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THE OLD LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF FREE-WILL IN THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

(Concluded.)

To His Church the Holy One has given the *correct means of being constituted and made one*: "I have given them *Thy Word* and I pray for them, not only for them, but also for all who *by their Word* believe on me, that they may be one," John 17. Thus the Church is made, constituted, and forever kept together by the Word, not by a confession. This Church — and this only — can make a true confession of what constitutes her. That is the psychological order. We presume that Dr. Richard is able to give from memory a correct Lutheran definition of the Church, but not being of it he stumbles when he steps up to her from a different direction — here from the relation of Church and doctrine. We may mark his way of proving the prevalence of free-will by the confessions as unacknowledged rationalism. Let us hang it low, that he who runs may read. We quote Dr. Richard: "It is in part" — what are the remains? — "with the hope of making at least a small contribution to the inculcation of the principles stated above" (that Lutherans must be clocks never striking and ticking alike) "that we now advance to the discussion of the subject placed at the head of this article (The Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free-will), and we begin with the year 1530, for prior to that time there was no Lutheran Church, but only Lutherans, who were united in opposition to the teaching of the Roman Catholic

JOHN WICLIF.¹⁾

AUTHORITIES: — Lorimer's *Lechler's Wiclif*; Buddensieg's *Wiclif*; Buddensieg's *Johann Wiclif u. s. Zeit*; Sergeant's *Wiclif*; Holt's *Wiclif*; Matthew's *Wiclif*; Loserth's *Wiclif and Hus*; Poole's *Wiclif and Movements for Reform*; Trevelyan's *England in the Age of Wiclif*; Capes' *English Church in the 14th Century*; Brougham's *Wiclif in Old England's Worthies*; Green's *History of the English People*; Burrow's *Wiclif's Place in History*; Tulloch's *Leaders of the Reformation*; Sample's *Beacon Lights of the Reformation*; Lord's *Beacon Lights of History*; Storrs' *Oration on Wiclif*; *Dictionary of National Biography*; Wiclif's Bible, ed. Forshall and Madden; Pattison's *History of the English Bible*; Smyth's *How We Got Our Bible*; *British Quarterly Review*, October, 1858; *The Academy*, June 28, 1884; *London Quarterly Review*, July, 1902; *English Historical Review*, 1900; *International Cyclopaedia*; *Encyclopedia Americana*; Patrick's *Lutterworth and Lach-Szyrma's Wiclif in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1901; Shirley's *Catalogue of the Original Works of Wiclif*; Thompson's *Wiclif Exhibition in the British Museum*; Leeds' *Wiclif's Anti-War Views*; Wilson's *Wiclif*; Bishop Hurst's *Church History*.

I. THE SCHOLAR.

John Wiclif was born between 1320 and 1330 in the parish of Wycliffe on the river Tees near Richmond in Yorkshire, England, in the beautiful country made famous by Sir Walter Scott in his *Rokeby*.

He sprang from an old and honored family of the lower nobility, and it is possible that he was the legal lord of the manor of Wycliffe and patron of the rectory. He came of Saxon stock which retained many of the German traits; to this very day the people of Yorkshire "speak an ancient dialect, which bears an unmistakable German impress." As late as 1884 Wiclif's Testament was read to an old lady there, and she understood every word, saying everybody spoke that way when she was a young girl, "before folk got so fine."

Egglesstone Abbey, not far away, was then in a flourishing state, and likely the lad went to school there. Later he went to

1) There are about sixty ways of spelling the name; this form was adopted by the writer, 1. because it is the simplest; 2. because the best biographers of Germany and England use it; 3. because in the first public and in the first official documents this form is found.

Oxford and likely entered Balliol College, founded by the Balliols of Barnard Castle, not far from Wiclif's home.

Coming from the North, he joined the "Nation" of the "Boreales," a student society upholding Saxondom over against the Normans, the rights of the people over against the king, the rights of England over against the Pope, Realism over against Nominalism: in everything opposed to the "Australes" of Merton College.

For four years he studied the "Trivium" — Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, and became a Bachelor of Arts; for three more years he studied the "Quadrivium" — Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy, and became a Master of Arts. Having served seven years for the Leah of the seven liberal arts, he served seven more years for the Rachel of theology and became a Bachelor of Theology and lectured on the Sentences of Peter of Novara the Lombard; after three more years of the study of the Latin Bible he became a Licentiate and lectured on one of the canonical books.

