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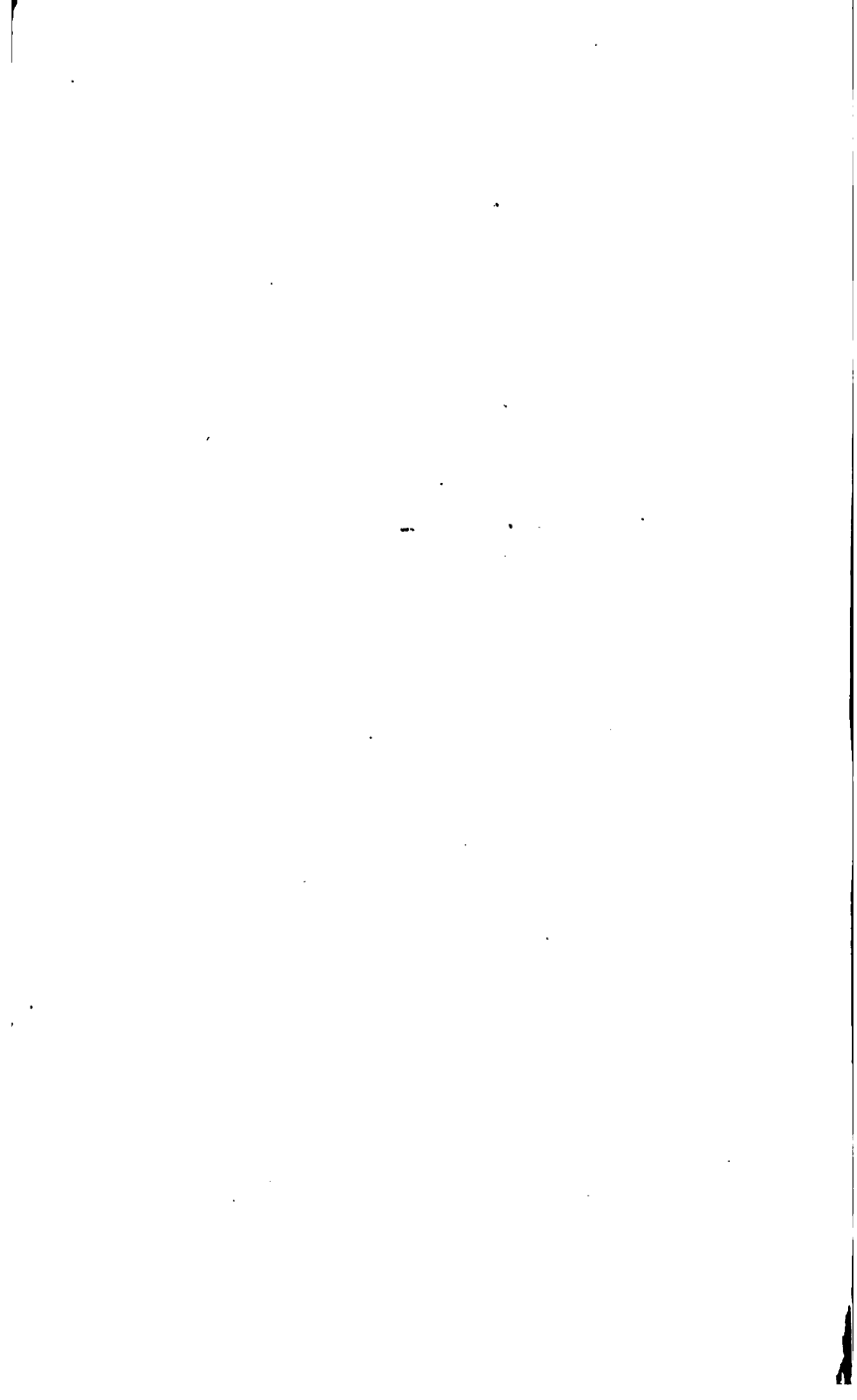
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The Rev^d
W. D. Sweeting
With J. H. Lupton's kind regards

ERASMUS'S LIVES OF VITRIER
AND COLET.



