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Lecture Two: [Late Medieval Period, Frederick II, John Wycliff]

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fast Lunchy evening me som that at the heginning of the 14th century the conditions were some what we follows. Uhe the one bond the church and the validity as rules, by the Ofe at the head, the controller of both tenford and eficitive smooth upment, the great nice: regent of God ofen Earth, Informered with a sufernatural right to mele such control the affairs of were horgand offatthe the the other heavel there were the vort welltimes who of serfs who had but little share in the fores and glong of fighting, and Waliniching the fines of bottle for the glory of God and the degraching luxury of the church. There then were the forts. the Pofe weed by burine right and with the southing thirt, theefore, every good ehunkurn world have said, things are all right, God is stillat

But when such a situation fresents itself there is always some one who am come to the front and say. I day the focts." Mithin there very institutions themselves There wor developing a spirit which in its moturity was to cut to the very woth of the entire machine, and leave it-standing as an empty shel at the wilestine which washe the rise and one supervary of the the crown when the head of Charlesogue on Christon chy in the year 800, he won transferring to kenning or fine which in the course of a few years were cles:

Timel to bring about the destruction of the Shis some charling one bod something of the wooden would in him, HE bol felt the effects of that echestral infeter which freeze & gone to the worlen world, and works some attempts at establishing a school for the furnit

of leaving. the ownacles were in a way the result of this inquiring spirit which was working of a tremelour fermentation in the wicht of there years which we call the clarkages. to conceine of the idea of sending an anny to the East to west the Holy Sefulce from the bouch of the heather, war included the beginning of that quest warment which bor been characterized by Protestantism where woth worthwest is vow as itsloverys to box her bock to feres. It is a stronge wory that freefle have of thinking that the wogan furter the horse. Shot quat re: ano being of intellectival activity which were obout to burt ofon Evofe, and usher in the new world was but a were conflicte, and were fully done developed ex fressin of that some sfuit which lead Charlwogue to

formel a school in the winth century, 4. and sent the thousands on their feithers journeys to the city of Jewsolem in the great crusades. In its later developements we shell see how this some sfirit has been working the great reforms of the centuries, he night we shelded with its fluvering in the 14th century. When you sees a wore strucking seemely bracech against a door, and at the same time levelly fevelaining that there is vothing behind the door that you closes vot went you to see il-armer you surficious. When you see a won like Pofe Boni fore ETD, stoneling against the clove which greath the secrets upon which his authority certs, and lovely foolaining that both sweels, the spiritual and material one in the former of the church; the one, indeed, to be

weilded for the should, the other by the church; the one by the havel of the fruit, the other by the havel of the 1 wings and Knights but at the wiel and suffer once of the front. you strongly surfect that some ineverant furen for been told everyth to day the focts." This is really what boil boffened, and in we sweet degree this tobil- of danging the fortz of the Pofer authority was so in the stworfhere the Bonifore It was lead to woke his favour amount of 1302, as a feotest ogaint irreveraux In the year + 6 1076 occurred that drawstic scene at Cavorsa when Henry IT stool in the little cold for these days outside the count yeard of the partle waiting for the great Pofe Gregory II to give him ot ool = whin, wel remove the bon of excorume ication. This offerently quest witing for

the forey was not without its disacherlinge as later wants show, But from this event which is entirely in keeping with mechanic lift of obeclieve and submission to authority. I wish to speak four to a series of enerts connected with the first war who could deny the forts". Lhis won was Frederick II. Frederick 11. son of Henry II was flaced uncle the quardinshif of Vole SurventIII by his wother just before her death. His Education was samuelou in Sicily, and vowbre in Eurofe seved a yestly his age find a better atwerflere. The beginning of woden wetwe men just working themselves falt in the Keenly intelligent fopeletins of southern Emofe. The literature of the two-backour, sleading as it-shiel with the subjects of lumon life as officed to the sole intent of religion, hel formel els very into Sicily " Emention. In this stweethere the young frime wor