Aside from his regular studies he read in Optics, Acoustics, Physics, Chemistry, Roman Civil Law, Papal Canon Law, the old Saxon Law, and English History. He was a student of the writings of Augustine, Jerome, Aristotle, and made large use of the sermons of Chrysostom. From Thomas Bradwardine, the Doctor Profundus, he drew his doctrine of grace and predestination; from Fitz Ralph Armachanus he learned his views of Dominion; from William of Occam he derived his doctrine of the Lord's Supper; from Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln he found how to attack pluralities and the abuse of papal power; from Marsiglio of Padua, "of damned memory," he learned to demand that the Church be confined to her spiritual province, as Dante had done fifty years before, and to attack "the Caesarean clergy" and "the imperialized church," as Wiclif calls them. In addition to all this he held his idea of man's direct relation to God.

Wiclif never learned Greek, but he was a close student of the Latin Bible.

About 1360 the Fellows honored Wiclif by electing him Master of Balliol, and on May 16, 1361, his college presented him with the living of Fyllingham in Lincolnshire, about ten miles from London, worth thirty marks a year. He resigned his position as the head of the College and became a country parson, but much of his time was spent at the University, a vicar doing the parish work. From 1363 to 1365 he was at Oxford, living in rented rooms in the new Queen's College; in 1368 he got leave from his bishop to study at Oxford for two years. About 1366 (?) he received the crown of academic honors, the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and he was known as the "Doctor Evangelicus," the Gospel Doctor, as Luther loved to call himself a Doctor of the Scripture.

In order to train good men to reform the abuses in the Church, Archbishop Simon Islip, in 1361, founded Canterbury Hall for twelve students, and after removing the first Warden, Woodhall, made Wiclif the head on December 9, 1365, and in the following words: "Simon Islip to his dear son, Master John de Wycliffe: Having regard to your praiseworthy life, honorable conversation, and the literary acquirement in arts, and being assured of your truth, prudence, and carefulness, we commit to you the Wardenship."

On March 31, 1367, the new Archbishop Langham, himself a monk, ousted Wiclif and filled Canterbury Hall with monks from Christ Church, and thus overturned the will of the founder.

With splendid courage Wiclif protested against the crying injustice to the founder of Canterbury Hall, and he appealed to the Pope against the powerful head of the English Church. Archbishop Langham, now Cardinal, went to Rome, and as a monk got the monk Urban V to side with the monks against Wiclif and the dead Archbishop Islip. For a heavy bribe of 200 marks the King, in 1372, sustained the Pope, and the whole scandalous proceedings filled Wiclif with great indignation. Canterbury Hall was later merged with Cardinal Wol-

sey's Christ Church College, the most magnificent and wealthy of all colleges at Oxford.

In order to be nearer his beloved University, Wiclif, in November, 1368, resigned Fyllingham and became rector of Ludgershall in Buckinghamshire, twenty miles from Oxford, although it gave him a smaller income.

About 1365 the country parson was made "a peculiar cleric of the king," likely a Royal Chaplain, and he gained influence at court. He also preached in the London pulpits and made a deep impression on the nobles and on the citizens.

On April 7, 1374, the crown gave to Wiclif the parish of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, seven miles from Rugby. The place was a small market town on a gentle rise in a flat district of rich pasture land. It boasted of a petrifying spring, a cage for evildoers, a cucking-stool for scolds, and a parish cat-o'-nine-tails. During this period Wiclif wrote his works on philosophy and logic, he preached often before the University, and engaged in many academic disputations. As a Bachelor of Divinity he lectured on Biblical Theology, as Master of Balliol on Philosophy, as Warden of Canterbury Hall on Scholastic Divinity.

Owing to the disastrous wars of France, the leading place once held by the University of Paris passed to Oxford, and in the golden age of Oxford Wiclif was the shining light, the "Flower of Oxford scholarship," and Oxford basked in the glory of the latest and greatest of her sons, and his fame spread far and wide, and students from all parts of Great Britain and even from the continent flocked to Oxford. Before the Plague there came as many as 30,000 students "to learn bad Latin and worse Logic," as Hume sneers. Most of them begged their bread, and many slept in the holes of the city walls.

