paris, that is) the Masters lecture on the text (of the Bible), then they become Doctors, neither do they use any other text than this, nor did the wise men of old; in fact some have followed in their steps, for example Robert (Grosseteste) the Bishop of Lincoln, and Adam de la Marsh as well as other great men."

It was only to be expected that such a state of things should speedily affect the theological teaching and consequently, too, the style of preaching in vogue in England. Antony à Wood affords us a glimpse of this when he tells us that

"There prevailed in the University at that time a new method of preaching which was due to certain learned men whose custom it was to take some thesis from the Sacred Page and—to quote the words of the Chancellor of the University, Gascoigne—'use this as an introductory method of setting forth the matter in hand as being comprised in the words of the thesis which they first repeated and read out, after which they divided up into portions the matter to be treated of.' This method is doubtless of advantage to young people since they can more easily commit to memory points of teaching thus set out in clear order. And for this purpose the work done by Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in dividing up the Scriptures into chapters and phrases has proved very useful. But at the same time it should be noted that the older men at the University scouted these methods of the younger and—claiming that in this they only followed in the footsteps of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Bernard, and other Fathers—they explained the Divine Word in their own fashion, that is by 'postillating'¹ or commenting

¹ The term "postilla," so often used as descriptive of some work on Holy Scripture, is, of course, derived from the style of teaching here described, "post illa, scil., verba."

on each word or phrase in the order in which it stood. Still, it must also be confessed that the said Fathers sometimes preached without 'postillating' or (as Gascoigne goes on to say) without expounding the text of any particular chapter. For they began by announcing that they were going to treat of certain matters, and this they then set out without any 'thesis' and explained to the clergy or laity, as the case might be, out of scripture and reason. It was in this fashion that St. Augustine preached four hundred sermons to the clergy or laity; he did not begin with any set text of Scripture. At the same time it is true that the method known as 'postillating,' and which has come down to our own times, was indeed derived from those same early Fathers of the Church who—as Gascoigne again remarks—sometimes preached to clergy and laity alike in this fashion, that is expounding a text of some particular chapter and drawing conclusions and making expositions according to the order of the text. Whence it came to pass that those who made regular use of this method of drawing out the meaning of consecutive verses were known as 'Postillators'; this was especially the case with Hugh of Vienne who afterwards was Cardinal¹ and who was a wonderful example of this method; indeed he is said so to have expounded the text of Scripture by other most clear passages of the same Scripture that he became known as the 'authentic Postillator.' ”

Wood then goes on to tell us that on the other hand some publicly read Homilies of the same type as those of St. Augustine on *St. John* and this became very prevalent. Grosseteste, however, would never allow the former method, namely, that of "postillating," to fall into disuse. Others, again, preached without "postillating" or even taking a text.²

The mention of Cardinal Hugo à S. Caro, as also of Cardinal Langton's division of Holy Scripture into chapters, brings us to two biblical undertakings of the first importance which are inseparably connected with

¹ The compiler of the first Concordance, see below.

² *Hist. Universitatis*, pp. 58-59.

the Dominicans of the thirteenth century and—at least in the case of one of these undertakings—with the English Dominicans of the same period. We refer to what were known as “Correctories” of the Bible and to the formation of Concordances.

Previous to the invention of printing, which could alone secure a stereotyped text, it was inevitable that a text which was constantly being copied should abound in errors. Students complained that the text they had was not the same as that of their neighbours or their professors, and in lectures which were based on the actual text of the Latin Bible confusion often arose owing to these discrepancies. The General Chapter of the Friar Preachers held in 1236 ordered the formation of “corrected” copies which should serve as a norm, and the Chapter held in 1256 forbade the friars to use the Correctory known as that of Sens since it was not reliable.

We are nowhere told expressly that the English Dominicans took an active share in the construction of these Correctories; but it is more than probable that they did so, since the friars from England took a very prominent part in the second great task, that of constructing Concordances to the Latin text of the Bible. This gigantic work was undertaken by Hugo à S. Caro, also known as Hugo of Vienna, who was the first Dominican to be raised to the purple, under the title of Santa Sabina. His task was completed in 1242 with the assistance—it is said—of five hundred friars.¹ Naturally enough, it no sooner appeared than its imperfections were seen; for in this first Concordance the passages in which any particular word occurred were only referred to and not given *in extenso*, with the result that the student had in each case to turn to his Bible to discover the context. This drawback was promptly removed by three English Dominican friars,

¹ So Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta*, iv. 464.

John of Darlington, Hugh of Croydon, and Richard Stavensby. Their edition appeared in 1250, and from the fact that it was the work of English friars came to be known as "the English Concordance." In the year 1310 Conrad of Halberstadt, another Dominican, carried the same process still further; but he cited whole passages, and this so extensively that his work was too cumbersome.¹ Cardinal Hugo had also omitted the indeclinable words: A Slav Dominican, John of Ragusa, was made to realize the lack of a Concordance to these indeclinable forms when he had a disputation with the Bohemians on Communion under one species, and had to dispute more especially on the biblical use of the particle "nisi." Shortly afterwards he experienced the same difficulty when he disputed at Constantinople with the schismatic Greeks about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and needed to know the precise use of the prepositions "ex" and "de" in the Latin Bible. On his return to Europe he took care to have the deficiencies made good.²

We need not pursue further the history of these Concordances, but it is interesting to note that the Dominican General Chapter held at Bologna in 1315 ordered that a copy of the Concordance should be in each library. It would also be interesting to discover what part—if any—the English Dominicans had in the formation of the first English Concordance to the New Testament which, according to Mangenot, certainly dates from before 1540 and therefore perhaps from pre-Reformation times.

It will be clear that the work involved in making these Concordances was so intimately associated with the task of drawing up the "Correctories" that the

¹ Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta*, iv. p. 413, Venice, 1575, says that Conrad added the indeclinable words.

² He deserted the cause of the lawful Pontiff, Pope Martin V., and became a vehement supporter of the Council of Basle; he died about A.D. 1443; see Hurter, *Nomenclator*, ii. 832.

same hands may well have been employed on both tasks. In the University of Oxford and in the country at large, despite the labours of the friars, biblical study gradually fell into decay. This was commented upon very unfavourably by Pope Gregory XI when in 1378 he addressed as follows the members of Oxford University on the occasion of his Bull against Wyclif:

“We cannot but marvel and grieve at you. For you, despite the favours and privileges granted by the Apostolic See to your University; despite, too, your own knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, in whose vast ocean you ought to steer your way with no uncertain helm by the Lord’s grace, and so ought to be stout defenders of the orthodox faith—without which the salvation of men’s souls will not be secured—despite all this, you have through a certain sloth and neglect allowed these tares [the Wycliffite doctrines] to spring up and flourish amid the pure wheat in the meadows of your glorious University.”¹

II

BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME ENGLISH DOMINICANS ILLUSTRIOUS AS BIBLICAL SCHOLARS

ALTON, WILLIAM OF, his name occurs in the list of Masters in Theology at Paris in the thirteenth century, published by the Dominican Salanhacus. The latter’s words compel us to assign him a place at that University between the years 1260 and 1270 though many writers put him as late as 1320 or 1330. A MS. containing Commentaries on *Ecclesiastes* and *Wisdom* is attributed to this Friar William of Alton. The former Commentary has a note in the same hand as the MS. itself—“Hic liber scriptus anno ab origine mundi

¹ Given by Antony à Wood, *Hist. Universitatis*, p. 29.

6465 anno Dni MCCLXVII ” ; its title is *Postilla super Ecclesiasten Salomonis* ; the MS. closes with the words : “ Explicit supra Ecclesiasten secundum Fratrem Guillelmum de Altona. Deo gratias.” Various copyists have tampered with these words and changed the writer’s name into that of Guillelmus de Melitona who was a Franciscan. The second Commentary is entitled *Postilla super sapientiam Salomonis*, and in the margin we read “ super Sapientiam secundum Fratrem Guillelmum de Altona ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum.” The difficulty is, however, that in the same MS. we have another Commentary in precisely the same words save for the Prologue ; at the close of this latter Commentary occur the words quoted above : “ Hic liber scriptus est anno ab origine mundi 6465 anno Dni CXXLXVII ” ; and in a later hand we have a note : “ Explicit lectura super librum Sapientiæ per Fratrem Nicolaum de Gorran de ordine Predicatorum.” This Nicholas was a Frenchman and died about 1295. This Commentary is the one which is published in the Roman edition of St. Bonaventure’s works. Other Scriptural works attributed to William of Alton are *Postilla on St. Matthew’s Gospel*, a *Treatise on the Parable of the Ten Virgins*, and *Postillæ on Isaias*. It even appears that he commented on the entire Scriptures, for we find MSS. entitled “ Commentaria F. Guillelmi de Altona in sacram Scripturam ” and containing Commentaries on *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Josue*, *Judges*, and *Ruth* ; also on *Isaias*, *Jeremias*, and the *Lamentations*, as well as on *Ezekiel* down to the middle of chap. xxxii.¹

Friar William was elected to the Bishopric of Paris, but fled to a monastery in the neighbourhood of that city where it appears he lived as a Canon Regular to escape the proposed honour. It was while resident in this monastery that he wrote—so far as we can judge—

¹ Cf. *SS.O.P.*, i. 244–246.

the above-mentioned Commentaries on *Ecclesiastes* and on *Wisdom*, if indeed the latter be really his work.

ASHBOURNE, FRIAR HENRY, derived his name from Ashbourne in Derbyshire. He is said to have drawn crowded audiences to hear his lectures on philosophy and theology at Oxford. Later on he became Prior of the Dominican house at Chester. He left Commentaries on the *Parables of Solomon*, on *Ecclesiastes*, and also a work entitled *Lectura in Sacra Biblia*; it is doubtful whether any of these are still extant. He died about A.D. 1280.

ROBERT BACON and RICHARD FISHACRE¹ died in the same year, 1248. When Gilbert de Fresnoy came to Oxford on the Feast of the Assumption in 1221, Bacon and Fishacre joined the little band. It does not appear that they did so immediately; but it is certain that both were lecturing together in the Dominican schools of St. Edward in 1228 at the same time that Roland of Cremona and John of St. Giles were lecturing in Paris. Though they entered the Order together and died in the same year, Bacon was a much older man than Fishacre and, as a matter of fact, had been his master. This Robert Bacon is often confused with the Franciscan Roger Bacon who may indeed have been nephew to Robert. Nicholas Trivet, the English Dominican annalist, tells us apropos of St. Edmund of Canterbury that

“his companion in the schools was Master Robert Bacon who when Regent in Theology at Oxford entered the Order of Preachers. He continued, however, his lectures for several years in the schools of St. Edward after his entrance into the Order. Under him Friar Richard Fishacre of the diocese of Exeter was the first of the Brethren to ‘incept’; he lectured with the aforesaid Friar Robert in the schools which the Brethren had then lower

¹ See Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 382; also Antony à Wood, *Historia Universitatis Oxoniensis*, p. 64; Stevens, ii. 194.

down than the place they now occupy. The said Richard composed a Commentary on the *Sentences* which was exceedingly useful for his own times; he also published *Postilla on the Psalter* down to the Seventieth Psalm; these notes are intermixed with pleasing moral reflections."¹

Fishacre's Commentary on the *Sentences* is of interest to the biblical student; even the brief extracts from it which are given by Quetif and Echard show us how keenly alive were these thirteenth-century theologians to the importance of the Hebrew text. Thus on the words of Proverbs xxx. 18-19: "Three things are hard to me, and the fourth I am utterly ignorant of . . . the way of a man in youth," Fishacre notes that this is the common reading as it is now in the Vulgate, but that "according to 'the Hebrew truth' we ought to read 'adolescuntula' since the Hebrew has 'Halma'; we ought therefore to read, with the Revised Version, 'the way of a man with a maid.'" His *Postilla on the Psalter* to which Trivet refers us exists at Oxford in the New College Library under the title "Fishacre in Psalmos, codex imperfectus in principio." According to Pits, Fishacre also wrote a Commentary on the whole Bible as well as a treatise on *Proverbs*, but it is not known where these are preserved.²

It is not clear from Trivet in what year Bacon and Fishacre entered the Order, but it seems probable that this was shortly after the opening of the friars' house at Oxford in 1221, for, according to Quetif and Echard, they were both lecturing in public when in 1228 John of St. Giles—another Englishman—and Roland of Cremona were lecturing at Paris. That they were regarded as twin souls despite the disparity in their

¹ Trivet is writing under the year 1240; this first portion of his *Annals* takes us down to 1307.

² See Stephen's *Dugdale*, ii. 193; Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 136.

ages is evident also from Matthew Paris, who says under the date 1248: "In that year there departed from this world two friars of the same Order than whom there were none greater—nay perhaps, as it is believed, none equal to them in theology and the other sciences, namely, Friars Robert Bacon and Richard Fishacre who for many years lectured with renown in the same faculty (of theology) and were wonderful preachers of the Word of God to the populace."

As usual their works have perished; but we find assigned to Bacon *Glosses* on several books of the Bible as well as on the *Psalter*. These, however, are not discoverable, nor do they appear in the catalogues of English MSS. Of Fishacre's works more is known. We learn from several writers that his Commentary on the *Sentences* was held in much esteem; and in the Toulouse manuscript copy of Bernard Guidonis' *Catalogue of the Writers of the Dominican Order* we find a note, dating perhaps from the fourteenth century, which states that "Fishacre wrote most profoundly on the *Sentences* and St. Thomas wanted to have his works." Quetif says he saw two copies of this Commentary and that at the close of the Commentary on the First Book is found a colophon saying:

"I pray you whosoever you may be that you pray to God for Friar Richard of Fishacre who published this work and that you ask that the Lord may safeguard him now and always in his soul and that to his body He may give strength that he may be enabled to bring to a prosperous end the work he has begun."

BODERISHAM, FRIAR WILLIAM OF, is said to have been an Englishman and was Master of the Sacred Palace under Pope Urban IV. He died about A.D. 1270 and wrote Commentaries on the *Canticle of Canticles* and on the *Lamentations* as well as on the *Epistle to the Romans*. It is probable that he was a fellow-student

with St. Thomas and Hannibaldus de Hannibaldinis,¹ afterwards created Cardinal; both of these filled the post of Master of the Sacred Palace at one time or another.

BROMYARD, FRIAR JOHN, was one of Wycliff's stoutest opponents both in and out of the schools, for he preached and wrote against him and was one of the Dominicans who took part in the famous synod held in 1382 in the London house of the Blackfriars against his errors. He was a Master in Theology at Oxford, but taught at Cambridge where he lectured publicly on Scripture. He was also a skilled canonist and is spoken of as "insignis prædicator." His writings are mostly theological in the stricter sense of the word; but his *Summa Prædicantium* is perhaps the work by which he is best known. As far as the Bible is directly concerned we have from his pen only *Lecturæ sacræ Scripturæ*. His death occurred about A.D. 1390.²

BURGIS, FRIAR AMBROSE, died in A.D. 1747 and left *Prolegomena ad S. Scripturam*. He was one of those who kept up the almost extinct English Province in the house at Bornhem founded by Cardinal Howard.³

CASTLETON, FRIAR RICHARD OF, commonly known as "Castriconensis," died about A.D. 1270. He was an Englishman and a Master in Theology; but as he does not appear in the lists of the Masters at Paris he presumably gained his degree either at Oxford or Cambridge. We find attributed to him a *Commentarius in Apocalypsim litteralis et moralis*; also a Commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard; these works have perished.⁴

CROYDON, HUGH OF, is only known to us from his

¹ *SS.O.P.*, i. 259 and 261.

² Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 700.

³ Palmer, *Obituary Notices of the Fathers of the English Province*.

⁴ *SS.O.P.*, i. 250; also in Stevens, ii. 194: Hurter, *Nomenclator*, ii. 330.

share in the formation of the "English" Concordances; he was at the convent of S. Jacques in 1250.¹

DARLINGTON, JOHN OF. This friar was Confessor to Henry III in 1257 when he also filled the uncomfortable position of Papal tythe-collector. He was made Archbishop of Dublin in 1279 and died in 1284; he was buried with his brethren in London. Of particular interest to us is his share in the formation of the "English" Concordance to the Bible (see p. 17).²

ENCOURT, FRIAR WILLIAM, took his degree as Master at Oxford but is especially known as "clarus divinarum literarum interpres" at Cambridge. He has left a Commentary on *Ecclesiastes* as well as *Sermons* to the people. He died about 1340.³

FISHACRE, RICHARD, see *supra*, s.v. BACON.

"FRATER GAURITIUS" is only known to us from James's *Eclogæ Oxonienses*, where we read that among the manuscripts preserved at New College, Oxford, there exists a MS. entitled "Gauricius forsan Mauritius in Esaiam et Jeremian et Baruch. Erat hic de ordine Predicatorum. Scripsit autem anno Dni 1249."⁴ The same notification occurs in the large catalogue, with the omission of the Commentary on *Baruch*. This, however, is often the case since *Baruch* was regarded as a species of appendix to *Jeremias*. Stevens, the continuator of Dugdale, tells us that this Gauricius or Maurice wrote a work on preaching.⁵

HENTON, FRIAR SIMON OF, entered the Order at the Dominican Convent of Winchester, near which lay the village of Henton or Heinton, where Simon was born. Quetif remarks of him that "he was famous for his holiness, his learning and his eloquence, and is said to

¹ See Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i., s.v. *Hugo à S. Caro* and also s.v. *Concordantiæ*.

² Trivet, *Annals*, pp. 250 and 261; also Tournon, *Hommes Illustres de l'Ordre de S. Dominique*, i. 415.

³ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 603.

⁴ See *SS.O.P.*, i. 122.

⁵ ii. 195.

have governed the famous English Province for many years," viz. from 1256-61. All his writings have perished, probably destroyed at the Reformation. Besides theological works, Simon de Henton wrote Commentaries on *Proverbs*, on the *Canticle of Canticles*, on *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and on the four *Major Prophets*. His death must be referred to A.D. 1360.¹

HOLCOT, FRIAR ROBERT, is perhaps the best known of English Dominican writers on the Bible. Born at Northampton, he entered the Order there, and when in 1349 he died of the plague which then devastated England he was buried in his native town. He took his degree as Master in Theology, but whether at Oxford or Cambridge is uncertain; both Universities claim him. He is spoken of as a man "most learned in the divine Scriptures, not unskilled in profane literature, famous for his eloquence, and a notable preacher." His fame as a biblical commentator was such that whereas the writings of most other English Dominicans of the period have perished, copies of Holcot's works were so speedily multiplied that many manuscript copies yet remain as well as many printed editions. He is best known for his *Prælectiones in Librum Sapientiæ*, first printed in 1481, of which at least twelve editions appeared before 1586. His Commentary on the *Canticle of Canticles* was printed in 1509 at Venice; he also wrote a Commentary on the first seven chapters of *Ecclesiasticus*. But his writings were not only Scriptural; he wrote many theological treatises and also a *Philobiblion* or *On the Love of Books and the Formation of Libraries*; he published this work under the name of Richard of Bury, Bishop of Durham and Chancellor of Edward III, as a tribute to the work the Bishop had done in providing libraries for students at Oxford. Hence the *Philobiblion* often appears under the Bishop's name. It has been published latterly

¹ Against Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 648, see *Engl. Hist. Review*, Oct., 1918.

(1888) by Thomas and in the "King's Classics" series. Holcot also produced a treatise *On the Study of Scripture*, which was published five times by A.D. 1586. The Commentary on *Proverbs*, said to have been composed by him, is probably to be referred to Thomas Waleys, q.v. "A man of the keenest intellect," says Hurter, "he was a most profound student of profane as well as sacred literature. His industry and hard work were incredible, and his reading was so wide that he seems to have read the works of all the eminent theologians of past ages."¹

Several of his biblical works have never been printed, which is to be regretted; thus at Leipsic there exists his Commentary on *Ecclesiastes*, at Oxford his Commentary on the *Twelve Minor Prophets*, also in divers places his Commentaries on the *Four Gospels*, and also separately on the *Gospel of St. Matthew*; in addition there exists a *Treatise on the Allegories of the Two Testaments* as well as what appears to be a *Moral Concordance to the Bible*.²

JORDAN, FRIAR WILLIAM, was possibly of Scottish birth but he belonged to the English Province. We read that he was "conspicuous alike for the sanctity of his life and for his singular learning"; he took his degree as Master at Oxford and is said to have written several theological works as well as a Commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*. He died about 1389.³

JORZ, FRIAR WALTER DE. According to Bernard Guidonis no less than five brothers of this family⁴ were members of the Dominican Order. It is natural for us to read the name "Joyce," but there seems no historical ground for doing so as in all the records they

¹ *Nomenclator*, ii. 539.

² Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 629-632; also Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta*, iv. 545, s.v. *Rupertus*.

³ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 695.

⁴ There seem to have been six brothers who were all Dominicans; c.p. *Dict. of National Biography* and Hurter, *Nomenclator*, ii. 462.

are known as "Jorz." The most famous member of the family was THOMAS DE JORZ, who was at one time Provincial of England and afterwards Cardinal of the title of Santa Sabina. Walter, after teaching for some time at Oxford in the Dominican schools was made Archbishop of Armagh in 1307, but he resigned this office in 1311 and was succeeded in it by one of his brothers, Roland de Jorz. He wrote many theological treatises, but as a biblical writer he is only known by a Commentary on *The First Davidic Psalms*, which is attributed to him by only one historian of the Order, Altamura, but is still extant under his name.¹

KILWARDBY, FRIAR ROBERT. Continental writers have, as can well be imagined, found great difficulties over his name which is given us in various forms, the most peculiar of which perhaps is that of "Rubverb"—a form which so misled Stevens that he regarded him as a different person altogether from Kilwardby.² Kilwardby seems to have been a scholar from early youth and, as was usual in those days, early betook himself to Paris, where he gained his degree as Master of Arts and was "Regent" in the schools for some time. It is not clear at what age he entered the Dominican Order; some have maintained that he received the habit at the hands of Blessed Reginald of Orleans in 1219, but as Jordan of Saxony declares that he himself and Henry the Teuton were the only two whom Reginald personally received to the habit, this seems impossible. Jordan himself—who is declared to have received a thousand novices—may have received him, or it is possible that he became a Dominican in England. At any rate, he taught at Oxford under Robert Bacon and Fishacre, who themselves only entered the Dominican Order in 1228 or

¹ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 513; Wood, *Hist. Universitatis*, 64.

² Continuation of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ii. 193.

thereabouts. When these two departed this life in 1248 Kilwardby succeeded them in the chair of theology at Oxford.

When in 1261 the then Provincial of England, Simon de Henton, q.v., was denounced at the General Chapter held at Barcelona¹ in that year for not admitting Dominicans from other Provinces to study at Oxford and was in consequence removed from his office, Kilwardby was elected in his place and retained this office till the year 1272 when at the General Chapter held in Florence he was absolved from office. No reason for this action is assigned and probably it was merely felt that he had held office long enough. The honour in which he was held in the Order is evident from the words of the General Chapter of the preceding year, 1271, "famous men were present at this Chapter: Friar P(eter) of Tarentasia, Provincial of France, afterwards Archbishop of Lyons, then Cardinal, and finally Pope Innocent V. Also Friar Robert the Englishman, Prior Provincial of England, a great Master in Theology, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and then Roman Cardinal; also Friar Albert the German, a great philosopher, and afterwards, as I have heard, Bishop of Ratisbon, though I am not certain."

The friars of the English Province were not

¹ The words of this chapter are worth noting: "We appoint Oxford in England as the 'Studium' for the Provinces and we decree that this 'Studium' is not to be removed thence without the permission of a General Chapter. Moreover, in virtue of holy obedience we order the Prior and the Brethren of that convent, both present and future, to receive there the students coming from other Provinces and treat them with all charity. Nor are they knowingly to cause them any trouble by reason of the recent disturbance there. And since the ordinance and command of the preceding Chapter on this point has not been observed we absolve from office the Prior Provincial of England and assign him to the Province of Teutonia to teach at Cologne." Further grave penalties were imposed on him as well as on others who had objected to the reception of students coming to Oxford from other Provinces.

dismayed by the action of the General Chapter and they immediately re-elected Kilwardby as Provincial. He was not destined to hold office, for in the October of that same year, 1272, Pope Gregory X appointed him Archbishop of Canterbury and he was consecrated on the first Sunday of Lent in 1273. Kilwardby was present at the Council of Lyons held in 1274 and in 1277 Pope Nicholas III made him Cardinal; the Franciscan, Peckham, succeeded him at Canterbury.

Previous to his entry among the Dominicans, Kilwardby had already written much, especially on the philosophy of Aristotle. As a Dominican he wrote *Glosses* on *Isaias*, also on *Daniel*, and on the *Twelve Minor Prophets*. No name is given in the Paris MS. in which these various "Glosses" are found, hence it may be doubtful whether they are really Kilwardby's work. In the same MS. we have a work entitled *Capitula Cantuariensis archiepiscopi supra bibliothecam*; this is possibly the same as the *De Divisione Sacræ Scripturæ*, which is assigned to Kilwardby by some writers. It is certainly in accordance with his bent of mind, which was apparently that of a tabulator, for Kilwardby's *Tabulæ in Originalia Patrum*—tabulated analyses of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, *De Trinitate*, *De Genesi ad litteram*, and of his *Confessions*—is preserved both at Paris and at Oxford. We also find assigned to him Commentaries on *Ezechiel* and on the *Epistle to the Romans*, as well as on the *Epistles to the Corinthians*.

Kilwardby died in the year 1279 and is buried at Viterbo. His may be described as the ideal life: first of all a scholar and professor, then a religious of great sanctity, as all bear witness; then raised to high dignity and responsibility in his Order; thence he passed to the government of the See of Canterbury, and, finally, was elevated to the purple. During all this

time his leisure was devoted to study of the Fathers, of the philosophers, and of Holy Scripture.¹

KINGSHAM, FRIAR WILLIAM; his name is sometimes given as Ringsham. Little is known of him save that he was a Master of Sacred Theology at Cambridge and died about 1261 or 1262. Bale and Pits quote Boston of Bury as saying that he wrote a Commentary on *Ecclesiasticus*, the opening words of which were "Magister et Dominus Gundisalvus. . . ." It is probable that this is a mistake, since Robert Holcot's Commentary on *Ecclesiasticus* opens with the same words.² The *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of England* has "Guillelmus Kingsham, super Ecclesiasten," and this is more probable since all the Dominican writers who refer to him mention a Commentary on *Ecclesiastes*.³

LANGFORD, FRIAR THOMAS, was born at Maldon in Essex. He took his degree as Master at Cambridge, was well known as a historian, but also wrote *Postilla on the Book of Job*, a work which is described as "not without learning and well worth reading." He also wrote *Sermons* for the whole year. His death is assigned to about 1314.⁴

MARLSFIELD, FRIAR WILLIAM OF, is also known as Mackelfield and more particularly as Masset. He seems to have taken his Bachelorship in Theology at Paris and his Mastership at Oxford. In 1302 he went to the General Chapter held at Besançon. When actually present at the Chapter, or shortly after, he was named by Pope Benedict XI Cardinal of the title of Santa Sabina but died before he became aware of his elevation. As Quetif and Echard well express it: "cassa fuit promotio ceu qui jam ad superos abierat

¹ See Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 374-380; Trivet, *Annals*, A.D. 1272-1274; Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 125-127; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, ii. 387-8.

² *Cf. supra*, s.v. Holcot.

³ See *SS.O.P.*, i. 469.

⁴ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 523.

fulgentiori purpura decorandus."¹ He wrote *Postilla in Sacra Biblia*; also *On the Gospel of the Ten Virgins*. He was one of those who assailed the Franciscan William de la Mara and his principles of correction of the biblical text. It is needless to say that he was drawn into the controversy then raging on the *Unity of Forms*.

MOLESEY, FRIAR CHRISTOPHER OF, died about 1350. Very little is known of him, though we learn that he wrote *Postilla on the Four Evangelists*, on the whole of the *Apostle*, and on all the *Canonical Epistles*. One authority adds that he also wrote on the *Apocalypse*, as well as some *Sermons* and a treatise on the *Elenchi of Aristotle*.²

NORWOOD, FRIAR THOMAS, is spoken of as a theologian of very high order. In addition to a Commentary on the *Sentences* he wrote a Commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*. He died at the beginning of the fourteenth century.³

PETER THE ENGLISHMAN, FRIAR, is always spoken of as a most holy and a most learned man "in every branch of knowledge." He wrote "noteworthy" *Tables on the Ordinary Gloss*. His death occurred about 1340.⁴

RINGSTEDE, FRIAR THOMAS, was well known in his day for holiness as well as learning and practical prudence. He took his degree as Master at Cambridge but was afterwards "incorporated" at Oxford. He spent some time at the Papal court at Avignon where he acted as Papal confessor. Pope Innocent VI appointed him Bishop of Bangor and he was consecrated in 1358. He died in 1365⁵ among the Dominicans at Salisbury and was buried with the Regular Canons

¹ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 493; Trivet, *Annals*, A.D. 1304.

² Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 634.

³ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 531.

⁴ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 603; Stevens, ii. 197.

⁵ A.D. 1370 according to Hurter, *Nomenclator*, ii. 637.

at Huntingdon. The will he left is interesting: he bequeathed £100 to the Cathedral at Bangor, £40 for repairing the vestments in his diocese where needed, and £20 to help poor students at Cambridge—sums which must be multiplied by at least ten if we would estimate them at their present value.

As a biblical writer he seems to have been especially famous for his “*Bona postilla*” on the book of *Proverbs* of which several manuscript copies remain. *Glossæ on the Psalter* are also attributed to him as well as *Lectiones in sacram Scripturam*. He also left certain theological treatises as well as *Sermons*. Ringstede was succeeded in the See of Bangor by two other Dominicans, Gervase de Castro and John Gilbert; the latter was subsequently translated to Hereford and thence to Menevia.¹

ROTHWELL, FRIAR WILLIAM, entered the Order in London and is spoken of as “a remarkable theologian and a most eloquent preacher.” The Dominicans in London possessed copies of his *Postilla on Judges, i-iv. Kings, Psalms, Ecclesiasticus, on the Pauline Epistles from Romans to Thessalonians*; also various treatises on theology and philosophy.² He died about 1360.

SIMON THE ENGLISHMAN, FRIAR. Little or nothing is known of him. That he was well known as a biblical scholar is evident from the praise given him by Sixtus of Siena in his *Bibliotheca Sancta*. He wrote *Postilla on the Four Major Prophets*, also on the *Books of the Maccabees*, on *Proverbs*, and on St. Jerome’s *Prefaces to the Books of the Bible*. According to Hurter he flourished about 1391.³

SOUTHAMPTON, FRIAR WILLIAM OF, is so called from

¹ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 630 and 652; Wood, *Hist. Universitatis*, p. 65.

² Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 648; Stevens, ii. 198.

³ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 705; *Bibliotheca Sancta* iv. 552.

the fact that he entered the Order at Southampton. He appears to have taken his degree as Master at the Papal court at Avignon under Pope Clement VI. None of his writings remain, but he wrote many sermons, also theological treatises and a Commentary on the *Morals* of St. Gregory. His only Scriptural work seems to have consisted of *Postilla on Isaias*. He died about 1340.¹

SPERMAN, FRIAR THOMAS, died apparently about 1310 and was known as "præstantissimus theologus." He wrote Commentaries on *Genesis*, on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and on the *Canonical Epistle of St. James*, but none have been published.²

STAVENSBY, RICHARD DE, probably died about 1262, though varying dates are given. He was with Hugh of Croydon at S. Jacques in 1250 and with him and John of Darlington produced the so-called "English" Concordance (see p. 17).³

STUBBS, FRIAR THOMAS, was famous as an historian and wrote a *History of the See of York*. He also wrote a Commentary on the *Canticle of Canticles* as well as various ascetical treatises. It is interesting to note that the title of one of his works is *De Stipendiis debitis Prædicatoribus Verbi Dei!* He died about 1363.⁴

SUTTON, FRIAR THOMAS DE, died about 1300 though some would assign him to an earlier date, 1277 or 1290. He may possibly have been a Scotchman who went to Oxford for the sake of prosecuting his studies. Dempster, who urges this, is certainly wrong, however, when he says he was a Master in Theology at Paris, for his name does not occur in the lists. It seems

¹ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 602; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, ii. 541.

² Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 511; *Bibliotheca Sancta*, iv. 563; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, ii. 493.

³ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 209.

⁴ Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 671.

more probable that he came of a good Lincolnshire family, a family which produced also Oliver of Sutton who was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1280. Friar Thomas wrote many theological works; it is possible that the *Compendium of Theology* often attributed to St. Thomas may be the work of "Friar Thomas of Suetonia," as he is named by an anonymous Spanish writer in 1663. His only biblical work is a *Commentary on the Psalter*, but Quetif and Echarad rank him "inter illustres S. Scripturæ interpretes."¹

TRIVET, NICHOLAS, is probably the best-known name among the early English Dominicans by reason of the invaluable *Annals* he compiled. He was the son of Sir Thomas Trivet, Lord Chief Justice. He entered the Order in London and thence went to study at Oxford and at Paris. He then came to London, where he devoted himself to a life of study. Though he is best known as an Annalist, Trivet yet wrote much on Holy Scripture, so much so that he is termed by Leland "Egregius commentator Psalterii necnon aliorum librorum Bibliæ." Among the biblical works attributed to him we find Commentaries on *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Leviticus*; also on the *Psalter*; a general *Commentary on Holy Scripture*; on *Paralipomena*, or *Chronicles*—a book which does not readily find a commentator; a species of *Catena* on Scripture derived from the Fathers, *Super S. Biblia, dicta SS. Patrum concatenando*; a treatise *De Computo Hebræorum*, and—curiously enough—*Commentarii in Epistolas S. Pauli ad Senecam et Senecæ ad S. Paulum*. Trivet died in 1328 and was buried at the feet of his brethren in London.²

WALLEYS, OR OF WALES, FRIAR THOMAS. His name is sometimes given as Waleys and in Latin as Vallensis;

¹ *SS.O.P.*, i. 464.

² Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta*, iv. 511, only mentions his *Postilla* on *Leviticus* and on the *Psalter*.

hence the notion that he was a Frenchman, since Vallensis was taken as a corruption of Guallensis, from Gaulois. He is also spoken of as Thomas the Englishman, but it seems certain that he was really from Wales (Guallia). He took his degree at Oxford and lectured there for some time. He wrote a great deal on Holy Scripture: a MS. at Merton College, Oxford, is entitled "Opus F. Thomas Waleys de Ord Prædic. super *Isaiam, Numeros, Deuteronomium, Josuam, Judices, Ruth, Exodum, Leviticum.*" A similar MS. at Paris adds to the above *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*. Friar Thomas is also said to have written "On Two Nocturns of the Psalter," i.e. on Psalms i-xxxvii., which form the Matins for Sunday and Monday. It is probable that the Commentary on the first Davidic Psalms which is published under the name of Friar Thomas Jorz is really the work of Thomas Waleys. He also wrote a treatise on the *Theory of Preaching*, which still exists in manuscript at Peterhouse. Friar Thomas lived for some time at Avignon under Pope John XXII; on January 4, 1333, he had the courage to preach a sermon there before a vast concourse, in the course of which he took occasion to denounce the doctrine which the Pope was known to favour, namely, that the Beatific Vision was not the portion of the Saints till after the general resurrection. For this he was imprisoned for just over two years. Finally, however, he was released and the Pope accepted his view. His sermon is to be found in University College Library, Cambridge. He died about 1350, "old, paralysed, and destitute," as he himself wrote shortly before.

Other biblical works attributed to Waleys are a *Treatise on Proverbs*, which is not improbably to be attributed to Friar Robert Holcot; also Commentaries on the *Canticle of Canticles*, on *Genesis*, on the *Twelve Minor Prophets*, on the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, and on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*; also *Lectura Sacrorum*

Bibliorum; but it is uncertain whether any of these are really the work of Walleys. On the other hand, however, it has even been suggested that some of the Scriptural works published under the name of St. Thomas Aquinas, e.g. Commentaries on *Genesis*, on the *Maccabees*, and on the *Apocalypse* ought rather to be assigned to Walleys. But the ground alleged for this identification by Sixtus of Siena¹ is precarious, for he suggests that it was easy to confuse "Doctor Angelicus" with "Doctor Anglicus," but St. Thomas was not known as "the Angelic" Doctor previous to the sixteenth century, his usual title was "Doctor Communis."²

¹ *Bibliotheca Sancta*, iv. 560, s.v. *Thomas Anglicus*.

² Quetif and Echard, *SS.O.P.*, i. 597-602.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

V. THEIR ASCETICAL TEACHING

By BEDE JARRETT, O.P.

IT is essential to the understanding of a religious Order that its principles of life as much as the life itself should be grasped, for it is always as important to consider the motive of any action as it is to consider the action itself. Now in the spiritual life, of course, the prime motive must always be the love of God ; and here, presumably, all religions are in agreement. But within the Faith, the religious Orders have endeavoured to show how, for various types of temperament, this love of God expresses itself variously. It will, for instance, be granted that all admit the need of some austerity, some penance, as an instrument of training, and far more as the main language of love ; and in this they do but repeat what even human lovers have endlessly discovered. Love finds words inadequate to hold all its deep meanings, and can only feel in sacrifice and in self-sacrifice a satisfactory outlet to its desires. Suffering is the only full speech of love. But how shall this suffering be selected ? What is reasonable and what merely fanatical, fantastic ? Or rather, what may not be selected in any passing mood ? This the various religious Orders have settled

each for themselves, holding much in common, yet holding much also in severalty ; for to each, as to some city state of ancient Greece, belongs its own spirit, its own education, its own music, its dress, its work, its plan of building, its schedule of daily duty. All these things are deliberately chosen in order to suit the needs of certain types of mind, and the whole assembly of them constitutes the particular asceticism of each Order.

It must be borne in mind that the Dominicans succeeded to a tradition of asceticism already old. Stirred by the example and language of Christ, men had gradually discovered in the Gospels principles of asceticism, which in process of time were set out in some sort of scientific arrangement.

The early Christians had lived their life more or less after the apostolic fashion of a personal devotion to the Master : His name, His figure, His appearance were still a living tradition stored in early memory. They had " seen the Lord " or knew such as had had that blessedness. For these the law of life was rather couched in invitation than in direction, not " Thus shalt thou live " but " Follow Me, learn of Me, come unto Me." But already, in the New Testament, that process of systematization without which permanent life is impossible had begun ; and it continued its further development as the Christian body became larger, more widely spread—no longer knit with the homely feeling of a family, but rather held together by discipline, by regulation, by the power of excommunication, and having its " glorious freedom " guaranteed by " a law of liberty." So religious life, in its technical sense, formed for itself rules and a code out of the counsels given to the " rich young man " and to such as " made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of God." At first singly (or, even when grouped in numbers, with much individualism) the early religious

were hardly bound at all to community of life, pursuing rather the fashion of hermits. Then both men and women were moved under the inspiration of Antony and Pachomius to gather themselves into monasteries, where an ordered and regulated observance softened the asperities of too intensely personal austerities and prayer. Then, gradually, two different types of this asceticism emerged which have hardened considerably in Church history, the one Benedictine, the other Augustinian: it is from this latter that the Dominicans have sprung. Both, of course, admit the need of some austerity, both base their principles on the counsels of the Master in the New Testament, both admit the equal value of each other's following of Christ. But though there is thus a great deal of common asceticism, there is also very much that is distinctive about each. Perhaps the main essential differences from which the others have resulted may be briefly expressed thus:

(i) The Benedictine makes of the Divine Office *the* work of God.

The Augustinian holds it as *a* work of God.

(ii) The Benedictine need not be a cleric.

The Augustinian must be a cleric.

It can be gathered from these two sets of opposed ideals that some distinctness of view and vocation will separate everywhere each of these organizations; here we shall simply limit ourselves to an endeavour to make clear the precise way aimed at by the Preaching Friars with reference especially to the English Province.

The theory of Dominican asceticism has been treated by St. Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa*, at the end of the *Secunda Secundæ*, where is a very elaborate account both of the contemplative life and of contemplative prayer, particularly as seen from the view-point of the Preaching Friar; for St. Thomas sturdily proclaims

as the highest life in itself, the mixed energy of contemplation and action. In itself contemplation is the highest act of which man is capable, since it sets in motion his highest activity, namely, his intelligence, and gives it the noblest object which it can attain, namely, God. But the ideal that St. Thomas is supposing is the combination of this contemplative austerity and refinement with an energy of work done for others and affecting them immediately, and springing out of the contemplative attitude of soul naturally and freely. For him this is the ideal, precisely because in it is sacrificed neither the love we should bear towards man nor the love which we should bear towards God ; those, therefore, who, in his fine phrase, " pass on to others the result of their contemplation " have, in his eyes, the more excellent calling, seeing that it is none other than that which the Master Himself chose.

But the precise point that Aquinas is making may easily be misunderstood. He does not suppose a mere division of the hours of the day between prayer and active labours ; he has a more burning fancy, wherein the two types of life are so closely fused that action is the inevitable and unrestrainable result of contemplation. A man is so caught and haunted with the beauty of Infinite Truth that he simply cannot help going out among the children of men with the glad tidings of what he has himself seen and tasted. Only those were chosen to be Apostles who had seen the Lord and had " been with Him from the beginning " : so since for St. Thomas, who followed strictly in the Augustinian tradition, teaching was essential to the highest type of Christian life, that teaching must be based upon knowledge and issue into love.