reced. Vertop it was this influence, and fortofe it was his intimote relations with I fe Invest II his quachin; and feeling it was simply that he obserted the spiril-of the new life that was about him, whitever my have hear the course we see in Frederich II something of newmen and perhaere that has wit offered before. charact the II III was dead, Howaring retained his flore in DiPeter chair both few what wently. Sagary IX. Pofe from 1227-1241. wer of such a metal as to test the rook worth of Frederick. Frederick wer busing engaged in bringing together the sale elements of the Empire the Popery feared the ontenne of this werement, and gained the fermine of Frederick for a 5th crusacle. This furnise book heen of long standing and Fredrich bol delayed from record or another until shortly of the accession of Gregory II, the Pope excommunicated him for not going on the crusocle. Little attention

wor faiel to this artie, and in the time 8 when Frederick bod completed his flows at home, he set out on the amade. He diel this without working feare with the fofe. and there in elegience of the lope. Hvoing heen anotherwatized for vot going he was vow shortly anotherotized for ging. He fail little or war attention to the frofe, but continued on his own way, Purf. Tementer soys. According to the Localities of the couraching ferior, the business of the curveler wor to fight the infield; we written where or home or pt what sacrefices of the real interests of christenelem, fight he munt. Frederick on the other boal was ween enough to see that fighting was vot likely to de war thank tod showe for christianily in the East them it already Ivel dine, namely, to waste Thousands of hier, and williams of treasure in Juitless struggle, and

so he wock feare, the wort advontigens act for chirtin interests that had yet to hen flore in the course of the crusacles, HERE was another cause for fofol moth; the won who heated with the infield, must be an infidel himself, to Fiederik wor another tiged beingefor this, and wor forced to justify himself again in the eyes of amose, by declaring his invoceme of all inclipatity and herery, Withe, so he declared, but the Pope wor the red heretie." Emerton med. Engle . U. 386. for you we me are dealing with a new Kinglof a worrin Fuduick II. He afforently did not save a while for the excussion retire of hargory II, and slaved to face the moth of the rule of the watering and spiritual survel. He was a won who

could and chil day the forts of the Vogory. I said that he deviced the forts," as the young deboter said where his fine theory and wors of oratory, bol been laid love by a few cold forts, In fruit of truth the Pafory and all medievol life, the runfine, the thi lorofly, theology and sel the cert were built ofor a theory. This theory they recognized as two, and tried to woke forts conform tout. Two just what Frederick did worthis, from the theory are thus and so, according to therry the runfer or is controllacl, by the Pofe, but as a matter of actual fort; I Frederick !! by with of my skilling am in centre. There are the forts, and your they con do wht it flearer with them. You see this is the gener of worken life. Thack you theries out of

facts, and not facts out of thearies. " Fiederich II makes the offename of towners: seve as a facture of life, Here and there allower Europe there were offerences of suidever of this new life. Donte wor half allel, and tolf new. Part of his suritings were in bothin fort in dolotien. The Woldenses hereties, with without any great organization, but by simple living tried to enter who the spirit of thosandy afortable clevel, devied the authrity of the church, and bosed their devials ofer the Bible il relf. I might fook of the Free states of sem them frame, and the rise of the widdle close, or the increasing anidence of nativol courinsvers, but instead I am going to time to the events of the 14th Century in England for here we get a wiriel ficture, of what wor befleving and whit wer about to Affen all one Eurofe.

of fair vom to spok of one of the quot 12. to the gent follow new life that wer woking strelf feet. Khis wom is folm My clif, born about 1320, and died 1384. Dec. 3125 If the uncertainties of his early life we cae but little. Probably the soutered with the achoutizer of confortable circumstones. alterded lectures at lexprel, Bolliol college. where worry of the hereties have received their training. His fusition in the reforms of the 14th Centry reminds one often of the forition which count folston accupies in Russian He was of the vohility, yet he is the charging futor regardlers of class, and this fivel dortwees were the product of his life long experience, and in worked surtrast to the his attitude of his early life towards there wo : wenter for theme, I much to speak of two or three incidents in his live as alowing the tendencies of the Time, and his farticular fosition.