THE LIVES OF
JEHAN VITRIER,

WARDEN OF THE FRANCISCAN CONVENT AT ST. OMER,

AND

JOHN COLET,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

WRITTEN IN LATIN, BY ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM, IN
A LETTER TO JUSTUS JONAS.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES,

BY

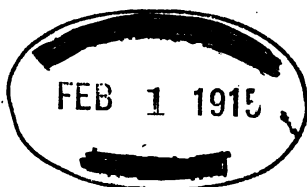
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PREFACE.

THE thought of making this translation from Erasmus was suggested, in the first instance, by some remarks that occurred in the course of an article in the *Saturday Review* of April 1st, 1876. Commenting on a new edition of J. G. Nichols' *Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham*, the reviewer called attention to "two minor tractates of Erasmus, of very considerable historical interest," incorporated in the notes to that work. The opinion was further expressed, that they were "more deserving of a permanent place in literature than the *Peregrinatio* itself."

One of the two pieces thus commended was the biographical sketch of Dean Colet, which fills the latter half of the letter of Erasmus here translated. The other was a much shorter extract, taken from the *Ecclesiastes*, in which Erasmus portrays the character of Archbishop Warham. This too has been added as an appendix. Though the only excuse for introducing it is a single mention of Warham in the text, the reader may pardon its insertion, if only as a relief to the inadequate appreciation of such a man observable in Froude.

The name of Vitrier is joined with that of Colet on the title-page, simply because Erasmus thought proper so to join them in his letter to Justus Jonas. In answer to his friend's request, he sent him an account of the English Dean, lately dead; linking to it, whether judiciously or not, an

account of his contemporary at St. Omer, Jehan Vitrier. No doubt Erasmus had reasons for placing them side by side. They were nearly of the same age, Vitrier being a few years the senior. Both were heads of religious communities; both, from their uncompromising sincerity, were obnoxious, in a greater or less degree, alike to their superiors and subordinates. Both were of strong reforming tendencies, though loyal, in the truest sense, to the Church of their fathers. Even in personal appearance there would seem to have been a likeness between the two.

Hence it was judged most advisable not to interfere with the grouping of Erasmus. His letter to the Wittemberg reformer will now for the first time, so far as I am aware, appear in its entirety in an English version. Parts of it have been several times reproduced. The latter portion, containing the Life of Colet, was translated and published by Thomas Smith in 1661, by J. G. Nichols in 1849, and by W. Palmer in 1851. Much of the earlier half, containing the Life of Vitrier, was given by Mr. Drummond, in his *Life of Erasmus*, in 1873. But no translation of the Letter as a whole has so far, I believe, been published. In the mere work of translating I have, indeed, been forestalled. For it appears, from an entry in Mr. Gairdner's Calendar of the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, that on July 2nd, 1553, Martin Tyndall, a young fellow of King's College, sent such a translation, as a specimen of his powers, and in the hope of obtaining some requital, to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. These "Lives of John Colet and John Vitrari," he writes, "lay buried in a corner of Erasmus's Epistles; but now Colet may revisit his kinsmen, friends, and scholars, all of whom are not yet dead."

Tyndall's too sanguine expectation would seem to have been doomed to disappointment. But still, as he truly declared, Colet's friends and scholars are not yet all dead. There are yet those who have caught something of his disinterested spirit, and have striven to honour one who shunned all outward honours himself. After the labours of such men as Mr. Seebohm, the late Mr. J. R. Green, and Professor Henry Morley, it is not likely that any history of this country will appear in the future, from which his name will be missing.

When I finished, some few years ago, the task of editing Dean Colet's unpublished works, it seemed natural that I should endeavour to complete the series by preparing a Life of the author. From various quarters, in fact, the request came to me that I would do so, either by writing an entirely fresh biography, or by re-editing the standard Life of Dr. Knight. But the first of these undertakings was beyond my ambition; and as for the second, I had such a poor opinion of Dr. Knight's performance, that I had no inclination to meddle with it. And thus, on the whole, it seemed best to spend what labour I could afford in illustrating this letter of Erasmus. If his portrait of Colet, on which the reader's interest will naturally centre, be but a sketch, it is yet a contemporary sketch, and from the hand of a master; and if it occupy but half his canvas, the companion picture may help to set it off.

I had thought of adding, in an appendix, the Catechism, and Latin Prayers, and School Statutes of Dean Colet; but these, or some of these, will probably appear in an edition of the *Fasti*, or Registers of St. Paul's School, which my colleague, the Rev. R. B. Gardiner, is about to publish in the

course of the present year. It should be mentioned in conclusion that the text here translated from is that of the Leyden edition of Erasmus's works, in the third volume of which the Letter will be found, numbered cccxxxv.