But within this main attempt to gaze at God and, having seen Him, to stir others to the wonder of His presence, there can obviously be various stages of development ; since perfection consists in the fullness

of the love of God, who is Himself the source of all perfection. Not, of course, that God can be loved as much as He is capable of arousing love ; nor that this love of man for Him is always conscious and at its highest pressure : but that it can be sufficiently powerful to keep off sin. Love, however, can express itself primarily and essentially in the exact fulfilment of the commandments ; secondarily (for those called especially to this more responsible life), in a following of the counsels : so that a man is spoken of as being in a *state* of perfection when he has placed himself in such circumstances that the carrying out of the counsels has become incumbent on him. He may fail ; indeed, he cannot wholly succeed ; but even with a conscious memory of failure, so long as he does not deliberately renounce his quest, he can be spoken of as tending to perfection—not merely because he would like to be perfect, but because he has surrounded himself with the instruments best fitted to enable him to become so.

The religious life, therefore, is with reason called a state of perfection, since it implies a more intimate and more constant union with God than is usually attempted by the faithful ; and this union is aimed at by means of the counsels. These counsels are chiefly and essentially the three vows that cut off abruptly what otherwise might hold a man back from complete surrender of God—the possession of external belongings, the lawful satisfaction of the senses, the free exercise of his independence.

Poverty means, more than anything else, the discipline of the hard discomforts of life freely and generously sought and accepted. It can be best summed up in its Dominican interpretation in an epigram of St. Vincent Ferrer : “ Not what I can do with, but what I can do without.” The ideal of the friars (even in the more tempered method of St. Dominic) came as a sharp

contrast with the monastic ideal, which was concerned chiefly with a due and rich use of the material things of earth. The canons, no less than the monks, took the same view of their religious duty, and in 1245 Robert de Fornival petitioned Rome that he might be allowed to leave the Dominicans in order to join the Augustinians, since he had found that the English friars were far too severe for his liking. This physical austerity, which included the use of wool worn next to the skin and a diet of fish, was in part St. Dominic's attempt to outdo the Albigenses ; but it was, no less, part of a definite education of spirit, to form preachers to whom hardiness of living would become natural, to produce prophets aflame with the love of God. Yet with all this ideal of poverty, the Dominicans never considered manual labour part of their discipline. It is interesting to notice, for example, how the constitutions of St. Dominic, formed deliberately and in many cases copied verbally from the Constitutions of the Canons Regular of St. Norbert, substitute for the chapter on labour paragraphs on study, preaching, professors, preachers, etc. Even as far back in the history of monasticism as the time of St. Antony the Great, work with the hands figures as the corrective to the difficulty of sustained prayer and as being the occupation best fitted to produce the attitude of mind congenial to contemplation. But the Friar Preachers chose the harder and more distracting work of study—distracting precisely because it roused the intellectual interest in divine truth and thereby tended to lead the soul to discursive meditation, instead of to that "loving attention" which is the essential element of contemplative prayer.

Further, by the vow of chastity, the religious made a holocaust to God of all those pleasures of sense which in other men were lawful and even laudable. The motive here again can only be the love of God and the

desire to separate the soul from any distraction; or, perhaps more accurately, the desire to break every entanglement holding the soul to earth, setting it free for its flight upwards: "I will set free the souls which you catch, the souls that should fly," is a text from Isaias much quoted in mediæval books on the religious life. The perfection of married life is admitted by all Christians, for whom the story of the Incarnation is woven round a Holy Family: but to some God gives another calling, implying a separation from these pleasures and satisfactions and a perfect acceptance of Himself as lover and friend.

Silence is part of this discipline, for it makes demands upon the senses, and prevents indeed, not only dissipation of mind, but even the occasion of certain images that might rouse the slumbering fancies; for silence is no mere absence of speech, it is the rigid seclusion of the attention of the soul from the things about it, the tranquillizing of the spirit, the concentrated attention of all its powers on its immediate business, whether prayer or study or the manifold way of preaching. "A most holy law," a General Chapter calls it (Bologna, 1252); "the begetter of preachers," says St. Antonino; "the necessary condition for all deep thought," is the comment of Lacordaire.

"Whoso is very quiet," says the English Dominican author of the *Ancren Riwe*, "and keeps long silence, may hope with confidence that when she speaks to God He will hear her. She may also hope that through her silence she may also sing sweetly in heaven." And the same writer, perhaps Robert Bacon,¹ quotes with dismay a proverb of this time relating to the older converts of the monastic and canonical orders: "From mart and from mill, from smithy and from nunnery, men bring tidings."

The name of Robert Bacon reminds us that chastity

¹ Cf. *Journal of Modern Languages*, January, 1916.

and silence, while reserving the best to God, do not deny friendship to men. Leland in his notice of the deaths of Robert Bacon and Richard Fishacre, says: "Since in life they had been together in friendship even in death they were not divided: for as the turtle-dove, bewailing its lost mate, soon dies, so on the passing away of Bacon, Fishacre neither could nor would remain—a fine and famous friendship." They had been undergraduates together, had become friars together, and, on the testimony of Matthew Paris, had neither masters nor equals for learning and piety in the Oxford schools. The same note of tenderness appears in the *Ancren Riwle*: "See that your dear faces be always turned to each other with kind affection, a cheerful countenance, and gentle courtesy"; and the spirit of human affection occurs over and over again in the pages of almost every Dominican writer. Humbert de Romans in his thirteenth-century commentary on the Constitutions, praises the religious value of friendship, urging, however, that "only those friends are fast knit who have been soldered together by the blood of Christ." For Savonarola, as master of students, the "dear novices" are "eager angels whom my soul loves": and Lacordaire, whose austerity appalled so many, had also a charm of manner that drew young men to him—"hard as a diamond, tender as a mother." He was particularly the apostle of the young men of his time, instinct with a supernatural love that showed itself in perfect naturalness—witness his advice to a French novice master: "You must not accustom your novices to a constrained exterior or any affected casting down of the eyes, but rather to that simple, natural, frank and attractive piety which is the foundation of the Dominican spirit." (*Inner Life*, p. 421.) From the days of St. Dominic himself, friendships between friars have been the romance of the legend of the Order: and the letters of Jordan of Saxony,

who succeeded St. Dominic, bear out the truth of the legend.

The chiefest vow of all is the surrender of man's biggest possession, his will: rather is it the total surrender of himself. It is this vow alone that is explicitly taken by the novice, who, with his hands held within the Prior's after the fashion of the feudal oath of fealty, the Book of the Constitutions lying on these clasped hands, recites these words: "I N.N. to you N.N. Prior of —, in the place of N.N. Master of the Order of Friars Preachers promise obedience according to the Rule of the Blessed Augustine and the Constitutions of the Order and I will be faithful unto you and your successors until death." Yet though obedience to these meant the main law of life, it was to be an obedience of the will and not of the intelligence. A man can only submit his mental judgement absolutely to an infallible authority; and consequently, for St. Thomas, the vow of obedience could never include such mental submission. By this vow, indeed, a friar was obliged to carry out any policy, however unwise it might seem to him to be, dictated by authority, so long as it did not appear to him positively immoral; but he was under no obligation to believe that because this policy was authoritative, it was necessarily wise. He retained always the right to differ from his superior in his judgements, and, when his own opportunity came, to reverse the policy of his predecessor: but, for quite other motives connected with the peaceful living of the community, he was bidden to keep these mental criticisms to himself. Says Humbert de Romans, whose commentary on the Constitutions is the most official interpretation of the earlier ideals; "A community of religious is like a drove of pigs; when one grunts they all grunt." But while retaining this critical attitude in his own mind, the friar must loyally carry out what he is told to do, must accept an office

however ill-fitted he may judge himself for it, must indeed quite simply be "faithful and obedient even until death." This is what John Bromyard, a great English Dominican in his *Summa Prædicantium*,¹ calls "a wise obedience," in which the will is made subject perfectly and the mind retains its perfect freedom. He delightfully compares a difficult superior to "shaving without soap" and describes the operation as "hard but sometimes necessary."²

The work, then, of the vows is to produce a discipline of soul and a resulting strength of character, which are themselves to be inspired by the love of God. It must be remembered that we are dealing with an Order devoted to the apostolic labour of preaching, an Order, the main means of which for achieving its purpose are prayer and study, and which necessarily has to train friars to be about their business outside the restraints and helps of monastic life. Strength of character sufficient to meet, with serene independence, the free wandering life of a Friar Preacher, and yet to lose nothing of the religious spirit, to feel the perfect recollection of cloistered peace away from the cloister, to keep unceasing the inner presence chamber fit always for the Royal Guest, has a high but a difficult vocation.³ One of the helps insisted on, of course, was frequent confession. Robert Bacon, O.P., says (p. 244): "Confession ought to be made often"; the Constitutions of the Order says: "at least once a week."

Communion, again, though in the thirteenth century not much cultivated as a frequent practice, was ordered on certain stated days; in this the *Ancren Riwle* and the Dominican Constitutions agree absolutely. A

¹ For an account of this theory of obedience, compare *De Vita Regulari* of de Romans (vol. i, p. 6. Rome, 1888).

² Lyons, 1552. Fol. ccclxxxix^b.

³ *Summa Theologica*, 2^a 2^{ae}, 1885.

thirteenth-century instruction of novices orders that on the eve of each Communion day, each should be newly tonsured, and that, moreover, care should be taken to wash the whole body, so that the Royal Guest might be fittingly welcomed. St. Thomas Aquinas, indeed, has the pretty theory¹ that every child in baptism has received the Eucharist by desire, "and as a result has already received its reality."

Prayer, however, is the supreme means in the ascetic life of achieving that divine union which in some form or other is the purpose of every vocation. The Christian standpoint precisely implies that man was made for God, not only in the sense that his highest purpose is to carry out the divine will and share thereby in the accomplishment of the divine design, but even more wonderfully that he can at the last be made one with God. The real meaning of Heaven is not, as Gibbon seems to have supposed, a reward of virtue, as though it were a prize external to the recipient: it is much more truly the final attainment of God by every function of the soul: man was made for God, and is restless till he finds Him. Here it is only possible to receive fitful glimpses of God, vague, indefinite, at the best a mere vision of His passing, of little more than the fading glory that is about Him: hereafter we shall know and see even as we are ourselves known and seen. This pursuit of God, which reverses the mystic import of the Hound of Heaven, this searching for Him if haply we may find Him, is the meaning of every form of godliness; it stands as the justification of every religious order which endeavours so to arrange life as to make material conditions help and not hinder the success of this venture. The religious travels through the ways of life lightly clad, hampered as little as may be by the weight of earthly things. But beyond this merely negative help, his days are

¹ Third part, Qu. 73, Art. 3.

ordered so that he may have time and inspiration to pursue God in prayer.

First of all there is the great liturgical prayer of the divine office. Composed by men of all kinds, the growth of many ages, the choice offerings of many nations, it is the most material evidence of the Catholicism of the Church. But to the Dominican friar his liturgy has a very distinctive meaning; for it is the artificial creation of a definite epoch, the result of a commission having an assigned date and bearing the impress of its own age. In a fashion without parallel, it is itself the handiwork of the Order which it leads to God.

A note on its origin will not be out of place. The friars found as the Order extended that, when they met in their annual Chapter General, each coming from his own province or diocese brought his own use, his ceremonial, his chant, his difference of feasts and lessons, his distinctive local customs. The result for an Order essentially international, and bound by no monastic or canonical ideal of stability, was discordant and inharmonious. Consequently, within a generation of the foundation of the Order and the death of St. Dominic, a General Chapter appointed a commission in 1245 to go into the whole matter. Jordan of Saxony had earlier endeavoured to secure some sort of uniformity; but Raymund of Peñafort, who followed him as third Master-General, gave way to the party that favoured a particularist policy, and left each Province to follow its own devices. The fourth Master-General, John the Teutonic, urged the commission of 1245 (which consisted of four members, a French friar, an English friar, one from Lombardy and one from Germany) to correct and bring into line all the liturgies of those places where the Dominicans were then established: to that commission all local uses were to be submitted by each Provincial. The result

was not wholly satisfactory. The Chapter of London in 1250 ordered the commission to reassemble at Metz, the scene of Charlemagne's great school of chant, where lingered something of that superb tradition. Its labours were finally imposed on the whole Order in the General Chapter of Metz in 1251, when was settled the Dominican rite as a distinct and complete liturgical ceremonial with its own rubrics, its own chant, its lectionary, and its calendar. Two copies of the complete liturgy were to be prepared, one for the Priory of Paris, the other for Bologna: from these were to be taken every subsequent Dominican breviary and missal. One of these exemplars is now preserved in the archives of the Master-General in Rome; a copy of some twenty years later is in the British Museum and is of incomparable value to the student of liturgy and of plain-song. The song itself has its own traits, known to the specialist in the Church's chant. St. Thomas defines it¹ as "the scholasticism of beautiful sounds," insists that it should be complete in its matter, proportioned in its parts, and splendid in its form, and, with his fastidious taste for the purely scientific side of beauty, prefers unison to harmony (*De Sensu et Sensato*): a phrase in which he speaks of plain-chant as "the voiced rapture of the mind caught by the Vision of Eternity" haunts the memory.

But the office itself, its phrases so deftly chosen and fitted into a beautiful mosaic of graceful and noble thoughts, was for the friars their chiefest prayer; it afforded a vast store of imagery, of truths of the faith illumined by devotion, the gathered treasures of writers from every shore, the nimble wit of the Greek, the sonorous eloquence of the Roman, the epigrams of Africa, the scripture learning of Jerome, the primitive traditions of Justin and Irenæus, the gay theology of Gaul, the richly woven patterns of the Anglo-Saxon

¹ *De Anima*, Bk. 2.

inheritance. Minds of every type and kind found some portion that suited their wavering fancy, and held them spellbound till another happy phrase attracted attention and secured it. But the office was to be said briskly, so St. Dominic ordered, lest the friars should be unduly delayed from their studies—not for them *the*, but *a*, “work of God.” Briskly indeed it was said, if the truth be told in the early legends of the Order, especially by the English friars; for the *Vitæ Fratrum* is full of visions in which the Mother of God reprehends them for their too speedy saying of office: yet they were devout enough to have moved Richard II to petition Rome that he and the clerics of his Court might have leave to say their office according to the Dominican rite. Following the Augustinian tradition, the Dominicans never insisted upon a literal attention to the words of the Divine Office. St. Augustine himself in several passages bids his canons follow the main direction of the psalms without any over-exact endeavour to seize the meaning of every phrase. Once the idea was introduced of saying office briskly, it became impossible any longer to follow the school which legislated for the pondering, syllable by syllable, on the spoken word. Even before the coming of the friars, the Austin canons had laid down the same teaching as part of their tradition; and it is this Augustinian tradition enshrined in a passage of Hugh of St. Victor which St. Thomas quotes in his *Summa*¹: “You must know that there is threefold attention which can be paid to vocal prayer; the first in which the words are attended to lest one should make a mistake in pronouncing them; the second in which it is rather the sense than the actual words which is considered; the third in which the very purpose of all prayer is dwelt on, namely, God and the subject of the particular prayer.” This is indeed the most necessary

¹ 2^a, 2^{ae} Qu. 83, Art. 13.

attention of all, yet so simple that the unlettered can command it : by it the mind is at times so intently lifted to God that all things other than He fade out of its consciousness. St. Thomas had made the same point earlier in his Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (cap. 14, 14) ; Humbert de Romans insists on it repeatedly in his works ; even in the sixteenth century Cardinal Cajetan sets it forth as the normal Dominican custom which had continued to his day and still obtained : " This attention to the words of the Divine Office is always to be reasonably interpreted, so that a man need not think himself obliged to hold his mind down when he finds himself uplifted to divine things, for after all this is the very reason why he prays at all. Hence if he be praising the Passion of Christ, this passion is not the end of his praising but a means only to the full praising of God, to whom, therefore, if it be so given him, he must all the more gratefully be lifted."

This seems at once to open up the whole discussion as to the particular form of prayer which the friars principally affected—a discussion wholly unnecessary, for prayer is of one kind only, the heart's friendship with God, expressed alike, as the mood is, by speech or silence. The primitive method, as St. Thomas, following the whole patristic tradition, teaches, was vocal ejaculatory prayer,¹ which was modelled no doubt on the prayer of our Lord in the Garden, but is also the natural spontaneous utterance of every heart. The mind is fixed on God or on some truth about God, and the heart quite naturally and instinctively is moved to praise Him or thank Him, to bless or repent or love. Vocal prayer, therefore, followed by silence, in which the soul actively salutes God and converses with Him, is the simplest form of prayer and is the first beginning of contemplation, or indeed, of

¹ 2^a, 2^{ae} Qu. 83, Art. 14.

prayer at all. Sometimes by inadvertence the name of prayer is given to meditation or the discursive argument or reasoning of the mind ; but this is really a preparation for prayer. It is only when the mind has finished its discursive action that prayer as such begins. Hence the Rosary, which sums up in itself the very method of the friars, is especially designed so that the mind should hold steadily before it a moving and touching picture of God's kindness or His mercy, that the lips should repeat words familiar enough for the attention to be wholly free to go elsewhere, and for the heart to dwell in loving attention on God. Hence, too, that incessant repetition of the *Ave Maria* which is peculiarly advocated in the Dominican circle. Alexander de Stavensby mentions it, as does the author of the *Ancren Riwle* ; the devotion and practices of the Dominican Constitution ordain it, and St. Dominic has filled the whole Church with it under the form of the Rosary

For St. Dominic, indeed, prayer was enormously helped by the movement of the body or the lips : we might not unfairly say that his prayer was largely physical. Perhaps his preaching temperament made gesture, already natural to him, by habit excessively developed : he genuflected over a hundred times ; he lay prostrate ; he crossed himself repeatedly ; he moved his hands this way and that, smiled, cried, talked, held his head as though intently listening. Hours were spent in the church when office was over ; he seems never to have found rest except on the floor in the choir or on the altar steps. This custom which he began, his friars faithfully continued : a writer in the thirteenth century would like us to believe that whenever the porter-brother had to summon to the parlour any of the brethren he first looked into the church for them, then in the library, and only when these had failed him, sought them in their cells. From the beginning, a special time began to be set

apart for definite daily meditation ; the absolute fixing of this set time coincides with the date of the introduction of printing, and is, perhaps, the precaution of the Church against the danger of too incessant reading. When books were few and precious, men read less but thought more deeply and prayed with greater ease ; as books began to be multiplied by means of printing, the rising tide of literature overwhelmed the minds, till men have finally become receptacles for the spun fancies of other minds. Against such a calamity, the Church has set the barrier of a definite time for silent prayer ; and in every religious Order has insisted that at least two half-hours daily should be devoted to the contemplation of God.

St. Thomas, who has given in the Second Part of the *Summa* a complete and compact treatise on prayer¹ and contemplation², has very carefully followed St. Augustine's great letter to Proba and his commentary on the Sermon of the Mount ; and, as his faithful interpreters, refers to the Victorines, both Hugh and Richard. Even St. Gregory, a monk busy enough and clerical enough to be Augustinian in temper of mind, is pressed into service when he touched on the ineffable things of God. Aquinas begins by laying down the principle that though prayer is inspired and expressed by love, it is really the act of the practical reason, not of the will directly nor of the purely speculative reason. He defines thought as the bare knowledge of some truth, meditation as the process of reason deducing discursively from the principles of truth so as to prepare for contemplation, and contemplation as " the simple instinctive vision of truth " :³ " Hence," says Richard of St. Victor, " contemplation is the free

¹ Question 83.

² Question 180.

³ The word *instinctive* is here used in the English sense employed by Cardinal Newman, and not as though in any way comparable with the irrational instinct of the animal.

and piercing glance of the soul into the subject matter of the mind, meditation is the sight of the soul busied in the search for truth, thought is the mere consideration of the mind and is prone to distraction.”¹ Contemplation must be preceded by a good life, the dutiful carrying out of the commandments and the acquiring of the moral virtues, for without these the tumults of passion will not allow the soul the necessary peace and serenity without which “the simple instinctive vision of truth” is impossible. Further, it must be preceded by thought, by some sort of study according to the capacity of the individual; and these must in turn be followed by meditation, or the developing of the ideas which revelation has manifested to us. We cannot achieve contemplation except as the climax of a series of acts, which depend necessarily on the mental equipment of each soul. For many, this active business of the soul is largely untaught by man, since ordinary folk have little opportunity for getting hold of much catechetical instruction; yet it is a striking fact that the Catholic poor possess an extraordinary amount of theological knowledge, learned out of the mere passing references in prayerbooks, sermons, or chance reading, and stored and developed by a soul on familiar terms with truth. For the friars themselves this preceding study is a solemn obligation, without which they are in no position to obey to the full their Dominican vocation. The true Friar Preacher must be a student till the end, acquiring a deeper knowledge of God in all His works. Scripture, the history of mankind, the lines of beauty, the strange yet inexorable laws that govern the natural creation, the science of language, above all theology, whether dogmatic, moral or mystical, are the chief sources of his gathered knowledge, apart from that ever-present subject wherein

¹ 2^a, 2^{ae} Qu. 180, 3, ad 1^m.

is displayed so much of the character of God—namely His created image, man.

The mind, then, has first to study and watch God's creation and then at last in contemplation to fix its gaze upon God Himself. "Contemplative life primarily signifies the contemplation of divine truth, since contemplation is for man the end of human life. Wherefore Augustine says in his first volume on the Trinity that the contemplation of God is promised us as the end of all our actions and the eternal completion of our joys, which shall, indeed, in the next life be complete, since we shall see Him face to face. It is this Vision that fulfils every function of the blessed; here on earth we contemplate divine truth imperfectly, 'darkly, through a mirror'; but this is itself the beginning of the beatific Vision, begun here and completed hereafter. It points the way of our final happiness. But since by means of God's creatures we are led to contemplate God Himself—according to the saying of the Apostle in Romans I, the invisible things of God are known and understood by means of the visible things—in a secondary fashion we can say that contemplative life includes, at least in a preparatory sense, the contemplation of the creatures of God, so that by them man may be led on to God. Hence Augustine says in his book on True Religion that in studying created things we are not to follow mere vain and fleeting curiosity, but to make use of that very study to reach behind them to that which is undying and eternal."¹ From Richard of St. Victor, therefore, St. Thomas constructs six stages of contemplation: "First, the perception of the things through the senses; second, the attainment of the intelligible essences hidden in matter; thirdly, the disentanglement of intelligible essences from their material;

¹ 2^a, 2^{ae} Qu. 180, 4.

fourthly, the absolute apprehension of these intelligible essences ; fifthly, the attainment of those intelligible essences which are discovered not by the senses but by reason ; sixthly, the understanding of those intelligible essences which reason can neither discover nor comprehend and which belong to the contemplation of divine truth wherein is the climax of contemplation.”¹ Hence Bromyard adds that contemplation is the highest act of man and makes most appeal to God : “ Not lips but love, not voices but vows, echo in the ears of God.”² But this contemplation, primarily and essentially an act of the practical reason, is inspired by love and ends in love : “ Love is its token,” to use the phrase of Mother Julian of Norwich : it leads to love, and through love in turn to a deeper knowledge of God. Says Robert Bacon : “ This taste and this knowing cometh of spiritual sight, and of spiritual hearing, and of spiritual speech, which they ought to possess who forgo, for the love of God, worldly hearing, earthly speech and fleshly sight ; and after the sight that now is, which is dim here, ye shall have there above the bright sight of God’s countenance, of which is all joy in the blessedness of heaven, much more than of others . . . and therefore it is right and proper that anchoresses should have these two special gifts more than others, swiftness and clearness of sight : swiftness in requital of her being here so confined, clearness of sight in compensation for her darkening herself here and being unwilling either to see or be seen of man ” (*Ancren Riwele*).

Contemplation, therefore, leads in heaven to full knowledge and full love of God ; but even here it begins that blessedness by giving the soul some mysterious (i.e. mystical) acquaintance with Him. To this all mystics bear witness, and indeed, most of

¹ 2^a, 2^{ae}, Qu. 180, 4, ad 3^m.

² Fol. cccxc, viii^b.

the theologians who have dealt with the matter in any detail. The Friar Preacher turns necessarily to St. Thomas Aquinas for his description of what this knowledge is. He will not be disappointed, for in language precise and economic the mystic experience is referred to and admitted. In his first writings it would seem as though St. Thomas had not himself quite made up his own mind on this point, for he is content to quote the phrases of others, perhaps even, he had not as yet made trial of it himself or rather been as yet touched by God: for no one may make trial of the mystic experience; none may dare its heights; none may aim at the mystic knowledge of God. If it is offered, it is to be refused; if begun, it is to be resisted. It is eminently and wholly God-given, and cannot, and should not, be sought by man: in this agree all the great Masters of the spiritual life, especially St. Theresa and St. John of the Cross. In his Commentary on the sentences of Peter Lombard,¹ St. Thomas, speaking of the sending of the Son and of the Spirit into the heart by grace and Their indwelling in the souls of the just, says that this sending must be preceded by that grace which makes the soul fit for God; and adds that "not every kind of knowledge is sufficient for this sending, but only that particular kind of knowledge which is appropriate to the proper gift of each Person whereby we are united to God, as, for example, we receive love when the Spirit is given us: so that this ensuing knowledge is *almost experimental*." Again in his treatise on the Manhood of Christ,² he is content to quote St. Augustine and St. Bernard and to refer to "those inward touches of the divine wisdom." But in the *Summa*,³ on the same

¹ Bk. I, Dist. xiv, Qu. 2, Art. 2.

² *Opusculum*, lx, c. 24.

³ Part I, Qu. xliii, Art. 5, ad 2^m cf. London, 1912, Second number, p. 199.

point of the sending of the Divine Persons into the soul and our awareness of their Presence, he shows how the soul which receives certain intellectual gifts of grace is made by them like to the Son "who breathes forth love"; hence St. Augustine's phrase, "the work we speak of is knowledge and love." St. Thomas comments on this: "Thus is the Son sent, not with every and any kind of intellectual perfection but according to the intellectual illumination which breaks forth into the affection of love. Hence Augustine says: 'The Son is sent wherever He is known and perceived by any one.' Now *perception implies a certain experimental knowledge*, and this is properly called wisdom, as it were a sweet knowledge" (i.e. according to the derivation that held good to mediæval philologists: *sapientia est sapida scientia*).

The mystical experience is, therefore, an experimental knowledge of God whereby the soul is made aware of God's presence in its midst: and this knowledge is itself attained by means of the gift of wisdom, which in some way makes the soul so refined and develops so perfectly the gift of faith that the intimate Presence of God in the soul is experienced in a new and vivid fashion. This experience is naturally a mere passing touch of God. St. Thomas calls it "transitory"; St. Bernard, more precisely, limits it to a quarter of an hour; St. Theresa sets half an hour as the utmost capacity of man to endure it.

Where man's body is weak—especially where the pressure of developed civilization and its speed of living have worn through and exposed the nerves—such an overpowering appreciation of God's closeness to the soul produces at first physical ecstasies or raptures. But with habit this is overcome; indeed, in more primitive days, man's wholesome, perhaps stolid, constitution bore it apparently without any such phenomena. It is only the process of history that

reveals to us the growing weakness of man to withstand at first these evidences of God's approach.

But this knowledge of God, is it an acquaintance with God's own being? Does it mean that direct experience of God is so established that the soul has a glimpse of the very Divine Essence itself? St. Augustine answers that this cannot be seen by man in this natural life: "for no man can see God and live"; and St. Gregory—as St. Thomas quotes him¹—distinctly teaches that "no one can make such progress in the power of contemplation as with the eyes of his mind to behold the very Ray of unencompassed light." Indeed, the long passage from which St. Thomas has deftly borrowed this striking phrase is a masterly account of the power of contemplation by one who had undoubtedly received that wonderfully high grace, and who sounded its depths and pierced through veils that shrouded for others less blessed the inner glories of God.

With a careful analysis of his own personal experience, St. Gregory insists that "not the Ray itself of unencompassed light" but "somewhat," "something beneath it" is seen by the human mind. St. Leo the Great, as he is quoted in the Dominican Breviary,² repeats the same doctrine: "In no wise can any in mortal flesh gaze at or even see the ineffable and unapproachable vision reserved in life eternal for the clean of heart." And Richard Rolle of Hampole, in his *Form of Perfect Living*, puts in more simple English the whole meaning of contemplation, precisely from this point of view:

"The higher part of contemplation is beholding and yearning the things of heaven and joy in the Holy Ghost, that man has oft; and if it be that they be naught praying with the mouth but only thinking of

¹ In his Commentary on Ezechiel ii. 2, pp. 12-14.

² Homily on the Second Sunday of Lent.

God and of the fairness of angels and holy souls, then may I say that contemplation is a wonderful joy of God's love, the which joy is lauding of God, that may not be told, and that wonderful lauding is in the soul: and for abundance of joy and sweetness it ascends into the mouth, so that the heart and the tongue accord in one, and body and soul joys in God Living. A man or woman that is ordained to contemplative life, first (i) God inspires them to forsake this world and all the vanity and the covetousness and the vile lust thereof. Then (ii) He leads them by their hand and speaks to their heart; and, as the prophet says, He gives them at soak the sweetness of the beginning of love. And then (iii) He sets them in will to give them wholly to prayers and meditations and tears. Then (iv) when they have suffered many temptations and the foul annoys of thought that are idle and of vanities, the which will encumber them that can naught destroy them but be passing away, He bids them give to Him their heart and fasten only on Him and opens to the eye of their soul the gates of Heaven, so that the same eye looks into Heaven. And then (v) the fire of love verily lights in their hearts and burns therein and makes it clean of all earthly filth. And thenceforward (vi) they are contemplative men and ravished in love. For contemplation is a sight: and they see into heaven with their ghostly eye. But thou shalt wit that no man has perfect sight of Heaven while they are living bodily here. But as soon as they die, they are brought before God and see Him face to face and eye to eye, and live with Him without end, for Him they sought, and Him they coveted, and Him they loved in all their might."

This is a very excellent summary of the treatise of St. Thomas: "Contemplation is a sight" is a good translation of his own definition "Simplex intuitus Veritatis." Love follows from it. But it does not

imply the vision of the Essence of God. It is only right, however, to add that St. Thomas does admit that it is possible for God to grant this vision of Himself to people still on earth, this infusion of Himself as *their ideas*, and that such a vision was actually vouchsafed to St. Paul and to Moses ; he quotes St. Augustine's qualification of the text of Scripture, " Unless a man die *in some fashion or other* either by leaving this life or by being alienated from his corporal senses he cannot be uplifted to the Vision of God."¹ In this transient way, in a flash, the soul may be so ravished : " So that the supreme point of contemplation in this present life is reached when Paul is rapt and has momentarily an existence half-way between this life of faith and the life of the Vision to come."

The ascetic life begins, therefore, by rigorous discipline and hardship of body and mind : " Christ had many followers when He fed them," says Bromyard, " but not to death."² " Be glad in your heart if you suffer insolence from Slurry, the cook's boy, who washeth dishes in the kitchen," is the expression of the author of the *Ancren Riwele* ; and this asceticism is intended to express itself in prayer ; this is the very purpose of religion. Holkot³ compares religion to Arcturus, which Ovid says is the axle of the world, so that, were it to snap, the world would end ; and adds : " Thus religious men in utter poverty who are immediately joined to God are in a state of perfection, and never cease in perfect prayer to intercede for the world, watching day and night."

Hardship is the discipline whence comes true prayer : " Out of strength came forth sweetness." Hardship implies humility and silence ; a sense of aloofness. " No ! no !" said Cardinal Howard to his lay brother who hoped the Spanish King would offer him a rich

¹ 2^a, 2^m, 180, 5.

² Fol. xxxvi^b.

³ Lect. cxvi, fol. cxli^b.

bishopric; "I will not bind myself to anybody, for if a man once attaches himself to a prince by receiving a favour, he is always and in everything at his beck, even though it may go against his conscience." It implies no less a great refinement of conscience. Said Father Gregory Lovel, O.P. (1673): "If you only knew how delicate is divine grace, you would carefully guard against the least transgression of the rule, even by a single breach of silence." Yet for all that it implies no lack of gaiety. Grosseteste used to tell the friars about him that a good Dominican needed three great gifts—to be able to study well, to pray well and to joke well; and at the process of canonization of St. Dominic most of the witnesses particularly referred to his unchanging "gaiety" and equanimity of temper: "None was gayer than he, none more companionable," is a phrase in the earliest and contemporary biography.

Gaiety, activity of life, but in moments of prayer sheer contemplation: such are the attributes which should characterize the Friar Preacher. "Martha hath her office," said Robert Bacon, O.P. "Let her alone, and sit ye with Mary stonestill at God's feet and listen to Him alone." Yet this must be interrupted, this sitting in silence, if it interferes with the Dominican work: "Prelates should moderate their contemplation with such discretion as not to harm their own bodies: which is a great sin against God."¹

But the motive of all this—of hardship, of discipline, of prayer, of contemplation—must be no other thing than the love of God. Indeed, the aim of Dominican life, with its austerities and activities is to empty the soul of creation in order that it may be filled with God—so full of God that it may be able by preaching to make others see how neighbourly God is to them.

¹ Holkot, *Proverbius Salomonis*, Paris, 1515: lectio cxlii, fol. clxxii.

“God,” says Blessed Henry Suso, “is the most intimate of all things.”

“Pureness of heart,” we may conclude with the *Ancren Riwele*, “is the love of God alone. In this is the whole strength of all religious professions and the end of all religious orders.” The Friar Preacher by study, especially of theology, tries to know God more, that he may love Him more, preach Him more convincingly here on earth, and attain to Him endlessly hereafter.



THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

VI. AS PREACHERS

By WALTER GUMBLEY, O.P.

ST. DOMINIC'S labours in Southern France, then overrun by the Albigenses, convinced him of the necessity of forming a body of men ready to go forth and preach the truths of faith to the people who were being drawn away from the Church by the specious arguments of the heretics. For this purpose he conceived the idea of founding an Order to combat error and instil into men's minds true doctrine. Accordingly he laid his plans before the Pope, Innocent III. The Supreme Pontiff was disinclined at first to accede to a desire which seemed to run contrary to the mind of the recent General Council (the Fourth Lateran), held in 1215, in which the Fathers had openly expressed a strong objection to the foundation of new religious orders. Moreover, St. Dominic's idea of an Order of Preachers was not a little startling, considering that in those days preaching was generally regarded as the prerogative of the Bishop. Finally the Pope gave way, but he died before he could publish the Confirmation, which was done by Honorius III, his successor, on December 22nd, 1216. Innocent III, however, lived long enough to bestow upon St. Dominic and his companions the title of Friar Preachers, and Preaching Friars St. Dominic's sons have continued to be.¹

¹ The English Dominicans were always known as Preaching Friars or Predicants till after the middle of the fifteenth century, when they were generally known as Blackfriars or Dominicans. In Scotland they were called Blackfriars as early as 1340. See *Blackfriars*, April, 1920.

Fittingly enough, the history of the English Dominicans began with a sermon. One of St. Dominic's last acts was to establish an English Province of the Order, and for this purpose he despatched into England Friar Gilbert de Fresney with twelve companions. They arrived at Canterbury in the early days of August, 1221, whilst St. Dominic, at Bologna, was breathing forth his saintly soul to God. The great Archbishop, Stephen Langton, was about to preach that day in a church of his cathedral city; but when Gilbert and his little company presented themselves before him, Stephen, hearing they were preachers, insisted that Gilbert should occupy the pulpit in his stead. This must have been a trying ordeal for Gilbert, who doubtless felt that on his efforts depended the whole future success of the Dominican Order in England. The Primate, however, was so pleased with his sermon that from that day forward till his death in 1228 he became the great patron and friend of the Friar Preachers.¹ Happy in securing the Cardinal's favour, Gilbert and his companions journeyed on to London, where they probably made a small settlement according to the custom of the Order. From London, which he reached on August 10th, Gilbert went on to Oxford, which he entered on the feast of Our Lady's Assumption, August 15th, 1221. Here the friars obtained a house in the Jewry with the object of converting the Jews to Christianity by their preaching. This was the first convent, but within the short space of ten years large houses were founded in London,

¹ Trivet, *Annales ed. Hog* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), 1845, p. 209. Gilbert is said to have been an Englishman, and his surname is given variously as Fraxinetus and Fresney. Simon Ash, Dean of Hereford in 1200 and friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, is also called Fraxinetus and du Fresne, so we may conclude that Ash would be Gilbert's English name (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v. Simon du Fresne). The tomb of an English Dominican, William Freney, Archbishop of Rages (d. circa 1290), is at Rhuddlan, North Wales.

Canterbury, Norwich, York, Bristol and Shrewsbury. In less than fifty years no fewer than forty more convents were founded in large centres of population.

True to their vocation the Dominicans sought the great cities in order to help the people by their preaching. It was said: "Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat, Oppida Franciscus, celebres Dominicus urbes" (Bernard loved the valleys, Benedict the mountains, Francis the towns, Dominic the populous cities): and of the fifty-four Pre-Reformation Dominican houses in England all but that of King's Langley were situated in important towns; and their very churches, vast rectangular structures, were built to accommodate large audiences. We have it on contemporary authority that the Dominican church at Bristol possessed a nave 140 feet in length, and, including the aisles, 88 in breadth. The nave of the Dominican church at Norwich, now called St. Andrew's Hall, is also of great size, being 125 feet in length, and 65 in breadth. Outside the churches of the Friar Preachers was usually the Preaching Cross, a splendid example of which still stands at Hereford. From these the friars preached to vast crowds which were wont to gather on special days to hear the word of God. The space round the Cross was best known as the Preaching Yard. The Dominicans were not alone in possessing Preaching Crosses; in fact, the most celebrated outdoor pulpit was Paul's Cross, London, from which most of the famous English preachers spoke, among them many Dominicans. It is interesting to note that the great Apostle of the Gentiles was the patron saint of the English Province; his effigy appears on the Provincial and many Conventual seals. Well did the friars follow his advice: "Preach the word; be instant in season and out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine" (2 Tim. iv. 2). In addition to their con-

vents the Dominicans possessed preaching stations, several of these being attached to each convent; such, at least, was the case in the diocese of York where the friars were often requested to preach at their convents and stations on special occasions.

The Dominican type of sermon was not merely a fervent exhortation to shun vice and practise virtue but dealt with dogmatic truths. The mission of the Friar Preacher was to teach these truths to the multitude, so that they might be strengthened in faith and able to withstand the false teachings of heretics such as the Albigenses in Southern France, the Waldenses in Italy, and the Lollards in England. When Wyclif's itinerant preachers went about in the country, the Dominicans were amongst their foremost opponents; and the Master-General of the Order, Blessed Raymund of Capua, addressed a letter to them exhorting them to preach in defence of the true faith. The Pope, Urban VI, added the weight of his authority to this exhortation; and the English Dominicans did not fail to respond. Amongst their champions three great preachers distinguished themselves by their zeal in preaching against Lollardy—William Bottlesham Bishop of Rochester, Robert Humbleton and John Bromyard. Humbleton, we are told, narrowly escaped death from poison administered by his adversaries.¹

Preaching of such a theological nature required much study, and it was on this account that the Dominican course of training was so long and so thorough. Apart from works of a distinctly homiletic bearing many of the chief theological treatises were meant to help preachers. As examples we may cite Holcot's Commentary on Wisdom and Cardinal Jorz's book on the Psalms, both of which contain matter expressly for the pulpit. John Bromyard's *Summa Prædicantium*

¹ *Monumenta Dominicana, Fontana, p. 255.*

(written about 1400) was the most important work of this kind ; this was foreshadowed by the work of Nicholas Gorham, an Englishman,¹ but a member of the French Dominican Province. He ruled as prior the great convent of St. Jacques at Paris and was confessor to the French king, Philip le Bel. He died 1298 and left many works, amongst which was one entitled *Thema et Distinctiones*—a collection of skeleton sermons arranged alphabetically.² Robert Holcot, the “ Firm and Unwearied Doctor ” (who died in 1349 whilst attending the plague-stricken at Northampton), in addition to his many theological, philosophical, and Scriptural works also wrote largely on preaching and produced sets of sermons for Sunday.³ But the homiletic work of Gorham and Holcot was but a preparation for Bromyard’s great production the *Summa Prædicantium*. Perhaps to serve as a preface to his masterpiece he wrote his *Opus Trivium*, which is composed on similar lines but is shorter than the *Summa*. In both these works Bromyard treats of doctrinal and moral subjects arranged alphabetically.⁴ Under the word *Prædicatio* is an interesting and well-planned sketch of the duties and requisites of a good preacher. As a type of preaching in the England of Catholic days and incidentally of Dominican preaching it will be of interest to notice how Bromyard treats his subject. “ The office of preacher may,” he says, “ be regarded in three ways ; firstly as a physician whose duty it is not to flatter or please but to heal. Just as a physician is bound to

¹ Echard denies that he was an Englishman, i, pp. 268, 385, 437.

² Gasquet, *The Old English Bible*, etc., p. 214. Hurter, *Nomenclator Theol.*, ii, 410.