The relations between the Popory and the 13 Euglish chard Leneument book heen at high tension proyears. The residence of the fology at anigous which began as for bock on 1309 bod tended to create the surficion of French Olliance, The loxer and tithes faid to angle the Pofory were begingly carried across the chowol. In 1366 the forguent of 1000 weeks which had been fromined by John wor refused, In 1377 the gweetin wor white wort that the forment of Veters ferre should contine. The this werewest ogainst the church John wielif entreel, In 1974 he was sent or ove of six commissioners to treat with commissioners of the Orfa when there forist of difference fust what the severe were the frely dischred. But the events of the frely dischred. But the events of the west four years show the action

of Michif. Jul 376 his direct attache on the freterious of the fofrey connect a great stir in England and brought down upon him the weath of his fellow laborer in the church. The English Hierarchy under the leadershif of arch Bishof Courtney summoned him to affect at St. Paul's frelin to ausmen Chages of herery. This convocation were disturbed by viot, and ended without action. While this refresented the allitude of the English hierarchy. The Popes refly to Myclifis activities were werifuled by the & fifthe bulls of 1377. Low condening him as a heretic and commanding him to offew before the fife int with: in three worths. as a result of their action Mugalif felt the freume of authority on all sides, and was freed to the logicol conclusions of his

forther. In refly to the charges he again asserts the truths of his facities, In This document he says. To begin with I woke my frablic frofesion, or I have often done elsewhere, feofers ing and claiming with my whole heart to be, by the grace of gol a sound christin, and that so for as I am able, whilst thus is breath in my body, I speak fath and defend the low of churt, Further: work, if by ignorance a any other course, I foll short in this, Thereach my foll for fonder I derive to stote in winting my conniction in requel to that whereof I have been accused, which I will defend even to the electh, on I hold that all christing storought to do, and in farherlan the Kowen Portiff, well the otherfrients of the Church." Cited in Lewis 8 organts John Wichifix. P. 186. The great Schirm in the Popory and the folitier situation in England fre? verted the conflite execution of the Bulls and midlif remained at large. Us a watter of fort the events of the ten year of Michigs life in forthis offices forced him to the conclusion that to bring about the reforms which everyone som mere needed, he must defevel you forcer intride the established order. This is a general fin eight of all quent reform. He som that we quest reform evild he accomplished except through the influence of legemen. He Itel come to a first where he sum the necessity of secognizing the forts. of life, and woking thevier that

recognize forts. In regard to the form 17 claims to sufervoture authority he said. The right to govern defends on good government; there is no word constraint to for tox or little to bod when, either in the church as in the state; it in fermitted to fet an end to tyring, to fraish or defore wegint when, and to resume the wealth which the clergy have diverted from the fore." left vow withit the anochinery of church to suffert him, her Turned to the west notwol method of reform imaginable. He gothered about him thre who believed in his ductions and sent them out freahing upon their our responsibility, commerching them: solver unto the feefle by the finity of their feromobily, and their affeal to truth. Right here in their

for friests of Myslifs we find the 18 beginning of the Protestant werement. Our otherties will be collect to them again It is sufficient to say that here is the leaven of a great womenent, The authority of the cluet hort hem clevied, and there four friests ment about among the feofle freeling and teaching in the afen air, relying ufon their own finitivolity and reason for the offeal of their gorfel. The anthrity of the church clanicel, Micheffel bock were and were ofen the strily of the Bible, and the origins of christianity, During the Middle oges the church alone town Inclaceer to the Bills Leving the necessity of a wirder Browledge of the Bible he frequed on English translation of the book, in 1382, Lhis wor wickly speod awing the feefle

and frequed the way for the great reformation of the 18th century. There is no reason to believe that Muyeliffe regarded the 12the as a factivele authrity, but his follication translating it resterlagen the idea of fullicity to me a wirlen word as much on to say. The claims to authority corest that the authority rests upon the Bible, come and examine that book for your self. ' the unter sop spooking Mughifs drialogus." uniter near the evel of his life, "The gist of whthiclif for to say on every frist is fractically this that where the cluvel and the Bible slovet agree we went frefer the Bitle; the where authority and conscience affect to be rivol grider, me stoll he much sofer in Jollow. ing conscience; that where the letter and the spirit seem to be in conflict, the spirit is above the letter." "hote, 0.385. Sorgents John Wiely.