J. H. L.

Easter, 1883.

ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM TO JODOCUS
JONAS,¹ OF ERFURDT, GREETING.

WITH your earnest request, my worthy friend, that I would briefly portray for you, as in miniature, the life of John Colet, I will gladly comply; and the rather, from an impression that you are trying to find some eminent pattern of religion by which to regulate your own course of life. I have been acquainted with many persons, my dear Jonas, whose high principles I greatly esteemed; but I must

¹ Jodocus, or, as he afterwards preferred to call himself, Justus, Jonas, was born at Nordhausen in Saxony in 1493. After being at school in his native town, he entered the University of Erfurdt, where his merits were recognized by Eobanus Hessus, who prompted him to seek the acquaintance of Erasmus. With some companions, he made a long and toilsome journey for this purpose. He rose to become Rector of the University of Erfurdt; and it is through this connection that Erasmus addresses him as Erfordiensis. He accompanied Luther to Worms in 1521, and about the same time was appointed to a theological professorship at Wittemberg. There he married, defending himself from attacks on this score by a very outspoken *Defensio pro conjugio sacerdotali*, published in 1523. He was intimately connected with Luther and Melancthon, and besides his theological treatises had some fame as a hymn-writer. One of his hymns, beginning

“Wo Gott der Herr nicht bey uns hält,”

was in Luther's *Hymnarium* of 1525. His Latin translation of a German Catechism is said to have been largely made use of by Cranmer for his English one published in 1548. He died October 9th, 1555, aged 63, leaving a son who bore the same name.—Reinhardi *Commentatio* (1731); Knappii *Narratio de Justo Jona*, 1817; Adami *Vita Germanor. Theolog.* p. 258.

own that I never yet saw any one in whose character I did not after all miss some trait of Christian sincerity, when compared with the single-mindedness of the two whom I am about to describe.

It was my fortune to become acquainted with the former of them at a town of Artois, commonly called St. Omer; at the time when the plague (in this respect, at least, of service to me), had driven me there from Paris.¹ The latter I met with in England, to which country I had been drawn by attachment to my patron Montjoy.²

If I give you two portraits instead of one, you will be the gainer; and to that, I know, you have no objection.

The first of the two was named Jehan Vitrier.³ He was

¹ The most probable time to fix upon for this visit appears to be the summer of 1501, though Gaston Feugère in his *Érasme* (1874), p. 69, places it in 1502. But I prefer, on a point of this kind, to follow the authority of Seebohm (*Oxford Reformers*, 2nd ed. p. 164), whose work I shall often have occasion to refer to. Erasmus had been previously staying at Tournehem, a village near St. Omer, just off the road between it and Calais. The Château of Tournehem was the residence of Anna Bersala, Marchioness of Vere; whose son's tutor, Battus, was one of Erasmus's earliest friends.

² This was in the spring or summer of 1498.—*Oxf. Ref.* p. 94. The Montjoy here referred to was William Blount, fourth Baron Montjoy of Thurveston, who succeeded to the title in 1485, and died in 1535. On the accession of Henry VIII. he was made Master of the Mint. He had been a pupil of Erasmus in Paris, and it was to him that Erasmus dedicated the first edition of his *Adagia*.

³ I may not be right in assuming that this was the native form of the name Latinized into Vittrarius. But as *vittrarius* is a silver-age word for "glazier," whence the French *vitrier*, it seemed natural to come to this conclusion. The late Professor de Morgan, with that humour of which he was such a master, advocated the retention of the Latin names by which early scholars chose to designate themselves. (Intro. to *Arithmetical Books*, 1847, p. 8.) And had it not seemed pedantic to write Joannes Coletus, I should certainly have retained Joannes

of the Franciscan order, having lighted on this way of life in his youth. And in no other respect, I should say, was he to be deemed inferior to Colet, than that, from the restrictions of his system, his sphere of usefulness was more limited. He was about forty-four years of age when our acquaintance began; and, unlike as our dispositions were, he became attached to me at once. With men of worth his influence was always very great, and many people of rank valued him most highly. In person he was tall and well-proportioned, of a happily constituted nature, high-spirited, yet most courteous withal. In his youth he had drunk deeply of the subtleties of Scotus. And without setting any great value on these, he yet did not wholly disparage them, as containing some things well put, though in uncouth phrase. But when he had the fortune to make acquaintance with Ambrose, and Cyprian, and Jerome, his relish for the other became very small in comparison. There was no writer on theology whose genius he more admired than Origen's. And on my objecting, that I was surprised to see him take pleasure in the writings of a heretic, I was struck with the animation with which he replied, that a mind, from which there had issued so many works, fraught with such learning and fervour, could not but have been a dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit.