³ *Ibid.*, 213 ; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

⁴ A short sketch of Bromyard’s career appears in No. III of this series, entitled *English Dominicans and Theology*. He was a native of Herefordshire, Doctor of Oxford, and Chancellor of Cambridge in 1382, and was still living in 1419.

attend the sick so has the preacher a like duty towards sinners. Preaching is a duty that binds under peril of damnation, 'for if I preach the Gospel it is not glory to me, for a necessity lieth upon me; for woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel' (1 Cor. ix. 16). The preacher may also be compared to the Speaker in Parliament who speaks only that which is given him to say, and so in like manner the preacher must only announce the word of God and speak only the words God puts into his mouth. Again he should be like to a fisherman and catch souls for Christ. He must not, however, be as a miser who will not even allow others to see by the light of his candle, but he must permit the light of faith to reach all. His intention, too, must be, not his own honour and glory which would merely be sowing cockle, nor his own glory and the glory of God combined, which would be sowing cockle and wheat, but the honour and glory of God alone, by which he will sow nothing but wheat. The preacher must be earnest in prayer, for thus only will he be worthy of his high office; nor should he preach with insufficient knowledge, but rather prepare himself by serious study. Let him practise what he preaches lest he become a sounding brass or tinkling cymbal. Physician heal thyself. He must be a man of blameless life, lest it should come to pass that those who attend his sermons to hear sound doctrine, the food of the soul, should be scandalized and their souls wounded by his bad example, just as one gathering honey is stung by the bees of the hive or the vipers in the grass. The preacher should follow the advice of St. Paul 'to preach the word; be instant in season and out of season' (2 Tim. iv. 2). He should not hoard up the word of God lest he be cursed of the people, as is the miser who stores up wheat in the time of famine. Nor should he preach long and tedious discourses; neither should he make his introduction too long lest he weary his

audience, as does the harper who tunes his instrument too long preparatory to his entertainment. Moreover, he should not touch on a multitude of points, for as the harper who plays on all the strings at once spoils his harmony, so will the preacher spoil the effect of his words ; but he should take one point, attack one vice at a time and then will his words bear fruit. Lastly, the writer would have all preachers remember the eternal reward prepared for those zealous in their duty, warning them at the same time of the punishment due to negligence and remissness in the task of preaching."¹

An interesting description of how to preach is given by Cardinal Gasquet in *The Old English Bible and other Essays* (pp. 206, 207), in a short study of the MS. of the celebrated Dominican Thomas Walleys (*floruit* 1350) entitled *De Arte Prædicandi*, several copies of which are in the British Museum and University Libraries. The Cardinal gives the following epitome of Walleys' words : " The preacher should undertake the duty, not from vanity or love of notoriety, but from pure love of God's truth ; and prayer and study should go before his work. As to his gestures, he should endeavour not to stand like a statue, nor to throw himself about regardless of decorum. He is to refrain from shouting, and not to speak so low that his audience have to strain to catch his words. He is not to speak too rapidly, not to hesitate ' like a boy who repeats lessons he does not quite understand.' The theme should be spoken with great distinctness, so that all may understand the subject, and, if necessary, it should be repeated. Before his discourse the preacher should retire to some private place and thoroughly practise the sermon he is about to deliver, with the method of declamation, the gestures, and even the expressions of countenance

¹ *Summa Prædicantium*, ed. Lyons, 1522, s.v. *Prædicatio*.

suitable to its various parts. Finally, the author urges the advisability of having some candid and reliable friend to listen to the discourse, who will correct the faults of pronunciation, etc., when it is over." The Cardinal adds in a footnote: "Friar Walleys, in other places in this tract—*De Arte Prædicandi*—gives much excellent advice from which we may cull one or two points. Speaking of the *subject* of a sermon, he says that it is the custom (*consuetudo apud modernos*) always to have some text upon which to found a discourse. This should be a real theme, taken from Holy Scripture, and always from the Lesson, Epistle, or Gospel of the day, except on great feasts, such as Easter. Generally it should be a sentence, but sometimes it is best to take the whole Epistle or Gospel and explain its meaning, for 'this kind of preaching is easy and very often greatly profitable to ordinary people.' The author warns the preacher that he is not to think sermons are merely arguments; a discourse should not only convince the mind, but lead it to good affections and implant in it devout thoughts. He urges priests never to finish a sermon without some mention of Our Lady, Christ's Passion, or eternal happiness." This is very good advice for preachers of our own time and shows that preaching was not a neglected art in the fourteenth century.

A very distinctive feature of the mediæval friar's sermon is the love for stories: the sermons of St. Vincent Ferrer, the greatest Friar Preacher of all time, are particularly noteworthy for this. Not only does this love of anecdote pervade the actual preaching but it is found in the theological and Scriptural works composed for the aid of preachers. The following anecdotes taken from Holcot's *Commentary on Wisdom* illustrate the type of story which delighted the ears of a fourteenth-century audience. "It is related," he

says, "of a certain countryman that he left in his Will directions to his wife to sell an ox and devote the proceeds to giving alms to the poor for the good of his soul. The astute woman (*astuta mulier*) on the death of her good-man led the beast to market with a cat on its back. She declared that on no account would she sell one animal without the other, but, as the cat was more precious to her, she would sell it for a silver mark, whilst she would only ask a halfpenny (*obolus*) for the ox. The bargain was struck and she returned home with one mark and a halfpenny. The mark she kept for herself but the halfpenny she expended in alms for the repose of her husband's soul. But woe to that woman," adds the writer, "in the world to come for she will not escape the pool of fire till she repay the uttermost halfpenny." Again he tells of a certain man who was looking against the flow of the current for his wife who was drowned. On being asked why he sought her against the course of the stream he replied, "She was always contrary to me."¹

The Dominicans, we have seen, made a practice of preaching not only in their churches and preaching yards but also in public places, wandering through the length and breadth of the land. That they did not neglect their duty even under the most trying circumstances is proved by contemporary evidence. During the bitter wars between Edward I and the Welsh, Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury states that the friars (Dominican and Franciscan) were alone in preaching the Gospel to the people in North Wales.² Again during the scourge of the Black Death (1348-1350) we find the Mayor and Aldermen of London petitioning Pope Clement VI for special faculties for Friar John de Worthyn, Papal Chaplain, who was attending the plague-stricken, who they say was a

¹ *Postillæ super Lib. Sapientiæ*, ed. Cologne, 1689, pp. 70, 195.

² Peckham's *Register*, Rolls Series, ii, 742. Letter DLXI.

“man of honourable and approved manners and living, sprung from high blood of the realm, and he only, of all others, strengthened the people with the word of Christ.” If he died, the Prior of the Blackfriars, with the consent of the Mayor, should appoint in his stead another of the same Order.¹

Apart from their general preaching the Dominicans were in frequent demand as special preachers; and the English kings from Henry III to Henry VI who chose their confessors from the Order also chose their preachers. Cardinal Walter Winterbourne (+1305), for many years confessor to Edward I, collected his sermons into a book entitled *Sermones coram Rege et Populo*, and not a few others followed his example. Many eminent friars preached before the King but not all received the same stipend; their pecuniary recompense varied considerably, due, perhaps, to the merit or interest of the sermon, but more probably according to the state of the royal purse. We may take as an example the fees granted to Friar Thomas Palmer, a celebrated theologian and sometime Provincial. In 1384, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, he preached before Richard II in the Minorite Church in London for which he received 13s. 4d. On All Saints (Nov. 1), 1389, he preached in presence of the King in the royal Chapel at Eltham and received 20s. On Palm Sunday, 1390, again preaching at Eltham he was given 13s. 4d., but on the Epiphany and second Sunday of Lent he obtained 20s., whilst on Ascension day his fee was 40s. In 1403 he preached before the new King, Henry IV, for which he was rewarded with 40s. A week later the King gave a like sum for a sermon by William Pickworth who had succeeded Palmer as Provincial. Friar John Tille, another celebrated preacher, who was Provincial after Pickworth and confessor to

¹ Palmer, O.P., “Blackfriars of London,” in *Merry England*, 1889, pp. 125, 126.

Henry IV whom he attended at his death, appeared in 1393 as a Court Preacher and received 23s. 8d. from Richard II, but Henry invariably gave him 40s.¹ John Deping, Prior of London, another Royal Preacher, began (in 1389) with 6s. 8d. but by Christmas 1295 he had risen to 40s. and two years later was rewarded with the Bishopric of Lismore and Waterford.²

A well-known Dominican writer, Thomas Stubbs of York, who lived about 1360 wrote a treatise on Stipends. *De Stipendiis debitis Prædicatoribus verbi Dei, Q.E. Scrip. O. Praed.*, i, 672.

Other great folk employed the friars as special preachers and not a few left money in their wills for funeral sermons to be preached by them. Thus, in 1460, Lady Felbrigge, widow of Sir Simon, who built the choir at Norwich, left 13s. 4d. to be spent on a sermon at her requiem, and expressed a desire that Friar John Norwiche or Friar John Park should preach on the occasion.³ In 1531 William Keye of Garboldisham, Suffolk, left a piece of land of about five acres to the Blackfriars of Thetford on condition that "a brother of the ordir of preachers in Thetford sey a sermon yerely evermore on Tuesday in Easter week." Alas! within seven years this land together with the other property of the friars was seized by the royal robber and his jackals, who we may be sure did not worry about the Easter week sermon.⁴

An item of interest appears in a writ of John of Gaunt to the friars of Lancaster (June 12th, 1378) "to make preachings and processions" for himself and the nobles who were to accompany him on his expedition to France.⁵ This was not, however, the only

¹ Palmer, "Provincials of Blackfriars," *Archeol. Journal*, 1878, pp. 24-27.

² "Blackfriars of London," *Merry England*, June, 1889, p. 120.

³ "Blackfriars of Norwich," *Reliquary*, Jan., 1889, p. 45.

⁴ "Blackfriars of Thetford," *Reliquary*, 1887, p. 202.

⁵ "Blackfriars of Lancaster," *Reliquary*, 1885, p. 29.

military enterprise in which the aid of the Friar Preachers was sought. From the very first days of their history in England they were called upon to preach the Crusade. Under the date 1234, Matthew Paris records the sermon of a Dominican preached at Winchester in presence of the King's brother, Richard, Duke of Cornwall, afterwards Emperor-Elect of Germany: the friar succeeded in persuading the Duke and the Earl Marshal and with them many nobles to take the Cross. In 1235 we read in the *Annales Cambriæ*, p. 82, of a certain Friar Anian who was preaching the Crusade in Wales. In 1251 Matthew the Provincial was ordered by King Henry III to send to London a sufficient number of prudent friars capable of preaching the Crusade; and his successor, Simon de Henton, received a like command in 1255.¹ On September 4th, 1291, Archbishop John Romain of York announced his intention of preaching the Crusade in his own cathedral church and called upon the Dominicans throughout his diocese to co-operate with him in the work. He asked that two or three friars at least should be sent from each of the six convents in his diocese to the various preaching stations attached to their houses. It appears that at that time the priory of York had stations at Otley, Skipton, and Leeds; Beverley possessed stations at Preston, Ravenshere, and Wick; Yarm claimed two, one at Alverton, the other at Tresk; Pontefract had one at Rotherham and one at Wakefield, whilst the stations of Kendal and Lonsdale were subject to the priory at Lancaster.² But the Archbishops of York not only invited the Dominicans to preach against the infidel Saracens, they also (in 1314) urged them "to preach with all speed against and denounce as excommunicated 'Sir

¹ Palmer, *Provincials*, 4.

² Regist. Aepi. Romani. Quoted by Palmer, "Blackfriars of Yorks," in *Yorks Arch. Journ.*, 1881.

Robert de Brus' (King Robert Bruce) and the Scotch, who were horribly devastating the northern parts of the kingdom, destroying alike churches and manors ; and to stir up the people for their common defence by resisting the invaders ; with a grant of forty days' indulgence to all who thus protected their church and country."¹ Truly the border between the two countries was far from being a peaceful spot in those days !

Not only did the English Dominicans preach the Crusade against the Saracens but they even formed the bold resolution of converting them. From the earliest times, English Friar Preachers had worked in the Holy Land and the East ; but in the early fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II (1307-1322) we find a record to the effect that three English friars—by name Robert de Baybroke (or Braybroke), John de Stone and Robert de Hatcombe—“set out by order of the Master-General to preach the Catholic faith to the Saracens. The King sent a letter to the King of Cyprus asking his favour on their behalf.”² One of the first English Dominicans to work in the Holy Land was a certain Friar William, who became Bishop of Tortosia or Antera in Syria. He was born at Reading ; in 1249 he visited his native land to see his parents, but found that they had been dead for some years. Whilst in England he gave a vivid account of the misery that befell the Holy Land consequent on the invasions of the Saracens. In the same year, Pope Innocent IV chose Bishop William and the French Dominican, Cardinal Hugh de S. Cher, to revise the rule of the Carmelites with a view to forming them into a Mendicant Order. The General of the Carmelites at this time was St. Simon Stock, an Englishman, and we may see his hand in this appointment, seeing that the Bishop himself was

¹ Palmer, “Blackfriars of Yarm,” *Reliquary*, 1880, p. 5.

² Historical MSS. Commission. IV Report, Append., p. 385.

English and also a friar, and was undoubtedly well acquainted with the Order at Carmel in Palestine.¹ Another celebrated Dominican who preached in the East at about the same period was William de Fresney, Archbishop of Rages, or Edessa. He was driven out of the Holy Land by the Saracen invasion and spent the remainder of his days in England, assisting other bishops in their pontifical duties. He died at the convent of Rhuddlan, North Wales, about 1290, and was buried amongst his religious brethren. An incised slab bearing his effigy vested in his archiepiscopal robes is still to be seen built into the wall of a barn. He is styled by the Benedictine chronicler, William Rishanger, "circumspectus et eloquentia commendabilis."² Friar Richard, who preached the Gospel in the countries bordering the Black Sea, was appointed Bishop of Cherson by John XXII in 1333; whether he died in peace or suffered martyrdom in the persecution which overtook his flock shortly after 1340 is not known.³

The duty of preaching was never neglected by the English Dominicans from the day their founder, Friar Gilbert, preached before Cardinal Langton. One of St. Dominic's own companions in Southern France was an Englishman named Lawrence, who was renowned for his preaching and miracles and for the gift of prophecy. Though not yet declared "Blessed" by the Church he has always been so called in the annals of the Order. Of the two great doctors, Robert Bacon and Richard Fishacre, who both died in 1248 Matthew Paris says: "They gloriously expounded the word of God to the people,"⁴ and that they were without equal in theological learning.

¹ Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, ed. Luard, iv. 72; *Année Dominicaine*, ed. Lyons, 1884, ii, 25.

² *Flintshire Historical Journal*, 1915, pp. 36-41.

³ *Bullarium Ord. FF. Præd.*, ii, 197, 199, 201, 217.

⁴ *Matt. Paris*, v, 16.

John of St. Giles, reckoned one of the most learned men of his time, though an Englishman was physician to the French King Philip Augustus, and at the same time taught philosophy and theology in the University of Paris. He became a Dominican about 1229 and may almost be said to have preached himself into the Order ; for one day, whilst preaching on poverty he broke off his discourse in order to receive the Dominican habit after which he returned to the pulpit and completed his sermon.¹

The delightful collection of stories entitled *Vitæ Fratrum* or *Lives of the Brethren*, which was compiled between 1256 and 1259 by the French Dominican Gerard de Frachet, abounds in anecdotes concerning the friars of the English Province and testifies to their zeal as preachers. Thus we read of the holy and happy death of Brother Walter of Norwich, " a young religious of very winning ways and appearance, and a rarely gifted preacher." A very touching account is given of a brother of the English Province who, as he lay dying, saw in a vision a crown prepared for each preacher and the brother who, according to the rule of the Order, accompanied him on his missionary journeys. At this he was greatly consoled, because, though himself a man of little eloquence he had frequently accompanied the brethren on their missions. He told the bystanders that he had been granted a glimpse of heaven and had seen an angel bearing a shining copy of St. John's Gospel ; and then exclaiming " I must away to hear it " he expired. From another story we glean some knowledge of how the friars lived whilst preaching outside their convents. The pious chronicler relates that " whilst one of our English brethren, a lector in theology and a good preacher, was supping with a soldier's family, the house unexpectedly took fire. From the scarcity of water and difficulty in

¹ Trivet, 211.

getting help the flames spread rapidly. While his companion was bustling about and adding to the general uproar, this brother threw himself on his knees, and by his prayers not merely checked but extinguished the fire, and so utterly, too, that not a trace of it could be seen. He secretly communicated this prodigy to the Master of the Order, neither exaggerating it through vainglory, nor yet unprofitably concealing it, but to no one else did he breathe a word about it." A warning to preachers is contained in the story of an English friar who prepared a sermon full of philosophical axioms and arguments in order to exhibit his vast learning to an audience of students: but the night before the great discourse was to take place Our Lord appeared to him and showed him a Bible having a very foul covering. The brother exclaimed against this unseemly binding whereupon Christ opened it and showed the internal beauty and spotlessness of its pages and rebuked the brother with the words: "My word is fair enough, but it is you who have defiled it with your philosophy."¹

The friars were not subservient courtiers but fearless preachers. We have an illustration of this in the life of Friar Robert Bacon, a great theologian who in 1229 joined the Order when he was already advanced in years. Preaching one day in the presence of Henry III and many bishops he boldly declaimed against the misgovernment of the country by the royal favourites, chief of whom was Pierre des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, a great friend of the Dominicans, in whose company and under whose protection Gilbert de Fresney and his companions came into England. Friar Robert plainly told the King that what was most

¹ *Lives of the Brethren*, translated by Fr. Placid Conway, O.P., S.T.M., 1896 (pp. 133, 175, 237). The General Council held at Toulouse in 1328 had much to say against this foolish style of preaching.

to be feared in crossing the Channel was "pierres et roches."¹ His words are all the more courageous when we consider that Henry III was the greatest benefactor the English friars ever had; he was the founder, in whole or in part, of nearly forty convents. We cannot refrain from relating here the anecdote told of this pious but unsuccessful monarch by the Dominican annalist, Nicholas Trivet. Henry III, according to this contemporary authority, was in the habit of hearing three sung masses every day. St. Louis IX, King of France, being on a visit to the English Court, advised the King not to attend so many masses but to hear sermons more frequently. Henry smilingly answered: "I would rather see my friend, than hear another speak of him be it never so well."² However Henry may have regarded preaching, his feeling for the Friar Preachers, was one of deep and sincere affection. He began the royal custom of taking a Dominican as his confessor, a custom which obtained in England till the fifteenth, and in most countries of Europe till the eighteenth century. Many of the friars preached at Court; and although this was a privilege not confined to the royal confessors, most had to display their eloquence before the King, and many were eminent as preachers. Mention has already been made of Cardinal Walter Winterbourne who collected his sermons into a book entitled *Sermones coram rege et populo*. Another royal confessor William Bottlesham (+1399), who also published his sermons under a like title, was one of the most noted ecclesiastics of his day and became in succession royal confessor, Provincial, Bishop of Nantes, Bethlehem, Llandaff, and Rochester. He was a personal friend of Pope Urban VI, by whose side he stood when that Pontiff was besieged in Nocera in 1385. He obtained a great reputation as a preacher and everywhere attacked and

¹ Matt. Paris, iii, 244.

² Trivet, p. 280.

combated the spread of Lollardy.¹ Many Friar Preachers were called upon to rule dioceses in England and Wales, of whom some were perfect models of the episcopate. Thomas de Lisle, Bishop of Ely from 1345-1361, ruled his see during the terrible days of the Black Death; notwithstanding the terrible difficulties of the time, he was most active in visiting all parts of his diocese and everywhere preached to the people. Amongst his writings is a collection of Sermons throughout the year.² The episcopate of Thomas Ringstead, Bishop of Bangor from 1357 to 1365, and a contemporary of Bishop de Lisle, was noted for the same praiseworthy zeal in visiting and preaching to his flock. The *Année Dominicaine*, quoting Pits, says that Thomas was possessed of a prodigious memory which enabled him to discourse at a moment's notice with great authority and judgement on all matters proposed to him.

We have already stated that the most celebrated English Dominican theologians were in addition the most renowned preachers, in proof of which we have mentioned such learned doctors as Bacon, Fishacre, Holcot, Walleys, and Bromyard. Mention, however, must be made of William Hothum, Archbishop of Dublin (+1299), who was probably the brightest genius of the English Dominican Province. Besides being a Professor at Paris, with a reputation second only to that of St. Thomas Aquinas, he was also a brilliant preacher, and in politics he occupied a position something similar to that held in later times by the Cardinals Beaufort, Kemp, Morton, and Wolsey. He himself, we are told, would have been raised to the Sacred College but for his premature death.³

The Friar Preachers, often known as the Friars of

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v.

² *Ibid.*, s.v.

³ Palmer, "Provincials of Blackfriars." Reprint from *Archæological Journal*, 1878, pp. 8-11.

Mary, continued their ministry till heresy and schism settled like a blight over Our Lady's Dowry ; and not a few, when the dark clouds gathered, stoutly set their faces against the storm. Many preached against the new doctrines ; and though unfortunately some of these fell away, a few were constant even in the face of imprisonment and death. In 1533 Robert Buckenham, Prior of Cambridge, preached against the Royal Supremacy ; for this he was condemned to death, but succeeded in escaping to Scotland whence he passed into Flanders and spent the remainder of his days in Louvain.¹ Both his predecessor and his successor—Friars John Pickering and William Oliver—signalized themselves in defence of the old Faith.

John Pickering became Prior of York and for a time seems to have accepted the Royal Supremacy ; but when the Catholics of the North rose in revolt against the oppression of the King and his government—demanding the restoration of the Pope's authority, the reinstatement of the monks, and the punishment of heretics—Friar Pickering took an active part in their campaign. He is said to have composed a hymn beginning with the words, " O faithful people of the boreal region " which was sung by the " Pilgrims of Grace." Together with other leaders of this forlorn hope but glorious attempt, he was tried and condemned as a traitor ; he suffered death at Tyburn, being hung, drawn, and quartered, May 25th, 1537.²

William Oliver was deprived of his Priorship by Archbishop Cranmer the year following Buckenham's flight ; but by some strange chance he was elected Prior of Bristol in succession to John Hilsey. In 1537 he was taken to task for a sermon he had preached, and by a royal commission dated May 7th, 1537, the mayor took the evidence of forty-six witnesses and more

¹ Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ii, 263.

² Palmer, " Blackfriars of York," p. 23.

concerning the opinions he had taught. The part of the discourse quoted is more notable for its coarseness (a general fault of the times) than for its doctrine, although it was clearly an attack on the Lutheran teaching of Justification by faith alone. What follows is the extract given by the Commission and is instructive as showing the style of preaching then in vogue. "First concerning justification, he said that faith alone justifieth . . . and that a man could not fruitfully work before he was justified by faith in Christ. And that he, so justified, must needs work . . . and that this faith could no less be unprofitable or without working than the Sun be without his beams or light ; Nor as the good tree or fresh green plant could not choose, but needs bring forth good fruit, even so might not faith be void or barren without good works. . . . And concerning the confidence they had in habits, ceremonies, and other their human constitutions and traditions, he said that, although one had ten cart-loads of cowls or friars' habits, whether they were of Francis's Order or of Saint Dominick's, of the which he was one himself ; And that if that might do good, he thought his order one of the oldest in England : yet could not avail without faith, nor a whole Ship laden with Friars' girdles ; nor a dung Cart full of monks' Cowls and boots would not help to justification."¹ Oliver here, albeit somewhat obscurely, attacked some of the errors then gaining favour, but the style and the reduplication of negatives makes his ideas difficult to follow. His real crime, however, was his antagonism to the King's Supremacy. He lost his Priorship but his after fate has not been recorded.

Another bold prior was Richard Marshall of Newcastle-on-Tyne who, having preached in favour of the Pope's claims, was sharply rebuked and commanded

¹ Palmer, "Blackfriars of Bristol," in *Reliquary*, April, 1888, p. 79.

to preach the Royal Supremacy in Church matters. He refused, and escaped across the border, leaving behind a letter for his brethren in Newcastle explaining his flight. "Because of my preaching in Advent and also in Lent I am noted to be none of the King's friends . . . because I have not, according to the King's commandment, in my sermons both prayed for him as supreme head of the Church, neither declared him in my sermons to be the supreme head of the Church, but rather contrary I have declared Saint Peter and his successors to be Christ's vicars in earth . . . I was also admonished shortly to preach in Newcastle, and both pray for him (the King) as the supreme head and also so to declare him unto the people. Which thing I cannot do lawfully." Marshall then gives his reasons for refusing to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy, and adds that though he fain would offer his life for his faith yet he feels faint with the dread of death and so "for fear of my life I am fled."¹

One of the most prominent Dominicans of the time was John Hilsey, prior of Bristol in 1532. He assailed the doctrines of Hugh Latimer who had preached against pilgrimages, hell fire, purgatory, and devotion to the Blessed Mother of God; but seems to have somewhat regretted his action. In a letter to Cromwell he says that he and others had set about to preach against the innovator "approving purgatory, pilgrimages, the worshipping of saints and images; also approving that faith without good works is but dead, and that our Lady, being full of grace, is and was without the spot of sin. . . . But when we had done I reckon we laboured but in vain, and brought the people in greater division than they were, as they do hitherto continue." After which apparently, fearing

¹ Palmer, "Blackfriars of Newcastle-on-Tyne," *Reliquary*, Jan., 1887, pp. 323, 324.

to commit himself too far, he adds : " For since I have communed with Master Latimer and I have heard him preach, and have entituled his sermon sentence for sentence, and I have perceived that his mind is much more against the abusing of things than against the thing itself . . . and if he (*quod absit*) should hereafter say anything that should sound otherwise than the catholic determination of the church, there will be enough that will be ready to note it with more diligence than hitherto."¹ Hilsey soon fell away altogether and became one of Henry's most subservient tools. When the King deprived John Hodgkins of the Provincialship Hilsey was intruded into that position with the title of Master-General and in 1535 was appointed Bishop of Rochester in succession to the martyred Cardinal, Blessed John Fisher. He and his late opponent Latimer, appointed Bishop of Worcester in place of Cardinal Ghinucci, were consecrated together by Archbishop Cranmer.

In 1534 Edmund Harcock, prior of Norwich, got into trouble for a long sermon he preached on Easter Monday in the presence of the mayor and other civic magnates in which he insinuated that the state of his own times resembled the Babylonian Captivity. Harcock, however, was a timid man and on being taken to task " confessed himself to be neither God nor angel, and that if he had erred in any man's judgement he was content to submit himself to the correction and reformation of his superiors under the King."²

During the brief reign of Queen Mary I (1553-1558) the Dominicans were given the church of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and here they established a convent with Friar William Perrin (or Peryn) as the prior in

¹ Palmer, " Blackfriars of Bristol," pp. 78, 79. In *Reliquary*, April, 1888.

² " Blackfriars of Norwich," p. 99. In *Reliquary*, Aug., 1889.

1554. He was also appointed Vicar-General of the English Province by the Master-General but did not hold office long ; he died three years later (1558) and his remains were laid to rest in the choir of the great church. Perrin, who was a renowned preacher, had been forced to flee the country during the early part of Henry's schism and took refuge at Louvain. He returned in 1543 and preached often in London, several of his sermons of that date being printed. Apparently he accepted the Royal Supremacy both during the remaining years of Henry's reign and throughout the reign of Edward VI ; but when Mary ascended the throne Perrin, like so many eminent ecclesiastics who were never schismatics at heart, accepted with joy the return of papal authority. Amongst his printed works are *Three godly and most learned sermons of the most honourable and blessed sacrament of the Aulter*.¹

The second suppression of the Province took place under the new Queen, Elizabeth, in 1559. Friar Richard Hargrave, the new prior and Vicar-General saved his life by fleeing to Flanders, and the community was dispersed. The existence of the Province was, however, preserved by the heroic labours of a handful of devoted men who braved imprisonment and death in order to minister to their fellow Catholics. Thus a continuity was kept up until 1660, when Cardinal Howard, then Vicar-General, placed the Province on a firm footing by building a splendid convent at Bornhem in Flanders which furnished Dominican priests for the English mission till the French Revolution and the terrible wars of Napoleon. Driven from their Belgian home, the friars now found it possible to build a convent at Hinckley in Leicestershire which house became the nursery of the present flourishing English Dominican Province. Thus the Friar Preachers can count seven

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s.v. Peryn.

centuries of almost continual preaching and teaching since the day Friar Gilbert arrived in England bearing the commission of the great founder and first Friar Preacher, St. Dominic Guzman.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

VII. IN LITERATURE

By EDWIN ESSEX, O.P.

“RELIGION” and “Art” have come to be regarded as terms that are almost mutually exclusive; if they are ever found in close proximity one may take it for granted that they are to be pitted against each other in battle royal from which religion will infallibly emerge with broken plumes and escutcheon blotted in irreparable disgrace. Yet the relation between the two must have been at some time sufficiently intimate for religion to be eternally branded as the debaser of the arts. So true is it that when art ceased to be the handmaid of religion she turned traitor to her mistress and has subjected her ever since to a persecution as bitter as her service hitherto was sweet and docile.

With this in mind, it may seem rash to attempt, within the slender limits of a pamphlet, to indicate any sort of connection between the English Dominicans and the Liturgy, Literature, and Arts of their country. At the same time this series demanded that such an attempt should be made, and the method we have chosen and followed in dealing with the subject seems to be better suited to the requirements of

the space at our disposal than a bare catalogue of historical facts and dates. It is possible to approach the matter in hand in two ways: either by presenting the literary, architectural, and other remains, describing them in sufficient detail to show their individual and cumulative value, or by insisting on *a priori* lines that artistic expression, in the most comprehensive sense of the term, has always been inherent in the Dominican ideal, spirit, and tradition, bringing forward in evidence a few significant and indisputable illustrations.

In the following pages we have adopted the second of these methods.

I

A GLANCE at the curriculum in a Dominican "Formal House of Studies" is sufficient to show that the friar's philosophical and theological course of training was especially designed to meet and fit him for the purpose of his peculiar vocation. This vocation was aptly expressed in the simple phrase "*Aliis contemplata tradere*"—"to give to others the fruits of contemplation"—a phrase which might easily stand as the ideal of the Order. So that not for himself alone was the student to "busy himself with books," but he must always remember that one day he would have to yield to others the result of his labours. This in some sense was a novel departure from the accepted monastic tradition of the thirteenth century, and one that was not allowed to pass without criticism. The studies of the young Dominican were not merely for his own personal occupation and sanctification—to bridge the gaps between the solemn chantings of the choral office; beyond this his work had its chief and final meaning—it was vicarious. He did, by the special requirements

of his vocation, what the majority had neither the time nor the inclination to do ; and he did it for the majority. The consciousness of this was to be the unfailing inspiration of all his long and solitary hours of study. He received only that in his turn he might give. His knowledge was not to remain still-born within him ; his life was to be one of expression.

But not only was the end in view to be the great incentive in his work ; it was also to condition it. Study as the one great means to the end was to be the centre round which all other religious offices and observances must revolve, and with which under no circumstances must they be allowed to interfere. From this rigid principle even the Divine Office itself was no exception ; for while the earliest Chapters never tire of insisting on the solemnity that should attend its public recitation, they contain not the remotest suggestion either that it is to be the official work of the Order, or that everything else is to be subsidiary to it. In fact, the very reverse is the case : the Divine Office is not in any way to interfere with the studies of the brethren.

Thus the Constitutions dating from the thirteenth century (1228) have these ordinances : " All the Hours of the Divine Office, whether by day or by night, shall be said in the Church briskly and shortly, so that the brethren may not lose devotion thereby nor their studies be impeded. . . . Those engaged in study should be carefully dispensed by their prelates lest on account of the Divine Office or on any other account they be unnecessarily taken away from their studies or impeded in them." The General Chapter at Paris in 1279 passed this regulation : " Since, from the advancement of learning, the Order reaps much fruit and souls are saved, we warn the brethren that they must increase a great deal more in their devotion to study.

Priors both of Provinces and of Convents and their Vicars must strenuously promote the studies and punish very severely whomsoever they find negligent." Note again at Padua, in 1308, the General Chapter says: "Since our Order was principally founded for the work of preaching and the salvation of our neighbour, we ought with diligence and carefulness to provide whatever helps forward study and the progress of sacred science. But since a sufficiency of books is required necessarily to further and develop this, each Priory ought to have its own common library."

Besides these and numerous other "ordinations" of the Order, regarding the privileged place study was to hold in the friar's training (there was, indeed, almost a "private law" of life for those who were reading for the Lector's degree) certain special exemptions from community duties, even from the choral office, were granted in individual cases. It is not surprising, then, that with such rare privileges, and safeguards to foster them, the Dominican's intellectual activities were not in name only the absorbing interest of his early life. In them, unhampered and legislated for, he lived and was happy, always conscious that what he sowed then in his laborious solitude he would afterwards reap for the benefit of his fellow-men.

His life, it has been said, was to be one of expression. Activity in the ministry of the word was to be the perfection of his mind's contemplation. Therefore, not the manner only of his apprenticeship to learning was to be qualified by its ultimate purpose; the matter still more was dictated by the general utility it was meant finally to serve. So the Dominican convents were not academies of the "Arts"; they were distinct from the old monastic schools in being exclusively intended as theological seminaries. Still, "wherever there were young brethren there was to be a Lector to teach them the Arts." This last remark

is prolific in its suggestion, and it is one which we shall find illustrated in no common degree in the histories of several prominent English Dominicans.

For if we grant now, from the minute laws of its Chapters, that the one supreme mission of the Order is the ministry of the spoken and written word, our next natural supposition is that liturgy, literature, and the arts will be pressed into the service of the professional preacher, to give solemnity, finesse, and beauty to his utterance. Nor is our expectation deceived. The perfect Dominican must be an artist in words ; and for his artistry to be a sincere and genuine thing, and no mere personal mannerism or trick of speech, he must not be afraid to use all that is humanly beautiful as a noble decoration to his work. But it will be only a decoration, even though it may be æsthetically an essential one ; it must never tend to displace the unique function of his life, the breaking of the word of Truth. It must never be so prominent as to distract the mind of the hearer from the mystery beyond, nor to satisfy the soul with its human charm and fitness. Secondary, if picturesque, will be its place in the preacher's vision of Eternal Truth. Just as in his student days the solemnity of the Divine Office was to be regulated by the length of time required for his lectures and his books, so in his active life of missionary labour the pomp and ceremonial of the altar will form a fitting background for the pulpit and the platform. Therein he, personally, will find just that sweet mental repose and rhythm necessary for the birth of ideas which will capture the intellects of men ; while on their side, his hearers will be attracted, absorbed, and rendered spiritually receptive to his words by the solemn pageant of the liturgy. Almost a classical severity, and certainly a classical grace, attends the full liturgy of the Dominican Mass and Office : the measured tread of the ministers, the moving line along

the altar steps, the regular and varied prostrations of the Office, all these slight rubrics of motion and position, if consciously realized and appreciated, cannot fail in their effect on a mind that is at all susceptible to the charm of even physical regularity and decorum. It was to provide a fitting stage for this liturgical splendour that the spacious churches, with their gloriously proportioned length of choir, were erected in London, Gloucester, and Norwich—to mention but a few names in a land that boasted a Dominican convent in every town of any importance. No wonder the youth of Oxford flocked to the church of the friars to be thrilled by the spectacle of a solemn Community Mass!¹

Yet all this was intended simply as a means to an end. It was only the liturgical setting, fitting in every sense, including the artistic, evolved gradually by men who had a sure genius for religion to bring into prominence the Word made Flesh broken on the altar of sacrifice, and the preacher's word of truth broken from the pulpit in the attuned ears of men.

II

PREACHING, then, from his garnered store of wisdom, human and divine, both orally and through the broader medium of the written page, was the *magnum opus* of the friar's life; and because it was his chief and only business, it took on the proportions of his life itself. All his human faculties, of mind and will, of observation, of memory, his logical instinct, the objects that came to him by sight and touch and hearing, all con-

¹ Blessed Humbert de Romanis committed to four friars of England, France, Germany, and Lombardy the task of revising the entire liturgy of the Dominican Order, and when the desired uniformity was attained it was to be strictly observed by the whole Order. (Echard, i. 143. Script. Ord. Prædicat.)

tributed to his ever-increasing fund of knowledge. Nothing was too small, nothing too high, for him to cull from it some fresh insight into human nature, or from which to draw some apt illustration that would infuse the breath of life into his words. And because his duty was to speak to men about their life, he made himself familiar with every department of their daily lives. He understood the embryonic literature, the primitive drama of their day. Not content with this, he himself became the pioneer both of their drama and their literature. Through the medium of both he determined his message should reach the hearts of men.

There is no need, we feel, to insist on the human wisdom that saw the necessity and possibilities of this method of "preaching." It was, of course, the direct and intended result of the Dominican's training in the schools. Not in vain had he threaded his way through the labyrinth of psychology and explored its myriad branching highways and unaccountable blind alleys. His reward was the power to visualize, in a proportion unwarped by the bias and prejudice that lack of insight too often involves, the common inequality between mind and will, purpose and final achievement ; between the tendency to the downward grade and aspirations to the sublime : in a word, all the contradictions and inconsistencies of character that go to make up the "personal equation" in every individual. He was the accredited surveyor of all the potentialities of a man's varied personality. He was an expert psychologist.

It was this acute insight into human proclivities for good and evil that taught him the value of liturgy as a religious influence, and inspired him to familiarize men with the divine truths through a broader and more secular medium. Probably the suggestion came from the dramatic character of the Mass itself (for

obviously Drama is inherent in the very ritual of the Church), to present in a spectacular form and for the purpose of instruction various incidents from the Bible, and the lives of the Saints. Stories which were taken from the Bible were called *Mysteries*; those taken from the lives of the Saints, *Miracle Plays*.¹ At once the friar recognized the value of these primitive dramatic forms for popularizing religious truth and presenting it in a palatable way to the mind and imagination of the people. He adopted the methods at his hand as a practical means of spreading his eternal message. Indeed, there is ample evidence to show that in this direction his zeal was not always too restrained, and that he was not averse from these semi-religious performances taking place within the sacred precincts of the church itself. For the Constitutions of the Order condemn the practice (presumably prevalent enough) of holding the Mysteries and Miracle Plays in the church and adjoining graveyard, and forbid it altogether on the grounds that the excitement and enthusiasm thereby provoked may tend to irreverence and lack of decorum in the holy places.

How successful these representations were in their purpose of enlisting the public interest in religion is placed beyond question by the extent to which they gradually developed. As early as 1233 the parish clerks of London formed themselves into a Harmonic Guild; and the popularity of Mysteries led them to add acting to the entertainment which they were prepared to provide. A fresh impetus was given to the movement in 1311, when the Council of Vienne revived the feast of Corpus Christi which had been instituted in 1264 by Urban IV. The Trade Gilds observed this festival as a public holiday, and a performance of the Mysteries was soon added to the religious procession. Ultimately,

¹ Cf. the significance of the Crib at Christmas.

from the original Christmas and Easter scenes which had formed the nucleus of the whole, a complete cycle of plays was formed, starting from the Creation and Fall, embracing certain Old Testament episodes with a special bearing on the Gospel narrative, tracing in detail the principal events in the life of Christ, and rounding off the whole with the Judgement.

A similar growth, resulting in a "legend-cycle," attended the Miracles, or the English lives of the Saints. At the time when this activity was at its height, the Italian Dominican, James of Voragine, Bishop of Genoa, wrote a similar cycle in Latin prose, with the title "Legenda Aurea." The exact correspondence between his work and that of some of the English legends has given rise to the theory that the Golden Legend was the source of many of the English lives of the Saints. But whatever may be the value of this likeness, it is highly probable that the original imitators of the Italian friar's work were Dominicans who had known James or his "Legenda" in Italy. It was only to be expected, therefore, that they would promote it in a country which took so naturally to this popular form of religious instruction.

The friar, then, who, with the rest of his fellow-workers, allowed the teaching of the Church to find in the Miracles and Mysteries a most attractive ally, not only served his own ends as a preacher of truth, but helped to lay the foundations, in however modest a fashion, of Elizabethan drama. Speaking generally, it may be said that English drama was born under the shadow of the Church and nurtured by her for religious purposes. The value of the spectacular appeal in an age when printing was unknown was of profound importance. Had not the Church fostered the drama for her own purposes during the Middle Ages it would not have been the force it was in the age of the Renaissance.

III

IN literature proper the Friar Preacher found a still broader scope for his activity. Liturgy, both in its strict sense and in its development in the direction of the drama, served a valuable purpose in his hands. But its influence was of necessity only transient, and the need was felt of a more permanent medium. It is not surprising, then, to find the Dominican using the written word to convey his message to men; and because he was pledged to the spread of truth he seems to have identified himself in his writings with almost every department of literature. History, ascetical theology, biography, book-making, philosophy, even agriculture, all claimed his attention, and drew some new grace from his devotion. If, as St. Catherine of Siena wrote, the vocation of St. Dominic was "towards the Word," it was surely fitting for his sons to employ thus the word of men, with all its possibilities, to carry out the designs of their founder.

In the region of history the outstanding name is that of Nicholas Trivet, or Trevet¹ (1258-1328). His life and work provide a picture of a typical Dominican of the age. "After having received the rudiments of his education in the metropolis, Trivet removed to the university of Oxford to pursue his higher studies in philosophy and theology; and having spent some years in this noted seminary of learning, he, in accordance with the custom of the age, proceeded to Paris to complete his studies. It was in this famous foreign university that he directed his attention to the history of his country, diligently examining, as he tells us in his preface, the French and Norman chronicles, and

¹ "Trevet," according to an ingenious anagram to be found in his treatise on the Mass, appears to be the more correct form.

faithfully extracting whatever had reference to the English nation." (Preface, p. vii, *Nicolai Triveti, O.P., Annales* ed. Hog). "The exact time of his entering the Dominican Order is uncertain. Some conjecture that, having been educated in their house in London,¹ he at an early age received the tonsure ; other writers imagine that his early residence amongst them proved, in later life, the inducement for his embracing that new and flourishing institute ; but at all events it is certain that he was a friar in the community in London which, about 1256, exchanged their first confined residence for a commodious site near Castle Baynard. This, by the aid and patronage of Edward I, his Queen, and Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, they were enabled to purchase ; and here they erected a stately church and convent, which had afterwards the privilege of sanctuary. The church, says Stow, was large and richly adorned ; and as a proof of the worth of the inmates of the convent, we have but to repeat the eulogy of Leland, who says that he found in its library "no inconsiderable number of books." . . . "We know . . . for certain that he subsequently taught in the schools at Oxford, between which and his convent at London was spent the remainder of his laborious and learned life, divided between devotion and the composition of many excellent works." (*Ibid.*, pp. vii and viii.)