of the relation of wicliffe to the Pearents' 20 Boolt a Wot Fyleis rebellier, me wiel spook next Surely evening. Cut off from sel active associations with the world, he setired to futter with, wil from this efet still continued his anough for shift of surface of specialities of the still stil he was sited to Rome by Pofe. Being unable toger, he sent a refly to the Pofe, of which the lengtish translation is as follows. I joyfoly achuit myself bound to tell to all the were the belief that I fold, and especially to the Pofe: for I suffer that if my faith he rightful, and given of God, the Pofe will glastly confirm it; and if my faith he error the Pofe will wisely amend it. I suffuse, work over, that the Gorfel of Christ is the heat of the body of Socis love; for I believe that ferus Christ, that gove in his own ferm his Garfel, is very god, and very wore, and by this

heart fasses all other loves, above this, I 21 suffere that the Pofe is wort obliged to the Reefing of the sorpel awing all wen that live here; for the Pope is the lighest recan that elist has here on earth, For the suferiority of Christinica is not measured by wordely suferiority, but by this, that this view follows thirt work closely by nintuous living; for the Gosfel tracker that their is the sentence of christ." This document of which I have gooted a fact was the last adcher of folion Michig to the Vofocy. Mith the Keenners of a furist he allows the claims of the Vofacy to stouch, but with what accure he soys that this suferiority rests out ufor any sufernatival formers of the Vofe, or the afostolic succession, or the Two swords, but by this the he follows

work closely by nictions living. It is the authority of reinterns living of the inner spiritual abolity of a woris life. It this refly of wichif wor as a fire which would keen two ecfect sword which at one that could destry the claims of the Popey to tempore rentire, and the claims of the Poper to spriltool curtiol. if thre claims rested upon aught else thou fine withour living. the Dec. 312 1884. Wielif diel, and one world suffice that the dead wight he left in fevre, but vot such a one as he, foodbrely both he read the spirit of his time and entired who the meaning of the seathing werest, with troquent an insight hort he given wette warry the peopl of life for which they longed and which the friestly formers mith held, for the established orders to let him sent in fearer after death.

the Vife wot du 1397 a Lywel sondeme 18 of Michigs son= clusions. In 1409 his books were brunch at Carfox de 1410 a fofol bell against Aboicliffin in Bohemia is essived, and 200 tofies of his works furblirly burned. In 1413 Michif's books were bured by the order of the coveril of Reme. Firstly in #1428 Bishof Flemming by order of Pofe, extures and humed Michely bones, and scottered Theaster ofen the rune swift, Thus after about athuravel years, if you dote from the convenien of constitutions, after 1100 years of buriol and slow-ex= fausim beneath the surface of the middle oges, me find a um who is again swedling the spirit of the early oferstolie church. Upon or other show general does he stive then the

growd of single truth, and within 124 living. Let the truth spok for itself and let the life hear witness to the truth In corclarding this lecture I wish to speak of authority, to ask the question which the feofle of the fourteenth centry asked, and which is still persing for solution. The events of this lective collect theuseher about the interests of the religious life. For senand hunched years the hobit both hem giving whom the Christin church of assuming that the authority with which the Pofe as Chistinica upon earthy had a ferrior statue volue in waldly as well as fintal mischen. That the office the conferred ofer the litherton follible and ening won a former, and a misselm which frience transformed him into an

infollible and chirinely inspried were, whose further it was to be the rule of God of a earth by devine right. In his havels restel the flynes intellection and word wellhing of the feofle both here and here after for whit wor done here should be sealed in heaven. Lo this authority men must subuit. It will be necessary to inquire with the wolidity of this claim which the ween of the formteenth century chrotted and which he her doubted ever since by our even increasing number of men and discover upon what it serts, and to follow out the line of retreat which the church for followed since the cloys of the beginning of the worken worked, and to chicene what whatitutes the

Church for seen fit to erect in flace ho of the authority of the church and its Pofe. This will level us to smerile the authority of the Bitle, of experience, of Jenne. and try to answer the question as to which whit real authority is. and who has the eight to exercise it. west Sundry evening we will forced to consider the immediate servets of their new movement of the 14th century, and the attempts of the sufer to better themselves and for themselver from their degradation and wisery. The consecrated host which me see on the alter is neither christ nor any fact of him, but the effective sign of line!

Lecture Two [Late Medieval Period, Frederick II, John Wyclif]

Earl Clement Davis

Pittsfield, MA

No Date

Last Sunday evening we saw that at the beginning of the 14th century the conditions were somewhat as follows. On the one hand the church and the nobility as rulers, the Pope at the head, the controller of both temporal and spiritual swords, the great vicar: regent of God upon Earth, empowered with a supernatural right to rule and control the affairs of men here and apparently hereafter. On the other hand, there was the vast multitude of serfs who had but little share in the honor and glory of fighting, and the dividing of spoils of battle for the glory of God and the degrading luxury of the church. These were the facts. The Pope ruled by Divine right and with the sanction of Christ, therefore, every good churchman would have said, things are all right. God is still at Rome.