He by no means approved of the system of life which he had entered by chance, or had been drawn into, in the inexperience of youth.¹ I have repeatedly heard him say,

Vitrarius. Martin Tyndall, as it would be observed from the Preface, called him Vitrari.

¹ The statutes of the Observant Friars were collected in a general chapter held at Barcelona in 1451. "Almost the first regulation,"

that to sleep, and wake, and return to sleep again, by the sound of a bell ; to talk and leave off talking, to come and go, to eat and desist from eating, to do everything, in short, by man's injunction instead of by the rule of Christ, was the life of idiots rather than of religious men. Nothing, he would aver, was more unreasonable than equality among men so unequal ; especially seeing that, buried beneath the rites and ordinances of man's invention, or even devoured with spleen, were often to be found minds of heavenly temper, minds born for better things. Yet at no time did he either counsel anyone else to change this way of life, or attempt anything of the kind himself, being ready to bear all things sooner than be a stumbling-block in anyone's way. In this too he would copy the example of his beloved Paul. There was indeed nothing so unreasonable that he would not cheerfully put up with in his desire for the preservation of peace.

He had so thoroughly learnt by heart the books of Holy Scripture, St. Paul's Epistles more particularly, that he had the words of his favourite St. Paul completely at his fingers' ends. At whatever passage you set him on, he would, after a moment's thought, go on right through the Epistle, without a single mistake. He remembered also considerable portions

says a modern editor of them, "is that no one under sixteen years of age shall be admitted as a novice. When we find that in 1358 the University of Oxford vainly endeavoured to prevent the abduction of young students, which had then become so frequent as to deter parents from sending their children to Oxford, this enactment appears utterly insufficient for the protection of the unwary. But even this is an improvement on the state of things indicated in a decretal of Alex. IV., which speaks of novices under fourteen years of age."—*Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. ii. (ed. by R. Howlett), p. xxiii.

of St. Ambrose. And it is almost past belief how much he recollected of other orthodox writers of antiquity as well. This advantage he owed in part to a naturally good memory, and in part to constant practice.

I once asked him, in the course of conversation, what his way of mental preparation was, before going into the pulpit. He answered, that it was his custom to take up St. Paul, and to spend the time reading him, till he felt his heart grow warm. He would continue thus engaged, with the addition of fervent prayers to God, till warned that it was time for him to begin.

As a rule, he did not divide his sermons under heads. Most preachers indeed do this, as if no other course were open to them; the result being, in many cases, a stiff and formal subdivision.¹ And yet all this care about subdivision does but make the discourse cold and stiff, and lessen our confidence in the preacher by the artifice it betrays. But Vitrier would so link together the Epistle and Gospel² that had been

¹ Erasmus again refers to this subject in his *Ecclesiastes*. To see how widely the fashion prevailed, one need only open the *Dormi secure* at almost any page. For example, in the sermon for the 16th Sunday after Trinity, on St. Luke vii. 12 (the Son of the Widow of Nain), Death is first divided into (1) the natural, (2) the sinful, (3) the spiritual, (4) the eternal. Of these (1) is further classified as (a) general, (b) dreadful, (c) fearful, (d) terrible. (2) is next compared to (1) in respect of four common instruments of natural death, that is to say, (e) the sword, (f) fire, (g) missiles, (h) water; and so on, to the end. This is no exaggerated specimen.