Trivet's most important work is a history (written in Latin) of the six Angevin Kings of England. The full title of the book is : *The Annals of the Six Kings of England, who were descended from the Counts of Anjou*. It embraces a period of one hundred and

¹ Whether in his tender years he was confided to the care of the Dominicans, who first entered England in 1221, is not quite so certain. Practically all the "testimonial letters" printed in Anthony Hall's edition of the *Annals* (Oxford, from the Sheldon Theatre, 1719) agree that Trivet was educated in London by the Dominicans, and that he joined the Order in due course.

seventy years, commencing with the reign of Stephen in 1136, and ending somewhat abruptly at the death of Edward I in 1307. In compiling his *Annals*, Trivet informs us that he had carefully made collections, during his residence in Paris, from the French chroniclers, and that, in contemporary events, he had faithfully endeavoured to obtain the best evidence from credible witnesses, an assertion which is amply borne out by the narrative itself ; for where he has occasion to extract from other authors, or to give insertion to State documents, his truthfulness and accuracy are proved by the fact that these, with the exception of an occasional clerical error, are often nearer to original contemporary MSS. than those which appear in the great collections of Wilkins or Rymer. His style is smooth, clear, and agreeable ; sometimes highly graphic in describing stirring incidents, and often not inelegant. Nor is this to be wondered at, for, besides composing commentaries on some of the early fathers, he has written glosses on Livy, Ovid, Valerius Maximus, and the two Senecas.

“ As a historian, Trivet is always judicious and never violent. In relating the misdeeds of King John, both in his brother Richard’s reign and in his own, he is contented with stating the simple facts as they occurred in a straightforward manner, abstaining from all vituperation ; and what is deserving of blame in Edward I he reprovcs with all frankness, plainly, as if this monarch had not been his contemporary sovereign. . . .

“ But there is yet a more pleasing feature which characterizes our author’s writings, and that is the devout spirit pervading his History. Had we no other evidence of his having been a Dominican, the numerous references to this celebrated Order, and the affection with which he introduces the eminent men whom it then produced, would be sufficient to prove that he

was a worthy son of its illustrious Founder. It is true, indeed, that on several occasions, to the dissatisfaction of the historical reader, he has omitted transactions of some importance, to enlarge with affectionate earnestness on the merits of his master, or on the worth and virtues of the distinguished men who were nurtured in the observance of his rule; and instances occur, especially in the reign of Henry III, in which, in a manner, he has almost wholly abandoned political for religious history. But to the enthusiastic student of history in its higher sense, as a record of the mind of the age, this can be no reproach. Our author wrote in a period when it was impossible to disjoin Civil from Ecclesiastical history. Devotion to God, and to His Church as the sole depository of truth, was not only a deep and active feeling in the mind of the historian, but in the mind also of the age; and if the reader be desirous to trace the causes of its great events, and the motives and sincerity of its leading men, no dry narrative of facts can furnish him with proper materials for the discovery, unless he viewed the period in some measure through the same medium as his historical guides." (*Ibid.*, pp. viii, ix, x, xi.)

Trivet's literary style is strong, lucid, and graphic. Even when translated it loses little of its power and clearness. Here is his description of the personality of Edward I¹: "He was of elegant build and lofty stature, exceeding the height of the ordinary man by a head and shoulders. His abundant hair was yellow in childhood, black in manhood, and snowy white in age. His brow was broad and his features regular, save that his left eyelid drooped somewhat, like that of his father, and hid part of the pupil. He spoke with a stammer, which did not, however, detract from the persuasiveness of his eloquence. His sinewy,

¹ *The Political History of England*, vol. iii, by T. F. Tout, ch. vii, p. 136.

muscular arms were those of the consummate swordsman, and his long legs gave him a firm hold in the saddle when riding the most spirited of steeds. His chief delight was in war and tournaments, but he derived great pleasure from hawking and hunting, and had a special joy in chasing down stags on a fleet horse and slaying them with a sword instead of a hunting spear. His disposition was magnanimous, but he was intolerant of injuries, and reckless of danger when seeking revenge, though easily won over by a humble submission." Of St. Edmund of Canterbury he writes: "The Blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who fell sick in France at the little town called Seysi, putting off at length this present misery, entered into the pastures of eternal freshness, where, following the Lamb of God whithersoever He goeth, he received the reward of his striving—from his childhood he was withdrawn from worldly pleasures by his most holy mother, and taught to devote himself to fasting and watchings, and to use a hair-shirt next to his flesh. She instilled into him, and he had piously drunk in so great a sweetness for the name of Christ in his tender years, that he retained it in the highest measure when he was old and advanced in virtue, and although many profited by his reading when he became a Doctor of Theology at Oxford, yet he drew many more to our Lord by his assiduous preaching, for which he made ample leisure. In his company he always had Friar Preachers, one of whom, a very old and religious man, was accustomed to relate in my hearing this story concerning him. One day, when distinguished guests had been invited to the Archbishop's table, and he himself—a thing unusual for him—was late in coming to dinner, Master Richard, his Chancellor, who was more intimate with him than the others, went to the chapel where he was in the habit of praying, to summon him. Opening the door a little, and looking in, he saw

him praying, raised a great distance from the ground, with his knees bent and his hands outstretched and joined. Coming down to earth in a little while, he turned to the Chancellor and complained with a sigh that he had hindered him in the noblest delights, and added that in this most sweet contemplation he saw the souls of King Richard and of Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, delivered from purgatory."

The whole book abounds in biographical sketches and anecdotes of this kind, all told with a delightful terseness and naïveness of expression.

The arrangement of the work is scholarly and concise. At the head of each new section is a table which gives the year of our Lord, the names of the reigning Pope, King of the Romans, King of France, and King of England; while under each name is a numeral indicating the number of years since accession to the throne. This is an invaluable plan to ensure an intelligent reading of what follows. In his Prologue he sums up the idea of the History: "But although we are chiefly concerned with the affairs of the English people, we have not omitted to collate the memorable deeds of the Roman Pontiffs and Emperors, of the French Kings, and of certain others their contemporaries; intending by this the better to serve a common utility."

The notices of Trivet and his work prefixed to Hall's edition of the *Annals*, show that his worth both as writer and man was fully appreciated at a very early date. The words of three of his countrymen may be quoted as examples. Sir Richard Baker in his *Catalogue of Authors*: "Nicolas Trivet, born in Norfolk, of a worshipful family, became a Dominican Frier, writ many excellent Books in Divinity and Philosophy; also Annals of the English Kings, from King Stephen to King Edward the Second, and lived in the year 1307." Bishop Pearson, in a *Letter to Bishop Fell*:

“ In the Edition of the Latin Historians of England, I know not whether you have taken notice of Nicolas Trivet, a very excellent Chronologer.” James Tyrrell, in his preface to the second volume of his *General History of England*: “ To all these I must likewise add the *Annals* of Nicholas Trivet . . . this Nicholas was Prior of a Monastery of Dominican Friars in London. . . . This learned Frier wrote a General History of Europe, in which he gives us an exact Synchronism of Popes, Emperors, and Kings, in the order in which they lived ; but as he is more large and exact in the affairs of England . . . I have therefore extracted from him divers curious passages relating to our history which are not to be found in other authors.”

As a final tribute to the value of Trivet's work the words of Professor Tout¹ may be quoted : “ In striking contrast to the flowing periods of Hemingburgh is the well-written and chronologically digested *Annals* of the Dominican friar, Nicholas Trivet. . . . Beginning in 1138, his work assumes independent value for the latter year of Henry III, and is of first-rate importance for the reign of Edward I, at whose death it concludes, though Trivet was certainly alive in 1324. It was largely used by the later St. Albans' Chroniclers.”

The *Annals* did not exhaust the literary activity of the Dominican friar. His wide learning made him competent to write at length on such various subjects as A Universal History of the World to the time of Christ ; Astronomy ; the Eclipses of the Sun and the Moon ; Moral Theology ; the Problems of Aristotle ; with commentaries on several books of the Bible ; St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and Boethius ; and glosses on Livy, Ovid, Juvenal, Valerius Maximus, and the two Senecas. Besides these he wrote several *Opuscula* on points of Christian Theology, a volume on

¹ Op. cit., p. 456.

The Mass and its Parts, and another on *The Office of the Mass*.

Hog, in his Preface, describes what he is convinced is a portrait of Nicholas Trivet. "There is a miniature painting in the initial A of 'Atheniensium' (the first word of Trivet's prologue) which represents a friar rather under the middle age, in the Dominican habit, seated on a low stool raised a step above the floor. On his left hand in a recess there is a book, and on his right a small lectern, on which there lies an open volume. His attitude is that of one giving instruction. The tonsure is very large, leaving, as is usual with the Dominicans, a very narrow crown of hair. The eyes and expression are mild and gentle, but at the same time earnest and firm."¹

Trivet, as writer and teacher, seems to have realized the Dominican ideal in such a high degree that we have not hesitated to accord him a considerable space in these pages. What he did so well, others, whose names and writings are too numerous even to catalogue, achieved according to their ability and opportunity. With the Friar Preacher writing was always a ready and popular way of defending and spreading the truth.

IV

ONE of the Dominican friars, whom, according to Trivet, St. Edmund always had in his suite, seems to have been Robert Bacon,² uncle of the more famous Roger Bacon, the Franciscan. Wood³ calls Robert Bacon the first Dominican writer in England; and Trivet gives a short account of his life and work in

¹ Hall's edition of the *Annals* has for frontispiece an engraving of this miniature.

² Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, vol. i, p. 118.

³ *Annals*, i, p. 192.

Annals, i, p. 193. He was born towards the year 1170 and died in 1248. He entered the Order whilst Regent in Theology at Oxford, and taught in the schools of St. Edward for many years—the first Dominican to lecture at Oxford. His writings include a Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, a work esteemed as “very useful in his own time”; a moral gloss on a portion of the Psalter, a collection of sermons, and the Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury. Another work that has become a classic in its own branch of literature—*The Ancren Riwele*—has recently been ascribed to him by a modern writer.

Of the biography, written in Latin, and indispensable for future writers, it is sufficient to say that it is a stately monument to the holy friendship that always existed between the friar and the Archbishop. Simple and direct in its style, it has all the personal touches, the familiar anecdotes, that intimacy alone can provide and sanction. Dom Wallace, O.S.B., has printed it as an appendix to his *Life of St. Edmund*.

If the new theory¹ as to the authorship of the *Ancren Riwele* is accepted, then Robert Bacon stands in the forefront of English ascetical writers. Ten Brink, in his *English Literature*, vol. i, p. 200, says of it: “The most notable prose monument of the time is the first after a long interval that may be compared with the products of former centuries. . . . This work betokens much learning, great knowledge of the human heart, as well as deep piety, and a refined and gentle spirit. Within the scope of a sharply limited view of

¹ Vide “The Authorship of the *Ancren Riwele*,” by Fr. Vincent McNabb, O.P. Reprint from the *Modern Language Review*, vol. xi, No. 1, January, 1916, Cambridge University Press. In this paper the writer sets out to prove that (1) the *Ancren Riwele* was written by an English Dominican friar, and (2) this English Dominican friar was probably Friar Robert Bacon, O.P. The argument, based for the most part on internal evidence, is strongly convincing. We have no space to enter into details here.

life, it shows breadth of mind and freedom of thought." And on p. 201: "As a whole the work evinces the effect of a learning given to subtle distinctions. And with it is that feeling for allegory and parable which, awakened by the Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church, developed most richly under the most various influences in the later Middle Ages, and which a strongly expanding mysticism moulded to its purposes. . . . Everywhere are images, illustrations. We cannot fail to recognize the working of the new schools of preachers. . . ."

The *Ancren Riwele* (Anchoresses' Rule) is a book of spiritual instruction and guidance addressed, at their urgent request, to three noble sisters, the inmates of a small cloister at Tarente in Dorset. While the author is very outspoken, blunt, and direct, he has a vein of simple humour and an exalted devotional fervour. Divine love, in his hands, seems to take on a new mystical value. "Thus divine love," says Ten Brink (i, p. 200), "in the mediæval sense, became a new theme in English literature, before secular love-poetry, as it had 'sprung up in the valley of Provence' more than a hundred years before, could take root there. The impulse proceeding from France, which then had spread over Germany and was beginning to make itself felt in Italy, in English-speaking England, first affected the religious literature. From this came a new rise of prose, and the growth of a new lyrical poetry."

Robert Bacon, then, if the author of the *Ancren Riwele*, was responsible for a new element in English religious prose. "The original dialect of the English text," writes Mr. Macaulay,¹ "was South-Western with a tinge of Midland. This was a kind of standard literary language at one time."

¹ Late editor of *The Modern Language Review*. He was greatly interested in the Baconian theory of authorship.

From the list given by Echard of the English Dominican writers—to the number of eighty—who lived between 1221 and 1500, a few further names may be selected. They are the names of men who did pioneer work in various lines of literature. With the name of Robert Holkot (died of the plague, 1349), some time librarian to the Bishop of Durham, is associated a book which marks the beginning of a new type of literary work—the *Philobiblon*, or *The Love of Books*.¹ For some reason (probably because the book was written at the request of the Bishop) “Richard de Bury” is usually printed as the name of the author; but certain passages make it certain that Holkot was really the writer.² The fact that the sub-title is “On the Setting-up of Libraries” gives further evidence of identification. “Probably the truth is represented,” says the *Dictionary of National Biography*, “by the title found in several manuscripts: *Incipit prologus Philobiblon Ricardi Dunelmensis episcopi quem librum compilavit Robertus Holkote de Ordine Prædicatorum sub nomine dicti episcopi*. (Here begins the prologue of the *Philobiblon* of Richard, Bishop of Durham; which book Robert Holkote, of the Order of Preachers, compiled under the name of the aforesaid bishop.) In other words, Holkot wrote the book at the request of and in the name of the bishop, apparently to celebrate his 58th birthday, 24 Jan., 1344-5, while the bishop’s supervision and co-operation need not be excluded.”

The *Philobiblon*, originally written in Latin, is concerned with the love of learning and the collecting of books for that purpose. As Holkot himself, according to Echard, was a man of “incredible industry, and given to much labour,” his words were prompted by

¹ It is interesting to note a parallel between Holkot’s book and that of St. Louis’s librarian, the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais, who compiled an encyclopædia.

² Cf. Echard, i, p. 631.

personal experience. He devotes an entire chapter to the praises of his Order on account of the "burning zeal for books" displayed by its members. And, whereas all religions contributed to the spread of knowledge, "yet we deservedly praise the Preachers with special commendation in this respect, because we have found that they, before all other religious, have made, ungrudgingly, the most free communication of their works." Besides this Holkot wrote commentaries on the Book of Wisdom, the Canticle of Canticles, and Ecclesiasticus; "Questions" on the Sentences and moral Theology; and *The Moralities of History*.

A book we should expect to represent a type of writing popular with a Friar Preacher comes from the pen of John Bromyard (†1390). His *Summa Prædicantium* or *Preachers' Summa* was at the time a unique and novel contribution to pulpit literature. It is a book of vast proportions, and deals exhaustively with almost every point of moral and dogmatic theology. The arrangement of the subject-matter in alphabetical order, with minutely exact references (to which, he says in the prologue, he has given very careful attention) invests the work with a real practical value. But certainly its outstanding achievement is the multitude of illustrative examples, indicated by the word "Example" in the margin, by which the writer gives point to all his arguments. In this he followed the mind of St. Dominic, whose instructions, we are told, "were rich in illustrations." His familiarity with the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas is evinced by the phraseology he constantly uses to introduce a subject, while quotations from the Fathers and the ancient writers of Rome are in frequent requisition. Bromyard's masterpiece is a scholarly work and an excellent specimen of the Preacher's mental equipment in those times. *A Theological Dictionary, A Treatise against the Wycliffites,*

and several books on divine, canon, and civil law, are amongst the remainder of his writings.

In connection with this movement towards alphabetical books of reference it is interesting to notice the genesis of the Biblical concordance. "Verbal concordances to the Bible are the invention of the Dominican Friars. . . . The first concordance, completed in 1230, was undertaken under the guidance of Hugo de Saint Cher, assisted, it is said, by 500 fellow-Dominicans. It contained no quotations, and was purely an index to passages where a word was found. . . . It was of little service to preachers, therefore; accordingly, in order to make it valuable to them, three English Dominicans added (1250-1252) the complete quotations of the passages indicated."¹ The "three English Dominicans" were John of Darlington, Hugh of Croydon, and Richard Stavensby. Of the first-named, Trivet writes in *Annals*, i, 250: "In this year (1276) Brother John of Darlington, of the Order of Preachers, at one time confessor to King Henry, was made by Papal authority collector of the tithes in the kingdom of England. By his zeal and industry the great Concordances, which are called the 'English Concordances,' were edited."²

A book on "Hosebandrie" is the last we propose to bring in evidence of the Preachers' versatility. It was written in French, about the middle of the thirteenth century, by Walter of Henley. This book, says the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was "the best treatise on the subject until Fitzherbert's *Boke of Husbandrie* appeared in 1523." Latin versions of the original text seem to have been common, while one of the English translations was printed by Wynkyn de

¹ *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. iv, p. 195.

² The whole question of the "Concordance" is dealt with in the scriptural section of this series. It is sufficient here simply to state its Dominican origin.

Worde. There is a unique copy of this in Cambridge University Library entitled "Boke of Husbandry, which Mayster Groshede sotyme Bysshop of Lyncoln made and translated it out of Frensshe into Englysshe." It concludes "Here endeth the Boke of Husbandry and of plantynge and graftyng of Trees and Vynes."

These varied illustrations, then, seem to give sufficient indication that the English Dominicans had a very practical connection with the Liturgy, Literature, and the Arts¹ of their country. Not that they ever made the cultivation of letters their first care; they were content to busy themselves with the making of books in following out their vocation as Preachers of the Word. For this their training eminently fitted them; and what they achieved in so many directions proved their fidelity to the Spirit and Work of the Order.

The following list has been prepared to give some idea of subjects and writers:—

*Subject**Author*

THE BIBLE :

Concordance . . .	John Darlington. Hugh Croydon. Richard Stavensby.
General . . .	Robert Kilwardby. Nicholas Trivet.

¹ Certainly the connection with the fine arts is less pronounced, but this seems only to reflect the artistic temper of the time, at least in England. Poetry, at any rate, was still a weakling, and its real development synchronized almost exactly with the dissolution of the monasteries. Still, there is a distinct hint of Dominican influence on didactic poetry. The *Ayenbite of Inwyf* was inspired by the *Livre des Vices et des Vertus* of the French friar Lorens. Dom Michel's "Bite of Conscience" "later became very popular in England, being often imitated in prose and verse." It found many an echo in the religious lyrics of the time. Cf. Ten Brink, *Eng. Lit.*, p. 283.

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Author</i>
Pentateuch (<i>portions</i>)	Thomas of Wales. William Macclesfield. Robert Bacon.
Genesis } . . .	Nicholas Trivet.
Exodus } . . .	
Leviticus } . . .	
Josue } . . .	Thomas of Wales.
Judges } . . .	
Kings	William Rothwell.
Job	Robert the Englishman. Thomas Langford. Thomas of Wales.
Psalms	William Rothwell. Richard Fishacre. Nicholas Trivet. Robert Bacon.
7 Penitential	Walter Joyce.
Sapiential Books	Nicholas Trivet. Robert Holkot. Thomas of Wales.
Proverbs	Richard Fishacre. Simon the Englishman.
Canticles	Thomas Stubbs.
Ecclesiasticus	William Rothwell.
Major Prophets	Nicholas Trivet. Simon the Englishman.
Isaias	Thomas of Wales.
Ezechiel	Robert Kilwardby.
Daniel	Robert the Englishman Robert Kilwardby.
Minor Prophets	Nicholas Trivet.

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Author</i>
Minor Prophets .	Robert Holkot.
(<i>contd.</i>)	Robert Kilwardby.
	Simon the Englishman.
	Thomas of Wales.
Machabees .	Simon the Englishman.
New Testament .	Nicholas Trivet.
	Thomas of Wales.
	(<i>exc. Apocalypse</i>).
Four Gospels .	Robert Holkot.
St. Matthew } .	Robert the Englishman.
St. Luke } .	
St. John } .	
Epistles of St. Paul .	William Rothwell.
Romans	Robert Kilwardby.
	Thomas Norwood.
I and II Corinthians } .	Robert Kilwardby.
Latin Fathers } .	
SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY	William Kingham.
	William Rothwell.
	William Southampton.
	John Lincoln.
	John Skelton.
	Richard Fishacre.
	Thomas Claxton.
	Thomas Joyce.
	Thomas Norwood.
	Thomas of Wales.
	Robert Holkot.
	Robert Kilwardby.
On St. Thomas Aquinas	William Macclesfield.

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Author</i>
THEOLOGY . . .	Walter Joyce. William Macclesfield. William Southampton. John Darlington. Richard Fishacre. Richard Winchelsea. Robert Bacon. Robert Holkot. Robert Kilwardby. Thomas Joyce. Thomas Langford. Thomas Lyld. Thomas Palmer. Thomas Sutton.
Ascetical Theology . . .	Robert Bacon.
Against Heresies . . .	Thomas Joyce. John Bromyard. Robert Humbleton. Roger Dymock. Thomas Palmer. Robert Holkot. Thomas of Wales. John Black.
Moral Theology . . .	Walter Joyce. Nicholas Trivet. Robert Holkot. Thomas Stubbs.
Priesthood and Religious Life . . .	Thomas Stubbs.
Inquisition . . .	Robert Holkot.

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Author</i>
Rule of St. Augustine .	Nicholas Trivet.
Exegetical Theology .	Acton the Englishman. William Kingham. John Bromyard. Nicholas Gorham. Robert Holkot. Thomas Langford. Thomas Lyld. Thomas Stubbs. Thomas of Wales.
Books for Preachers .	John Bromyard. Nicholas Gorham. Robert Holkot. Thomas of Wales.
On the Art of Preaching	Thomas of Wales. Robert Holkot.
PHILOSOPHY :	
On Aristotle . . .	Abraham Walden. William Macclesfield. William Rothwell. John the Englishman. John Lincoln. Nicholas Trivet. Robert York. Robert Holkot. Robert Kilwardby. Richard Winchelsea. Thomas Joyce. Thomas Sutton. Thomas of Wales.
Immortality of Soul .	Robert Holkot.

<i>Subject</i>		<i>Author</i>
ASTRONOMY	. .	Nicholas Trivet. Robert Holkot.
Alchemy	. .	Robert York.
HISTORY	. . .	Thomas Langford.
Annals	. . .	Nicholas Trivet.
Lives of Saints	. .	Robert Bacon. Rudolph Bocking.
Annals of English Province	. .	Clement Scott and many anonymous.
HUMANITIES	. .	Nicholas Trivet. Thomas of Wales.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

VIII. AT THE REFORMATION

By BEDE JARRETT, O.P.

THERE is something pitiful in the tale of the English Reformation, from whichever side it is regarded ; from the side of the Reformers there was much done that is now repudiated by their descendants and no little that is wholly unsavoury ; from the side of the Catholics there is the amazing silence of a people who watched dumbly, with uncomprehending eyes, their Faith stolen from them at the dictation of a King. Touches of heroism there were, as the names of More and Fisher supremely testify : yet all the martyrs together were but a very small band as against a whole nation. Historians have endeavoured to explain this by showing how the devotion of the people to the See of Rome had suffered under the successive blows of various scandals ; but any one who has read at first-hand the documents of that period knows that it is equally possible to prove the exact opposite ; that, considering the material as a whole, either the popularity or the unpopularity of the Faith may be abundantly demonstrated. Indeed, this is the real difficulty, the very mystery itself ; for the nation was hopelessly perplexed, not conscious of

what it wanted. Thus the Tudor mob, for example, with its shifting ideals and fashions, is a psychological study that, while it fascinates, baffles the historian.

The pitifulness of the Reformation remains as a fact ; and to this the English Province of the Preaching Friars is no exception. We read that priory after priory surrendered to the King with hardly any opposition at all. We find Bishops of the new faith recruited from the Province, visitors willing to harry their own brethren, preachers eager to turn their backs upon all their past and adapt themselves to ever-changing conditions. No one doubted that a change was being brought about and no one pretended that the Pope had not hitherto been acknowledged as "the Supreme Head under Christ." The new reformers indeed claimed that this Papal Supremacy was not of divine, but human ordinance ; but the fact of the unchallenged acceptance of that supremacy by the English people since the earliest days was too much a matter of common knowledge to be denied : "At St. Leonard's without Norwich upon Ascension eve in the year of our Lord 1535," the Dominican Prior of Norwich introduced into the bidding prayer a petition "for our Sovereign Lord, King Harry, of the Church of England, chief head so called," but he was at some pains to say "that the King should be head in ministering of Sacraments or in incensing or other such, I deny and will in any place in the world," for it is only "the King is their head *in temporalibus.*" The Prior openly admitted that this doctrine was an innovation, so that "men will marvel why I change my tale" ; but this change was to be attributed to the fact that he had meanwhile discovered that "the Bishop of Rome by the Scripture of God hath no more

power than the Bishop of Ely. . . . How came the Bishop of Rome by this power? By man's ordinance, by General Councils, and by the grant of the whole ocean (?). And whether other Countries have taken this from him or no, I cannot tell, but this I know well that the whole Council of this realm hath taken this authority from him. Here will some say: 'Sir, you seem to speak against yourself, seeing that your Order was confirmed by the Bishop of Rome.' To this I say, that so long as the Bishop of Rome was in authority, the Fathers Benet, Dominic, and Francis did well in going to him to have their rules approved. I shall put to you a familiar example, though it be gross. When Father Pennyman (and others too, that he rehearsed) were priors here, men did well to obey them, but after that such had had their authority taken from them, as might well enough be, now no man oweth obedience unto them."¹

No doubt this collapse of the English Dominicans in the face of Tudor bullying was partly due to a relaxed state of religious discipline, though it seems now generally admitted that a sharp recovery had been made in this respect from the last quarter of the fifteenth century; but part is certainly attributable to the confusion of mind among the ordinary folk, religious, clerical, and lay, as to what was the meaning of this new reform. Take this letter of John Hilsey, the Dominican Prior of Bristol, dated May 2nd, 1532, in which he refers to the sermons of Latimer which had lately been preached in that town and to the opposite opinions as to Latimer's teaching reached by people who had actually heard his words. Hilsey himself states that he had first thought Latimer was

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. VIII, p. 254.

attacking Catholic doctrine, but that he was eventually convinced that what the preacher reprobated, were certain abuses which even devout Catholics unhesitatingly condemned. The letter was addressed to the Lord Chancellor :—

“ Master Chancellor : I commend me unto you as heartily as I may think, trusting in God that you be (the which Jesu continue) in good prosperity. It is not out of your Mastership’s remembrance that in the Lent I did write unto you of the great division that was (yea and that is) among the people in the town of Bristol of the which I wrote unto you that it came by the preaching of one Master Latimer, a man unknown. I wrote to you also that he spoke of pilgrimages, worshipping of saints, worshipping of images, of purgatory, etc., the which he did vehemently persuade towards the contrary that the people were not a little offended. I wrote also that some men thought necessary to preach against him the which I supposed not best except he should be put to silence for fear of further division the which of this cause is now happened indeed. This was the occasion of my first letter, first the fame that I heard of this man, Master Latimer, before that I knew him, the which fame deceived not only me but others as well learned as I ; second was the vehement persuading against the abuse of these things as is above written, as of masses, of scala cœli pardons, the fire of hell, the state of the souls in purgatory, of faith without good works, of our Lady to be a sinner or no sinner, etc., the which I and such others did suppose that he did preach to the intent to confound these things ; whereupon both the worshipful men, Master Doctor Powell, Master Goodrich, Master Heberdyne, Master Prior of St. James and I did preach against, approving purgatory, pilgrimages, the worshipping of saints and images, also approving

that faith without works is but dead, and that our Lady being full of grace is and was without the spot of sin, but when we had done I reckon we laboured but in vain. . . . For since I have communed with Master Latimer and I have heard him preach and have imbibed his sermons, sentence for sentence, and have perceived that his mind is much more against the abusing of these things than against the things themselves. In my judgement of that that I know of Master Latimer's mind now (if he might have your licence) he would open his mind on his matter that the people should be content, and this would please the Council of the Town well for upon this they be agreed and hopeth upon your good help in it. And if I may with my little understanding further this matter to bring it unto a unity as God is my Judge ; and if he (quod absit) should hereafter say anything that should sound otherwise than the Catholical determination of the Church, there will be (those) I know that will be ready to note it with more diligence than interests. The above was my conscience, though it were for a time erroneous and deceived for lack of taking heed diligently to mark and know the abuse of the thing from the thing. The which cause I shall reserve secretly to myself lest I should seem to put other men in guilt of my facts that I do not intend. God willing who have you in His protection. Written in Bristol, 2nd May.

By me friar John Hilsey, doctor
And Prior of the friars Preachers there.¹

Here is the letter of a man who had begun by supposing the reformers to be threatening Catholic doctrine and who ended by professing to believe that they were merely endeavouring to correct certain abuses which everyone deplored. Nor does it seem that Hilsey was playing a game in thus defending

¹ *Reliquary*, 1888, pp. 78, 79.

Latimer, for all through the lifetime of Henry VIII the profession of heresy was too dangerous to be openly encouraged, so that even Latimer himself may not at first have seen whither really he was tending.

Father Edmund Hancock, O.P., an earlier Prior of Norwich, was clearer sighted than Hilsey and preached openly against the new-fangled religion. His sermon on Easter Monday, 1534, is preserved in a *resumé* in his own handwriting in the Treasury of Receipts of Exchequer, to which he prefixed this epilogue: "The said Hancock confesseth himself to be neither God nor angel but man which may err; wherefore, if he have erred in any man's judgement, he is content to submit himself under the correction and reformation of others as it shall please his superiors under the King's grace to order him." In the sermon are kindly allusions to Henry "chief lord of this land, also supreme head of the Church of England and a singular friend to the Cambridge and Oxford scholars of our Order," and also to "our most honourable lady Anne, the Queen's good grace, my lady princess, with other of the substitutes, both spiritual and temporal"; but notwithstanding these apparently submissive remarks, the friar pointed out very firmly that, in spite of what everybody was then teaching, "the word or the sentence of God determined is ever infallibly fulfilled" and therefore takes precedence of the "word or decree of man" which "is sometimes fallible"; and he further argued from the visit of the holy women to the tomb with their spices ready to anoint the body of Christ "that works must need be had with faith thereto, or else I see no Scripture to our commendations." The Mayor of Norwich, who had attended to hear the discourse, readily noted its intent; and

immediately after, when Hancock "came out of the pulpit, said to him that he marvelled what moved him to meddle with such matters" but seeing "so great people, would make no business, but required him to come to him afterwards that he might commune with him." But Friar Hancock quietly withdrew to his priory and later answered the mayoral order to appear to answer for his words by sending as his reply that he was not at home. He was "sequestered," however, by the royal visitor, Richard Ingworth, himself a Dominican, who sent Hancock up to London to clear himself before the King.

Meanwhile in that same year "was the Maid of Kent with the monks, friars and the parson of Aldermary drawn to Tyburn and then hanged and headed the 2nd day of May and the monks buried at the Blackfriars, the Observants with the Holy Maid at the Greyfriars, and the parson at his Church, Aldermary."

The terror of the reign was just beginning—a thing which was as yet something wholly new to Christendom and hence unknown before in the history of England. The Wars of the Roses had seen attainders on the battlefield; there had been the bloody executions under Richard III, who tried by slaughter to maintain his capture of the throne; there had been treasons and revolts, suppressed often with cruelty; there had been the hunting out of the Lollards; but all these were child's play, the sudden temper of a revengeful spirit, compared to the deliberate and calculated murders of Henry VIII. Debauched and passionate, scrupulous in law, "a spoiled priest," he had the wit, the power, the lust, the overbearing personal influence to seek out his victims carefully and

ruthlessly, and put them beyond the chance of an appeal.

Among the Dominicans it is curious that only the Priors seem to have made any stand against the King. We have already mentioned the Prior of Norwich ; and Cranmer writing to Cromwell on June 7th, 1534, alludes to " Friar Oliver, prior of the Blackfriars of Cambridge, which is not only a man of very small learning, sinister behaviour, ill qualities and of suspected conversation of living (as by the letters of divers well-learned personages of the same university, whereof I have sent you one, I have been credibly informed) but is also the very same man which of all others most indiscretely preached against the King's grace's great cause and most defended the authority of the Bishop of Rome and of all men most unapt to bear any rule in so noble a university, by whom also a great number of the best learned in the same is much offended : wherefore I pray you to be a mean that he may be moved from that office and that Dr. Hilsey or some other worshipful man may have it. There be in the same house of Blackfriars men of good study, living, learning, and judgement ; and pity it were but that they should have such a head and ruler as is of like qualities. And I delivered unto you about Easter last past or else afore, a certain billet containing such matter as the same friar Oliver preached in the last Lent, which bill if ye had remembered I doubt not but that you would have provided for some other friar afore this time ; albeit (if it may please you now to remember him) there is no time yet lost, but that the same may be renewed again."

Again it is the Dominican Prior of Bristol, by name William Oliver, who had succeeded Hilsey (himself

now Provincial) in that office, who was accused to the King on May 7th, 1537, of teaching many things contrary to the theological opinions of the Royal "Head of the Church." It is curious that, like the Prior of Norwich, the Prior of Bristol took up what most people would call a very moderate and reasonable attitude, and yet found himself in collision with the new religion. Over and over again it is clear that there was no compromise possible between Henry and his opponents. Without Elizabeth's tact, with more intellectual ability and even the stinging remnant of a conscience, Henry forced his own views heavily on the kingdom. Even so temperate a statement as this of Prior Oliver was not allowed to pass unchallenged: "First concerning justification he said that faith alone justified as it doth appear in diverse places of Scripture and that a man could not fruitfully work before he was justified by faith in Christ, and that he so justified must needs work and see to the edifying and necessity of his neighbour, and that this faith could no less be unprofitable or without works than the Sun without his beams of light, nor as the good tree or fresh green plant could not choose but bring forth good fruit, even so might not faith be void or barren without good works. Secondly, he said that although one had ten cart-loads of cowls or friars' habits whether they were of Francis Order or of St. Dominic's, of which he was one himself, and that if that might do good he thought his Order one of the oldest in England yet could not avail without faith, nor a whole ship laden with friars' girdles nor a dung-cart full of monks' cowls and boots would not help to justification. . . . Also he prayed God there were no privy nor thin hearts nor close festered stomachs among them as he trusted there were

none, but that every man might be true to God and to his prince as they ought to be and as they are bound by the law of God."¹

Again, in 1536, Cranmer informs the King on 26th August that the Prior of Canterbury, in the very city of the Archbishop, had dared denounce and decry the deposition in England of the Pope as Vicar of God: "although he was so taught" admits Cranmer "this three or four hundred years" and "though my two sermons were long. I was informed by sundry reports that the people were glad until such time as the Prior of the Blackfriars of Canterbury preached a sermon as it was thought reported clean contrary unto all the three things which I had preached before."

Moreover, the Prior further attacked the Archbishop for his uncharitable references to the Popes, saying "openly to me in a good audience that he knew no vices of none of the Bishops of Rome," and upholding the theological principle that "the Church never erred."

A fifth Prior to be reported to the King, and in this case actually to suffer the supreme penalty, was John Pickering, Prior of the Dominicans of York, who was beheaded on May 25th, 1537. His crime was undoubtedly partly political, for he had taken part in the Pilgrimage of Grace and was considered one of the abettors of that rebellion. The Government of the day supplied a confession for him in which he admitted "his errors" and gave whole-hearted allegiance to the Royal Supremacy; but like most of the confessions that condemned people were stated to have written out, its authenticity is in dispute. It is difficult to see why Pickering should have been put to death,

¹ *Reliquary*, 1888, p. 79.

if he really were devoted to the King's cause; for religious possessed of his influence in the Northern Shires were a much-needed instrument in the propaganda of the new doctrines. Anyway, he was "hanged, headed, and quartered," along with three others, "and that same day at Tyburn was a young friar of the Blackfriars brought up, for because he desired the heart of him (that brought him up) to have it and to burn it, the sheriff sent him to Newgate and there he was a fortnight or more" says the Chronicle of the Grey friars of London.

The last Prior to be mentioned is Richard Marshall, of Newcastle-on-Tyne: his letter, though often quoted, will bear repetition. It was written in the spring of 1537 when he fled into Scotland and is addressed "to the fathers and brethren of the convent of Blackfriars in Newcastle. Fathers and brethren, I recommend me unto you, desiring to hear of your good welfare, which Jesu preserve ever to His pleasure, etc. The cause of my writing to you is this time to show that for fear of my life I am fled, for because of my preaching in Advent and also in Lent the first Sunday, I am noted to be none of the King's friends though albeit that I love the man as a true Christian man ought to do, but by cause that I have not, according to the King's commandment in my sermons prayed for him as the supreme head of the Church, neither declaring him in my sermons to be the supreme head of the Church but rather contrary I have declared St. Peter the Apostle and his successors to be Christ's Vicars on earth and that unto Peter Christ gave the care and charge of all the Churches of the world and that unto other apostles Christ gave the care and charge of other particular Churches, some of one country and some of another

(thus did I the forenoon of the first Sunday); of which words it followeth that the King cannot be the supreme head of the Church of England but rather the successors of Peter. I was also admonished shortly to preach in Newcastle and both to pray for him as the supreme head and also so to declare him unto the people, which thing I cannot do lawfully, first, because it is against the Scripture of God, taken in a true sense: second, it is against the doctrine of the Church Catholic and Apostolic, as it appeareth in the decrees, decretals, etc., which doctrine of Holy Church I was sworn openly in the University of Oxford to declare it to my power and ever to stick unto it and that I should never affirm anything neither in schools nor in preaching nor elsewhere that is contrary to the determination of the same Church, Catholic and Apostolic. Thirdly, that is against many general councils. Fourthly, that is against the interpretation of all the holy doctors as Irenæus, Cyprian, Augustine, Jerome, etc. Fifthly, that is against the doctrine of all the Universities and general schools of all Christendom, save a few certain Universities lately corrupt and poisoned with Luther's heresies. Sixthly, that is against the consent of all Christian people which has received Peter's successors as supreme head of the Church Catholic ever more unto this time. Seventhly, that is against my profession which I made to be obedient unto the Master of the Holy (Dominican) Order and successors according to the institutions of Friars Preachers who in it evidently declare that *ordo noster est summo Pontifici Romano immediate subjectus*. For these seven causes I cannot lawfully do as I was commanded of the King by his letters, neither as I was admonished of his servant and chaplain. Wherefore

I could not abide in England without falling in the King's indignation which as the Scripture says is death: *Indignatio, inquit, principis mors est.* Thus I have thought it better for me to flee and give place to ire as Christ commanded me to do and as both He and His disciples with many other good men have done and day by day than I would tarry and preach false doctrine against my conscience or yet to tarry and suffer death as others have done, for *spiritus quidem promptus est caro autem infirma.* I am in heart well willing to die in these my opinions, notwithstanding I feel my flesh grudge with death. Wherefore Fathers and dear brethren all for the premises in this present writing I give up my office and request you to choose you another prior. Secondary, I beseech you all to pray for me as your poor brother in Christ and now in Christ's cause departed from you, so committing myself to you in Jesu who ever save you all as I would be saved myself. Amen. Vester, Richardus Marshall."¹

This is a pitiful tale, for not out of such stuff are martyrs made. With him, or rather before him, in that northern flight was Robert Buckenham, Prior of Cambridge, who found a resting-place for a while in Edinburgh, and then fled again to Louvain, living there in the Dominican priory "having little acquaintance," as Cranmer's spy, Theobald, informed his master.

These seven priors seem almost alone in raising their voices in protest; of them, two for certain fled overseas and one was beheaded. The fate of the rest is unknown to us. The only other who demands mention is referred to by Ingworth, Bishop of Dover,

¹ *Reliquary*, 1878, pp. 163, 164.

in his account of "the Blackfriars at Worcester . . . a proper house, but all is in decay. There was an ankress with whom I had not a little business to have her grant to come out—but out she is." The whole body of friars seem to have melted out of existence, save for a chance reference to an English Dominican in some Flemish or French or Italian convent. Among the hierarchy only the figure of Athequa of Aragon, Bishop of Llandaff and Confessor of Queen Catherine of Aragon, ranged himself by the side of Fisher, and refused to take the oath which acknowledged the validity of Anne Boleyn's marriage with the King. His Spanish nationality and his perfect simplicity of life saved him from molestation; and the Queen had need of his Spanish tongue "in which speech she ever confessed and cannot be in any other, as she saith." He, too, was a Friar Preacher.

Even when Mary endeavoured to revive the Province at St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and had selected William Perin as Prior and indeed as Vicar of the stricken Province, she could not gather a community round him, except of Spaniards in her husband's train. His successor in both capacities was Richard Hargrave, who fled overseas when Elizabeth opened her cruel reign. With him were the remnant of the Dartford community of Dominican Nuns,¹ and three unnamed English Dominicans; the rest of the Smithfield community, as Hargrave wrote to the Master-General, conformed. To him in 1566 succeeded Thomas Heskyns, no doubt one of the unnamed three, who disappears from history in 1570; he is mentioned in that year as "the famous papist" and as being secretly in Cambridge.

¹ Cf. Pamphlet XI in this series: *The English Dominican Nuns*.