But when such a situation presents itself there is always someone who can come to the front and cry, "I deny the facts."

Within these very institutions themselves there was developing a spirit which in its maturity was to cut to the very roots of the entire machine, and leave it standing as an empty shell at the milestone which marks the rise and supremacy of the modern world. When Pope Leo III placed the crown upon the head of Charlemagne on Christmas day in the year 800, he was transferring to {???} a power which in the course of a few hundred years was destined to bring about the destruction of the papacy.

This same Charlemagne had something of the modern world in him. He had felt the effects of that educational impetus which Greece gave to the modern world, and made some attempts at establishing a school for the pursuit of learning.

The crusades were in a way the result of this inquiring spirit which was working up a tremendous fermentation in the midst of these years which we call the dark ages. To conceive of this idea of sending an army to the East to wrest the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the heathen was indeed the beginning of that great movement which has been characterized by Protestantism whose watchword is now as it always has been, "Back to Jesus."

It is a strange way that people have of thinking that the wagon pushes the horse. That great re-awakening of intellectual activity which was about to burst upon Europe, and usher in the new world was but a more complete, and more fully developed expression of that same spirit which led Charlemagne to found a school in the ninth century, and sent the thousands on their perilous journeys to the city of Jerusalem in the great crusades. In its later developments we shall see how this same spirit has been working the great reforms of the centuries. Tonight we shall deal with its flowering in the 14th century.

When you see a man standing seemingly braced against a door, and at the same time loudly proclaiming that there is nothing behind the door that he does not want you to see, it arouses your suspicions. When you see a man like Pope Boniface VIII standing against the door which guards the secrets upon which his authority rests, and loudly proclaiming that "both swords, the spiritual and material are in the power the church; the one, indeed, to be wielded for the church, the other by the church; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of the kings and knight, but at the will and sufferance of the priest." You strongly suspect that some inerrant person has been bold enough "to deny the facts."

This is really what had happened, and in no small degree this habit of denying the facts of the Pope's authority was so in the atmosphere that Boniface VIII was led to make his famous announcement of 1302 as a protest against this inerrancy.

In the year 1076 occurred that dramatic scene at Canossa when Henry IV^1 stood in the bitter cold for three days outside the courtyard of the castle waiting for the great Pope Gregory VII to give him absolution, and remove the ban of excommunication. This apparently great victory for the papacy was not without its disadvantage as later events show. But from this event which is entirely in keeping with medieval life of obedience and submission to authority, I wish to pass to a series of events connected with the first man who could deny "the facts." This was Frederick II.

Frederick II, son of Henry VI was placed under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III by his mother just before her death. His education was carried on in Sicily, and nowhere in Europe could a youth of his age find a better atmosphere. "The beginnings of modern culture were just making themselves felt in the keenly intelligent populations of southern Europe. The literature of the troubadours, dealing as it did with the subjects of known life as appeared to the sole interest of religion, had found its way into Sicily." (Emerton²).

In this atmosphere the young prince was reared. Perhaps it was this influence, and perhaps it was his intimate relations with Pope Innocent III his guardian, and perhaps it was simply that he absorbed the spirit of the new life that was about him. Whatever may have been the cause, we see in Frederick II something of newness and freshness that has not appeared before.

Innocent III was dead. Honorius III retained his place in St. Peter's chair, but a few short months. Gregory IX,

 $^{^{1}}$ Henry IV (1084-1105), King of Germany from 1054 until 1105, and the Holy Roman Emperor from 1084 until 1105.

² Ephraim Emerton (1851-1935), author of *Mediaeval Europe* (814-1300). Boston: Ginn & Co., 1895. This quote is from page 323.

³ Pope Innocent III, born Lotario del Conti di Segni (1160-1216), was head of the Catholic Church from 1198 until his death in 1216.

⁴ Pope Honorius III, born Cencio Savelli, (1148-1227), was head of the Catholic Church from 1216 until his death in 1227.