Writing to Pope Martin V the learned Netter of Walden, confessor of Henry V, a bitter opponent of Wiclif, was "wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the authorities which he had assembled, and with the vehemence and force of his reasons." Henry Knyghton, Canon of Leices-

ter, though vehemently opposed to Wiclif, yet says, "He was the most eminent doctor of theology in those days; in philosophy he was second to none; in scholastics incomparable; transcending all in subtlety of mind and depth of thought; by the great mass of theologians he was considered almost like a god."

II. THE PATRIOT.

Hard pressed by his subjects, King John Lackland on May 15, 1213, at Dover formally resigned the crowns of England and Ireland into the hands of Pandulf, and received them again as the Pope's feudatory, as if England had been the property of Innocent III, and, in return, promised a yearly rent of 1000 marks. Since the death of Pope John XXII, in 1334, no tribute was paid; Benedict XII indeed demanded it, but it was refused. In June, 1357, three cardinals came to England and asked for Pope Urban V the 1000 marks tribute, 700 for England and 300 for Ireland, and also the arrears for about thirty years, or else that Edward III present himself in person before the Pope as feudal superior and answer for his doings.

This was not a good time to make such demands on England. In 1346 Edward III won the glorious victory at Crécy in which his sixteen year old son, the Black Prince, killed the King of Bohemia, and, in 1356, the dazzling courage of the same Black Prince won the brilliant victory of Poitiers, in which King John of France was captured, and after the utter collapse of the French arms the Peace of Bretigny, in 1360, gave to England the fairest provinces of France, about one third of the whole kingdom. In addition Edward's old enemy, King David Bruce of Scotland, was a prisoner in England, and King Peter of Cyprus and the King of Denmark were in England imploring Edward's help in a crusade against the victorious Turk who had captured Adrianople. England was in the height of glory and power.

The popes were living in the "Babylonian Captivity" at Avignon and were the creatures of the French king, and France

had been vanquished in two glorious victories, and now to pay tribute as vassals of the Pope, who was a vassal of France, was more than English pride could endure about this time.

The Pope threatened to bring suit against the King, and in May, 1366, Edward III turned the Pope's demands over to Parliament. Parliament held that John had violated his coronation oath in receiving England from the Pope without consent of the English people; payment of tribute was refused; resistance was threatened, if need be, with all the might of England.

At this time Wiclif was Warden of Canterbury Hall and likely one of the six Masters of Arts called to Parliament by royal order, perhaps as a special royal commissioner, and as such he seems to have taken a leading part in the discussion and decision of Parliament. At any rate, an unknown monkish doctor of theology passionately defends the papal claims and calls upon Wiclif by name to disprove the monk's arguments.

In 1366 Wiclif replied to this "Mixtim Theologus" in the "Determination on Dominion," edited by Dr. R. L. Poole of Oxford, and held, 1. that the King rightly took away church endowments if the clergy abused their trust; 2. that clerical criminals were subject to the law of the land; 3. that the King rightly, for various reasons, refused tribute to the Pope, who emptied the pockets of the English people, even for the benefit of their French foes. By this spirited defense of England against the arrogant papal demands Wiclif became a national character and a popular man, the leader of a national movement against the Pope's political plans; clearly he must have been a man of affairs and a man of address. This work reminds us of Luther's writing "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation."

In the Parliament of February, 1371, the King needed 50,000 marks to carry on the war. Though the clergy had hitherto gone free, they were now taxed to help carry on the war; probably a result of Wiclif's writing. A Benedictine preached against this measure, and Wiclif defended it in his

“Civil Dominion,” about 1372, edited by R. L. Poole. In this same Parliament the Commons asked that the clergy be dismissed from the high political offices, and that these be filled with laymen; the people wanted to be rid of papal government and have responsible ministers. This was also in line with Wiclif’s teaching.

In sheer self-defense Parliament had to pass statutes of Mortmain, whereby the clergy were prohibited from grabbing any more land from dying Englishmen. In 1350 the statute of Provisors forbade the “Bishop of Rome” to give English church offices to “aliens who never dwell in England, and to cardinals who might not dwell there,” and in general to interfere with the rights of those who had the giving of these livings and the election of bishops. In 1360 a man unable to read was made a bishop.