The names of several other Dominicans are known to us as at work on the English mission and suffering in prison for their faith. But the records are broken at present ; and it is only in 1622 that regular accounts are given us of the ordered government of the English friars. The Register of the Master-General for July 8th of that year (the Registers earlier than this cannot be found) has this entry : “ At the instance of Father Master Diego de la Forente (Dominican confessor to Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of James I), Father Thomas Middleton, Englishman, was made Vicar of the brethren resident in England, with power to exercise that authority which Vicars of Congregations according to the Dominican Constitutions have over the friars subject to them.” In 1628 Father Middleton was confined in the Clink prison, where he remained many years : in fact, almost up to the day of his death he was a confessor for the faith either in the Clink or in Newgate. He endeavoured even from there to organize the Province, and was in negotiation both with Queen Henrietta Maria and with his own Superiors in Rome for permission to set up an English novitiate in London ; but the uncertainty of the times prevented any establishment being founded, though the required permissions from the Master-General and the Court were procured. When Panzani, the Papal agent, visited England in 1635 he found only seven Dominicans of English birth engaged in the Apostolate. These seven were, besides Father Middleton, Father James Forbes, who was nominated Vicar of the Province in 1640, but who does not seem to have held office ; Father Thomas Catchmay, who actually succeeded Father Middleton as Vicar in 1655 ; Father William Fowler, of the family of St. Thomas’s Priory,

near Stafford, where remained two pictures of St. Dominic and St. Thomas Aquinas that had been in his hands during his years of residence in his family home; Father Robert Armstrong, who became a Dominican from Douay and lived to work at Stonecroft, near Hexham; Father David Joseph Kemeys, who died in Newgate for the Faith after a missionary life spent almost entirely in London; and Father Thomas Armstrong, who followed his brother into the Dominican Order and worked also for some years in the North among the poor. There were other English Dominicans, too, scattered over the Continent, who, amid friars of other nationalities, lived their lives in exile, praying for the conversion of their own people, and otherwise never heard the sound of their native tongue. Such were Gregory Lovel and Reginald Michaelis, in Ghent; George Goring, Earl of Norwich, in Spain; and John Quick, in Maestricht—to mention a few only of those whose names are known.

But when the Province was thus reduced to the small nucleus of seven friars, there came a sudden addition in the person of Philip Howard, grandson of the famous art-patron Earl of Arundel. After a little time of uncertainty, Philip, then only a boy of fifteen, made up his mind to become a Dominican, and was received in Cremona to the habit, under the name of Brother Thomas, for the English Province on June 28th, 1645. His family were settled in Antwerp, and Philip was being taken by his grandfather on an Italian tour when he thus unexpectedly found his vocation. The family were furious. The Earl wrote furiously to his wife in Antwerp to engage the services of the Nuncio, since he not unnaturally believed that the boy was too young to decide for himself, and that

he had taken the step under the influence of an Irish Dominican, Father John Baptist Hackett, to whom the whole family had been introduced at Milan ; and in Rome the Earl instructed his agent, John Digby, to put his case before the Roman authorities and to secure, if possible, a papal injunction against the friars. Under the Pamfili Pope, Innocent X, to whom the Earl was known through Rubens, who had found in both magnificent patrons and who was actually staying with the Earl in London when Philip was born, the claims of the Earl "against the impudency and misbeseeming proceedings of the friars" were sufficiently recognized to allow the boy to be taken from the care of the Dominicans at Cremona, and, under direction of the Dominican Master-General himself, and of the Barberini Cardinal (to whom as Cardinal-Protector were committed all the affairs concerning English Catholics) removed to the palace of Cardinal Cesare Monti, the Archbishop of Milan. Here the Archbishop took charge of the young friar, discussed with him the meaning of religious life, its austerities and difficulties, and told him that it would mean that the best years of his life would be devoted to a monotonous round of spiritual duties. The boy's constancy was still unmoved, and the Cardinal then suggested that even his work for the conversion of his own countrymen (given no doubt by Philip as his reason for joining the Preaching Friars) would be hampered and not helped by his religious vocation. That argument also failed to convince, for Philip's answer was unassailable—the better he was in himself, the better apostle he would be, and he was certain that in religious life he would become better. Then Henry, Philip's elder brother (in whose favour the old attainer

of 1572 was to be reversed in 1661, and the Dukedom of Norfolk restored), was despatched to deal with the situation: "I had two or three hours' talk with him in the garden alone, and, I think, told him as much, and as many, and as strong, reasons and persuasions as I could possibly think of and could not move him in anything—only when I chid him for his disobedience and told him how unkindly your Excellency took it at his hands, he seemed to be somewhat moved to hear how your Excellency grieved at his loss, yet not with the least intent ever of quitting his habit, telling me how fully he was resolved to continue his firm purpose during life. I shall not fail to talk with him and do the best I can to persuade him to reason, to the which I now find him very averse and obstinate."

The whole English influence in Rome, in Antwerp, and in Milan was brought to bear on this boy, now only just sixteen: but his steadfastness (or obstinacy, as his friends and his relations described it) was proof against all their efforts. Serenely and solidly he merely waited till they had done their utmost, patiently obedient to the various changes thrust on him, from palace to priory and eventually spending five months of his novitiate with the Oratorians at the Chiesa Nuova in Rome. The only argument which ever seems to have touched him was the charge of ingratitude, for the Earl of Arundel had certainly done his best to make Philip happy, and it was actually while thus engaged that the boy had been brought by the Earl to Milan. Philip undoubtedly returned his grandfather's affection with warmth, and this schoolboy letter written from the Dominican Convent of St. Sisto (of which a copy in Cardinal Howard's own handwriting

remains in the archives of the English Province) is good evidence of their relation :

“ DEAR GRANDFATHER,—

With this occasion of my dear brother's returning back to your E. I could not do less than write these few lines unto your E. to let you understand how sorry I am that your E. taketh it so ill that I have made myself a friar, for God Almighty knoweth that I would never have done any such thing, if He had not inspired and called me thereunto. Therefore, I humbly desire your E. not to trouble yourself thereat for since God hath called me to such a holy religion, I make no doubt but He will give me perseverance therein, and your E. may be assured that I do not fail in praying daily both for you and all my parents. Therefore, humbly craving your pardon both for this and all the rest of my offences and humbly desiring your blessing, I remain always, from our Convent of St. Sisto in Rome, this 22nd of January, 1646,

Your Excellency's most dutiful and obedient grand-child,

FRIAR THOMAS HOWARD,
Of the Order of Preachers.”

This year saw the end of the trouble, and on October 19th, 1646, Philip was professed as a Dominican in the Convent of St. Sisto, outside the Porta di St. Sebastiano ; born on September 21st, 1629, he was now just seventeen. He followed the studies of the Order in the Convent of La Sanita in Naples, interrupting them in June of 1650 to attend the General Chapter of the Order in Rome, and to plead before this venerable assembly the cause of the English Province. This youth of twenty impressed the good friars, who perhaps were unaccustomed to such a display of youth-

ful enthusiasm. They voted a resolution asking every priory to accept English, Scotch, and Irish subjects if these were deemed suitable, not to be too hard or too minute in their regulations for these particular postulants, and to see that they were returned to labour on the English Mission. The rest of Philip's studies were finished at Rennes, where he was ordained in 1652, remaining here till 1654 when he went to Paris; his sojourn at Rennes was to enable him to get into touch with the English exiles who chiefly made their homes in Brittany or in Paris or in Flanders. In these places Philip was eagerly welcomed, and discussed, with those whom he thought would help him, the project of a reorganization of the English Dominicans. It was evident that if this was merely to depend upon chance recruits who might, under the favour of the decree of 1650, apply to any foreign Priory, the likelihood of securing a steady flow of subjects was very small; for an Englishman who felt drawn to religious life would not complicate the problem of his perseverance by choosing a priory where superior, community, and *régime* were all foreign. To ensure perpetuity to the English Province it was essential that an English convent should be founded.

After casting about for some time and lighting on an old Dominican house at Bornhem which seemed to satisfy his desires, Philip (now Father Thomas) set off for England, to consult the Dominicans there as to the next step to be taken. He must indeed have already been in correspondence with them—though we have no evidence of this—for it is difficult to conceive of the project being wholly carried through even thus far, unless Philip had already been assured of their active co-operation. The young recruit was welcomed

eagerly by the little band of friars, and his scheme was supported by all of them. Father Catchmay had just succeeded Father Middleton as Vicar of the Province, and he took up the work with enthusiasm. It will be remembered that Father Middleton had tried through the influence of Queen Henrietta Maria—in that hey-day of English Catholic hope when the presence in their midst of the Queen seemed to promise them at least an easier future—to establish such a house in London itself ; this now was impossible, for if Charles I had not been able to make religious life once more free in England, it was hardly likely that Cromwell would have even the desire to do so. This Flemish convent, therefore, offered a more natural solution of the difficulty, and Father Catchmay, without any jealousy of the younger man, authorized Philip to establish it and to receive to it, when established, novices for the English Mission. Old Father Fowler gave £200 down to help and to show his gratitude, in the hope that all would be arranged soon enough to allow him to end there his days in peace. Father Kemeys bestirred himself to find postulants. Funds were, fortunately, not difficult to acquire, chiefly because Father Howard had the use of his own patrimony and busied himself, therefore, in London, in raising money on his various estates and in recovering rents that had lapsed during the years of his novitiate. When he had secured enough and was assured of the goodwill of the existing English friars, and had actually despatched before him into Ghent a postulant for the English Province to be got ready for the new novitiate house, Father Howard left London for Flanders in the May of 1657. Here he found the negotiations for the Convent at Bornhem which had been conducted for him by a

Flemish Dominican (for the property had fallen into lay hands) were indeed advancing, but were hampered by all kinds of difficulties—technical, legal complications, the opposition of clerical authorities, the cumbersome formularies of Spanish and the Canon law. However, in the April of 1658 the purchase was complete, and the house opened for religious observance—the first purely English house since the suppression of St. Bartholomew's Priory on July 12th, 1559. On the 8th of April, Father Thomas Howard was nominated Prior; on the 17th April he entered into possession of Bornhem for the English Province, with a Community of two, his Sub-prior, Father Collins, who had come to him from Louvain, and his own personal attendant, George Daggitt, who became a lay brother. The novice whom he had sent to Ghent arrived on April 20th; with him were a Flemish lay brother, Peter Van den Berghe, able to turn his hand to any kind of work, and Father James Lovel, an Englishman, who some years before had joined the Dominicans in Brussels. These six—three priests, a novice, and two lay brothers—began the Priory of Bornhem.

The rest of the Bornhem story need not be told here. It will be sufficient to say that to it came, from their various convents, many of those Englishmen who already had entered the Order. We hear of some coming from Brittany, from Toulouse, from Bohemia; then began a stream of postulants of all sorts and conditions. Three English novices who were waiting in Brussels were now able to be received, and others followed who began straight away at Bornhem. Regular life was assured, and with a new spirit of fervour, realizing the historic importance of their fresh beginning of organized religious life in a wholly

English priory, the community settled to the round of discipline, of choral chanting of the Divine Office, of study, prayer, and preaching. The laws with which Spain then governed the Low Countries limited the number of novices that any single religious house could maintain, so that from time to time those who desired to join had to be sent elsewhere for their novitiate : but there were always enough to afford a good and flourishing community.

Meanwhile, Father Howard himself was obliged to be absent frequently from his brethren. Charles II had settled at Brussels, and summoned to his Court all the subjects whom he considered able to be of service ; Father Howard, as was natural from his position and his character, found himself courted by the King. He was even drawn into the political schemes of the exiled monarch and despatched to England to stir up the people, after the death of Cromwell. His first efforts at intrigue failed through his betrayal by a colleague, Father Richard Rookwood, first a Jesuit and then a Carthusian. Father Howard had to escape in heavy disguise, but his political interests steadily increased. He was brought to England by the restoration of Charles II, where his time was spent in forwarding the marriage between Charles and the Princess of Parma, the Spanish *candidate* ; this proposal, however, was blocked by the French, and ultimately the Portuguese Catherine of Braganza became Queen. With her reign, Father Howard entered even more fully into the public life of the country, for he became the Queen's first chaplain and to some extent the papal representative in England. But his power was very limited and very uncertain, and he saw the need of an English Bishop if the

Catholic embers that still remained were to be worked into flame. For this reason Father Howard wrote repeatedly to Rome, petitioning that he might be made Bishop, as the need of one was obvious; moreover, the marriage treaty of the Queen contained a clause that her chaplain and confessor should be raised to the Episcopate. When all his hopes were extinguished, his excellent advice definitely set aside, and he himself sent out of England into Flanders, Father Howard was surprised to find himself offered the Cardinal's hat on June 9th, 1675.

But while most of the years between his arrival in 1661 and his expulsion in 1674 were taken up with work and interests only indirectly connected with the Province, Father Thomas had planned and executed a more thorough establishment of the English friars. Besides a novitiate, he undertook to provide a convent of English contemplative Dominicanesses, and to found a boys' school whereby vocations for the Order could be fostered. The convent was established first at Vilvorde, in 1661, where a house was bought, in which were lodged two Dutch Dominican nuns and a lay sister. To these were added Father Thomas's cousin, Sister Catherine—in the world Antonia Howard of Turisdale—"she being the first English nun that had to our knowledge taken the habit of our holy Father St. Dominic, since the unhappy fall of religion in England," says the *Nuns' Chronicle*. Thence the nuns moved to Brussels.¹ It is, however, to be remembered that the place of this convent in the life of the Province was recognized and deliberately planned by Father Howard.

¹ The story of their fortunes is recorded in another pamphlet of this series (*The English Dominican Nuns*).

The boys' school was a more difficult undertaking, for in the Bornhem Community there was a certain party headed by Father Vincent Torre (an Englishman who had left his convent in Brittany to join the new foundation) which was wholly opposed to any such interruption of the cloistral life. To these it seemed that nothing should be considered at Bornhem except the due observance of the rule, the daily round of religious life as a preparation for the dangerous apostolate in England. Father Howard judged otherwise, and in 1659 began a boys' school in the priory itself, since the house where he had intended to lodge the scholars was beyond his means. The six scholars who began it included Esme, his own youngest brother; in 1663 when Father Howard was away in England, Father Torre, who was left in possession, suppressed the school, sending the boys to live at Vilvorde with the convent chaplain and be taught under his direction. The anger of the Community at the removal of the boys and their dispersal vented itself in the *Chronicle*, where Father Torre is denounced for having "wrought more mischief than if he had merely burnt down the whole establishment." In 1671 the school was revived, but it collapsed again in the next year, and remained in abeyance till 1703.

Meanwhile the Convent of Bornhem was fulfilling its purpose as a nucleus for the now reorganized English Province. The horary of the house shows a busy community and a full scheme of studies—the humanities, philosophy, and theology were the occupation of the students; but the training was deliberately planned to secure the best preparation for the English Mission. The Master-General for this reason refused, though asked to do so by Father

Howard, to give San Clemente in Rome to the English friars in 1664, to form a second house for the Province (he gave it in 1677 to the Irish Dominicans), preferring them to settle near the coast, where they might be in constant touch with England.

One place to which political events forced the English friars was the town of Tangiers, which by the marriage of Catherine of Braganza had become the possession of the English Crown. The Portuguese friars were dispossessed, and Father Martin Russell, the first postulant whom Father Howard had sent over into Ghent from England in 1657, went to take over the priory there, so as to work among the Catholic soldiers, who were chiefly Irish. He succeeded, moreover, in receiving into the Church two Protestants who had been condemned to death ; and this so infuriated the Governor that he drove Father Russell out of the colony. In 1668 the priory was handed over to the Irish friars, who held it till the town was destroyed and abandoned by the English troops in 1681.

The older members of the English Province, who had laboured in pre-Bornhem days, were slowly dying out. Father Middleton died in 1664, Father Fowler in 1662, Father Thomas Armstrong in the same year, and his brother a year later ; Father Catchmay retired to Bornhem and died in 1669 ; Father Kemeys lingered on till January 27th, 1680, when he died in prison in Newgate, on the charge of high treason for being a priest and remaining in England contrary to law. Already on July 24th, 1661, Father Howard had been created Vicar of the Province on the resignation of Father Catchmay ; and he saw to it that the trained friars were despatched to England to carry on the work of the missionary life. Himself at the time

attached to the English Court, he seems to have grouped his brethren almost entirely in London. There can be little doubt that he was considering the feasibility of a London priory, when the unpopularity of Charles's Declaration of Toleration roused against him the fury of the people, who fancied, probably correctly, that Thomas Howard had no small part in its planning. Further, he had received into the Church John Davis, a minor canon of Windsor, and an undergraduate of Magdalen, John Greene, later a Dominican under the name of Father Raymond, and had printed in some books of piety pontifical bulls of indulgences attached to the Rosary Confraternity. In this way he had made himself liable to the charge of high treason under the Statutes of Præmunire, and the King, who disliked fuss of any kind, bade him withdraw from the Court and return to Flanders, which he did in 1674. Next year, while acting as Prior of Bornhem, a title he had continued to hold from the first foundation of the convent, Father Howard received the messenger bringing the offer of a Cardinalate from Clement X. After some consideration of the matter, under pressure from his own friars and the Dominican Bishop of Antwerp, he accepted the post, being uncertain how it might affect the further stability of the English Province: "I am afraid my promotion will prove more hurtful than advantageous to the Convent of Bornhem, as I have not means to keep up the Cardinal's dignity properly." "I hope," replied the lay brother who waited on him, "that the King of Spain will provide Your Eminence with a rich Bishopric." "No, no!" answered the new Cardinal. "I will not bind myself to anybody; for if a man once attaches himself to a prince by receiving favours from him, he is always

and in everything at his beck and call, though it go against his conscience."

The Cardinal's fears were not fulfilled; he continued to secure for the English Dominicans many favours, obtaining for them the right to have a Provincial instead of a Vicar, and gradually paving the way for the full standardized Province, with elective Chapters and the whole machinery demanded by the Dominican Constitutions. The numbers increased, including a band of converts of excellent family who were able to continue the work of conversion among the English both on the Continent and at home. Gradually, by careful and restrained diplomacy, by bidding James II act with prudence and refuse the advice of his more hot-headed councillors; by his own kindness to every Protestant visitor to Rome (including Bishop Burnet and his friends), Cardinal Howard was laying the foundations of a new hope for England. The reigning Pope was on his side, Innocent XI: when suddenly, in spite of every warning, James turned to other counsels, and aggressively proclaimed the immediate restoration of the Faith, and this resulted in one of the many tragedies of the history of Catholicism in these islands. The Catholic monarch was overawed and fled; persecution was once more afoot; the deeply planned religious peace broken. The failure of James's schemes under the Revolution of 1688 saddened the last days of the Cardinal. He died on June 17th, 1694, seeing the hopes of a Bornhem settled in England again frustrated.

But the work had been built too securely to suffer; the Cardinal's triple plan of Fathers, Nuns, and Boys was, despite many vicissitudes, to last on to our time.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

IX. THE PERIOD OF ECLIPSE

By ROBERT BRACEY, O.P.

DURING the reign of James II, many of the Catholics of England were under the impression that the era of Resurrection was on the eve of inauguration. Instead of that, a Period of Eclipse, and that almost total, was at hand.

The terrors of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill had died down, the influence of a Catholic Court was beginning to tell; converts were numerous, many of the nobility and old families were adherents of the Faith; episcopal government (in the shape of four Vicars Apostolic) had just been restored; reorganization was proceeding apace; chapels were being erected; Catholic rites were celebrated openly, and hopes were high. The most extravagant notions were cherished in certain quarters, and the Conversion of England was believed by some to be imminent. But the demon of bigotry was merely asleep, and a tornado of fanaticism was about to sweep away throne and dynasty, altars and chapels, and to drive Catholicism once more into the catacombs.

The Court of Rome, clear-sighted and aloof, understood the situation far better than many on the spot, and preserved an attitude of studied and cautious moderation. It was largely guided by the well-informed

views of Cardinal Howard, and there can be little doubt but that the English Dominicans (with whom he was in constant communication as their Father and former Superior) would share his ideas. Still, to them as to others, the Revolution of 1688 must have been the death-blow to many cherished hopes.

When that catastrophe had taken place and had become an accepted fact, they like others of the old monastic bodies had to recognize that the only immediate future for them consisted in serving a few country chaplaincies and a few town missions in the most hidden and unobtrusive manner possible, in clinging to some poor sort of corporate life at home by means of regular chapter-meetings and the periodical election of superiors, and in providing abroad in some Catholic land an English religious house of their Order where their young men could be trained and their old traditions perpetuated, and where they could nurse hopes of better days and far-distant expansion.

At the opening of the long dreary period of English Catholicism which lay between the Revolution of 1688 and the Emancipation of 1829, the English Dominicans possessed on the Continent the Priory of Bornhem in the Spanish Netherlands and that of SS. John and Paul in Rome ; while a Convent of English Nuns of the Second Order at Brussels was also subject to them. At home they served a number of chaplaincies, chiefly in the North of England ; and a few Fathers worked in London. Loosely reorganized in 1622, they had just been given their old status of a Province of the Order after a desolation of a century and a half, though the right of electing their own Provincial (for the present nominated by the Master-General in Rome) was not restored to them till considerably later. They numbered only about some thirty religious in all, of whom about half were in England ; and it was with evident difficulty that they kept up their two

religious houses abroad and their missionary work at home.

It was a depressing time, faced with wonderful courage. The future was very dark. Few novices joined the Order, and the older generation was passing away. England was more anti-Catholic than ever, and the pressure of the penal laws was exceedingly severe. Many of the Fathers were frankly Jacobite, but the prospects of a Stuart restoration were very dim.

James III was the warm friend of the English Fathers in Rome, and his Queen Clementina was a Tertiary. A curious incident in the exiled Prince's early life—an incident unnoticed by any historian of the period—is recorded in a Latin paper preserved in the English Dominican archives. We translate it at length :

“When James II held the sceptre of Great Britain, his Queen Mary (of the family of the Dukes of Modena) bore to him on June 10th, 1688, a son still living, who like other children she had borne was sadly troubled with convulsions, so violently that he nearly followed the others to the grave. To obviate this evil, since so many hopes both for the kingdom and the Catholic religion were placed in this prince, as in one sent by God at a most opportune time, every human remedy was tried lest he too should fall a victim to this disease. Hence, in place of his mother's milk, the doctors ordered him a draught of cherry-water as a very apt antidote for this particular complaint ; but it was all in vain, and this Royal Prince continued grievously ill. When human remedies failed, divine ones were invoked. The Queen had long ago heard of the great merits of St. Macharius, and his power to cure this convulsive disease. Accordingly, some particles of his relics were in that year (1688) transmitted to London by the Right Reverend Dom Marianus Irvin,

Abbot of the Scots Abbey of St. James at Wurzburg, and one of these was inserted in the bandages which swathed the Prince's head. Thenceforth the royal child was freed from the convulsions, and has never to this day when he is eighteen years old experienced the least return of such symptoms of disease. The remaining relics, by order of the Most Reverend and Illustrious Lord, the Papal Nuncio Dada [d'Adda], now a Cardinal, were exposed in the Chapel Royal for the veneration of the faithful. These facts we have from that noble lord, the Duke of Perth, then Lord Chancellor of Scotland, who by the Queen's order gave to one of our Missionaries the task of writing all this down, which has been done; and many benefits were promised to our monastery, in honour of St. Macharius and in memory of this great benefit, but such were all lost in the subsequent rebellion."

Bornhem, the alma mater of the Province during its most trying period, and to which the hearts of English Dominicans still turn in grateful affection, is a village on the banks of the Scheldt. The monastery was a large substantial structure in the heavy style of the period, with church and cloister, and moat full of carp, and rows of linden trees, and marshy meadows. It had a good library, the few novices were well taught, there was a school for postulants, the Divine office was regularly said, and the services of the Church solemnized with dignity. The great glory of the priory church of Bornhem was its large Relic of the True Cross (now at St. Dominic's, Haverstock Hill).

The Royal Charter of Foundation is a great curiosity, and its text has been jealously preserved. It is in French, and begins thus :

" Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castille, Leon, Arragon, the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Sardinia,

Corduba, Corsica, Murcia, the Algarves, Gibraltar, the Canary Isles, the East and West Indies, and the Islands and countries of the Oceanic Sea ; Archduke of Austria ; Duke of Lorraine, Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, Gueldres, and Milan ; Count of Hapsburg, Flanders, Artois, and Burgundy ; Palatine of the Tyrol, of Hainault, and Namur ; Prince of Savoy ; Marquis of the Holy Roman Empire ; Lord of Malines ; and Sovereign Ruler in Asia and Africa. To all to whom these presents may come. Greeting ! We make known : That on behalf of the exiled English Religious of the Order of St. Dominic, together with the Pèrè Arondel their Superior [Cardinal Howard], it has been represented to us that in consequence of the persecution in England directed against Catholics and Religious, they have now for several years been forced to abandon their houses and convents and to wander here and there without any refuge. So having no hope of returning to their own country, and following the example of other Religious of their nation, they wish to provide themselves with some place of retreat in order the better to employ themselves in the labours of their calling, and where they may educate and teach their novices whom they wish to send at fitting times to preach the Catholic Faith in England." The document then goes on to give leave for the Foundation at Bornhem, safeguarding the parochial rights, laying down exactly what the English religious may do and may not do, jealously preventing their being any burden on the locality, limiting their numbers, and exacting sufficient income and endowment for their support ; and all this with a world of involved legal terms and cautious phraseology. The King states that he has taken advice on the matter from the President and members of his Council in Flanders, and from the Vicars-General of the vacant See of Ghent ; and that he has the consent and good will of " our

dear and well-beloved Son, Don John of Austria, Grand Prior of Castille, Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General of our Low Countries and of Burgundy." He concludes by giving it in command to the Council of Flanders, and to "all our justices, officers, and subjects" to give effect to his permission in due form and manner, and to allow the English Dominicans to enjoy and use their convent without any hindrance to the contrary, "for such is our pleasure."

The War of the Austrian Succession (which eventually transferred the sovereignty of the Low Countries from Spain to Austria) found Bornhem in great danger from the Allied Armies which overran the country. But the crisis passed, for the Fathers had found a firm friend in their great compatriot Marlborough, who addressed to the then Provincial a remarkable letter:

"CAMP AT TONGRES, *May 18th, 1706.*

"SIR,—I have received your letter of the 14th inst., and send you herewith the *sauvegarde* you desire for the English Convent of Bornhem, as a mark of the regard I shall always be glad to show, not only to my countrymen, but in a particular manner to all such others for whose unfortunate circumstances the piety of well-disposed persons has designed quiet and peaceable retirements.

"I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"MARLBOROUGH."

Bornhem must have been a real oasis in the desert to the Dominican Fathers on the English Mission: they could sometimes come for a rest, or eventually retire altogether from their labours. Here they could wear the religious habit, lead the monastic life, and openly practise their religion; instead of being

forced to live in private houses, without any external sign of their calling, with the fear of penal statutes ever weighing upon them, and with holy ceremonies and ecclesiastical observances reduced to the barest minimum. Here they were indeed exiles, but honoured ones : whereas at home in England they were outlaws, and proscribed for conscience' sake.

Steady development was the order of the day at Bornhem. Good friends were never wanting. Perpetual Masses were founded for the Earl of Stafford, the Countess of Ailesbury, the Lords Stourton and Petre ; Dormers, Fingals, Englefields, Blounts, and Southcotes figure among the benefactors of the Priory ; ells of linen for albs and amices, green stuff for bed-curtains, white silk gold-embroidered vestments for the altar, copes and veils for Benediction, contributions in money or kind for the repair of the church turret or the re-slating of its roof or the fresh gilding of its altars—such gifts are of frequent mention ; and in 1771 and the following years, we read of the acquisition of more land, of a new moat and a fish-pond, long walks laid out through the grounds, a finer organ in the church, and the complete rebuilding of the Priory and College.

When Cardinal Howard founded Bornhem, he also secured a foothold for his English brethren in Rome itself. At his instance, the reigning Pope Clement X gave him for this purpose an ancient but ruinous church and monastery on the Cœlian Hill. The Convent of SS. John and Paul (afterwards the scene of the labours of St. Paul of the Cross, and to-day the headquarters of the Passionists) was in the Romanesque style, and had a fine campanile. The Cardinal put it in thorough repair at a cost of several thousand pounds and adapted it for the use of his young Dominican countrymen ; and here for a number of years were studies carried on, and religious prepared for the

English mission. Many friars were sent here from England or Bornhem, and some twelve Englishmen joined the Roman Convent direct. But after a while, slender numbers and scanty resources and the need of concentration nearer home led to a surrender of this house in Rome, and to the transfer of its Fathers to Bornhem and its students to a new foundation at Louvain. It was a step perhaps then inevitable, but ever since unavailingly regretted.

The new house at Louvain was a College affiliated to the famous University. This College was part of the general plan conceived by Cardinal Howard, and was rendered possible by a generous bequest in his last will. It was intended for English Dominicans, for their instruction in Theology and Philosophy, and the polemics then needed for missionary life in England. Opened in 1697, from then to the French Revolution it was continuously and efficiently ruled by an unbroken series of some sixteen Rectors. Its lectures, which had a good reputation, were attended not only by its own students, but also by outsiders lay and clerical. For its enlargement and rebuilding in 1722, alms were collected in the Low Countries and in the Rhine territories, and English benefactions poured in. For the College was a success ; its professors were learned and able, their teaching was solid and of excellent quality, and the frequent use of Greek was a feature of the public disputations. When in 1796 it was closed and declared national property, it was held for some years by an official liquidator and eventually in some measure restored to the Fathers ; compelled to part with it in the end, out of the proceeds of sale have been founded (with Belgian sanction) two Burses or scholarships at the modern University of Louvain, and to these, English Dominicans are always by preference presented.

The complete scheme for the re-establishment of the English Dominican Province had, in Cardinal Howard's mind, included the foundation of a school or college for English youths, in which they might in some safe refuge on the Continent get the good religious education denied them at home in England, and where they might also be instructed in all branches of what was then esteemed "polite learning." This college might also serve as a recruiting ground for English vocations to the Order. Attached to the Priory at Bornhem, it was set up in 1659. Starting with suitable buildings and efficient masters, it began well, but after various vicissitudes died out in a few years. Opened again in 1703, it lasted on till the Great Revolution, and won a position for itself as one of the leading and best known of English Catholic schools. A constant succession of students came out to it from England, and were reinforced by Flemish and other foreign pupils; no day-scholars were taken. The quaint college costume consisted of cassock, black girdle, leather knee-breeches, stock and bands, and buckled shoes. The pension payable was but £20 a year, but there was a goodly list of extras—tips for servants, and fees for French, music, dancing, and fencing masters. All the usual subjects were taught, and music was a feature; almost every boy learned the use of either flute, horn, fiddle, or harpsichord. The Prefect of the school was one of the Bornhem Community, acting under the Prior. Large new buildings were added to the school about 1771, when there were some one hundred and twenty students.

All through the period of which we now treat, the Priors of Bornhem (thirty-four in number) succeeded each other in an orderly and unbroken succession. The Provincials, who ruled all English Dominicans at home and abroad, were again elected by the Fathers themselves in 1730, as they have been ever since.

That same year began the long series of Provincial Chapters held every four years. These Chapters met sometimes at Bornhem, but more often in London—"at the house of Mr. Beasley in Panton Street," "at Mr. Barton's, in Holborn," "at the lodgings of Fr. Joseph Hansbie," "in Little Wild Street," "in Lincoln's Inn, adjoining the Sardinian Ambassador's," and so forth.

Little is known of the life on the English Dominican Mission as led in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. In 1745 there were a few Fathers working in London, chiefly at the Embassy chapels—the Sardinian, Neapolitan, Spanish, and Venetian: later on there was another one at the Portuguese embassy, who rented a house in Quebec Street, Portman Square, "at £30 a year." One Father dwelt for twenty years and more at Ugbrooke, as chaplain to Lord Clifford; one was at Long Melford in Suffolk, another at Aston Flamville, Leicestershire, but most were in Yorkshire or Northumberland. The Hexham and Stonecroft missions boasted of "a small but not despicable library." The old Fathers of the previous generation who had stood their trial in the time of the Titus Oates plot—one was reprieved even as the sledge to draw him to Tyburn stood at his door—were nearly all gone: gone too was the son of Dryden the poet, gone was the priest who was reported to have officiated at the marriage of James of York to Mary of Modena, gone was the Dominican who had once been Court Preacher to Catherine of Braganza and still earlier one of Charles II's bodyguard. But those who lived could tell stirring stories of the "Fifteen" or the "Forty-five," and of their sufferings as suspected Jacobites as well as Papists. One Father, who had been among the "rebels" at Preston, escaped arrest by putting on the blue apron of an apothecary and

standing behind his counter, "where he passed for his assistant, and so got off." Another had been "arrested as a Popish Priest" at Halifax, and imprisoned in York Castle. Yet another was "taken at Lady Petre's house at Lower Cheam"; he was found concealed between the rafters, by several Justices of the Peace and some thirty horsemen.

Right down to the reign of George III, when the pressure of the Penal Laws against Catholics begin to relax, the missionaries had to be extremely cautious. In London, they appeared as retired officers, or gentlemen of small private means; in the country they were farmers or cattle-breeders; as chaplains in noble houses or the mansions of the gentry, they seemed to be librarians or stewards, needy relations, or medical men "in a small way." When travelling, they carefully covered the altar requisites in their pack with clothes or packages of edibles.

There were always eminent men among them, from beginning to end of the century. More than one had renounced broad acres and family baronetcy and fair prospects at Court for the poor life and hunted existence that was then the lot of the average English Dominican. Fr. Raymund Greene (1655-1741) had been of the Household of Charles II. His conversion to Catholicism, and that of Mr. Davis, a Minor Canon of St. George's, Windsor, caused such a stir that Cardinal Howard (then Almoner to the Queen) had finally to leave England in consequence. Fr. Raymund was for very many years the devoted chaplain and friend of the English Dominican sisters at Brussels, besides being Provincial and Prior of Bornhem; he had many adventures, and was twice captured at sea. Fr. Thomas Dryden, 1669-1710 (Sir Erasmus he became in the last year of his life), was the third son of Dryden the poet and of the Lady Elizabeth Howard. Fr. Joseph Eyston (1662-1758), of the still existing

Catholic family of that name, who lived to be nearly a hundred years old, had a unique career. Joining the English Franciscan Recollects at Douay, he was first a labourer on the English Mission, then a pilgrim in Constantinople and Jerusalem and a missionary in Egypt, and afterwards for very many years the Superior of his Order in Canada. When close on seventy, he went to Rome and obtained leave of Benedict XIII to become a Dominican ; as such he passed the remainder of his days at Bornhem, a most edifying religious.

Fr. Dominic Williams (1668-1740) after a singularly brilliant course as a student at Bornhem, Rome, and Naples, taught as a Professor at the Convent of SS. John and Paul in Rome until its surrender, and afterwards at the College of Louvain. He was both Prior of Bornhem and Provincial, and the representative of his brethren at General Chapters of the Order at Rome and Bologna. For some years he acted as chaplain to Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, who was living in Belgium. Well known to the Dominican Pope Benedict XIII and to the titular King of Great Britain, James III, he was chosen through their influence as Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District of England in 1725. The Pope himself consecrated him in the Chapel of the Quirinal Palace, it being noted at the time that the Pontiff, the assisting Bishops, and the twelve other ecclesiastics who shared in the ceremony, were all Dominicans. Some record of the new Bishop's journey homeward survives. He went via Paris, Douay, Brussels, Louvain, and Bornhem, to Rotterdam ; thence he took a vessel for Tynemouth, and the passage occupied full six days. From Tynemouth to Newcastle-on-Tyne he rode on horseback, and put up at "The Bird in the Bush" ; here he received unobtrusive visits of respect from some of his clergy, and from here he could visit and officiate in the semi-public Catholic chapel then existing in the town.

Later on, at the "Half-Moon" at Durham, he met more of his priests; he then began the first of his long and systematic Visitation tours, the notes of which still exist.

Bishop Williams's district included the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, York, Chester, and Lancaster, together with the Isle of Man. As far as he could he visited all the places where scattered Catholics were to be found, administered Confirmation, conferred with his clergy, and made the acquaintance of the leading Catholic gentry: in his first tour he confirmed some 4,799 persons. The winter was very severe, the ground covered with ice and snow; roads were few and bad, and there was great difficulty in getting across the hills by Blackstone Edge, which separated Lancashire from Yorkshire. The Bishop had Father Provincial Worthington and a man-servant with him. Each year he went through the Holy Week ceremonies at some private house, and consecrated the Holy Oils with as much splendour as might be, being usually attended by some ten priests who must have come many miles for the purpose. The places he visited included Wycliff, Lartington, Dalton, Cliffe, Brough, Danby, Richmond, Ness, Osmotherley, Stilsee, Gilling, Bransby, York, Parlington, Huddlestone, Hazelwood, Pontefract, Sheffield, Carlton, Holme, Burton Constable, Broughton, Towneley, Dankenhalgh, Fernyhalgh, Trafford, Scarisbrick, Ince Blundell, Hooton, Eccleston, Sefton, Bryn, Aldborough, Durham, Croxdale, Coxhoe, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sunderland, Stella, Alnwick, Morpeth, Haggerston, Callaby, Capheaton, Dilstone, Hexham, Stonecroft, Swinburne, Corby, Greystock, Whitehall, Sizergh, Standish, Kendal, Garstang, Lytham, and Wrightington. In many of these places there are certainly no Catholics to-day, and the list is evidence of the yet large numbers of thoroughly

English country-folk who still adhered to the ancient faith. No less significant is the roll of the gentry and county families who kept up the chapels and missions: we read of Tunstalls, Withams, Lawsons, Maires, Maynells, Scropes, Crathorns, Hansbies, Trappes, Plomptons, Middletons, Fairfaxes, Cholmeleys, Pastons, Gascoignes, Howards, Brandlings, Vavaours, Percys, Stapletons, Langdales, Constables, Tancreds, Tempests, Towneleys, Petres, Scarsbricks, Blundells, Stanleys, Molyneuxs, Gerards, Salvins, Seaforths, Widdringtons, Claverings, Selbys, Thorn-ton, Derwentwaters, Riddells, Gibsons, Stricklands, Daltons, Cliftons, Dicconsons, Mannocks, and the like. Very many of these families happily remain to us; others went down in the Jacobite risings; others again fell away in the subsequent years of discouragement and hopelessness.

The Bishop's visitations were dangerous as well as fatiguing. Persecution was ever ready to break out. Once, after receiving into the Catholic Church the Rector of the rich living of Kippax in Yorkshire—a certain Mr. Bridges, a person highly esteemed and of much learning—such a storm of bigotry broke out that there was a regular hue and cry after the good Vicar-Apostolic, who was obliged to conceal himself and lie low for several months to avoid being dragged before the Ecclesiastical Court of the Archbishop of York, Lancelot Blackburn, apparently a bitter persecutor of Catholics.

Time after time he journeyed through the counties of York and Lancaster, Chester and Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, on each occasion carefully writing down the names of the chapels visited, the priests serving them, the families supporting them, and the statistics of those confirmed. For fourteen laborious years he worked thus as a Bishop, making Huddlestone in Yorkshire,

a seat of the Gascoigne family, his usual place of residence. His funeral was a wonderful one for those times, and the procession was attended by "forty gentlemen on horseback." He lies buried at Hazlewood, the home of the Vavasours. His mitre, buskins, and wooden pastoral staff are still preserved as precious relics by his Dominican brethren at Woodchester; his episcopal ring and pectoral cross, long treasured by his fellow religious, were eventually given by them to Bishop Walsh, and now belong to the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. The mitre is of faded cloth of gold, lined with red silk; the pastoral staff is of the simplest, made of boxwood, in three sections, with an elmwood head with floral carving, and all silvered over. The Bishop's Dominican Office book is laid with these relics: "Breviarium Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum—Parisiis, MDCCX": in quarto.

Another friar raised to the episcopate was Fr. Patrick Bradley or Brullaughan (1705–1760), who spent thirty years as chaplain to the Sardinian embassy in London. He was nominated by King James III as Bishop of Derry in 1751, but resigned his See and returned to the embassy in a year's time—a somewhat shadowy figure.

One of the best known religious of the century, and the intimate friend and companion of Bishop Williams, was Fr. Thomas Worthington (1671–1754). He was four times Provincial, and six times Prior of Bornhem, and has left careful and still existing notes of his Visitations and journeys up and down England. He moved about especially in Yorkshire and Lancashire. His residences were with the Tunstalls at Wycliffe, in Yorkshire; in London, at a lodging "in Panton Street, near Leicester Fields"; and at Middleton Hall, near Leeds, the seat of the Brandling family, where he had collected a large and excellent library, and where he died.