Pope from 1227-1241,⁵ was of such a metal as to test the real worth of Frederick. Frederick was busily engaged in bringing together the elements of the Empire. The Papacy feared the outcome of this movement, and gained the promise of Frederick for a 5th crusade. This promise had been of long standing and Frederick had delayed for one reason or another until shortly after the accession of Gregory IX. The Pope excommunicated him for not going on the crusade. Little attention was paid to this action, and in due time, when Frederick had completed his plans at home, he set out on the crusade. He did this without making peace with the Pope, and thus in defiance of the Pope. Having been anathematized for not going, he was now doubly anathematized for going. He paid little or no attention to the Pope, but continued on his own way. Prof. Emerton says,

According to the traditions of the crusading period, the business of the crusader was to fight the infidel; no matter where or how or at what sacrifice of the real interests of Christendom, fight he must. Frederick on the other hand was man enough to see that fighting was not likely to do more for Christianity in the East than it already had done, namely to waste thousands of lives, and millions of treasure in the fruitless struggle, and so he made a peace, the most advantageous act for Christian interests that had yet taken place in the course of the crusades. Here was another cause for papal wrath; the man who treated with the infidel must be a sort of infidel himself. So Frederick was anathematized for this, and was forced to justify himself again in the eyes of Europe, by declaring his innocence of all infidelity and heresy. Not he, so he declared, but the Pope was the real heretic. (Emerton, Med. Europe, p. 346).

So you see we are dealing with a new kind of a man in Frederick II. He apparently did not care a whit for the excommunications of Gregory IX, and dared to face the wrath of the rule of the material and spiritual sword. He was a

 $^{^5}$ Pope Gregory IX, born Ugolino dei Conti di Segni, (c. 1145-1241), was head of the Catholic Church from 1227 until his death in 1241.

man who could and did "deny the facts" of the Papacy. I said that he denied "the facts," as the young debater said when his fine theory and {???} of oratory had been laid low by a few cold facts. In point of truth the Papacy and all medieval life, the Empire, the philosophy, theology and all the rest were built upon a theory. This theory they recognized as true, and tried to make facts conform to it. Now just what Frederick did was this. The theory are thus and so, according to theory the Emperor is controlled by the Pope, but as a matter of actual fact, I, Frederick II by virtue of my ability, am in control. These are the facts, and your theory can do what it pleases with them. You see this is the gem of modern life. Make our theories out of facts, and not facts out of theories. Frederick II makes the appearance of commonsense as a fact of life.

Here and there all over Europe there were evidences of this new life. Dante was half old, and half new. Part of his writings were in Latin, part in Italian. The Waldenses heretics, 6 who without any great organization, but by simple living tried to enter into the spirit of the early apostolic church, denied the authority of the Church, and based their denials upon the Bible itself. I might speak of the Free States of Southern France, and the rise of the middle class, or the increasing evidence of a national consciousness, but instead I am going to turn to the events of the 14th century in England for here we get a vivid picture of what was happening and what was about to happen all over Europe.

I pass now to speak of one of the great ones of history, who felt and gave expression to the new life that was making itself felt. This man is John Wyclif, born about 1320, and died 1384, Dec. $31^{\rm st}$.

Of the uncertainties of his early life we care but little. He entered into the advantages of comfortable

⁶ The Waldenses were a movement that started in the late twelfth century; their founding is attributed to Peter Waldo (c. 1140-c. 1205), a wealthy merchant from Lyon who gave away his property around 1173, preaching apostolic poverty as the way to perfection. The teaching of this group came into conflict with the Catholic Church and by 1215 they were declared heretical.

circumstances. Attended lectures at Oxford, Balliol College, where many of the heretics have received their training. His position in the reforms of the 14th century reminds one often of the position which Count Tolstoi [sic] occupies in Russia. He was of the nobility, yet he was the {???} of reform regardless of class. His final doctrines were the product of his life-long experience, and in marked contrast to his attitude in his early life, towards these momentous problems.

I wish to speak of two or three incidents in his life as showing the tendencies of the time, and his particular position. The relations between the Papacy and the English Government had been at high tension for years. The residence of the Papacy at Avignon which began as far back as 1309 had tended to create the suspicion of French alliance. The taxes and tithes paid to the Papacy were {???} carried across the channel. In 1366 the payment of 1,000 marks which had been promised by John was refused. In 1377 the question was raised as to whether or not the payment of Peter's pence should continue. Into this movement against the Church John Wyclif entered. In 1374 he was sent as one of six commissioners to treat with commissioners of the Pope upon the points of difference. Just what the events of this conference were have never been fully disclosed. But the events of the next few years show the action of Wyclif.