² In his *Mediæval Preachers* (1856), Introd. p. xli., Dr. Neale reminds us that "sermons preached to parish congregations were almost always based on the Gospel or the Epistle of the day. This custom," he adds, "in many parts of Europe acquired almost the force of a law; and a remarkable relic of it still exists in a community which has preserved much of the husk of the earlier Church—the Swedish Establishment. Here the preacher is to this day compelled to take his text either from the Epistle or the Gospel."

read, in an unbroken flow of eloquence, as to send his hearers home both better instructed, and more ardent in the pursuit of religion. With no unbecoming gesticulation, with nothing exciting or declamatory, but perfectly under control, his delivery was yet such, that you felt the words to proceed from a fervent and sincere, yet a sober spirit withal.¹ On no occasion did he preach to a wearisome length ; nor did he make a parade of citing a variety of names, in the way that some do.

✓ For these will tack together formal extracts, now from Scotus, Aquinas, and Durandus ; now from Canon and Civil Law Doctors ; or again, from the philosophers, or the poets ; that the people may think they know everything. The discourse he delivered would be all full of Holy Scripture, and his tongue could run on nothing else. His heart was in his subject. He was possessed, good soul, with an enthusiastic desire of drawing men to the pure wisdom of Christ.

¹ In the Basle edition of the *Ecclesiastes* (1544), p. 530, there is an interesting reference to Vittrarius in connection with this subject. Erasmus has been describing various "sensational" modes of preaching. One Italian preacher, to point his invectives against pride and vanity, would pluck the feathers out of the hats of as many people as were within reach of him. Another would exhibit a bleeding crucifix. As a contrast to them, he continues : " Ipse familiariter novi quendam ejusdem ordinis, qui nec ambulabat nudis pedibus, nec humi cubabat, nec pane et aqua vivebat, nec ulli negabat sui copiam, pariter expositus omnibus, magnis et pusillis, bonis et malis, ubique venans lucrum Christo ; breviter nihil habebat in rebus externis eximium. Is tamen doctrina non clamosa sed evangelica, tum moribus ab omni vitio puris, innumeros viros innumerasque feminas perduxit ad verum mundi contemptum." No person is named in this extract ; but in the index at the end is the entry : " Joannes Vittrarius Franciscanus, 530." We have thus something like authority for applying this passage to Vittrarius ; and the mention of *innumeros viros, &c.*, will be noticed as an extension of what Erasmus says of him in the present account.

It was by labours such as these that he aspired to the glory of martyrdom. Nay more, he had once, as I learnt from his most intimate friends, obtained leave from his superiors to visit countries where Christ is either unknown or worshipped amiss ; deeming his end a happy one, if, in the discharge of his duty, he should have earned the martyr's crown. But when already on his way, he was recalled by hearing as it were a voice from heaven, saying : "Return, John ; thou wilt not want for martyrdom among thine own people." He obeyed the admonition, and soon found the truth of what that voice had foretold.

There was in his neighbourhood a convent of nuns, in which the whole system of religious life had sunk to such a low ebb, that it was in truth a house of ill fame rather than a convent. Not but that there were some among them, both capable and desirous of amendment. While seeking to recall these to Christ by frequent addresses and exhortations, a plot was laid against him by eight abandoned ones of the number. Having waylaid their victim, they dragged him to a secluded spot, and there flung their wimples about him and tried to strangle him. Nor did they desist, until some chance passers-by interposed, and stopped their criminal outrage. The injured man was by that time unconscious, and breathing was with difficulty restored. Yet he made no complaint about the matter in any quarter, not even to his most intimate acquaintances ; nor omitted any service in which he was accustomed to minister to the spiritual welfare of those nuns. Nay, even the very looks with which he regarded them never showed any unwonted sternness. He was well acquainted with the instigator of the plot, a Dominican, suffragan Bishop of

Boulogne;¹ a man of notoriously wicked life. Yet he never troubled him either with any words about the matter; though there was no class of men to whom he was less favourably disposed, than to such as, being religious teachers and guides by profession, by their wicked life and doctrine estranged people from Christ.