We translate from his Latin Diaries of 1708 to 1710 :
“ I came to London from Holland. I left London for York ; whence I journeyed to my native Lancashire, to visit my sick Father, who received Extreme Unction from my hands, and died. On account of the extreme cold of this memorable winter, I remained there going to and fro among my kinsfolk, friends, and neighbours ; sojourning nevertheless in the county of Chester, and even going into Wales to the famous Holy Well of St. Winifride. . . . Moving on in the company of some of my relations, traversing the Yorkshire hills and the Bishopric of Durham, I passed into Northumberland. There some three miles to the west of Hexham at Stonecroft I visited one of our apostolic missionaries, by name Thomas formerly William Gibson. His brother who lives at Corbridge told me of two other Fathers of ours who were formerly in those parts, Robert and Thomas Armstrong. Robert Armstrong, alias Roberts, a strenuous labourer, brought over many families to Catholicism, made war with success against the spirits of evil, so signally that his fame and sanctity are spoken of even to this day. He lived in a cottage in or near Hexham, chiefly busied with the care of the very poor ; but his brother Thomas dwelt at the Mission-house at Stonecroft, and laboured among the Catholic gentry and nobility of those parts. Through his means, John Widdrington the Squire of Stonecroft endowed that Mission. . . . When summer came, I left Northumberland for York, passing through Durham. Not far from York dwelt two of our Missionaries, one Father Pius Littleton at Holme, at my Lord Langdale’s, the other Father Henry alias Jordan Crosland at Whenby, where half the inhabitants were Catholics. Autumn had not yet arrived when leaving Yorkshire I took journey through Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge into Suffolk, to Long Melford two miles distant from

Sudbury. There was I kindly entertained by Sir Roger Martin, Bart., and remained there some time. With the baronet was his son, Father John Martin, one of us, and a former pupil of mine, a watchful and zealous labourer of the Vineyard. . . . Having business to attend to there, I departed for London. I called together there our various Missionaries, namely Fathers Albert Munson, Joseph Atwood, Alexander Thursby, Thomas Dryden, etc. . . . My business over, I went through Holland to Flanders, where for six months I visited all our Fathers there dwelling, and then returned to England. Scarce had I reached London than Father Albert Munson sickened of the fever and died. He was buried at St. Giles's [in the Fields]. More than once had he visited the Holy Land. At the time of the Titus Oates fictitious plot, he was thrown into prison, and condemned to death, though admirably and vigorously defending himself before the judges. . . . Father Thomas Dryden now lay dying among his Protestant kinsfolk at Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire. There I betook myself, and his relations kindly received me. He was buried among his ancestors in the Church hard by, once that of a monastery. . . ."

Another very notable friar was Fr. Thomas Norton (1732-1800). He was a Doctor of Louvain University, skilled in natural science and agriculture. Nichols, in the well-known *History of Leicestershire*, has much to say of him: "Mr. Norton devoted much of his thoughts to the management of bees, but on this head was somewhat too visionary." Monk, in *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Leicester*, 1794 (written for the Board of Agriculture), speaks of him and his ideas at length, and says: "he is very much respected by the first people in the farming line." When in the Low Countries, he won a gold medal and two silver ones from the Imperial and

Royal Academy at Brussels for the best disputations (subsequently published in its *Transactions* for 1776-7-9) on agriculture, the draining of ground, and breeding of cattle. He was the founder of the still existing and flourishing mission of Hinckley, in Leicestershire, where he dwelt for forty years, zealously serving all the country round: he was known to have walked as many as fifty-four miles in a single day, attending to his sick and poor. In such apostolic poverty did this eminent and learned man live that he was glad to sell the produce of his little garden in halfpennyworths to the village children, and rarely fared on anything better than beans and bacon. "He performed his religious duties," says Nichols, "with such inoffensive integrity that he gained the esteem of those of every other Christian profession. Naturally possessed of a sound understanding, extensive knowledge, and great mental acquirements, he tenaciously adhered to a faithful discharge of his ministry, and endeavoured to promote the interest and advance the happiness of all with whom he had any concern." Father Thomas was buried at Aston Flamville, where his tomb may yet be seen; his funeral being attended "by a numerous assembly of friends of various denominations from the adjacent villages."

Fr. Hyacinth Houghton (1754-1823) was also a son of Louvain who made some stir in that University. He had a passion for study, and was of a philosophical turn of mind, and his fondness for Newton and Descartes upset the very conservative professors of his day. He was a good classical scholar, a fair poet, and a contributor to magazines and periodicals. A tall athletic man, but slovenly in his dress, he was once seized by a press-gang. Fortunately an acquaintance passed at the time, and telling the sailors they had "the wrong ship in tow" solaced their disappointment with a liberal order for grog.

Fr. Albert Underhill (1744-1814), the founder of the Catholic Mission of Leeds, to whose pioneer work the Cathedral and the many parishes of that great city owe their existence, was a remarkable man who laboured in the deepest obscurity and poverty. His dwelling and chapel-room stood in a miserable alley or yard behind the public shambles. He lived mainly on potatoes mashed in buttermilk, and late on Saturday night would buy or beg the scraps of meat and bone that remained on the butchers' hands when the markets had closed.

The Mission Chapels at Stonecroft and Hexham were served by Fr. Dalmatius (Jasper) Leadbitter (1749-1831), one of six members of that sturdy yeoman family who joined the Order. The former place of worship was in a garret, but had been over a hen-roost, and "the cackling of the hens oft drowned the voice of the preacher." By 1796, Fr. Leadbitter had erected in Hexham a regular chapel "small but elegant, tastefully painted, and with a handsome organ." The local Protestant historian wrote of this good missionary: "His venerable appearance and primitive simplicity of manners demand the admiration of the stranger, as his mildness, benevolence and piety have secured him the affection and almost filial respect of the little flock of which he is the truly Christian pastor."

In the latter part of the eighteenth century public events powerfully affected the fortunes of the Bornhem community. It was the era of the suppression of the Jesuits, and throughout the Austrian dominions the Colleges of the Society were being torn from its grasp. In 1773 the Fathers received an intimation in the name of the Sovereign of the Netherlands, the Empress-Queen Maria Theresa, that they were to be entrusted with the direction of the two English Colleges at Bruges (for big and little boys respectively) which had

been long successfully managed by the Jesuits. The first hint of this came in a letter (still preserved) dated September 30, 1773, desiring the Prior of Bornhem to go up to Brussels to confer with the Secretary of State there "on certain matters which he will indicate to you" and intimating that "we shall have to seek among your Religious some subjects fit for employment of the English Schools formerly confided to the late Society of the Jesuits." The conference arranged doubtless took place, and as a result a few days later came a formal Imperial letter, which is also extant. It began "In the name of the Empress-Dowager and Queen. Revered and well-beloved. Having resolved no longer to confide to the English Jesuits the care and education of the youths in the two English Colleges at Bruges, we have thought fit to choose the English Dominicans to succeed them therein." The letter goes on to arrange the details of the transfer, the names of the new professors, and the method of their induction by the Bishop of Bruges and by "our privy-counsellor Van Volden," and does not forget to make the necessary domestic and financial regulations. "For the rest, Revered and well-beloved, God have you in His holy keeping!"

The Dominicans could ill spare the men, and the task was a hopeless one. The students were devoted to their old masters, and were in that frame of mind that they would die in the last ditch sooner than submit to new ones. However, the will of the Government had to be done. On the appointed day, the Bishop of Bruges introduced the Dominicans to their pupils, and installed them in the place of the *ci-devant* Jesuits. The only result was a terrific riot on the part of the boys: windows were broken, desks and chairs smashed, and the new professors barred out; the military had to be called in, and soldiers conducted the angry scholars to bed. When things had quieted down a bit, the

Dominican Fathers entered calmly on their unwelcome and unsought duties, but gradually the ranks of the students thinned. Most of them were recalled to England, and after a few months the Austrian authorities closed the Colleges, and allowed the Fathers to return to the welcome peace of Bornhem.

A little later, Maria Theresa was succeeded by her son the celebrated Joseph II, the reforming Emperor and arch-meddler in affairs ecclesiastical: Frederick the Great had called him "my brother the Sacristan." His decrees caused a good deal of inconvenience at Bornhem. The civil sanction was now required for the taking of solemn vows, and these could never be pronounced by anyone who had not completed his twenty-fifth year. The elections of superiors were interfered with, and the term of Priorship was made one of four instead of three years.

The following letter has been preserved, and illustrates the Josephist legislation :

"SIR,—Conformably to the orders of His Imperial Majesty regarding the Profession of Religious persons, I hereby enclose an attestation of the Baptism of Nicholas Ruttens, in religion Brother Peter, who will make his profession with the English Dominicans at Bornhem on the 12th of next January.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"FR. TH. NORTON,

"Prior of the Convent at the said place.

"BORNHEM. Dec. 1, 1774."

Not till 1789 did the revolt of the Netherlands against Imperial innovation restore canonical freedom, and sweep away the regulations of Joseph II. In that year, it was noted, Bornhem was singularly flourishing and prosperous, monastery and school were in the best condition possible, and the affairs of the English

Dominicans were at their best. Alas ! it was the calm before the storm, the rumblings of which discerning ears could already hear. The Great Revolution was at hand, and before it Cardinal Howard's cherished foundation at Bornhem was destined to go down—not, however, before it had done a good and lasting work.

The last of the long series of Priors at Bornhem took office in 1792. The situation was very critical ; the armies of the French Republic were overrunning Belgium. Although fiercely anti-clerical in the main, there were individuals in these armies who were moderate in their views, and ever friendly to religion, and the following very curious letter of a Brigadier-General (an American in French service) to the Prior of Bornhem has strangely but fortunately been preserved :

“ GHENT, 26 *March*, 1793.

“ A MONSIEUR,—Monsieur le Prieur du Couvent du Religieux Anglais à Bornhem in Flanders.

“ In all ages and in all climates, the innocent have suffered for and with the guilty ; and I do not, therefore, complain of the mortifications which I have undergone among a people to whom I have rendered services : they cannot, dear Sir, distinguish their friends from their foes : and the numerous vexations they receive from my fellow-officers and soldiers are such as must almost justify their indiscriminate aversion to every individual who wears the French uniform.

“ You will perceive by the enclosed note, which I beg you to put under cover, how truly infamous has been the conduct of our troops. They are doubly to be pitied, for though they affect to disbelieve a Divine Dispenser of rewards and punishments hereafter, they

have not the less to dread from His awful judgement. I have ever made profession of being a good Christian : the crimes of these infernal Monsters almost make a Fanatick of me ; for in a contest such as you have undergone *pro aris et focis*, it is impossible to preserve one's temper.

“ I beg you, dear Sir, to accept my acknowledgements, together with my best wishes for you and all your family ; you will pardon me if I add to this general and sincere homage a particular charge for my countrymen who are with you. We are accused of being national, but is it a crime ? *Coelum non animam mutant qui trans mare currunt*, and I boast of being the self-same American who embarked for Europe in 1784. My Country, my Friends, my Relations, are still the same ; and surrounded as I have been by the vilest of mankind, I am doubly vain of the soil which gave me birth, and of those virtuous lessons and examples of my youth, which are common (thank Heaven and my ancestors !) to all the vast Family of my countrymen.

“ I do not know what may happen to me. I am regardless of my person but I hope my Fame may remain spotless. I have protected a large and grateful country : the entire *Campine* (sic) of Brabant honours and respects me. Not one Altar, not one Family, has been polluted or disturbed ; and I beg my Countrymen with you to render me this justice when they write to America.

“ Le Maréchal de Camp,

“ J. S. EUSTACE.”

Most of the little silver plate there was at Bornhem went as a free gift to the Austrians for the expenses of the war of defence. Not that the Imperial troops were themselves very comforting auxiliaries. Many of them were quartered at Bornhem, where they were

billeted on the community and called for the best of everything. The officers dined always in the refectory, and talked Latin to the Fathers. One of the latter mildly asking the commander if he never regretted the slaughter caused by the war, received the fierce and startling answer: "*Est mandatum Cæsaris: si juberet Cæsar, te mactabo mox.*" "It is the Emperor's command: and if the Emperor so order, I will presently slaughter you!"

In the spring of 1794, the French arrived at Brussels. There was a general rush from the city: the English Dominican Nuns were forced to abandon their cloister and join in the flight; they arrived with their chaplain at Bornhem, where the greatest confusion and alarm reigned. All the English Orders were now leaving Flanders. Within three days, goods were stored or packed, business affairs arranged as well as could be, one Father (an American) and four Brothers were left in charge of Bornhem; the venerable monastery was abandoned by its inmates and the refugee Sisters on June 25th, 1794, and an end was put to its ordered activities and long career of usefulness to the Catholics of England. The exiles consisted of some eighteen Fathers and Brothers, and sixteen Nuns. Down the Scheldt went they to Antwerp, thence to Rotterdam, where they took ship for England. Thus ended a history of close on a century and a half!

After seven days at sea, and half dead with fatigue, the party reached London on July 16th. They were most warmly and kindly received by their fellow-Catholics at home, as were all the other refugee communities of the time. The story of the Nuns will be related elsewhere. Till such time as they could live together again in some form of community, the Fathers scattered. Some lived for a while with their friends and relations or the parents of their scholars,

others took charge of missions or served the chapels of private houses.

To create a Bornhem in England was now the idea, and was rendered partly possible by the relaxation of the Penal laws. With this view a wealthy Portuguese merchant in London, a great friend and benefactor of the Fathers, purchased a large house (built by Inigo Jones in 1640) at Carshalton, near Croydon. Here regular observance was set up, and the recitation of the Office resumed. A college for boys was opened, the old Bornhem scholars came to it, and many a new recruit as well. It was soon discovered that the revived monasticism would not yet work in England. The time was not ripe for it, and public opinion too dangerously adverse. So Carshalton had to be run not as a monastery but as a missionary house. The school, however, was a decided success for some years. It grew in favour, and altogether (down to 1810, when it was given up, owing to financial difficulties and the fewness of the Fathers) from first to last boasted of several hundred pupils; well-to-do foreign families in London and the neighbourhood especially patronized it. The pension was forty guineas a year, besides extras, and studies and methods so well appreciated at Bornhem were perpetuated here.

But the old roof-tree across the water was not forgotten. Bornhem, now so-called "National Property," was bought back in 1797 as soon as the revolutionary tempest subsided. It was never possible to restore the old conventual life, but a few Fathers watched over the spot, and the secular School was started again. It was prosperous for a while, but the supply of English boys had ceased. Foreigners, chiefly Flemish, came in abundance, however, for no other educational establishment of a religious kind then existed in those parts. Mass was once more publicly celebrated in the church. But Bornhem's

day was over, and it led but a feeble existence. Debts accumulated, capital was lost, the college languished after a time and finally closed in 1822. Three years afterwards the whole property was sold, though not till a quarter of a century later did the last Bornhem Dominican pass to his rest. A hundred years have gone by, and the church and buildings still exist, though in other hands. To-day they house some five hundred day-scholars, admirably educated by the Bernardine Fathers.

When the English Dominicans met together in their Provincial Chapter in 1806, they felt they had reached a crisis. Bornhem had been set on its legs after a fashion, Carshalton led a precarious existence; but there was no novitiate, no regular monastery, and no prospects for the future. Death was busy with the old Fathers; new subjects came not, finances were scanty and shaky, and the end of the Province and the extinction of Cardinal Howard's noble foundation seemed not far off. By the time the next Chapter met in 1810, several of the Fathers had entirely lost heart and (with the leave and blessing of the Master-General of the Order) had emigrated to the United States. Fr. Dominic Fenwick (afterwards the first Bishop of Cincinnati) was their leader, and the eventual outcome of their move was to be the foundation of a new and flourishing Province, with its many houses, and churches and subjects, not, however, without much initial toil, trial, suffering, and privation on the part of the pioneer labourers in the vineyard. The English Province of the Order by giving to this new work some of her best sons became the nursing mother of a great and successful spiritual colony, and helped powerfully to diffuse the Catholic faith, and carry into new lands the standard of the Order of St. Dominic. But the immediate effect of the secession of Fr. Dominic Fenwick and his companions was disastrous in the extreme,

and well-nigh caused the dissolution of the English Province. It became more and more enfeebled, and its final ruin was thought to be imminent. Very few religious were left, and they were profoundly discouraged. Their American brethren were urgent with them to abandon the English Mission, and unite with them in the new world, and the idea was often debated, and not discouraged at Rome.

This project (not finally abandoned till 1822) was laid aside, and the Fathers rescued from their dependency by the determination of two religious—Fr. Albert Underhill (the venerable missionary at Leeds), and Fr. Ambrose Woods (the head of the school at Carshalton). It was decided neither to go to America nor to wind up the Province and divide its funds, as some had urged; but to struggle on. Fr. Underhill undertook to educate some youths for the Order, and quite a number came to him and persevered in their holy purpose. Carshalton was given up: Fr. Woods transferred his energies to Hinckley, where a regular Novitiate was started and the habit given to four of Fr. Underhill's boys, the first English subjects of the Order for four and twenty years! At the same time, Fr. Woods started a school at Hinckley for "young gentlemen," with new buildings and a larger church; and for many years Catholic families like the Berkeleys, Stonors, Petres, Eystons, Lawsons, and Walmsleys sent their sons to it as their ancestors had done to Bornhem. A beautiful stained glass window in St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, was in after years erected to Fr. Woods' memory by his devoted pupils during some forty-two years' teaching at Carshalton and Hinckley.

And so the novitiate at Hinckley, and the scattered struggling missions, were somehow carried on, and the Province kept together down to the year 1850, when

a fresh crisis seemed to be reached : for numbers were once again scanty, and only three Fathers were found qualified to sit in the Provincial Chapter of that year. The outlook was black in the extreme, and yet the English Dominicans were then on the very eve of their Second Spring of which the story is related elsewhere in this series.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

X. THEIR SECOND SPRING

By F. RAYMUND DEVAS, O.P.

IT has been well said¹ that three great and holy things constitute the essence of the Dominican Order: monastic observance, study and the apostolate. In the first place, the abstinence, fasts, silence, chapter of faults, Divine Office, the interior life, and mental prayer, form as it were the foundations of the edifice constructed by our holy Father Saint Dominic; in the second place, its walls and supports are the deep study of Holy Scripture and dogmatic and moral theology; and in the third place, preaching, based at once upon monastic observance (vivified by the interior spirit) and upon serious study, constitutes its crown or pinnacle. To sacrifice one or two of these three essential parts for the sake of preserving the remainder would be to change the sacred Order of Friar Preachers and to change it substantially: it would be to mutilate and kill the Order, for no one of the three parts must be exaggerated at the expense of the other two. It is true that this triple crown of monk, doctor, and apostle is heavy and difficult to bear in these days; for the small number of the brethren, the feebleness of faith even among Christians,

¹ By Fr. Ambrose Potton, a prominent Provincial in the Order some forty years ago.

the frequent political disturbances and many other things, all contribute towards putting obstacles in the way such as, even with the best will in the world, it is not altogether possible to avoid. Who, for example, can approach Saint Louis Bertrand for austerity of life, or Saint Thomas for splendour of doctrine, or Saint Vincent Ferrer for success in preaching? But if it is not possible to accomplish all the great deeds that the Fathers did of old, it is at least possible to cling to the three things which by their union gave to the Order in bygone days beauty and grandeur.

It was upon these lines that the English Province of the Order was restored to vigorous health and life, and blossomed forth into its "second spring," in the middle of the nineteenth century; and it is upon these lines that it must always act, if it would fulfil both its own obligations and the expectations of the Christian world, and preserve itself securely from sinking into a state of decadence and degradation.

In the summer of 1850 the Province had collapsed to such an extent that there were but seven Fathers in all, and only four qualified to form the Provincial Chapter. One of the latter, moreover, Fr. Angier, was living abroad, and on account of extreme old age, could not attend the Chapter: he died a little later in the same year. Thus there were but three *vocales*¹—a number insufficient to make the due elections, or even to fill up the necessary offices. In these straits the Fathers applied for advice to Fr. Gigli, Vicar-General of the Order, who recommended them to assemble and make the usual elections, and then to petition the General to elect, for this time only, the one who should seem best fitted to govern the Province.

Fathers Augustine Procter, Thomas Nickolds, and

¹ A *vocalis* is the canonical term for a religious who has the necessary qualifications of age, etc., to vote.

Dominic Aylward accordingly met in Chapter at Hinckley on July 2nd and made their postulatory elections. The three Fathers were successively chosen Definitors, and Fr. Augustine Maltus (one of the three younger priests) was nominated as the fourth Definitor. Fr. Dominic Aylward, who acted as Secretary to the Chapter, received the plurality of votes as Provincial. The Vicar-General of the Order, by letters patent, dated July 20th, instituted Fr. Aylward Provincial; and on the 23rd appointed Fr. Augustine Maltus Definitor for the next General Chapter, Fr. Thomas Nickolds *Socius*, and Fathers Procter, Nickolds, Angier and Maltus Definitors for the Provincial Chapter. He recommended that postulants for the Order should be sent for their novitiate to Perugia or Viterbo, and not to Santa Sabina in Rome as the Fathers had suggested, since that convent or priory had been nearly destroyed by the troops of the Roman Republic. On August 28th, the Provincial Chapter reassembled at Hinckley, when there were present Fathers Procter, Nickolds, Aylward and Maltus. The Vicar-General's appointments were accepted, and the two following days were taken up with the internal affairs of the Province, and mainly with a discussion as to the place of the novitiate—a discussion that was brought to a close by an altogether unexpected event.

On August 29th, 1850, a stranger arrived at Hinckley and asked the way to St. Peter's Priory. The visitor was no other than Mr. William Leigh (1802–1873), of Woodchester Park, Gloucestershire—an Oxford convert to the Catholic faith in 1844, and a correspondent of Cardinal Newman—who came to offer to the Fathers a beautiful church and a small house at Woodchester which he had built for the Passionists. These were in possession of both church and house at that time; but since the donor desired that the parish should be taken over and that the Divine Office should

be recited in choir, the Superiors of that Institute had decided to withdraw from the place, which they did on October 7th following. Mr. Leigh's thoughts seem to have been attracted to the Dominicans by the habit of the Order; at the solemn consecration of the church at Erdington, near Birmingham, not very long before, some of our Fathers had been present, and the black and white habit had pleased and attracted him. Hence, when he knew that the Passionists had made up their minds to leave Woodchester, he consulted Bishop Ullathorne as to inviting the Dominicans, and the reply which he received was so favourable and encouraging that he came to Hinckley in person to press his offer upon the Fathers. Fr. Lewis Weldon, who at that date was a senior boy in the little school at Hinckley for prospective Dominican postulants as well as secular students, says that the Fathers deliberated about the proposal, and on account of certain difficulties in the way decided that they could not accept it. This decision they communicated to Mr. Leigh, explaining that they had just settled to begin building at Leicester in order to establish a novitiate there, and that the Fathers of the Province were too few in number to make a fresh foundation and at the same time increase the staff at Leicester. Mr. Leigh, however, did not at once abandon hope: he stayed the night in Hinckley, and next morning came to the Chapel for Mass. It being the feast of Saint Rose of Lima, there was High Mass, and the *Missa de Angelis* was sung by the little choir of Fathers and postulants. Mr. Leigh was a great lover of plain chant, and was deeply moved: he determined to renew his request, notwithstanding the fact that it had been unanimously rejected on the preceding day. In the course of the morning he again called at the priory and urged the Fathers to reconsider their decision. They consented to do so; and while they

assembled to deliberate over the matter, Mr. Leigh went into the chapel and prayed very earnestly before the statue of Saint Dominic. At last, after a long discussion, the Fathers came to a favourable conclusion, and accepted, as far as was in their power, the generous offer of the church and house at Woodchester. Fr. Aylward at once wrote off to Rome, and Mr. Leigh, now fully satisfied, took his departure.

Relying upon a strong current rumour that a French Dominican, Fr. Jandel, had been appointed Master-General of the Order, Fr. Aylward wrote direct to him instead of to the Vicar-General. It was a curious mistake to make, although, as we know, the rumour was by no means without foundation ; and the feelings of the English Provincial may be imagined, when, on opening the reply from Rome (which reached Hinckley on September 23rd), he found that it was from Fr. Gigli again, who wrote that *he* and no other was still General of the Order. However, the necessary permission to accept Mr. Leigh's offer was readily granted, and Fr. Aylward himself lost no time in writing a very ample and graceful apology to Fr. Gigli ; but before the latter received it he had been superseded. His office had been automatically assumed on the retirement of Fr. Vincent Ajello, the last Master-General, and was due to terminate at the next General Chapter, when a successor to Fr. Ajello should have been elected ; but now, on September 30th, for the express purpose of putting new life into the Order, Pope Pius IX, without any Chapter at all, appointed Fr. Jandel Vicar-General, *ad beneplacitum Sanctæ Sedis*.

Alexander Vincent Jandel was one of Lacordaire's first Dominican disciples ; the following extract from the English Provincial's letter to the new Superior will be read with interest : " I come to lay at the feet of your most Reverend Paternity," he said, " in my

own name and in that of all our Fathers, my sincere congratulations and the assurance of my obedience ; for indeed it would be hard to put in words the immense joy we all feel at seeing one so devoted to regular observance placed at the head of the Order. There can be no doubt but that this work, so ardently desired, will be completed by Almighty God who has begun it. I can certainly promise you, in the name of our little Province, that we shall not be wanting when there may be question of co-operating according to our means in your very holy enterprise."

In the meanwhile, Woodchester had been "founded"; for Fr. Augustine Procter and Fr. Augustine Maltus (better known as Fr. Austin) established themselves there in October, 1850. With this event and the subsequent erection of the novitiate at Woodchester, Hinckley ceased to be the Mother-house of the Province: the congregation there fell to the care of Fr. Aylward, who also conducted the secular school, aided by Fr. Aloysius Dent and Fr. Bernard Morewood, the former being procurator of the house. The school also contained some postulants or students for the Order. Fr. Nickolds was at Leicester, Fr. Angier was closing his life in Belgium: this list of names and places accounts for the members of the entire Province in 1850.

Fr. Procter and Fr. Maltus did not go to Woodchester on the same day. When Fr. Procter went, he was accompanied by a youth of eighteen, who received the habit in the following year and lived to be known as Fr. Lewis Weldon. Fr. Weldon has left in manuscript an interesting account of the journey. "On October 8th," he wrote, "we, viz. Fr. Procter and myself, started from Hinckley for Woodchester Park, and it proved eventually a day of adventure. John Hall drove us to Nuneaton, where we took train to Coventry. While waiting on the platform for the train, Fr. Procter

came up to me and said very seriously: 'Oh, sir, I find if you travel as my servant we shall get on cheaper.' So I had to bustle about as the lackey, look after the luggage, etc., and travel third class whilst he travelled second, and a dry, tedious time I had of it.¹ However, we eventually got to Woodchester and took possession of the church and house."

The house was that now known as St. Mary's Hill, and in it the growing community continued to live until August, 1853, when the new priory was ready. It was at St. Mary's that, on January 25th, 1851, the Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul, regular observance was inaugurated again after an interval of more than half a century. This recommencement of observance must have been a work of considerable difficulty. The last edition of the Constitutions of the Order had been printed and published as far back as the year 1690, and since that date numerous General Chapters had added, annulled, or changed different points of legislation. It may well have been evident, besides, that owing to the great changes which had taken place in the world, some of the existing laws of the Order would have to be modified even with regard to large houses containing many members: who, then, could expect these laws to be observed by the mere handful of men who composed the little community at Woodchester? Nevertheless those Fathers and Brothers resolved, with laudable zeal and fervour, to endeavour to keep every rule; the fruit of this splendid spirit was soon apparent in the growth of the community itself, and in the spread of Catholicism in the surrounding district.

The actual building of the new priory must have been another object of absorbing interest. Fr. Jandel

¹ The reader must remember that this refers to a period when a third-class compartment was little better than a cattle-truck, and when all who could afford it travelled second or first.

himself was not unmindful of the work, and on May 3rd, 1851, sent the following instructions about the matter to Fr. Procter: "Carefully avoid everything that would give an appearance of grandeur or luxury to your building: and devote your whole attention to giving it the monastic form and to arranging the regular places there conveniently, so as to facilitate observance and order and perfect discipline. This is the chief point that you ought to have in view, and it demands an exact knowledge of our Constitutions. Endeavour then to give your architect¹ a precise idea of it: you cannot imagine, when you have had no experience in the matter, to what an extent the good and regular arrangement of a priory contributes to facilitate and maintain regular observance."

This holy General was devoted to the laws and constitutions of the Order as they had been handed down by the saints through so many centuries; he had, moreover, been especially appointed to his office by the Holy See itself in order to recall the brethren in these days to the observance of their rule. He knew well that constitutions and rules in a religious society are what muscles and nerves are in the human body—the principle and instrument of action inside and out. When the muscles of the body have grown feeble or the nerves are out of order, a man's activity is weakened or even altogether paralysed; so is it in an Order where the Constitutions are badly known or badly kept. But if Fr. Jandel was devoted to the law, he was anything but a martinet, as may be seen from the following incident. In August, 1851, he visited England for the first time. At Woodchester he found that even for the night Office the community used to

¹ Charles Hansom (1817-88), son of Henry Joseph Hansom; he studied under his more famous brother Joseph Aloysius (1803-82), who founded the *Builder* newspaper, and invented the Hansom cab. Charles Hansom married Elizabeth Muston of Coventry, whose sister was a nun of Mother Hallahan's foundation.

leave the "little convent" (as St. Mary's Hill was called) and walk down the road to the church. This he at once forbade; to save the Fathers and Brothers from the midnight exposure, he ordered them to recite their Matins and Lauds in the house, and this they continued to do until the "new convent" was finished.

In his letter of August 30th, 1850 (sent in error, as will be remembered, to Fr. Jandel), Fr. Aylward as Provincial had asked the General to help his Province by sending a couple of Italian Fathers, or, if he would, two Frenchmen, to help in making the English Province flourish once more in the glory of holiness and learning. He wanted two well-educated men, fully instructed in the laws and ceremonies of the Order, and he added that he would defray all the expenses which would be entailed. Fr. Gigli in his reply promised to do what he could, and said that he would send two Italian Fathers if he found it possible to do so. Nothing came of it, however, at the time, for Fr. Gigli, as we have seen, ceased to be Vicar-General almost immediately afterwards; and when Fr. Jandel took up office, he found it quite impossible to do anything in this respect until the time we have now reached in the narrative, namely, the autumn of 1851. He then sent to Woodchester Brother Thomas Burke (afterwards the celebrated preacher, at that date not yet a priest), and also assigned Fr. Aloysius Costello from San Clemente (the Irish Dominican house in Rome) to Leicester. Br. Damian Borgogno also arrived in England about this time, and took his degree as lector in theology with Fr. Burke at Woodchester not very long afterwards. Fr. Burke himself had been at Santa Sabina, which, towards the close of 1850, the new General had restored as a model house of observance for the whole Order. The young Irishman came to help his English brethren to learn the true traditions of the Order and

to see that no point of regular observance was being overlooked. Another foreign Dominican came to the Province a few months later in the person of the Belgian Father Peter Sablon. On finishing his office as Prior of Ghent, on February 23rd, 1852, Fr. Sablon came to England, and later on was affiliated to the Province, in which he died after many years of fruitful labour; he seems to have proved of great service from the very first. In June that same year, accompanied by four students, he was sent from Woodchester and made Regent of the school at Hinckley. It was soon determined to devote this establishment exclusively to the benefit of the Order as a school for postulants; and at the ensuing Christmas the secular scholars were dismissed, with the exception of two who remained on for half a year longer. Two or three of the elder postulants acted as prefects of the school and taught the others under the direction of the Regent.

In May, 1854, the Provincial Chapter was held at Hinckley, and Fr. Thomas Nickolds, titular Prior of Warwick, was elected Provincial. A petition was sent by the Chapter to Rome that Woodchester might be erected into a priory, although there were but three *vocales* at that time. The Vicar-General of the Order granted this request, and confirmed the acts of the Chapter. On this occasion also, another decision was arrived at. The building of the priory at Woodchester had borne heavily upon the limited funds of the Province, so it was deemed advisable to suspend the school at Hinckley and transfer the postulants to Woodchester. In July Fr. Aylward went to Woodchester as Prior: in August he was followed there by eleven postulants, including Messrs. Palmer, Cavanagh, Williams, Dixon and Greenough—names which later became familiar as those of well-known Fathers of the Province. Fr. Sablon went to reside and do mission work at Weston Hall, near Nuneaton; Fr. Dent was

moved to Leicester, where, in addition to the church of Holy Cross, the mission of St. Patrick's was begun in that year.

In 1855, the Vicar-General of the Order was made Master-General by the Pope. He did not forget the little Province in England, struggling for existence—indeed, it was one for which he had a special predilection. He had sent Fr. Hyacinth Pozzo as a lector to Woodchester in February, 1854; and Fr. Paul Utili, who followed in August, became affiliated to, and died in, the Province. But now, on October 23rd, 1856, Fr. Jandel sent to England the man who, as Fr. Palmer remarks, did more than anyone else to restore there the true spirit of the Order. This was Fr. Louis Gonin, later Archbishop of Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. Meanwhile, Mr. Leigh's house in Woodchester Park had had weekly Mass since 1850, and the mission of Nymphsfield, served from the priory, began two years later, namely, in 1852. In August, 1857 took place the solemn opening of the church in Stroud, the sermon being preached by Cardinal Wiseman, then Archbishop of Westminster. In December of the following year, on the arrival of a papal rescript, the Bishop of Clifton (William Clifford) deputed Fr. Henry Bartlett to erect a private oratory at Rodbourne, near Malmesbury, the seat of Richard Hungerford Pollen; this chapel also was served from the priory at Woodchester.

Fr. Aylward's office as Prior of Woodchester expired on July 6th, 1857. Fr. Paul Utili was elected Vicar *in capite* until Fr. Maltus, the Sub-Prior, who was at Stone, in Staffordshire, arrived upon the scene. Fr. Gonin was elected Prior, and confirmed in office by the Provincial. The *vocales* were Fr. Maltus, who was living at Stone, Fr. Morewood, who resided at Stroud, Fr. Borgogno, who was leaving the Province, and Fr. Paul Utili—Fr. Aylward himself had no vote, as he

had never been assigned to the priory. The English *Conventuals*, therefore, as Fr. Palmer remarks (who was himself by this time a member of the community), had no voice at all in the election, but against the result of the election no just objection could be raised. Rigid in his own personal observance of the rule, Fr. Louis Gonin came in to fix the established regular observance on a lasting footing. Monastic discipline had been so long extinguished in the Province that its traditional teaching had been completely lost, so that there had been at first much uncertainty, hesitation, and experiment in trying to adapt observance to circumstances. The time for Matins, for example, had varied much between the hours of 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. : and perhaps too much had been sacrificed to parochial zeal. Fr. Gonin enforced the *minutiæ* of the rule, had chapter for the Fathers held regularly every week, stopped the communication of the novices with lay people which had been allowed for missionary purposes, and gave the apostolate of the Order its true orientation by furthering the preaching of missions throughout the kingdom; all of which Fr. Aylward had already begun.

The first Provincial Chapter held at Woodchester took place in 1858. Fr. Augustine Procter was unanimously elected Provincial in the first scrutiny, himself voting for Fr. Aloysius Dent. It was now resolved that the school for postulants should be re-opened : the General's sanction was obtained on June 25th ; on the 29th, Fr. Dominic Trenow went to Hinckley from Woodchester to take up the direction of the studies, and in a few weeks the establishment was again in full swing. Fr. Trenow was succeeded in December, 1859, by Fr. Lewis Weldon.

In spite of the small number of Fathers, the missionary activity of the Province at this time was very great. St. Dominic's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was

founded in 1859 : St. Andrew's, in the same town, was already in the hands of the Order, but this was later given back to the Bishop of the diocese. In 1861, the beginnings of the present priory at Haverstock Hill were made ; and the small mission of Haunton, near Tamworth, was started. Two years later, Littlehampton, on the south coast, was undertaken ; so that there were at least thirteen missions served at this early date by Dominicans of the English Province.¹

The priorship of Fr. Gonin at Woodchester ended in July, 1860. The *vocales*, Fathers Aylward, Gonin, Utili, and Portley assembled, and elected Fr. Nickolds, who was duly confirmed by the Provincial. The new Prior arrived from Leicester on August 1st, and was installed on the following day ; but considering himself unable to take up conventual life after having lived for thirty years practically as a secular priest, and thinking that the Leicester mission would suffer by his loss, he appointed Fr. Aylward Vicar, tendered his resignation to the Provincial, and returned next morning to Leicester, to which he was much attached. On the same afternoon the Provincial arrived at the priory, accepted the Prior's resignation, and appointed Fr. Gonin to be Vicar *in capite*. The Fathers reassembled on August 4th to elect another Prior, but ended by deciding to leave the matter in the hands of the Provincial : the latter, having obtained a dis-

¹ Then, as now, Fathers from other Provinces of the Order came to stay in England for longer or shorter periods. In October, 1859, for example, the General assigned the celebrated Fr. Antoninus Doussot from Lyons to Woodchester, whence he passed to Newcastle ; he was recalled after two years (Sept., 1861) and appointed Novice Master at Santa Sabina in Rome. Fr. Doussot later became a Military Chaplain to the Papal Zouaves, and, with his Carmelite sister, forms the subject of a most interesting biography (*Le Père Doussot (Dominicain) et La Mère Élizabeth (Carmélite) sa sœur*. By P. M.-J. du Sacré Cœur. Bruxelles, 1913). Fr. Thomas Bonnet was another French Father from the Province of Lyons, who resided in England from January, 1861, to April, 1862.

penation from the General appointed Fr. Gonin to be Prior for the second time.

In June, 1862, the 244th General Chapter of the Order was held in Rome. In the first scrutiny, by 37 votes out of 48, Fr. Alexander Vincent Jandel was re-elected General. The three English Fathers present were Fr. Augustine Procter, Provincial, Fr. Dominic Aylward, Definitor, and Fr. Augustine Maltus, *Socius*. In the following August, the Provincial Chapter was held at Woodchester, and Fr. Nickolds was elected Provincial. By a curious mistake, Fr. Maltus was present as titular Prior of *Manchester*, where there had never been a house of the Order.

An event of great importance took place at Woodchester in the summer of 1863. On June 17th, Fr. Gonin, the Prior, was appointed by Pius IX., Archbishop of Port-of-Spain, in Trinidad; and it was the wish of the Holy Father that an Anglo-French colony of Dominicans should be established in that distant missionary field. The Prior's expostulations were vain; the Prefect of Propaganda informed him that his elevation to the Archiepiscopate was definitely settled. A few days later, the Master-General of the Order arrived to make an official visitation. The General came in time to confirm, and even carry out still further, what Fr. Gonin had done so well in the matter of fervour of spirit and strict observance. The day after his arrival, July 1st, Fr. Jandel began his visitation, which he finished on the evening of the 5th. He then left for Leicester, visited other parts of England, and finally crossed over to the Irish Province. Returning to Woodchester on August 2nd, accompanied by Fr. Rouard de Card, Provincial of Belgium, who left on the 4th, he published his ordinances and closed his visitation on the 5th, and then left for London along with the Archbishop-elect. With regard to Woodchester, where he was

himself residing, the General made several ordinances for perfecting monastic discipline as well as for the studies, and also modified the horary.

In London, Fr. Jandel laid the foundation stone of the priory church at Haverstock Hill, in the presence of Cardinal Wiseman, Monsignor Manning and many other celebrities. Twenty years later the new church was opened.

The year 1866 is memorable in the Province for the acquisition by the nuns of the Second or Enclosed Order of their convent at Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight. In May, 1858, pecuniary difficulties obliged them to abandon Atherstone, where on April 19th, 1840, they had resumed the Dominican habit for the first time since their coming to England in 1794, and where on March 7th, 1851, they had recommenced midnight Office—also for the first time since their being driven from Belgium; they then went for eight years to Hurst Green, near Stonyhurst. Now, however, thanks to the munificence of Elizabeth Julia Georgiana, wife of the second Earl of Clare, they were to have a home better suited to their special mode of life. Three years after their arrival at Carisbrooke, the Sisters received a visit from Queen Victoria.

In this year the Provincial Chapter fell due in the week beginning on April 22nd. Owing to an oversight, however, the titular Priors were not created early enough, and the Master-General postponed the assemblage of the Fathers till the full three months from the creation had gone by. He made Fr. Augustine Procter, who was then Prior of Woodchester, Vicar-Provincial, that he might govern the Province in the meantime, and preside over the election at the end of it. The Chapter was accordingly held on July 3rd, and the two following days at Woodchester, and Fr. Aylward was once more elected Provincial.

In October of the following year, 1867, the students

were transferred to the priory at Haverstock Hill ; but after a trial of five years the original arrangement was deemed preferable, and the studies were resumed at Woodchester. The foundation of Hawkesyard in 1894, which twelve years later became a " formal " house of studies in the technical sense of the word, gradually relieved Woodchester of professed students ; the latter place soon became the house of simple novitiate alone.

At the Provincial Chapter in 1870, Fr. King was elected Provincial ; in 1874 he was re-elected, and again, by special dispensation, in 1878. Three years after his last term of office expired, Fr. King was raised to the episcopate. On the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1885, his consecration took place at Woodchester as Bishop of Juliopolis and Coadjutor with right of succession to the Archbishop of Port-of-Spain. The consecrating prelate was Bishop Clifford of Clifton, assisted by Bishop Amherst of Northampton and Bishop Browne of Newport and Menevia : the last-named preached a sermon on the Christian duty of teaching the world committed by Christ to His Apostles. The providence of God, however, had decreed that the career of the new bishop should be of the briefest duration. On February 26th, he started for Rome, and went by way of Louvain in order to give Holy Orders to some English students there : he was taken ill on his journey, and a few hours after his arrival at the convent at Louvain collapsed suddenly and died, after having received the Last Sacraments. He was buried with great solemnity by Fr. Antoninus Williams, the English Provincial, in the burial place of the Louvain community attached to the Premonstratensian Abbey of Parc : his brethren in England, however, were anxious that he should rest at their novitiate house at Woodchester, where he had spent the greater part of his religious life. The sanction of the Belgian

authorities having been obtained, the body was brought to England in the autumn of 1886 ; Fr. Gregory Kelly, the new Provincial, sang the solemn Requiem, which was preceded by the chanting of the entire Office of the Dead, and the Bishop of Clifton performed the last rites at the grave.