In 1376 his direct attacks on the pretensions of the Papacy caused a great stir in England and brought down upon him the wrath of his fellow laborers in the Church. The English hierarchy under the leadership of Arch Bishop of Canterbury summoned him to appear at St. Paul's London to answer charges of heresy. This convocation was disturbed by riot, and ended without action. While this represented the attitude of the English hierarchy, the Pope's reply to Wyclif's activities was manifested by the 5 Papal Bulls of 1377 condemning him as a heretic and commanding him to

⁷ On the reverse side of one of the sheets of this manuscript the following sentence is written and crossed out, "Already a Lecturer of Divinity at Oxford, and Chaplain to the King, he was sent probably in 1374 as one of six commissioners to meet and confer with delegates from the Pope."

appear before the Pope within three months. As a result of this action Wyclif felt the pressure of authority on all sides, and was forced to the logical conclusion of his positions. In reply to the charges he again asserts the truths of his positions. In this document he says,

To begin with I make my public profession, as I have often done elsewhere, professing and claiming with my whole heart to be, by the grace of God, a sound Christian, and that so far as I am able, whilst there is breath in my body, I speak forth and defend the law of Christ.
Furthermore, if, by ignorance or any other cause, I fall short in this, I beseech my God for pardon. ... I desire to state in writing my conviction in regard to that whereof I have been accused, which I will defend even to the death, and I hold that all Christians ought to do, and in particular the Roman Pontiff, and the other priests of the Church." (Cited in Lewis Sergeant's John Wyclif, p. 186).8

The great Schism in the Papacy and the political situation in England prevented the complete execution of the Bulls, and Wyclif remained at large. As a matter of fact the events of the ten years of Wyclif's life in public affairs forced him to the conclusion that to bring about the reforms which everyone saw were needed, he must depend upon forces outside the established order. This is a general principle of all great reform. He saw that no great reform could be accomplished except through the influence of laymen. He had come to a point where he saw the necessity of recognizing the facts of life, and making theories that recognize facts. In regard to the Papal claims to supernatural authority he said, "The right to govern depends on good government; there is no moral constraint to pay tax or tithe to bad rulers, either in the church or in the state; it is permitted to put an end to tyranny, to punish or depose unjust rulers, and to resume the wealth which the clergy have divested from the poor."

 $^{^{8}}$ Lewis Sergeant (1841-1902), John Wyclif, Last of the School Men and First of the English Reformed, 1893.

Left now without the machinery of [the] Church to support him, he turned to the most natural method of reform imaginable. He gathered about him those who believed in his doctrines and sent them out preaching upon their own responsibility, commending themselves unto the people by the purity of their personality, and their appeal to truth. Right here in these poor priests of Wyclif's we find the beginning of the Protestant movement. Our attentions will be called to them again. It is sufficient to say that here is the leaven of a great movement. The authority of the Church had been denied, and these poor priest went about among the people preaching and teaching in the open air, relying upon their own spirituality and reason for the appeal of their gospel.

The authority of the Church denied, Wyclif fell back more and more upon the study of the Bible, and the origins of Christianity. During the Middle Ages the Church alone had access to the Bible. Seeing the necessity of a wider knowledge of the Bible he prepared an English translation of the book in 1382. This was widely spread among the people and prepared the way for the great reformation of the 16th century. There is no reason to believe that Wyclif regarded the Bible as a particular authority, but his translation of it rested upon the idea of publicity to use a modern word, as such as to say, "The claims to authority assert that the authority rests upon the Bible. Come and examine that book for yourself." One writer says, speaking [of] Wyclif's Trialogues,

Written near the end of his life, the gist of what Wyclif has to say on every point is practically this: that where the Church and the Bible do not agree, we must prefer the Bible; that where authority and conscience appear to be rival guides, we shall be much safer in following conscience; that where the letter and the spirit seem to be in conflict, the spirit is above the letter." (Note, p. 385, Sergeant's John Wyclif)

Of the relation of Wyclif to the Peasant's Revolt or Wat Tyler's Rebellion, we will speak next Sunday evening. Cut off from all active associations with the world, he retired to Lutterworth, and from this spot still continued his assaults upon existing conditions. In 1384 he was cited to