In 1353 another forward step in the fight against Rome’s grasping greed was taken in the statute of Praemunire, which punished all those pleading in the court of the Roman bishop with forfeiture, outlawry, and imprisonment. The Pope’s greed for English gold was not curbed by these laws, and, in 1374, on Lancaster’s recommendation Wiclif was sent as one of the ambassadors to Bruges, the great and wealthy city of 200,000 inhabitants in Flanders, to treat with the delegates of Pope Gregory XI about the great grievances England had against the Pope for taking heavy bribes for appointing foreigners to the fat places in the English churches and letting absentees do nothing at all to earn their large salaries. Wiclif was gone from July 27 till September 14; his allowance was 20 shillings a day and expenses. For his labors at Bruges he was rewarded by the crown in November, 1375, with the sinecure Prebend of Aust in the Cathedral of Westbury in Worcester, but he declined it; his bitterest enemies never accused him of grasping worldly goods. William of Wykeham, Wiclif’s opponent, was the King’s private secretary and had twelve church livings and, of course, attended to none, although Pope Martin V, in the bull of May, 1365, had censured pluralities.

Heedless of English protests, the Pope went on merrily with his simony, selling good places for good money. He even had a collector traveling about with servants and six horses sending him about 20,000 good English marks every year; as if to add insult to injury, this collector of papal money was a hated and despised Frenchman, Arnold Garnier. The Pope's income from England was about five times that of the King. England's gorge rose, and, in 1376, the "Good" Parliament, of which Wiclif was probably a member, voiced the rising indignation in tones of thunder. "The brokers of the sinful city of Avignon promote for money unlearned and unworthy caitiffs to benefices of the value of a thousand marks, while the poor and learned hardly obtain one of twenty. So decays sound learning. They present aliens who neither see nor care to see their parishioners, despise God's services, convey away the treasure of the realm, and are worse than Jews or Saracens. The Pope's revenue from England alone is larger than that of any prince in Christendom. God gave His sheep to be pastured, not to be shaven and shorn."

The Pope's grasping greed for gold, everywhere seen, kindled the Reformer's keenest indignation. "Though our realm had a huge hill of gold," he said, "and never another man took therefrom but only this proud worldly priest-collector, in process of time the hill would be spent; for he is ever taking money out of our land, and rendering nothing back but God's curse for his simony, and some accursed clerk of Antichrist to rob the land more for wrongful privilege, or else leave to do God's will, which men should do without his leave." The Roman bishop who accepted the endowed protection of Constantine he considered to have introduced corruption into the church, and he boldly and passionately called upon King and Parliament to withdraw the temporal property of the church, and restore it to the early condition of Gospel purity and usefulness; for "by reducing the clergy to meekness and useful piety and ghostly travail, as lived Christ and His apostles, sin should be destroyed and holiness of life brought in and secular law

strengthened and the poor communion aided and good government, both spiritual and temporal, come again; and, what is best of all, as Christ's word would run to and fro freely everywhere, many men would wing their way to heaven."

It was Wiclif that, in 1377, attacked Arnold Garnier for violating all the oaths he took on coming to England to collect for the Pope, and thus again championed the cause of England against the Pope's corruption and tyranny, and he grew in importance and prominence as the dispute wore on.

What the journey to Rome was to do for Luther, the brief trip to Bruges did for Wiclif: it opened his eyes more widely to the corruption of the papacy. Ere this Wiclif had looked upon the Pope as a person who was only capable of wrongdoing, — a very bold saying in those days, — but now he looked upon the Pope as one actually guilty of wrongdoing.

The monk of St. Albans in his "Chronicon Angliae" says Wiclif "was an eloquent man" and preached "with great success," going from church to church, seducing many great lords of the land and many citizens of London. Some of his "crazy lies" were that the Pope had no right to excommunicate, and that no one had a right to present the church with anything in perpetuity, for God is the real owner of all things in Church and State, and all officers are not for lordship but for service.

Needless to say, sentiments like these could not for long pass without notice. At last the bishops goaded the unwilling Archbishop Sudbury to summon Wiclif to be examined as to his opinions, for "barking against the Church."

Milwaukee, Wis.

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(To be continued.)