The most memorable events which occurred in the Province between this date and the end of the century were the two foundations of Hawkesyard, near Rugeley, and Pendleton, near Manchester. The latter was the gift of Mr. André Raffalovich, a signal benefactor of the Order. It is a priory to which a parish is attached, and, placed as it is in the Catholic county of Lancashire, makes a good preaching centre.

Hawkesyard is situated in the heart of Staffordshire ; but being close to the main line and branch lines of the London and North-Western Railway, the priory is within fairly easy reach of London, as well as of Birmingham and the various Midland centres. The Fathers owe their beautiful possessions at Hawkesyard to the piety and liberality of the former owner of this property, Mr. Josiah Spode (1823-1893), whose family was well known for their china manufacture. In 1885 Mr. Spode and his niece, Miss Gulson, were received into the Catholic Church at Stone in Staffordshire. Three years later they became tertiaries of the Order, and on Mr. Spode's death, in 1893, Miss Gulson became co-foundress. On September 8th, 1894, the priory was canonically instituted by the Master-General of the Order, and became the house of theological and philosophical studies of the English Province. On June 12th, 1896, the foundation stone of the new priory church was laid by Monsignor Ilsley, Bishop (later Archbishop) of Birmingham. Three years later, the church was solemnly consecrated. In October, 1906, the Master-General raised the house to the status of *collegium formale*, with right of conferring theological

degrees. This privilege, and the existence of a distinct and separate house of studies, has been of great help and benefit to the Province.

The first two decades of the twentieth century are remarkable in the history of the Province for the foundation of foreign missions. The island of Grenada in the West Indies was taken over by the English Fathers in 1901; and now, in 1920, more than one mission has sprung up under their care in far-off South Africa. As far back as the year 1857, Fr. Jandel had written the following inspiring words, which, though addressed in the first instance to one Province in particular, are applicable to the whole Order in general:—

“Let us not be afraid of impoverishing ourselves and stripping the Province by giving men to the Missions. Each of these gifts will render us a hundred-fold in return by the number and quality of the vocations to which they will give birth. If you be anxious to see your novitiates full, and to get vocations among fine men, it is the Foreign Missions especially which will secure this result for you. By them again is it that you will preserve in the souls of young religious the sacred fire which you will have enkindled during their novitiate. The prospect of the dangers, labours, privations and sufferings which may one day become part of their lot, will be for them at every moment an incentive to acquire the solid virtues of mortification and detachment from self, of dying to worldly affections, and of crucifying the flesh and the will; of ardent charity lastly, which will not shrink from any sacrifice for procuring the glory of God and the salvation of souls.”

In 1919 a great honour was conferred on the Province by the elevation of another of its members to the episcopate. On April 27th of that year, Fr. Felix

Couturier was consecrated, in the Dominican church of the Minerva in Rome, Bishop of Myriophytos and Visitor Apostolic to Egypt. He makes the seventh bishop the Province has given to the Church since the Reformation.

The school for postulants for the Order, after varying fortunes at Hinckley and another temporary suppression, was again resuscitated in 1885, and continued to prosper. Towards the end of the century it was removed to Hawkesyard, where to-day it is in a highly flourishing condition. It has been estimated that nearly half the members of the Province are the fruit of this school, which fact reflects no small credit upon those who have been responsible for its direction.

The nuns of the Second Order, who are in a very true sense members of the Province, need here only be mentioned, as they form the subject of No. XI of this series.

The Third Order does not at present form part of the Province in the same sense as does the Second Order; as to this, see No. XII of this series. But it may be said that wherever Dominicans are established, there spring up, if not Chapters, at all events numerous individual Tertiaries; and never in England have nuns of the Third Order living in community been so numerous, or engaged upon such manifold works of charity, as they are at the present day.

THE APOSTOLIC WORK OF THE PROVINCE

If there was one thing which Saint Dominic most clearly did not intend his sons to do, it was parochial work. One may argue about other points, but this one at least is unquestionable and incontestable. Yet here in England it has been made to a large extent

the condition of Dominican establishment and even existence. The constant endeavour of the Province, therefore, must ever be not to allow this additional work to interfere with the general spirit and idea of the Order. Professors have to be kept clear of the parish that they may be able to devote themselves to the arduous work of instructing the students ; preachers, too, have to be formed, and the tradition of the Order is that they are best formed in silence and solitude ; and it must not be forgotten that students and writers usually need time and quiet if their work is to be good and lasting.

In spite of the great difficulty thrust upon it by parochial life, the Province has not ceased to produce scholars, writers and preachers of no mean order. The literary activity perhaps has reached its highest pitch with the translation of the *Summa*¹ and the appearance of *Blackfriars*, the Dominican review. Ever since 1860, moreover, there has always been a great deal of the giving of missions and retreats, as well as the more intellectual preaching of conferences and special sermons and the delivering of lectures.²

In the summer of 1851, Fr. Jandel, Vicar-General of the Order, visited the English Province. Early in the following year he tendered his resignation to the Holy Father, Pius IX. " So sure was I that it would be accepted," he wrote himself a decade later, " that I was already at work on the circular letter convening a General Chapter, and had even, in virtue of the right which Generals have in our Order of choosing their residence when going out of office, already selected the place of my retreat. The reader will probably be

¹ The Province, represented by Fr. Peter Paul Mackey, has also played a distinguished part in the production of the Leonine edition of the *Summa* at Rome.

² Appended to this pamphlet will be found a list of the Houses of the Province and of the Missions served by English Dominicans between 1850 and 1920.

surprised to learn that I had chosen Woodchester. In my visit of the preceding year I had been profoundly edified by the fervour and poverty of the newly-born priory, by the goodwill of its members, and by the privations of every kind which, with such a good spirit, they imposed upon themselves, in order to restore the English Province which in 1850 was reduced to five or six men at the most. The generous efforts and sacrifices of these worthy religious, and the extreme wants of the Province in agony, the prospect of all the good it was called upon to do if it could but at last rise from its ruins and with the help of a regular novitiate develop itself—all these were forcible reasons for me to devote myself to helping them.”

That the Province developed along the lines indicated, the General himself again is the witness. “I set out,” he says, “in order to visit Belgium, Holland, England and Ireland, and to sow seeds in those lands which our Lord has deigned to bless and fertilize, and the fruits of which after twelve years I have just had the consolation of seeing in my visits of 1862 and 1863.”¹

It may be asked, How has the Province progressed since then? Who shall presume to decide that question?

The world may judge the Province to a large extent by external observances; it is not by them that Dominicans will be judged by God. “The marrow, the soul of regular life,” wrote Fr. Jandel, “is the spiritual life.” Let us be under no delusion: the letter killeth, the spirit alone quickeneth. It is little, nay, it is less than nothing, to have the externals of regular life, if the spiritual life does not serve as their nourishment. The manifold branches of observance ought to be

¹ For these letters of Père Jandel, see *Ex Umbris*, by the writer of this pamphlet; to be obtained from him at Hawkesyard, Rugeley, Staffs.

served by this sap ; otherwise instead of bringing forth fruit they will wither away, and their decay will bring about that of the tree itself. Anything like full observance is at times rendered altogether impossible in some houses of the Order in England, on account of the exigencies of the situation—the pressure of parochial life, and the fact that to all intents and purposes ours is still a missionary country. But the spiritual life is always within reach of everyone ; and any man who hears the call to leave the world in order to serve God in the black and white habit of the Friar Preachers, will find in the English Province of the Order that religious life which will teach him unceasingly to labour, to grow in the love of God, and, as a result, in the love and service of his neighbour—to emulate, in other words, the charity and zeal for souls of our holy Father Saint Dominic.

*Houses of the Province and Missions served by
Dominican Fathers between 1850 and 1920*

HINCKLEY: St. Peter's, 1765.

(Nuneaton, Atherstone, Haunton, Market Har-
borough, Nevill Holt, Weston-in-Arden, Hus-
bands Bosworth.)¹

LEICESTER: Holy Cross, 1818.

(St. Patrick's.)

Wigston, 1905.

Aylestone, 1915.

WOODCHESTER: The Annunciation, 1850.

Nymphsfield, St. Joseph's, 1852.

Wotton-under-Edge, 1914.

Dursley, 1914.

(Cirencester, Malmesbury, Sharpness; the last
was abandoned when the necessity that called
for it ceased.)

STROUD: The Immaculate Conception, 1857.

(Stone, Stoke, St. Marychurch, Clifton.)

LONDON: St. Dominic's, Haverstock Hill, 1861.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE: St. Dominic's, 1859.

(St. Andrew's.)

Byker, St. Lawrence's, 1877.

(Prudhoe-on-Tyne.)

(Littlehampton.)

(Atherstone.)

(Hurst Green.)

CARISBROOKE: St. Dominic's, 1866.

HAWKESYARD, RUGELEY: St. Thomas's Priory, 1894.

St. Thomas's School for boy postulants.

¹ Missions whose names are placed in brackets have since passed
into other hands.

PENDLETON, MANCHESTER: St. Sebastian's, 1898.

(Spetchley.)

OXFORD: 1920.

ABROAD: the whole of the West Indian Island of
GRENADA, 1891.

South Africa—BOKSBURGH, 1917; NEWCASTLE,
1920.

Over and above these regular establishments, there have nearly always been what for want of a better phrase we may call "stray missionaries" of the Province. Such distant regions as Trinidad, B.W.I., New Zealand and China have been the scenes of such labours.

At present a fruitful apostolate, participated in by members of the Leicester Corpus Christi Chapter of Tertiaries, is being carried on among the Hindoo population of Trinidad.

In England, too, Mass has been said, time and again, in other places not named here; but in none has it been said with such continuous regularity as could justify the title of Mission.

THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

XI. THE NUNS

By SISTER MARY BENVENUTA, O.P.

SINCE the day when God made for man "a help like unto himself" because it was "not good for him to be alone," there have been few great men—using the adjective in its unworldly and therefore truer sense—whose work would not have been a lesser thing but for the direct or indirect co-operation of women. Even where it is less evident, due perhaps to the early training given by a wise mother or to a sister's loyal friendship, it moves, unrecognized but potent, through the man's life, an invisible prompter in the wings of the world's stage where he must play his part before his fellow-men. At first sight St. Dominic seems an exception to the general rule. Like St. Augustine, he had a saint for mother, but her part was rather Anna's than Monica's. He had a friend in Blessed Cecilia, and a spiritual daughter whose devotion rose to heroism in Blessed Diana d'Andalo, but neither shared in the actual foundation of the Order. But though St. Dominic walks alone in the procession of founders of religious Orders, where St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross go side by side and the *Poverello* of Assisi and his namesake the Prince Bishop are hand in hand with St. Clare and St. Jane de Chantal, there is perhaps no Order in whose destinies women have played a larger part than that of the Friar Preachers. From Catherine of Sienna, "a saint with a genius for politics," down to the peasant girl of Orvieto, all its holy women have

been "preacheresses," though the name is commonly given only to the nuns of the Second Order. For even in the lives of Tertiaries, their affiliation to the Order is not an incidental circumstance, nor even simply a means to sanctity: it is their vocation. Their lives are bound up with the Order: their life-work is that of the Order—the salvation of souls.

Moreover, Dominic himself from the first put into practice this principle laid down by God, for the Saint founded his first convent of nuns nearly ten years before that of the friars. The whole work was achieved with an unfaltering rapidity possible only to inspiration, and was further accelerated by miraculous means. We see a few swift strokes by the hand of God, rather than the deliberate labour of man, in the sudden conversion of those daughters of the Albigensian nobles, the fearsome vision shown them by St. Dominic of the master they had hitherto served, the globes of fire which he said he saw descending upon the church of Our Lady at Prouille, henceforth the headquarters of the Saint and his disciples.

"Prayer," says Danzas, "is the source of action, contemplation that of the apostolate. For ten years these elder daughters of the Dominican family must have associated their prayers not only with their Father's personal and daily works, but with the projects that his apostolic heart was cherishing. They must have besought for him who had engendered in them first that other posterity, which his gaze was seeking and his aspirations were invoking, in a future more or less distinct. Thus, Prouille was a source, and such was henceforth to be the function of the Second Order."¹ And a great saint thus sums up the vocation of the Sisters Preacheresses: "You must never lose sight of the fact that, belonging to

¹ Danzas, *Études sur les Temps Primitifs de l'Ordre de S. Dominique. Tome IV.*

an Order that is wholly apostolic, the aim of your life in the cloister is the salvation of souls. This must be the end of your prayer, your desires, your fasts and disciplines." Other Orders have been founded primarily for men, and have afterwards extended their rule to women desirous of following it: in the Dominican Order, the nuns have ever been an integral part, rather than an accessory.

THE PRIORY OF DARTFORD, 1356-1539.

The only pre-Reformation convent of Dominican nuns in England was the once celebrated royal Priory of Dartford in Kent. Eleanor, wife of Edward I, so devoted to the Order that she has been called its "nursing-mother," was intending to build a convent for Sisters of the Second Order when she died in 1290. Edward II made a vow to fulfil her wish, and began a correspondence on the matter with the Pope and the Master-General of the Order; after his death, the foundation being still unaccomplished, Edward III took the same vow upon himself, choosing Dartford, then much visited by royalty, as the site of the new convent, and granting a royal licence in 1349 for the assignment of two messuages and ten acres of land "dilectis nobis in Christo Sororibus domus quam de Ordine Pre-dicatorum in eadem villa de novo fundare ordinamus." He also provided a house for six Friar Preachers from the Priory of King's Langley, who were to act as chaplains to the nuns. This was in accordance with the old custom of the Order, by which a small staff of Fathers, and sometimes many lay Brothers, were appointed to look after the spiritual and temporal welfare of each convent of Sisters—an arrangement necessitated by the size of the communities (which sometimes numbered a hundred) and their extensive lands.

In the Middle Ages, time was valued at a much

lower rate than in our own bustling days, and building, too, was a very different affair ; so that the convent was not ready for the Sisters until 1356, when four nuns were brought over from France (probably from Poissy), one of whom, Sister Matilda, was made Prioress. Edward then gave them a formal grant of the convent and its enclosures, "dedicated to God, and to the Virgin Mother of Our Lord, and to the blessed virgin Margaret, for the weal of his soul, and the souls of Queen Eleanor and Edward II, of all his ancestors and successors, and all the faithful departed." In 1363, John de Woderowe, the King's Dominican confessor, who had superintended the building of the Priory, received ten marks to pay the debts of the four French Sisters, and to buy four marble tombstones to be set up after their death.

Richard II, by royal charter, enriched the community with further possessions "to the honour of God because of the devotion which we have to the monastery of the Preaching Sisters of Dartford." He granted them, in particular, certain property "for finding some chaplain to celebrate the Divine Mysteries each day in a certain chapel in the infirmary of the aforesaid monastery, lately rebuilt ; and for the relief and maintenance of the infirm Sisters and Brothers who are, and will be living there."

After reading the charters of Edward III, Richard II and succeeding Kings, granting the community houses and lands in different counties, amounting to hundreds of acres, besides the advowson of various churches and other gifts, we are at first surprised to find Gregory XI further sanctioning by papal brief the appropriation to them of the church of King's Langley on the grounds that the Sisters had not sufficient means for their maintenance ; while in 1458 a messuage belonging to the nuns was sold by unanimous consent of the Sisters in chapter, and the

sale declared to be "for the relief of our present great necessity." But when we find that many of the rents brought in only a few shillings, or even pence, yearly (no large sum even in those days), we see that the necessity was real.

As convents were the only houses of education, children were received there in limited numbers to be educated in accordance with the demands of the age, living a cloistered and semi-religious life. There would also have been the children who, according to the custom of former days, had been consecrated by their parents to the religious life from their babyhood, and who were brought up there until they were old enough to enter the novitiate. Hence, although the life of the nuns was purely contemplative—a life of prayer and penance for the salvation of souls, and especially for the work of the friars—Dartford Priory followed the usual custom, and is spoken of by Dugdale as "a nunnery to which the best and noblest families of the country sent their relatives, both for education, and as nuns." In 1490, Bridget, daughter of Edward IV was brought to the Priory at the age of ten, when her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, entered a convent at Bermondsey. The queen had dedicated Bridget to the life of the cloister from her childhood, and the princess took the veil probably about 1495. That the nuns of Dartford shared the justly free and wisely democratic spirit of their Order can be seen from the fact that Bridget never held any superior office in the community, but died as a simple religious at the age of about thirty-seven, and was buried within the enclosure. In the registers of the Masters-General at Rome, we find it decreed in 1503 that "the nuns of England may not retain secular women within their monastery." In 1527, however, we find the confirmation of a concession made a few years earlier by the Master-General's vicar, by which the

Prioress " may receive any well-born matrons, widows of good repute, to dwell perpetually in the monastery, with or without the habit ; and also that she may receive young ladies, and give them a suitable training, according to the mode heretofore pursued."

Notices of Dartford Priory are chiefly to be found in records of royal and other gifts of land and money and in old wills, by which bequests were made to the convent, varying in value from a considerable sum—" to th' intent that the conventt . . . will have my sowle recomendyd in th' devouutt prayers"—down to fourpence towards the maintenance of a lamp burning before Our Lady's statue, and " unto the prioress and convent in the abbay of Darford, my grete bras potte."

In the British Museum is a beautifully written MS. ¹ with the first page illuminated, entitled *Stimulus Amoris Bonaventuræ Anglice*. At the end is the colophon, " Here endeth ye tretys yat is callid prickynge of love made bi a frere menour bonaventure that was a cardynal of ye court of rome." ² The book begins, " How a man shal have criste is passion in mynde." On the fly-leaf is written, " Thys boyk longyth to Da'alys braintwath the worchypfull prioras of Dartford. Jhu mercy. Orate pro anima domina Elizabeth Rede hujus loci Orate pro anima Johñe Newmarche"—the two last mentioned were probably nuns. The arms of Shirley and Brewes quartered are seen at the end.

The Prioresses at Dartford seem generally to have held office for life, instead of being elected for three years as is now the universal rule in the Order. Thus it happened that Elizabeth Cressener had already governed the convent for nearly fifty years when Henry VIII, in 1534, declared himself to be spiritual

¹ Harl. MS., cod., 2254.

² The *Stimulus Amoris* was written by James of Milan, though often attributed to St. Bonaventure.

head of the Church of England. Unhappily, among other instruments of his will he found a willing servant in John Hilsey, a Dominican, who, together with the provincial of the Austin Friars, was commissioned to visit and reform the five mendicant Orders and bring them to submission in the matter of the supremacy. When these two men visited Dartford the community, assembled in the chapter, affixed the convent seal to their acknowledgement of Henry's supremacy, and the validity of his marriage with Anne Boleyn; the seal attached to this document is still preserved. Some two years later, Hilsey was made Bishop of Rochester, and installed himself at the Blackfriars, London. Having quarrelled with the Prior, Robert Stroddel, who had also subscribed the supremacy, Hilsey sent him to Dartford, where his interference greatly disturbed the peace of the community, as the Prioress complained (though ineffectually) in two letters to Cromwell.

In 1537 Elizabeth Cressener died, and Joan or Jane Fane was made Prioress at the instigation of Hilsey. Seeing the suppression of the remaining religious houses to be imminent, she and her community provided for their agents and servants by granting offices, leases, and annuities. The convent was suppressed in 1539, and the twenty-six nuns were given life pensions. Henry made the Priory a hunting seat; after his death, it became the home of Anne of Cleves, his fourth wife.

That the convent of Dartford was the one house of the English Dominican province to subscribe the supremacy must always be deeply regretted, but the nuns probably acted in good faith, without realizing what their assent implied. The community seems always to have been fervent and devout, and careful of regular observance. Neither was Elizabeth Cressener moved by ambition and the desire to secure her position

of authority under royal favour, for we find in the register of the Masters-General that she had been absolved from the office of Prioress at her own request a few years earlier, though, if she did actually lay down her charge she was evidently soon reinstalled in it. What probably urged the nuns to subscribe the supremacy was the authority of Hilsey, who had been appointed Provincial of the Order by the King, and to whom, in this capacity, they owed obedience under papal authority. The nuns probably did not realize that this authority was itself overthrown by the Act of Supremacy; for Hilsey, who was a clever man, would assuredly give such explanation of it as was most likely to win their assent. The clearest evidence of the good faith of at least seven of the twenty nuns remaining in 1557, is in their subsequent behaviour. Under Queen Mary, these seven petitioned to be restored to community life. They were installed in buildings belonging to the former Priory of King's Langley until, by the death of Anne of Cleves, the convent of Dartford reverted to the Crown, and was given back to the nuns.

All the community (then numbering ten Sisters, including a postulant)—this time with more knowledge of the issues at stake—firmly refused to subscribe the Act of Supremacy enforced anew under Elizabeth in 1559, although the Visitors talked with each Sister separately, the more easily to induce her to yield. Father Richard Hargrave, Vicar-General of the English Dominicans and confessor to the nuns, together with another Dominican priest then at Dartford, refused to take the required oath, though promised high dignities if they would obey the Queen's ministers. The Visitors then sold the goods of the Priory at the lowest rate, paid the debts of the community, divided what little money was over among the Sisters, and ordered them to leave within twenty-four hours.

Four days later, the nuns and the two priests, with the faithful little postulant, crossed to Belgium, together with the Bridgettine nuns of Syon, in a vessel hired at the King of Spain's expense. Three of the nuns were eighty years old, the youngest fifty; one of them, Elizabeth Wright, was half-sister to Blessed John Fisher. They went first to Antwerp, and thence to Dendermond, where for two months they lived in a hospital. The Provincial of Belgium sent them to the convent of Leliendael (near Zierikzee, capital of Schowen, one of the islands of Zeeland), which was almost in ruins; and even this shelter failed them, for they had no money, and the community was itself too poor to support them. They returned to Antwerp, where they lived on alms, but the Calvinistic outbreak in 1566 forced them to fly to Bergen-op-Zoom. All through their life of exile and hardship, their faithfulness to their rule and vocation, in spite of everything, is very touching. The Divine Office and such observances of the Order as were possible were kept up; and we find them writing from Leliendael to ask the Master-General's leave before selling their few possessions (probably the "books and best clothing" which we are told they took with them on leaving Dartford Priory), to buy the necessaries of life. By 1573 only the Prioress, Elizabeth Cressener (probably a niece of the former Prioress of Dartford) and three nuns were living, and the Master-General, in making his visitation of the province, assigned them to the convent of Engelendael, outside Bruges, where Elizabeth died in 1578. The three remaining nuns lived to share the sufferings of the community from the invasion of the reformers, during which the convent was seized, and the nuns were obliged to live hidden in a house at Bruges, wearing secular dress, enduring great poverty, and, far worse, enforced deprivation of religious observances.

Sister Elizabeth Exemewe¹ alone of the Dartford nuns survived this time of distress: the heretics having been driven out, the nuns returned to their convent in 1584, and she died in 1585.

THE PRESENT COMMUNITY: VILVORDE, 1661-69.

The present English community was founded by Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk, at Vilvorde, a small town in South Brabant, on the River Senne, between Brussels and Mechlin, in 1661. At the petition of Cardinal (then Father) Thomas Howard, two Dutch choir nuns and a lay Sister were sent from the Dominican convent of Tempsche (French, Tamise), to begin the new community, returning to their own convent when the foundation was finally established. With them came a novice, Antonia Howard, cousin to Father Thomas. The following account of her is given in the old annals of the community: "There came in their company [that of the Dutch nuns] Mistress Antonia Howard, youngest daughter to Colonel Thomas Howard of Tursdale in the county of Durham, and of Mistress Margaret Evers his wife, who had remained in the convent of Tempsche about a year for this intention. She most earnestly begged the holy habit (though of a very delicate, tender complexion, and weak in body), which was accorded to her by our illustrious founder, who, with the consent of the two ancient religious (that were great admirers of the constant fervour and courage which they had experienced in this young creature but sixteen years of age), clothed her himself,

¹ In an article on Sir Thomas Exmey (or Exmewe), Lord Mayor of London, in the *Archeologia Cambrensis* for July, 1919, his will is given, in which he bequeaths £50 to "purchase lands and tenements . . . for the use of Dame Elizabeth Exmey, my daughter." After her death the revenues were to remain with the community "for the maintenance of a yearly obit of XXs within the same house for ever. . . ." He died in 1529.

on the 11th of June, 1661, she being the first English that had to our knowledge taken the habit of our Holy Father St. Dominic since the unhappy fall of religion in England."

Antonia Howard (Sister Catherine) had been a novice less than four months when "it pleased God to try her with a tedious and grievous sickness, in which she always expressed a singular patience and perfect resignation to the Divine Will." She died on October the 8th, 1661. "Her death," says the chronicler, "to the best of my remembrance (who was an unworthy witness of it), passed in this manner. The day before, she said several times that she should depart out of this world that night, and demanded often if the confessor were returned (who was that day gone to Brussels); we not perceiving her to be worse than she had been ten days before, when she made her profession and received the rites of the Church. She appeared glad when she heard the confessor was come home, saying she had much to do that night, every hour of which she observed the clock, and a little before twelve desired that the confessor might be called to hear her confession, and to bring her the Most Blessed Sacrament, for it would soon be time for her to communicate. This was performed, and she confessed and communicated with great devotion and an entire confidence in the infinite mercies of our dear Redeemer. She then desired the holy candle,¹ and a little while after fell into a trance, in which for about a quarter of an hour she appeared quite dead. Then, smiling, she opened her eyes with great signs of joy, and presently after fell into another trance which lasted not so long as the former, but the signs of joy and satisfaction which she then expressed far

¹ The blessed candle of the Rosary. There is a plenary indulgence for members of the Rosary Confraternity who, having fulfilled certain conditions of the Confraternity during life, die holding it.

exceeded that that she had shown before. This moved the Father to ask her the cause of her joy, to which she made no reply, but looked upon him and us that were by her, very cheerfully, and made some signs with her hands which we could not understand. Then her confessor, much surprised to see this strange satisfaction, so very unusual at such a time, said thus to her, 'Child, I command you in virtue of holy obedience to declare the cause of your joy at this dreadful time, when you are going to give a strict account of every thought, word and deed, which God exacts with such severity that the greatest saints have trembled to think of it.' She, without any change of countenance, answered, 'I see it.' 'Child,' said the Father, 'what do you see? Tell what you see.' She said, 'I see our Blessed Lady with a crown in one hand and a rosary in the other—a fine crown!' 'Child,' said the Father, 'have a care what you say. Do you see our Blessed Lady?' She very cheerfully replied, 'Yes, I do see our Blessed Lady, with a fine crown, a fine rosary. I desire to see no more of the world.' Then the confessor, who was the Very Rev. Father William Collins, a very learned and exemplary religious man, said to her, 'Child, would you have the Absolution of the Rosary?'¹ She answered, 'I made signs for it many times when I could not speak: pray give it me.' Then devoutly preparing herself to receive it, he gave it to her; and presently after, with a pleasant, smiling countenance, she left this wretched life (as we have great reason to hope) to pass into eternal felicity. I, though most unworthy of it, then felt a joy and satisfaction so great, that I did not then resent² any sorrow for her death, though I loved her with such tenderness that I could never

¹ Absolution with a plenary indulgence granted to Rosarians who have said the Rosary once a week during life.

² Feel.

before think of her death without being extremely afflicted. All that were present felt an extraordinary joy. Her face retained the same beauty she had when alive."

As the Sisters were only renting a house in Vilvorde, and could not bury their dead there, Sister Catherine was taken to Bornheim and buried in the cloister of the Fathers. The impression made by her holy death has not yet been effaced: during the late war an exiled Belgian priest, a native of Tamise, wrote from London to the Prioress of Carisbrooke, asking whether Antonia Howard had belonged to her community. He had been told by his grandfather of the holy little Dominican nun who had taken the habit at Tamise, and whose memory was still venerated there. The above account of Sister Catherine is in the handwriting of Sister Barbara Boyle, a convert from Protestantism, who entered the convent at Vilvorde in 1661. The founder made her Prioress in 1667, and she governed the community for thirty years. She was again elected in 1703, and re-elected in 1706, in her old age.

For three years the community at Vilvorde was hampered by lack of legal authority for administration of vows, "the bishop and country" (to quote from the convent annals) "persisting in rude denials to admit of an English convent." Probably the unsettled state of the country during the wars between France and Spain inclined the authorities, both spiritual and temporal, to discourage the foundation of new communities of nuns, likely to suffer grave inconvenience in time of war and perhaps to become a burden on both State and diocese. The reiterated efforts of Father Thomas at last won the leave of King Philip IV for the founding of the convent, on condition only that the nuns should pray for the Spanish royal family, which obligation they daily fulfilled as long as they remained in Flanders.

The nuns had been under the government of Father Thomas Howard until he became chaplain at the English court, when the Master-General placed them, during the founder's necessarily long absences, under the authority of Father John Baptist Verjuyse, Prior of Antwerp. A copy of the General's letter, giving him this office is in the Sisters' annals: it is an example of that mingling of elder-brotherly tenderness and that almost idealistic veneration with which the Friar Preachers have ever been wont to regard their Sisters in St. Dominic, and recalls the letters of Blessed Jordan of Saxony to Blessed Diana. The Master-General, Father John Baptist de Marinis, declares his solicitude for "our new and tender Monastery of Vilvorde," and bids Father Verjuyse incessantly to "promote its regular observance by fit helps, best counsels and commands," and concludes thus, "Buckle on your sword for this charge, being mindful how sacred and noble a treasure we commit to your experience, prudence and integrity. They are our daughters and chosen spouses of Jesus Christ. They are strangers in your country; and, banished from their own true soil for their loyalty to their Spouse, under the hard beginnings of a new cloister, they stand in need of extraordinary help, care and comfort. It shall be your duty so in our place to attend to them, that for their virtue, peace and noble contempt of the world, we may always acknowledge as angelicals (*angelicæ*) those whom for their country we call English (*anglicanæ*)."

BRUSSELS, 1669-1794.

When Father Verjuyse died, in 1667, the Sisters came under the jurisdiction of the Vicar-General of the English province. They were not, however, withdrawn from their founder's fatherly care; it was he who, in 1669, found a house for them in Brussels,

whither he wished to move the little community of six choir and two lay Sisters, as a precaution against exposure to the perils of war. The new convent went by the curious name of "Spellekens" (sometimes corrupted into "Pelikans") from the Flemish *het Spellekens-huys*, the Pin-house; it had once been a pin manufactory, and afterwards belonged to the Oratorian Fathers, who had built a chapel and converted the house into a well-arranged conventual dwelling. It is described as "a large, castle-like edifice" with "a very spacious garden shaped like an amphitheatre, which commanded a very fine prospect." The house stood in the north part of the town, in or adjoining the old Rue de Schaerbeek, near the city ramparts. A century later its decayed condition became beyond repair, and the nuns built a new house and church in the upper part of their garden.

In 1679, the Titus Oates plot involved Cardinal Howard in an impeachment for high treason; but, being in Rome at the time, he escaped the fate of his uncle, William Viscount Stafford (beheaded in 1680), whose daughter, Sister Mary Delphina Howard, was then a nun at Spellekens, and just twenty-three years old. It is said that her hair turned white during the night after she heard of her father's execution; but so great was her courage, that she asked leave to read the account of his valiant death in the refectory, being presumably reader for the week, and did so with perfect self-control. No further details of Sister Mary Delphina's life are recorded, or at least have survived. Of two Sisters only among those forming the community at this time, do we find any particular account. These are Sister Frances Peck and Sister Christina Touchet. The spiritual life of each was remarkable, though widely different.

Sister Frances Peck, daughter of Roger Peck and

Joanna Fairwood his wife, was professed at Vilvorde in 1665 at the age of forty-three, and died fifteen years later, at the very hour, says her chronicler, that she had been wont to ring the bell for Matins ; this had been her nightly task for more than ten years, and from it " she never exempted herself, nor from any part of the Divine Office, but when great extreme sickness forced her to it." After praising her great virtues in the various offices of portress, cellaress, dispenser, and vestiarian, and remarking on the wonderful quantity of knitting which she accomplished after her eyesight began to fail " to her dying day," the annalist gives a copy of the following account written by the nuns' confessor, Father Joseph Vere, of some of the graces granted to Sister Frances :

" I have been her confessor near fourteen years, and although she came frequently to confession, yet such was the innocency of her life and purity of her conscience, that I had much ado to find matter to absolve her from. I always observed in her a great horror of telling a lie, as also of anything that savoured of pride. Her confessions were always accompanied with a mighty sense of sorrow for having even lightly offended God. Oh, how often has she shed tears for what I could scarce think a sin in her !

" I could tell you a great many stories of her union with God, and resignation to His Divine Will ; but one shall serve for a great many. The morning before she made her happy profession, coming to confession to me, she expressed a wonderful joy, saying, ' This is my marriage day. Oh, how glad am I of this day ! I tell your reverence a truth, I would rather die than go out of this house ; yet if it were the Will of God I should not be a nun here, I would go out, though I had no other way to get my living than by raking kennels.' How much she was given to prayer, the religious are witnesses of. So powerful

were her prayers that I have several times, unknown to her, commended myself to her prayers and implored God's mercy for her sake, whilst she was yet alive—which, without any desert of mine, merely for her sake, His Divine Majesty afforded me.

“I will say nothing of her mortifications, of her wearing about her nettles, hair-cloths, sharp wire mortifications, known only to God and me. Other mortifications she used, which I will not declare. Her obedience to Mother Prioress was in great perfection. If she erred in anything she but lightly insinuated she would have done, she was highly concerned for it as a most grievous sin, though her fault proceeded more out of inadvertency than negligence. . . .”

In another place Father Joseph speaks of her charity towards her Sisters. Speaking of her graces he says :

“God was prodigal of His favours to her. The first she informed me of, happened at Vilvorde, the first year of her coming to religion. She being there told that the first that came on Whit Sunday into the choir would obtain of the Holy Ghost what she desired, believing it got thither the first, and being there in prayer, an angel, or something like an angel, seemed to pierce her breast with a dart, after which she was most wonderfully inflamed with the love of God.”

Father Joseph then gives Sister Frances's description (written at his request) of the supernatural prayer which became habitual to her after this grace :

“Jesus help me. When I dispose myself for prayer, something suddenly inwardly seizes upon me ; for the present it hinders me that I cannot speak or think on anything. . . .” Her efforts (which mystics have ever found vain) to put her spiritual experiences into words, are very quaint. She describes “a certain motion which moves the will to love God, like to the palpitation of the heart which one usually finds after

walking fast. It always tends upwards, and coming into the head, dulls the understanding, yet not as sleep dulls it. . . . Then there seemed to fall a small dew or rain upon my soul; then something seemed to rise up in my soul like a flame with sparks of fire, kindling a great love of God in my soul. Then I seem to swallow or drink up the divine favours with so much greediness of loving God that my body seems too narrow to contain my soul. . . . Besides this some airy thing much elevates the desire of my will above me." That her prayer was not mere sensible devotion, though she describes it in terms of sense, is proved when she remarks on the great peace produced in the soul by this "motion," however violent, and declares that "in the meantime, I always perceive my will busied in loving of God." Again, when kneeling before the Blessed Sacrament, "something like lightning, yet without light," and, another time, "something like subtle air" penetrated her soul with love to God. At Communion, the Host "seems to have so sweet a taste as can hardly be expressed." She ends by saying, humbly "Perhaps what I have said of prayer is nothing but my imagination. Forced, not willingly have I writ this. . . ."

Father Joseph says that some other like papers, written by Sister Frances and given to him, had happened to fall again into their writer's hands, whereupon she burnt them. He mentions two raptures—one in presence of most of the community in choir, and another in which she showed no sign of consciousness at having her face stroked.

Susanna (afterwards Sister Christina) Touchet, daughter of the Earl of Castlehaven, was born in 1655, and, at the age of eight, offered herself one Good Friday "to live and suffer for the sake of her crucified God and Saviour." The offering was fully accepted. At her first Communion (for which she prepared herself

by much prayer and penance), and twice again after she entered religion, she experienced "an extraordinary most delicious sweet smell as long as the holy Host remained in her breast." Her penances were extraordinary: "Sometimes for four, five, or six days together, she fasted on bread and water, even at her father's table, taking meat in her mouth, and conveying it away without being seen." Her vocation came in an unusual way. She felt herself called to the convent of the Spellekens, yet had the strongest repugnance to entering it, and "laboured all that she could to be a Teresian nun." She fell so ill that the doctors despaired of her life; but after receiving the last Sacraments, she made a vow to enter Spellekens if God should cure her, and next day sat down to the family dinner-table in perfect health.

Her religious life was spent in the practice of severe penance "yet ever depending on obedience," and from 1690 to 1693 in terrible interior sufferings, being "dreadfully tormented with infernal spirits visibly appearing to the eye of her fancy more clearly a thousand times than anything her eye could see, with all the worst of abominations hell could invent"; while prayer, once her delight, and the Sacraments seemed to increase her torments. A letter written to her confessor, and a protestation of hope in Christ and abhorrence of the diabolical suggestions, show the faithful courage with which she suffered. She died in 1694, at the age of thirty-nine, after fifteen months' illness "attended with many incredible pains and torments." Not till after her death, when her body had become a very great weight through dropsy, did the Sisters discover that they had nearly pulled her arms from their sockets in lifting her "in all which she would be frequently praising and giving thanks to God." Just before her death she cried out in a loud voice, that seemed beyond the natural limits of her exhausted

strength, "Oh, that I had a voice like an echo, so loud that I might be heard throughout the four quarters of the world, that I might discover to all mortals the happiness there is in living and dying in the religious state!"

The annals also preserve the order of the day followed by Sister Christina in her yearly retreats: literally the whole day, and many hours of the night were given to prayer.

This order of the day has been set down for another Sister in a retreat book by Father Raymund Greene, who was for many years the nuns' devoted chaplain. He did not limit his activities in their behalf to spiritual ministrations, but wrote elegies on their deaths and odes on their jubilees, in which they are alluded to as angels, nymphs and Belindas, in the bombastic diction of the time. His handwriting is found, too, on the back of old documents written in wellnigh undecipherable Flemish, giving a summary of their contents. He has thus saved for the entertainment of posterity a packet of papers labelled "Brussels, 1694, an obligation of saying an annual High Mass for the remission of paying the arrears due to the King for a capon." From one of the papers we learn that the nuns had become indebted to the amount of "24 pound groat, monies, of arrears due for a capon which was to be paid to the King every year, for the grace and favour of incorporating a certain wall into their enclosure," and from another that "the President of those of the Chamber of Accounts" declared that this obligation was changed "into a yearly sung Mass for the prosperity of his Majesty."

For some years the Spellekens held, though secretly, a certain political importance. Sister Mary Rosa Howard—the eldest of three sisters, nieces of the Cardinal's, who joined the community—became a well-known intermediary between James Stuart,

titular King James III in Rome, Bishop Atterbury, living in exile in Brussels, and the Jacobites in England. She was helped by her cousin, Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon : both were friends of the Chevalier and were enthusiastic in his cause. The community very reasonably disliked the convent being made a centre of political activity, and complained to the Master-General. He, however (with Jacobite sympathies, born, no doubt, of hope for England's return to the Faith), took Sister Mary Rosa's side and advised the Prioress to dispense her from supervision both of her letters and of her interviews at the parlour grille with her political allies.

It seems that the nuns did not refuse to educate girls (doubtless under the stringent conditions laid down by the Constitutions for such exceptional work) ; for Cardinal Howard had written to his brother Henry, Duke of Norfolk, in 1681, recommending him to have some of his daughters educated at Spellekens. There is no mention, however, of the nuns undertaking such work until 1782 when, the Netherlands having passed from Spanish to Austrian rule, the Emperor Joseph II threatened to suppress all houses of nuns who did not undertake active work, and a school was thereupon opened at Spellekens. This threat seems to have kept postulants from entering the convent, as clothings and professions were very few at this time.

In 1792 the French extended the dominions of the new Republic from the Alps to the Rhine, and from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheldt ; and their victory over the Austrians in Austrian Flanders opened Belgium to the French Army. As the victors neared Brussels, the nuns put their most valuable goods, such as altar plate, in hiding in a neighbour's house. When the French entered the city, some soldiers were billeted on the convent for several days : this, however, was little beside the outrage of March, 1793, when a band

of soldiers broke into the house and pillaged it. With the curious mixture of faith and sacrilegious impiety not uncommon in those days, an officer opened the tabernacle, took out the ciborium, and having called for a purificator, uncovered his head, emptied the ciborium into a corporal held by two of the nuns at the choir grille, wiped out the sacred vessel very carefully, and then, striking it with the key of the tabernacle, cried, "Now it is profaned!" and threw it to the soldiers. When they had collected whatever could be of value to them—such church plate as remained in the sacristy, food, and the nuns' veils and mantles which, they declared, would make cravats and waistcoats—an officer read before the assembled band a paper which he said was a warrant for what they had done. The plate was afterwards recovered, in a much battered condition.

After reverses which forced them to withdraw from the Netherlands for a time, the French were again victorious. Their approach spread panic throughout the city of Brussels, and on June 21st, 1794, the nuns were told that flight was necessary. They decided to seek the protection of the Dominican Fathers at Bornheim till they could return to Brussels or were obliged to fly further. Some of the Sisters could hardly be persuaded to put on secular dress, and some at the last minute refused to leave the enclosure and had to be forcibly carried out by the others. The inhabitants were flying from the city and every vehicle was requisitioned; two carts were found at last and hired at great expense, one for the luggage, the other for the sick and aged Sisters—the rest had to walk the twenty miles under a blazing sun and ankle-deep in sand. Enclosed nuns were necessarily out of practice for such a march; the provisions for the journey had been left behind with an enormous quantity of luggage for which no conveyance could be found, and which was never

recovered ; and the poor Sisters reached Bornheim at eleven o'clock at night, utterly exhausted.