Rome by [the] Pope. Being unable to go, he sent a reply to the Pope, of which the English translation is as follows:

> I joyfully admit myself bound to tell to all true men the belief that I hold, and especially to the Pope, for I suppose that if my faith be rightful, and given of God, the Pope will gladly confirm it, and if my faith be error, the Pope will wisely amend it. I suppose, moreover, that the Gospel of Christ is the heart of the body of God's law, for I believe that Jesus Christ, that gave in his own person his Gospel, is very God, and very man, and by this heart passes all other laws. Above this, I suppose that the Pope is most obliged to the keeping of the Gospel among all men that live here; for the Pope is the highest vicar that Christ has here on earth. For the superiority of Christ's vicar is not measured by worldly superiority, but by this, that this vicar follows Christ more closely by virtuous living; for the Gospel teaches that this is the sentence of Christ.

This document of which I have quoted a part was the last address of John Wyclif to the Papacy. With the keenness of a jurist he allows the claims of the Papacy to stand, but with what acumen he says that this superiority rests not upon any supernatural powers of the Pope, or the apostolic succession, or the two swords, but by this, that he follows more closely virtuous living. It is the authority of virtuous living of the inner spiritual reality of a man's life. This reply of Wyclif was as keen a two-edged sword which at one thrust could destroy the claims of the Papacy to temporal control, the claims of the Papacy to spiritual control, if these claims rested upon aught else than fine virtuous living.

On Dec. 31st 1384, Wyclif died, and one would suppose that the dead might be left in peace, but not such a one as he. Too closely had he read the spirit of his time and entered into the meaning of the seething unrest, with too great an insight had he given unto many, the bread of life, for which they longed and which the priestly powers had withheld, for the established orders to let him rest in peace after death.

In 1397 a Synod condemned 18 of Wyclif's conclusions. In 1409 his books were burned at Carfax. In 1410 a Papal Bull against Wycliffism in Bohemia was issued, and 200 copies of his works publicly burned. In 1413 Wyclif's books were burned by the order of the Council of Rome.

Finally in 1428, Bishop $\{???\}$, by order of [the] Pope, exhumed and burned Wyclif's bones, and scattered the ashes upon the river Swift.⁹

Thus after almost a thousand years, if you date from the conversion of Constantine, after 1100 years of burial and slow expansion beneath the surface of the Middle Ages, we find a man who is again revealing the spirit of the early apostolic church. Upon no other ground does he stand than the ground of simple truth and virtuous living. Let the truth speak for itself and let the life bear witness to the truth.

In concluding this lecture, I wish to speak of authority, to ask the question which the people of the fourteenth century asked, and which is still pressing for solution. The events of this lecture collect themselves about the interests of the religious life. For several hundred years the habit had been growing upon the Christian Church of assuming that the authority with which the Pope, as Christ's vicar upon earth, spoke had a peculiar value in worldly as well as spiritual wisdom. That the office conferred upon the hitherto fallible and erring man a power, and a wisdom which forever transformed him into an infallible and divinely inspired man, whose function it was to be ruler of God upon earth by divine right. In his hands rested the physical intellectual and moral well-being of the people both here and hereafter, for what was done here should be sealed in heaven. To this authority men must submit.

⁹ The Wellcome Collection holds a fine woodcut depicting the exhumation, burning and dispersing of Wyclif's bones. See https://wellcomecollection.org/works/she64urs or https://www.worldhistory.org/image/14835/exhumation-of-john-wycliffe/.

It will be necessary to inquire into the validity of this claim which the men of the fourteenth century doubted and which has been doubted ever since by an ever increasing number of men, and discover upon what it rests, and to follow out the line of retreat which the Church has followed since the days of the beginning of the modern world, and to discover what substitutes the Church has seen fit to erect in place of the authority of the Church and its Pope. This will lead us to consider the authority of the Bible, of experience, and Jesus, and try to answer the question as to what real authority is, and who has the right to exercise it.

Next Sunday evening we will proceed to consider the immediate results of this new movement of the $14^{\rm th}$ century and the attempts of the serfs to better themselves and free themselves from their degradation and misery.

"The consecrated host which we see on the alter is neither Christ nor any part of him, but the effectual sign of him." 10

¹⁰ John Wyclif, from De Eucharista.