I have known him preach as many as seven times in one day; nor, so long as Christ was to be his theme, did a fund of words full of matter ever fail him. In truth, his whole life was nothing else than one continued sermon. At table, he was lively, and without the least tinge of austerity; yet still in such a way as never to show any signs of frivolity or indecorum, much less of wantonness or excess. He would season the repast with learned conversation, generally on sacred subjects and conducive to religion. Such was his way of talking, if he received or paid a visit. But if on a journey—when some of the influential friends he had would often lend him a horse or mule to ride on,² for the sake of

¹ The name of this suffragan was Ludovic Widebien. The Bishop of the Morini, though it is convenient to describe him as Bishop of Boulogne, had in early times two Cathedral cities, Tarvanna (Terouanne) and Boulogne. When the former of these was destroyed by the Spaniards in June, 1553, the diocese was subdivided into three, those of Boulogne, St. Omer, and Ypres. The Bishop of the Morini at the time referred to in the text was Philip de Luxembourg, the fifty-seventh in the long list of occupants of the see, who had been appointed in 1497. He had two suffragans, Johannes Vassoris, who died in 1507, and Ludovicus Widebien, a Dominican, who died in 1515. The fact of Vitrier's persecutor being a Dominican seems to leave no doubt that Widebien was the one referred to by Erasmus.—See the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. x. col. 1569.

² Strictly speaking, this was against the rules of the fraternity. Riding on horseback was forbidden, except in cases of urgent necessity; and the use of an ass or mule instead of a horse was looked on as an

having a more convenient chat with him on the road—on such an occasion the good man would brighten up, and let fall sayings more precious than any jewels. He let no one ever go away from him disconsolate; no one that was not rather the better for his visit, and more encouraged to love religion. There was nothing to make you feel that he studied any private interests of his own. Neither gluttony, nor ambition, nor covetousness, nor love of pleasure, nor enmity, nor jealousy, nor any other bad passions, held him under their sway. He thanked God all the same, whatever befell him. His only joy lay in inspiring men to follow after the religion of the Gospel. And his efforts to this end were not in vain. Numbers both of men and women had he won to Christ, whose death-beds showed how far they differed from the common run of Christians in these days. For you might have seen his disciples meet death with the greatest cheerfulness of spirit, singing a truly swan-like song at its approach, and testifying by their utterances to a heart moved with a holy inspiration; while the rest, after performing the due rites, and making the customary professions, would breathe their last,—in assurance or doubt, as the case might be.

A witness of this fact was a distinguished physician of St.

evasion of the rule. The General Chapter of the order at Barcelona in 1451, before referred to, had decreed:—"Tollatur quoque abusus asinandi præterquam in casu necessitatis, ut regula concedit, attentis tamen verbis domini Bonaventuræ in sua declaratione super hoc passu, dicentis fratres non debere equitare neque bigare, neque quadrigare, nisi in manifesta necessitate . . ."—*Monumenta Franciscana*, ii. p. 95. What the editor (p. xxiv) calls "the miserable evasion of the rule by riding on asses when the use of horses is denied," had not, as we may see by the present instance, entirely disappeared.

Omer, named Ghisbert,¹ a steady practiser of true religion, and one who was present at the death-beds of many persons of each party.

He had also won over some of the members of his own fraternity, though few by comparison ; even as Christ could not do many mighty works among His own people. For men of his order are commonly best pleased with those who, by their teaching, bring most provisions to the kitchen ; rather than with those who win most souls to Christ.

Averse from all vices as was that purest of souls, that temple truly dedicated to Christ, he recoiled most of all from licentiousness. The very atmosphere of such things was utterly repulsive to him : much less could he listen patiently to indecent language. Without ever indulging in bitter invectives, or disclosing anything gathered from private confessions, he would yet draw such a picture of virtue, that every hearer tacitly recognized himself by the contrast. In giving counsel he showed singular prudence, integrity, and tact. While he would listen to private confessions—not, indeed, with any particular good will, but following in this respect also the dictates of Christian charity—he openly expressed his dislike of over-solicitous and oft-repeated confessions. To superstitious rites and ceremonies he attached very little importance. He would eat of any kind of food that there might be, though soberly, and with giving of thanks ; and his dress was in no respect different from that of others. It was his wont to take a journey occasionally for the sake of his health at times when he felt overcharged with bodily humours.

¹ Erasmus mentions this physician in a letter to Linacre written from St. Omer, and dated 1514 [qu. 1516?]. He was at that time still practising in the town.—*Epist.* (1642), x. 7.