On June 25th the two communities began their journey to England. In the description of the flight¹ tragedy and comedy jostle one another. Laughter is on our lips at seeing the friars in "what secular clothes they could get, and with wigs to hide their tonsures," one Father mounted on the first waggon armed with an ancient musket, and another on the waggon behind with a double-barrelled gun, "all *in terrorem*, for the feat of firing would have been more perilous to the equilibrium of the trigger pullers than to the lives of the enemy." But we grow grave again before the suffering on the face of Sister Mary Joseph Hunt, who was in the last stage of consumption ; and again, cannot restrain our smiles when we read that during the passage from Rotterdam to London (for which the party had to pay £100), "Father Benedict Cæstryck cheered the nuns with his clarionet, and Father Pius Potier with his flute." The voyage was perilous : the vessel was many times fired on by passing ships to make her show her colours, and once the presence of mind of one of the nuns, who herself hoisted the British flag, saved them from a regular attack. After nearly four weeks of dangers, hardships, and frequent checks, the party reached London, and lodgings were found for the nuns by the English Dominican Provincial, in Seymour Street, Portman Square, where, on August 10th, Sister Mary Joseph Hunt died.

HARTPURY COURT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1794-1839.

Six weeks after the nuns reached England, through the kindness of the Misses Berkeley (afterwards Mrs. Canning and Lady Southwell) of Hindlip, Worcester-

¹ *Life of Cardinal Howard*, p. 229, by F. Raymund Palmer, O.P

shire, part of their father's house was given up to the community. This was Hartpury Court, an old manor house near Gloucester. Here poverty forced the nuns to open a school. Two thousand livres had been levied on their convent in Brussels by the French, and their capital invested abroad was seized by the Government. The school offered a modest education to "young ladies of from six to twelve years of age" who were required to wear purple bombazet for every day, and white for Sundays, such attire being in accordance with the regulations of a Dominican General Chapter, in which the venerable capitulary Fathers sat in solemn conclave on the small girls' pigtailed and the colour of their frocks. Religious observance had to be much modified at Hartpury; the nuns wore a black dress and cap until 1813, when they began to wear a veil and kerchief over their dress.

CONVENT OF THE ROSARY, ATHERSTONE, 1839-58.

In 1832 they were able to close the school, and in 1837 the foundation stone of a new convent was laid at Atherstone, Warwickshire, whither they went in 1839. Here, in 1841, the Divine Guest was again wounded in the house of them that loved Him; and the nuns fasted and prayed and did penance, striving to heal His wounds with balm of love and laver of tears. This time the tabernacle, with the crucifix above it, was carried bodily away, and it was not till seven weeks later that a labourer told the convent gardener that he had seen what he thought they were looking for—"a sort of little cupboard, in a thorn bush in a field." Father Benedict Caestryck, the nuns' chaplain, found the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle, but in so mouldy a condition that the tears streamed down his face, while he exclaimed over and over again, "O my Lord, O my dear Lord!" The nuns thought he would never recover from his heartbroken grief.

The Bishop, when appealed to, ordered lights to be kept burning for a certain time before the recovered Hosts, which were then to be burnt. He also allowed Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament to be given every Thursday in reparation, and this custom is still observed in the community.

In 1846 Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan was founding her first convent of the Dominican Third Order, and sent two professed Sisters with a novice and postulant to Atherstone, for six weeks training in Dominican community life. One of them afterwards wrote down her impressions: she describes the nuns as "such true religious," and says, "there was an air of holy calm about the place which we cannot put into words." She also gives her recollections of some of the Sisters: Sister Mary Frances Malthouse, who had orders from Bishop Ullathorne to treat the guests as novices, and who once ordered them all off to bed at midday, without any explanation, to try their obedience, but whom they grew to love although she was "so very strict"; Mother Jane Frances Russell, who was "the most lively of the small community, often making us laugh, blowing out our little lamps as we went upstairs"; and "dear old Mother Mary Rose, who used to meet us often and offer her cheek to be kissed, saying, "Happy state! Happy state!" (meaning the religious state).

Père Lacordaire and Père Jandel both visited Atherstone, the former only for an hour or two.

To Atherstone belong two ghost stories. The chaplain, Father Perry, was told one night by his servant that a nun was kneeling in the sanctuary, outside the enclosure. Much surprised, but not thinking of any supernatural explanation of the matter, he went to investigate, and found himself face to face with Mother Mary Dominica Stennet, a jubilarian lately dead. He spoke to her, and she entrusted him

with a message for the Prioress which he delivered, but neither of them ever revealed it to anyone else.

The second story originated after the nuns had left Atherstone. The Prioress of the Benedictine community, to whom it now belongs, wrote in 1884 to ask the Prioress at Carisbrooke whether she would join in having thirty Masses said for the soul of a Dominican nun who had seemingly appeared more than once in the lay Sister's dormitory, and was described by them as wearing a white habit and veil! Unaccountable noises as of scrubbing and sweeping were also heard. Both apparitions and noises ceased after the Masses were said. It has been suggested (whether on authentic grounds, or as a moral to inordinately prayerful lay Sisters does not appear), that Sister Austin Jeffs, the only Dominican lay Sister who died at Atherstone, sometimes allowed an otherwise praiseworthy love of prayer to hinder her work, and that she was sent back after her death to do penance for this slight negligence.

HURST GREEN, 1858-66.

In the building of the convent at Atherstone, the inexperience of the Prioress and her council led to infringement of the contract, which entailed considerable additional expense; and after nineteen years of great poverty the community were obliged to sell the Priory, and to find refuge once more in a secular house. Hurst Green, near Stonyhurst, in Lancashire, was offered them by Mr. Parker, father of one of the nuns: he generously made over to them his whole property, only reserving the use of his income while he lived, and a part of the house for his own dwelling.

One wonders whether the heavy hearts of the nuns as they left Atherstone were diverted or more deeply depressed by the drollery of their travelling disguise; for in 1858 the religious habit in England would

have been too provocative of Protestant prejudice to pass without attracting notice and comments in undesirable forms. A nun who was a novice at the time used, in her old age, to describe her own attire. "One of the old Mothers made me some curls of red floss," she said, "and I wore a black crape bonnet trimmed with grapes made of crape, and carried a big blue bag; and the folks did so stare at me." "We were regular guys, my dear," said an old lay Sister to the present annalist of the community, "and I got called 'Miss Lucy.'"

While at Hurst Green the nuns did some needlework for the Sacred Heart altar in the Jesuit church at Stonyhurst, and in return Father Clifford, S.J., promised them, as a spiritual alms, that he would plead with the Sacred Heart to give them a convent where they could observe their Rule in its entirety. The prayers were answered. Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Clare, who had been for some time a friend and benefactress to the community, offered to build them a convent in the Isle of Wight, and the offer was joyfully accepted.

CARISBROOKE, 1866.

On December 10th, 1866, the nuns left Hurst Green for Carisbrooke, this time wearing their habits and travelling by night. Their landing next day in the Isle of Wight was greeted by hooting and jeering, mingled with a few faint cheers started by an Irishman in the gathering crowd. Hooting and cheers together frightened the horses, and the nuns no less. "We are all going to be martyred!" wailed a novice, who did not, at the moment, seem ambitious of the martyr's palm, and was much teased afterwards by the nuns.

The caretaker at Carisbrooke cemetery, a Protestant, declared later that when the convent was in building he and another man had seen meteor-like stars falling

down upon it, and had been much puzzled by so strange a sight. The old man was a bit of a mystic in his way, but had probably never heard of similar signs (such as the globes of fire at Prouille), which seem generally symbolic of great graces to be poured out upon the homes of future sanctity which they indicate. Such prophecy, if so it was, has not been unfulfilled at Carisbrooke.

Among those Sisters whose lives have been most clearly marked with the impress of God's finger, one of the foremost is Mother Mary Frances Walsh, who was six times elected Prioress and died in her last term of office. At Carisbrooke each Sister, at profession, chooses a motto to be engraved in the ring she wears as symbol of her mystical espousal to the Divine Bridegroom. Mother Mary Frances chose the words of St. Teresa's desire, *Aut pati, aut mori*,¹ and her whole life was ardent with a generous enthusiasm in God's service and the warm charity of an Irish heart which was instinctively motherly.

With all her love of penance, Mother Mary Frances was the blithest of souls, and had that strong sense of humour which is characteristically Dominican. From the hints she gave to several Sisters it seems she knew her death was at hand, though she died quite suddenly, after only a few hours' illness, on March 12th, 1908, in her sixty-fourth year. After her death, her cell was filled with an indescribable fragrance as of flowers, yet of no one kind that could be named.

At present the Carisbrooke community usually numbers about thirty. The time of the Sisters is divided between liturgical and mental prayer, and work, both manual and intellectual; and there are two recreations a day. Some work is done in common, but Sisters whose offices do not call them elsewhere

¹ A modern writer has remarked that the Saint's own words were always, "Either to die or to suffer."

work mostly in their cells. Besides the midnight rising, the rule prescribes other austerities—fasting from Holy Cross (September 14th) to Easter; perpetual abstinence; woollen clothing, summer and winter; and sleeping in woollen sheets. Dispensations are allowed to those in sickness or weak health. A good deal of the Divine Office is sung. The novices are strictly separated from the rest of the community, only joining them in choir, the refectory and on certain other occasions, such as recreation or big feasts. The novitiate lasts four years, temporary vows being taken after a year's simple novitiate, and solemn profession being made three years later. This community have the privilege of making solemn vows.¹

The Sisters have lately acquired property at Old Headington, Oxford, where they hope to make a new foundation as soon as may be practicable. The new community will pray especially for the souls of those fallen in the late war, so that Catholics, by contributing in the name of their dead, may perpetuate their memories and at the same time offer them an efficacious help not afforded by brass tablets or marble monuments.

¹ Those who wish to know more of the Second Order of St. Dominic may read *Dominican Contemplatives* by a Nun of Carisbrooke, obtainable at St. Dominic's Priory, Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight.



THE ENGLISH DOMINICANS

XII. THE THIRD ORDER

By FABIAN DIX, O.P.

EACH age has its distinguishing feature, its peculiar virtues and vices, and the thirteenth century cannot claim to be an exception. Undoubtedly it was an age of chivalry, yet it is doubtful if chivalry were its chief characteristic. The outstanding feature of the thirteenth century was the piety of the laity, and this is all the more remarkable for the reason that very little encouragement was forthcoming on the part of the clergy—in fact the history of that period reveals a sad state of laxity among the shepherds of the Christian flock. It is true that the Liturgy was carried out with much splendour and with great regard to ceremonial detail ; but below the surface, spiritual life languished and showed unmistakeable signs of collapse. The consequence was that those souls who aspired to a more perfect mode of life, detached themselves from their pastors and sought elsewhere for help in their devotions. This mistrust of the clergy, which increased as time went on, produced disastrous results ; for the lay folk, thus left to their own resources, not infrequently fell into heresy. The Vaudois, for example, were at the outset merely a lay society striving after Christian perfection. Peter Valdez, a Lyonese citizen, set about

translating the Gospels : his labours led him to the conviction that temporal possessions were an insuperable obstacle to the attainment of the object of that society. He therefore sold all his property, distributed the proceeds among the poor, and, gathering round him a number of sympathetic enthusiasts, proclaimed in the streets of his native city the necessity of evangelical poverty. His action brought him into conflict with the Archbishop, who promptly forbade him and his followers to preach. Valdez appealed to Pope Alexander III, who took a favourable view of his cause and gave him permission to preach, provided he first obtained the consent of the clergy in whose parishes he desired to exercise his oratorical powers. Valdez and his disciples styled themselves "The Poor Catholics"; a title which in one sense they amply justified, for chafing under the restrictions imposed upon them, they adopted an attitude of antagonism to ecclesiastical authority and degenerated into an undisciplined sect whose only bond of union was hostility to the Church.

Another society which came into existence about the same time was known as "The Poor Men of Lombardy" or "The Brothers of Humility." The origin of this confraternity is interesting. The Emperor Frederic I, so frequently at loggerheads with the Holy See, was carrying on a war in Lombardy, hoping by this means to force the inhabitants to espouse his cause. Certain Lombard citizens were taken to Germany as hostages, and these men, by the grace of God, turned their misfortune to good account. They resolved to lead a penitential life, and to this end drew up a severe rule, and adopted a habit of rough material. The Emperor, hearing of their austerities, summoned them to his presence and in curt tone dubbed them "the humble men." They eventually regained their liberty and returned to their country. This new turn of events

made no difference to their austere rule of living. They still retained, even in the family circle, their rough cloth habit and peculiar headgear (which won for them the nickname "Berretins of Penance"), and officially styled themselves the Humble Men; they were however better known among the people as the Poor Men of Lombardy.

Unfortunately for them, the unhappy affair of the Vaudois was still fresh in the memory of Pope Lucius III who, fearing a repetition of that disastrous enterprise, refused to give them permission to preach and threatened with excommunication those who disobeyed his orders. In spite of this injunction the Poor Men of Lombardy went on with their preaching and in consequence cut themselves off from communion with the Church and lapsed into heresy. In 1201, however, a fairly large number of them were reconciled to the Church and obtained permission from Pope Innocent III to exhort the people to purity of life and the performance of good works. The Church saw in these men great possibilities for further development, and they were eventually transformed into a religious order. Some of them were admitted to the priesthood and lived in the cloister, while others remained in the world under the supervision of the clergy. This primitive lay confraternity can claim to be the first of the Third Orders. The vigorous enterprise of the Humble Men was soon to receive a fresh impetus.

What the Poor Catholics of Lyons failed to achieve and the Humble Men only partly accomplished, Francis of Assisi brought to a successful conclusion. He appeared on the scene at the moment when the Third Order just referred to was in its infancy. "Penance" was the cry of the poor man of Assisi, as he preached in his native town and in the by-ways of Umbria. Crowds gathered to hear him: some

listened, others mocked, but many were deeply moved. Unlike that of the Poor Catholics and the Humble Men the mission of St. Francis was from the outset conspicuous for its respect for the hierarchy. So great was his love for the Church as the visible organ of the Holy Spirit that, although his apostolate was of the nature of an antidote to the laxity of the clergy, he regulated his actions in a spirit of entire obedience and loyalty to his ecclesiastical superiors.

The fruits of the labours of St. Francis began to appear in the year 1207, when a vast confraternity of penance, comprising clergy, laymen and women, came into being. It was not yet an Order properly so called, nor did St. Francis when presenting himself before Pope Innocent III ask for such a recognition : all he did was to beg the Pontiff's blessing on the methods of penance which he and his disciples had adopted and were anxious to propagate.

While the Humble Men and the confraternity of St. Francis were each engaged in developing and organizing their work in Italy, St. Dominic founded in Languedoc the Order of Friar Preachers. His work differed fundamentally from that of St. Francis inasmuch as its foundation was laid in ecclesiastical soil : he did not begin by forming a lay society of penitents, and although, as will be shown later, lay people were admitted to discipleship, they occupied from the outset a subordinate position. St. Dominic was a Canon of St. Augustine and a master theologian, and these two facts influenced his decisions in the formation and status of his Order. His work even in its initial stage exhibits a great sagacity in administration combined with a minute attention to detail : the keen foresight and the firm hand of a man well equipped for guiding souls are apparent in every department of this new enterprise.

Bearing these facts in mind, it is not surprising that

the Third Order of St. Dominic avoided the road already trodden by the Humble Men and by the followers of St. Francis. The Dominican Third Order was not the result of a separation method to which reference has already been made in the case of the Humble Men, nor was it a fragment broken off from the main body. The Order of Friar Preachers was first and foremost the Church's response to the religious fervour of the laity. The Vaudois, the Humble Men and the Penitents of St. Francis had in their minds the reform of the Church, though, as has already been pointed out, the attitude and methods of the last named differed widely from the former two; whereas the Dominican Order seized upon the very objects which lay so close to the hearts of the people and held them up before the world stamped with the official approval of the Holy See.

Wherever the Dominican friars established themselves, they gathered round them a number of people who sought their guidance and endeavoured to assimilate their spirit. The next step was almost inevitable. Bearing in mind the craving for intercommunion and corporate life which obsessed the laity at this period, it is not surprising that those who came under Dominican influence took a keen delight in associating themselves with the friars in their prayers, penitential exercises and other good works, and even in wearing a uniform resembling the habit of the friars in colour and design. But is it therefore true to say that the Third Order grew into being without any direction on the part of St. Dominic? To maintain such a theory is to misunderstand the whole situation. There is no record which states that St. Dominic intended to institute a second group of Dominicans dependent on his first spiritual sons. The Third Order was not evolved from his mind complete with rules and regulations, for the simple reason that there was no need to

devise such a thing. The Order of Penance, as it was called, developed itself, worked in the Church, and had already made its influence felt when St. Dominic founded his first convent at Toulouse ; and in 1221, by which time Dominican houses had become numerous, it could boast of a complete organization. Granted that it owed its origin to St. Francis of Assisi, it nevertheless spread far beyond the confines of the Franciscan Order ; for instance, there was the Order of Penance of Blessed Mary Magdalene, founded simultaneously in France and Germany in 1225, and composed solely of women, and the Order of Penance of Jesus Christ founded at the time of the first council of Lyons, 1245. The Order of Penance is the trunk ; the Order of Penance of such and such a title or saint is one of the branches, and the primitive trunk, the parent stem, was the preaching of Penance by St. Francis long before the definite foundation of his Order. Such being the case there was no need for St. Dominic to institute an Order of Penance : all that was required of him was to direct those pious souls who gathered round his priories and aspired to his high ideal, and it is in this sense that the Dominican Third Order owes its origin to the holy Patriarch.

The common rule for all the Confraternities of Penance was drawn up in 1221. It was very simple in form and general in character, merely stating that the brethren ought to choose a religious director who was well equipped for instructing them in their duties, helping them in their spiritual needs and impressing on them the need of perseverance and the performance of works of mercy. For a while the Dominican Order of Penance, grouped under the shadow of the convents of the Friar Preachers, followed this primitive rule ; but an unhappy turn of events necessitated more stringent regulations. Among the ever-increasing Confraternities there gradually developed an anti-

ecclesiastical atmosphere which caused a great deal of apprehension. A considerable number of the members began to cry out for reforms in the Church, and suggested that they were the rightful instruments for this cleansing process. "A pure gospel" was their cry; and for the moment it seemed as if they courted the fate which overtook the Vaudois and the Humble Men.

Ecclesiastical authority was so alarmed by this movement that orders were issued to the associations of Penance to split up into groups and refrain from intercommunication. This precaution was not taken a moment too soon, as the following incident will show. In 1260 Rainier, a holy recluse, horrified at the crimes committed by the Guelphs and Ghibellines in their murderous quarrels, clothed himself in sackcloth, girded a robe round his waist, and, holding a scourge in his hand, went about Perugia preaching penance. He attracted a large crowd, who clothed themselves in like manner and scourged themselves to blood. Larger and larger grew the throng, until it assumed the appearance of an army of fanatics; they marched to Genoa and Bologna and eventually returned to Perugia. Alarmed at their numbers, the Papal Legate, in order to avoid dangerous complications, put the recent decree into force and ordered them to separate into three groups: one company settled at the gate of St. Angelo, another at the gate of St. Peter and a third at the gate of St. Lazarus. Placed thus in different areas, these penitents formed themselves respectively into the Confraternities of St. Augustine, St. Francis and St. Dominic, according to the religious community in whose church they performed their devotions. The penitents of the Dominican group set themselves to obey the directions of the friars; and, while still following the original rule common to all Penitents, adopted in addition certain practices peculiar to the Order under whose

control they lived. Thus they continued until 1285 when Father Munio, the then Master-General of the Order, gave them a Rule, which was an external sign of their formal affiliation to the Order. The Rule is divided into twenty-two chapters: the special duties and obligations contained will be mentioned presently, but it may here be noted that prominence is given to a special Dominican characteristic inasmuch as the postulants are exhorted to foster an ardent zeal for the defence and propagation of the Faith according to the example given by the Blessed Patriarch Dominic.

There are however, forcible arguments in favour of a totally different origin of the Third Order and they are sufficiently potent to demand an examination, Side by side with the revival of asceticism, the thirteenth century witnessed another movement which, although to a great extent penitential, nevertheless had in it a strong military element. It is not a question of the Military Orders such as the Templars or Hospitallers; the Confraternities to which allusion is here made were associations founded by the laity, married or single, for the defence of the Faith; they pledged themselves to fight against the heretics and to uphold the right of the Church. One of these Confraternities, perhaps the first, was founded in Languedoc. An eye-witness, one William of Puy-Laurens, thus describes its institution: "The Venerable Bishop Foulques, anxious that his people of Toulouse should gain the Indulgences granted to those who went on the Crusade, and hoping by this means to increase their loyalty to the Church, founded a large Confraternity against the heretics, which in 1209 obtained the approval of the Legate of the Holy See." Foulques was a devoted friend of St. Dominic, but there is no mention of the Saint's name in this account given by Puy-Laurens.

According to Blessed Raymond of Capua, twenty-

third Master-General of the Order, St. Dominic founded in Languedoc the Confraternity of the Militia of Jesus Christ, whose object it was to defend the rights of the Church and to resist the encroachments of the heretics. "Since," he continues, "wives can put obstacles in the way of their husbands' fulfilment of their promises, St. Dominic made them swear to assist their spouses by every means in their power. He ordered both men and women to wear a black and white habit and imposed on them a certain number of Our Fathers and Hail Marys to be recited when they were unable to assist at the Divine Office." For confirmation of this statement we turn to a history of the Brothers and Sisters of Penance of St. Dominic written by Father Caffarini in 1402. The author tells us that he consulted very old manuscripts to substantiate his assertions, but unfortunately he does not say what they were or where he found them. Taegio, who published the treatise of Caffarini, does not specify anything further about these documents beyond the remark that they contained the Bull of Pope Gregory IX, "*Egrediens haereticorum*," of December 21st, 1234 (in which the Pope takes under his protection the Brothers and Sisters of the Militia of Jesus Christ), secondly a Rule of this Confraternity, and thirdly a Rule imposed by Munio de Zamora.

The friars of Venice and Siena had at this period produced in one volume documents relating to the Order of Penance and to the Militia, and it seems very likely that these were the records which Blessed Raymond consulted: if so, the fact of their being in one volume may have led him to conclude that the Order of Penance was the outcome of the Militia when altered circumstances made the carrying of arms no longer necessary. No doubt St. Dominic while in Languedoc founded a Military Confraternity, as also did Fr. Bartholemy de Braganza in Parma, at a later

date ; but this by no means proves that the Militia was the parent of the Third Order.

In spite of a similarity of rule and identity of dress, the aims of the Confraternities were different, and the Order of Penance was already in being before the Militia was heard of. The most natural thing to expect was that when more peaceful times made weapons a superfluity, the Militia would become merged into the Order of Penance.

It is important to understand clearly in what sense the title "Order" is used. The title "Order" may be applied to any organization which follows a worthy end by suitable means, and the Church applies the word especially to those offices or states within her communion whose condition is especially excellent and noble. Thus, the different classes of her sacred ministers are called "Orders." So too, a community of men and women living under a rule approved by the Church and consecrated to God by vows is called an Order.

The following are the reasons why this title is given to the Third Order.

- (i) It fulfils a high purpose of great importance for the good of souls by bringing the practices of the religious life, as far as may be, within the reach of those living in the world.
- (ii) It places its members in a settled state of life in which they remain permanently in preference to any other association.
- (iii) It has a rule approved by the Holy See in which nothing can be changed except by the authority of the Pope. This rule gives it an office, a habit and an organization of its own.

Hence Pope Benedict XIII, confirming the approbations granted to the Third Order by his predecessors, calls it "a true Order and a holy institute,

very suitable for the acquisition of Christian perfection." The name "Order" is therefore a title of dignity which shows the esteem of the Church and raises the association above that of a Confraternity or charitable society, which is much more restricted in its aim and has not the same solemn approbation of the Holy See.

There are not a few people who, without having any desire to enter the religious state, wish to lead a more regular and perfect life ; yet they feel unable to accomplish this unless they have a rule prescribed for them involving a stricter obligation than a self-imposed resolution : they do not want to bind themselves by vows, yet they need something which will keep them steadily to their purpose. To such, the Third Order offers great advantages. It gives them a rule ; it makes them members of a vast association of men and women who have similar aims and aspirations ; and it supports the weakness of their resolutions by admitting them to a profession sanctioned by the Church, which without binding them under pain of sin, inculcates a manner of living dedicated to God. Those who desire admission to the Third Order apply to the Father Director and if approved by him are admitted to the novitiate at a monthly meeting of the Chapter. The postulant kneeling before the Director asks to be received into the Order as a "mercy" or favour of which he acknowledges himself unworthy and from which he hopes to obtain much spiritual advantage. When the year of novitiate is completed the novice may be admitted to profession. This is not a vow, and the observance of the Rule he undertakes to follow does not oblige under sin ; but it is a very solemn act of offering, made to God before Our Lady and the Saints and ratified by the authority of the Church, by which he dedicates himself to lead the Tertiary life and keep the Rule until death.

The duties of the Tertiary may be arranged under three heads: (i.) The Habit. (ii.) Penance. (iii.) Prayer.

(i) The Habit commonly worn by Tertiaries is a scapular of white woollen material: it should be worn beneath the outer garments: they may also wear a leather belt if they wish. The full habit of the Brothers is a white tunic and a capuce or hood for the head, a leather belt and a cloak of black woollen stuff. The Sisters wear the tunic, girdle and cloak, but instead of the capuce, a white linen band and veil. The full habit may not be worn in public without the permission of the Bishop and Father Provincial, but Tertiaries sometimes procure a habit and keep it by them in order to be clothed in it at the hour of death and buried in the insignia of the Order.

(ii) Penance. Certain fast days are prescribed by the Rule:

(1) Every Friday in the year.

(2) Every week day in Advent and the Monday and Tuesday before Ash Wednesday. This act of penance was performed in reparation for the excesses of the Carnival.

Dispensation from the fasts of the Order can be given by the Father Director.

(iii) Prayer. Tertiaries are bound to recite a daily office, that is, a certain number of prayers according to an appointed form. The Brothers and Sisters have the choice of saying either an office of Paters and Aves or the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Bead Office is as follows :

For Matins and Lauds, the Apostles' Creed and twenty-eight Paters and Aves.

For Prime, the Creed and seven Paters and Aves.

For Terce, Sext and None, seven Paters and Aves each.

For Vespers, fourteen Paters and Aves.

For Compline, seven Paters and Aves with the Creed to conclude.

Those who say the Office of Our Lady instead of the Bead Office must recite it according to the Dominican rite.

A Tertiary is not obliged always to recite the Bead Office or the Office of Our Lady : he may sometimes use one office and sometimes the other on different days.

A Tertiary who says the Divine Office is not bound to the Office of the Third Order.

On the death of a Tertiary each member of the Chapter to which he belonged must recite for the repose of his soul either fifty Psalms or one hundred Paters, adding after each Psalm or Pater, "Eternal rest grant them, O Lord, and may perpetual light shine upon them."

Every Tertiary is bound to have three Masses said each year for the living and dead of the Order or to offer three Communion for the same intention : he is also bound to say during the year either the Psalter or five hundred Paters for the dead of the Order.

As an alternative of this obligation the Office of the Dead may be recited each week except during the Octaves of Easter and Pentecost. An Our Father is to be recited before meals ; and after meals an Our Father and the Miserere or the 116th Psalm. This obligation does not bind when the Tertiary is in the presence of those who are not members of the Order.

Such are the main features of the Rule, but the Rule by itself is a dead letter unless there be a living spirit

to give it life and interpretation. It needs the traditions handed down from its Founder and his spirit, living on from generation to generation, to make it efficacious in training the souls who place themselves under its guidance. The spirit of the Third Order may be gathered from many quarters : it is found not only in the Rule itself but is deduced from the object of its institution and from that of the whole Order of which it forms a part : it is seen at work in the life of St. Dominic and in the lives of the Saints and holy people who have lived in it and found therein a means of sanctification sufficient to lead them to the highest degree of perfection.

The first element in this spirit is charity : the love of God is the chief motive which should bring one into the Third Order and keep him faithful to his vocation. Fraternal charity belongs equally to the spirit of the Third Order, for Tertiaries are united in one family : they are not bound to any social familiarity, for that is not a necessary part of charity, but they should be distinguished by mutual good will and kindly offices to one another. As the Third Order is intended to bring the religious life into the world, there should be in its members some reflexion of the virtues of the religious state : hence some love and practice of poverty is included in the Tertiary spirit : it should inspire simplicity of dress and a willingness to put up with privations. The spirit of chastity is the special portion of St. Dominic's Order, as the spirit of poverty is a particular characteristic of that of St. Francis : it should inspire the Tertiary with watchfulness in guarding the senses from evil. The spirit of obedience will be shown by ready compliance with the prescriptions of the Rule and a willingness to carry out the lawful commands of the Superior.

The Rule of the Third Order makes no mention of what are sometimes called "private Tertiaries," by

which is to be understood those who live isolated from an organized Chapter. It supposes that every Tertiary is attached to a local Chapter, the meetings of which he attends and in whose corporate life he shares. In our own day there is a considerable number of Tertiaries who live in places far remote from a Dominican priory and who in consequence are almost wholly separated from outward communication with their brethren. It is clear that Tertiaries in this position lose some of the advantages of their vocation : it is not easy for them to partake as largely in its spirit, or even to keep the observance of the Rule, as exactly as those who are supported by the regular meetings of an established Chapter. Nevertheless, Tertiaries who are in this less favourable position must not imagine that they are thereby deprived of all the benefits which the Order confers upon its members. The exterior union between them and the Order is not indeed so visible as they would desire ; but the interior bond of charity, prayer and community of spirit and observance unites them with their brethren and with St. Dominic their father.

There are three points of the Rule which present a difficulty to the private Tertiary, namely, attendance at Chapter, obtaining dispensations from the Director, and receiving absolution from faults against the Rule ; but even these practices are in most cases not wholly beyond the power of the private Tertiary to observe, at least in part. Dispensations may be asked by letter : many Tertiaries can also occasionally attend the Chapter, and it is very desirable that they should do so in order to refresh their fervour and renew the spirit of their vocation. Private Tertiaries can obtain absolution from faults against the rule from their ordinary confessor : it is given after sacramental absolution and at the request of the Tertiary : the form given in the Manual must be observed both by the priest and penitent. For the rest, private Tertiaries

must not allow themselves to grow careless in the observance of the Rule. No lower standard of holiness is set before them than that which is proposed to their brethren, and the surest and most direct way of attaining to it is by a faithful and loyal observance of their obligations. They should remind themselves that they are the outposts of the Order, pledged to keep the lamp of truth burning brightly to lighten the surrounding gloom of ignorance and heresy, and to bear witness by the integrity of their lives to the Faith delivered to the Saints.

Our Holy Father Pope Benedict XV, who is a Dominican Tertiary, speaks thus of the Third Order in a letter dated September 8th, 1919: "In the midst of the grave dangers which on all sides threaten the faith and morals of the Christian people, it is Our duty to safeguard the faithful by pointing out to them those means of holiness which seem to Us the most useful and opportune for their defence and for their progress. Amongst those means We recognize the Dominican Third Order as one of the most eminent, most easy and most sure. Knowing the snares of the world and, not less, the salutary remedies flowing from the Divine teaching of the Gospel, the glorious Patriarch of Guzman was inspired to found it, so that in this association every class of persons might, as it were, find a realization of the desire for a more perfect life. For this reason, We exhort the faithful of the whole world not to turn a deaf ear to the echo of the wise Founder's voice which now for many centuries has sounded so constantly and so sweetly, and ever providentially. And in virtue of Our Office as promoter of the salvation of souls, We invite them to gather under the sacred standard of the Third Order of St. Dominic, adorned with so many flowers of virtue, but made so specially glorious by the two precious jewels of sanctity, Catherine of Siena and Rose of Lima. And to all

members of the same Third Order present and future, We give from Our heart the Apostolic blessing, the proof of Our paternal benevolence, a pledge of heavenly favours, and an augury of salvation."

It is a matter of regret that no list of notable Tertiaries of England is extant ; and it is therefore only here and there that one lights upon information valuable to those interested in the history of the Third Order in this country. With so little material to hand one can do no more than jot down disjointed records culled from biographies of notabilities who in a greater or lesser degree were associated with the English Dominican Province.

King Henry III—the founder either wholly or in part of forty convents of Friar Preachers—showed such love for the Order that if he cannot be proved to have been a Tertiary he can at least be claimed as a lavish benefactor. His son, Edward I, showed an equal reverence for the Blackfriars, and his wife, Eleanor of Castile, was in 1280 admitted by the then Master-General, John of Vercelli, to a participation in the good works of the Order, and the diploma of her reception was copied into the treasury receipts of the Crown. It was expressly ordered at her death that every Dominican should say a Mass for her soul, or if not a Priest, the appointed suffrages, that is either one hundred Paters or fifty Psalms. So great was the devotion of this royal Tertiary to the Order that she was styled its "nursing mother." Her heart was buried in the church of the Blackfriars at London, and her memory was deeply cherished in that convent until the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century shattered the fabric itself and all but snapped the chain of love which united the hearts of the friars with this illustrious benefactress.

Richard II was without doubt a Tertiary. He recited the Divine Office according to the Dominican

rite and obtained permission from Pope Boniface IX for the chaplains of the Chapel Royal to do the same. All the kings of England from Henry III (1216) to Henry V (1413) appear to have chosen their confessors from the Dominican Order, and in accordance with the decrees of a general Chapter received the suffrages of the Order both during their lifetime and after death.

Among the eminent ecclesiastics who wore the Dominican scapular may be reckoned St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester. It was at Oxford that St. Richard first became acquainted with the Dominican Order, which established itself at Oxford in the first year of its arrival in England. Among those who flocked to hear the Preaching Friars were Robert Bacon, John of St. Giles and Robert Kilwardby the future Archbishop of Canterbury. These men soon enrolled themselves under the banner of St. Dominic and held out the hand of friendship to Richard. After lecturing for two years at Oxford Richard went to Bologna to pursue a course of study of Canon law: it was there he met Blessed Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic in the government of the Order, and Blessed John of Vercelli, known as the "Apostle of Lombardy." Richard remained seven years at Bologna "drinking in," so says his chronicler, "the flowing honey of the sacred Canons," but whether it was at Bologna or later on at Orleans, where he lodged at the Dominican convent, that he made his vow to become a friar, is uncertain. Friar Bocking, his biographer, tells us that his election to the See of Chichester prevented its fulfilment, and that the Pope formally dispensed him from the obligation at the time of his consecration. In his will he bequeathed to the Preaching Friars of Arundel the book of Sentences and twenty shillings, while the priories at London, Canterbury and Winchester had a share in his bounty. St. Richard was buried in his cathedral of Chichester;

on the occasion of the translation of his relics to a more elaborate shrine in 1276 the ceremony was performed by Archbishop Kilwardby in the presence of Edward I.

Other saintly bishops showed such an affection for the Order that, even if there be no positive proof of their affiliation to it, there is at least fair ground for suspecting it. Such were St. Edmund Rich, the friend of Robert Bacon, and St. Thomas of Hereford who was proud to call himself the spiritual son of Archbishop Kilwardby.

Among the later episcopal Tertiaries are Edward Howard, created Cardinal by Pius IX, and Bishops Amherst and Brownlow, diocesans respectively of Northampton and Clifton.

In 1352 Sir Henry Bohun was received into the Fraternity by the Master-General, Simon, and in 1395 the Provincial, Thomas Palmer, admitted Agnes Coombe to a share in the good works of the English Friar Preachers. About the year 1400 John Prophete, Dean of Hereford and afterwards of York, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and one of the most prominent of the ministers of Henry IV, describes himself as having been received into the Brotherhood of the Convent of Hereford.

Letters and wills testify to the numbers of people who were either admitted to membership of the Third Order or shared in its graces. For example, in 1430 William Shepper, innkeeper, left 6s. 8d. to the Dominicans in London "where I am a Brother" and Katharine Ripplingham bequeathed to the Friar Preachers at Langley a like sum of money "with restitution of my letter of their Fraternity." But perhaps the most familiar name is that of Blessed Adrian Fortescue the Martyr, who in his account book under date July, 1534, makes a note of 12d "given to the Black Friars of Oxford to be of the Fraternity." A

Tertiary whose monument in St. Peter's at Rome cannot fail to attract the English traveller is Maria Clementina Sobieski, wife of James III of England, called here Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland. She died in Rome in 1735, and previous to her burial lay in state in the great Basilica, clothed in the habit of the Third Order.

These few examples go to show that the Third Order embraced men and women of varying stations of life ; how numerous were its members can be gathered from the wording of a petition said to have been addressed to Henry IV protesting against the quantity of people who were at that time entering the Fraternities of the Friar Preachers. At the present day the official register, compiled by order of the Provincial Congregation held at Leicester in 1914, records the names of over 1300 Tertiaries. This number is made up of those who have been received into the Third Order since the year 1900, with those who, received before that year, sent in their names to the Commissary appointed to collect them.

Although the progress of the Third Order through seven centuries of its existence is marked as with points of light by a succession of saints who have perfected themselves in it, some of whom are conspicuous in the history of the Church, by far the greater number belong to her hidden life. But whether their names be household words, or little known beyond the family circle, is after all no great matter compared with the fact that all in their own groove of life have helped to perpetuate the glorious traditions of piety and heroism in the Third Order of St. Dominic—a convincing proof that the vocation of a Tertiary can lead the soul to the highest pitch of sanctity, not only within the sheltering enclosure of the convent but also in the world for which it was intended by its holy Founder.

ENGLISH DOMINICAN NOVITIATE GUILD

ONE effect of the war, so far as the English Province of the Friar Preachers is concerned, has been to increase very considerably the number of those who wish to join its ranks, and among them more especially the number of converts. Now, although in many cases the parents of these converts are extraordinarily generous in putting no obstacle in the way of their sons' vocations, they can hardly be expected—nor indeed even asked—to defray the necessary and growing expenses which the novitiate entails. The English Dominican Province therefore ventures to appeal to its friends for support in thus supplying the means to enable it to accept these most desirable subjects: and it does this all the more earnestly because it considers that vast opportunities are now opening up before the Church in England which the Dominican form of activity (i.e. preaching the Faith by pen and press, by sermon and public lecture) seems peculiarly qualified to seize and develop.

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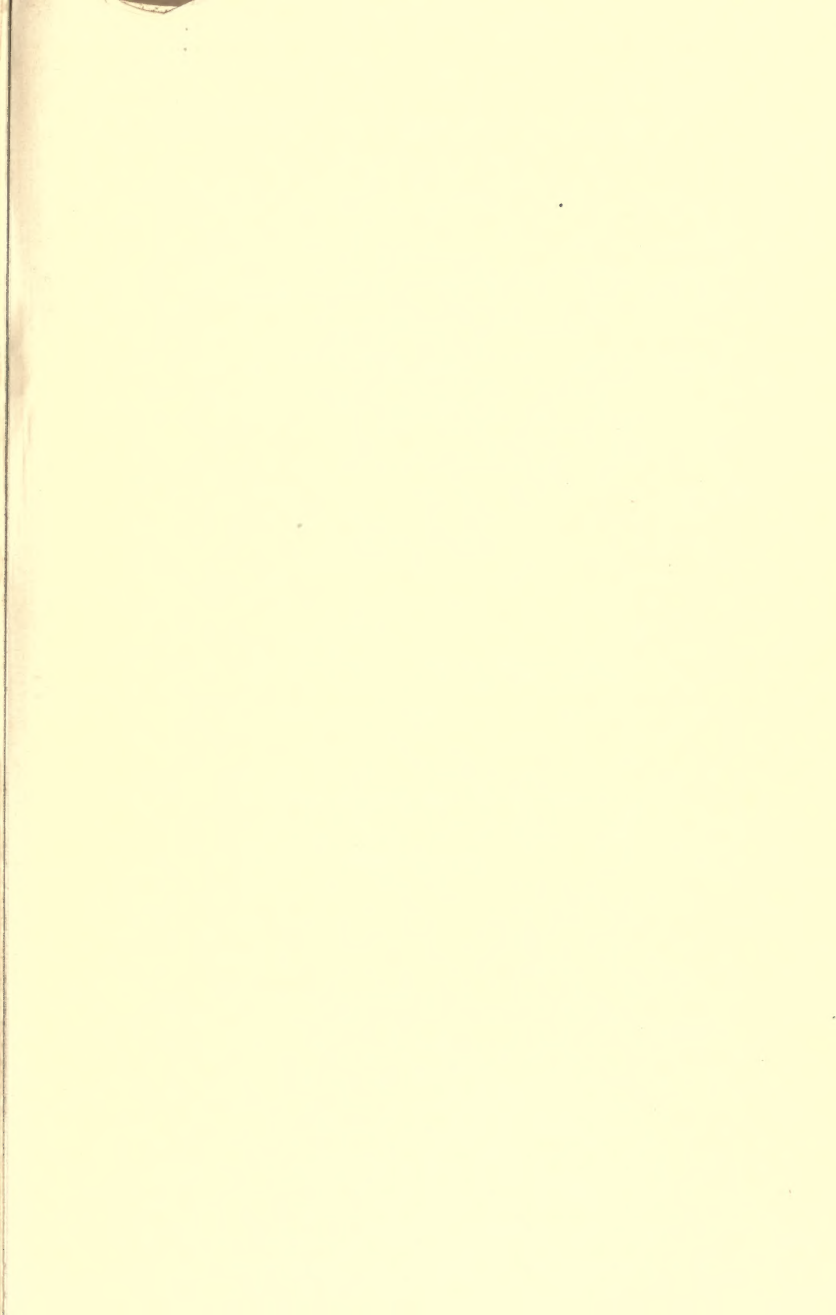
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