So one day, while completing, along with his companion, the allotted task of morning prayers, feeling his stomach squeamish—by reason, perhaps, of his having fasted the day before—he went into the nearest house; and, after taking something to eat there, resumed his journey, and was proceeding with his prayers. Thereupon his companion thought that all would have to be begun again from the beginning, seeing that he had taken food before the prayers for Prime had been said. But he maintained with spirit that no fault had been committed; nay, that God would rather be the gainer. “For while before,” said he, “we were slow and listless at our prayers, we shall now utter spiritual songs to Him with ready minds; and *with such sacrifices*—such as are offered by a *cheerful giver*—*God is well pleased.*”

At that time I was staying with Antonius a Bergis, the Abbat of St. Bertin.¹ Dinner was not served there till afternoon; and as my stomach could not bear so long an abstinence (especially as it was Lent, and I was studying hard),² I

¹ Anthoine de Berghes (Antonius I.), sixty-seventh abbat of this famous monastery, was brother of Henri de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai, to whom we find Erasmus occasionally looking for help in his earlier days. The town of Berghes, or Bergues, from which their family took its name, is south-east of Dunkirk. The epitaph of Abbat Antonius, who died January 22nd, 1531-2, aged seventy-six, gives the date of his appointment as 1493.—*Gallia Christiana*, t. iii. col. 505.

At the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1792, the monastery was suppressed, and the buildings partially destroyed. The work of demolition has been completed in quite modern times by the local authorities, nothing but the tower being now left standing. The history of the abbey stretched back to the days of St. Bertin himself (c. 709).—*Les Abbés de Saint Bertin*, par M. Henri de Laplane, 2^e partie, 1856, p. 506, and Murray's *Hand-Book for Northern Germany*.

² It will be remembered that the *Enchiridion* was completed in this year, though not printed, as it would seem, till 1503.

was in the habit of staying my appetite before dinner with a basin of warm soup, in order to hold out till dinner-time. On my asking Vitrier what he thought about the lawfulness of my plan, he first gave a glance at the companion he then had, who chanced to be a layman, for fear he should be at all scandalized,¹ and said: "Why, truly, it would be a sin if you did not act so; if, for the sake of a morsel of food, you were to interrupt those sacred studies of yours, and injure your frail constitution."

When Pope Alexander,² to gain ampler revenues, had made two jubilees instead of one,³ and the Bishop of Tour-

¹ By the rules of the order, a companion had to be taken on every journey. And the caution implied in the text would often be necessary, for each was "bound to report secretly on the behaviour of his associate."—*Monumenta Franciscana*, ii. p. xxiv, and p. 95: "Ordinamus quod . . . nullus frater vadat pedes vel eques sine fratre socio; aut sine fratre socio alicubi commoretur."

² This was Alexander VI., the notorious Roderigo Borgia, who was Pope from 1492 to 1503. The special pretext under which "ampler revenues" were asked for was a war against the Turks, decreed June 1st, 1500. What large funds were raised for the purpose may be seen in Baronius, *Annales*, t. xi. p. 337, and Burchard's *Diarium*, in Eccard's *Corpus Historicum*, 1723, t. ii. col. 2118.

³ The celebration of every fiftieth year as a jubilee began in 1300. Pope Urban VI. reduced the period to thirty-three years, and Paul II., in 1470, reduced it still further to twenty-five years, having regard to the "uncertainty of human life, the disorders of the age," &c. Jubilees were thus held in 1475, 1500, 1525, and so on. The one here referred to is that of 1500, which Alexander VI. "publia avec de nouvelles solennités." Hence probably the statement of Erasmus that it was this Pope who "made two jubilees instead of one," though, as we now see, it was not he, but Paul II., who halved the original period. The celebration lasted in Rome from Christmas to Christmas, and in other countries the year following the proper year was observed.—See the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la Théologie Catholique*, xii. 384, and Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie*, vii. 471.

ney¹ had bought as a speculation, for ready money, the privilege of granting dispensations from it, his Commissaries began to use every effort that the Bishop might not lose his investment, but rather be the receiver of a handsome profit. Hereupon, such preachers as were acceptable to the people in their sermons were invited to be the first to play their part. Vitrier, observing that the money which had previously gone to the relief of the poor was now being put into the Commissaries' boxes, did not approve of it, while yet not finding fault with what was offered by the Pope. But this he did find fault with, namely, that people of scanty means should be defrauded of their accustomed support. He condemned also the foolish confidence of those who thought that by merely dropping a coin into the boxes they were freed from their sins. At length the Commissaries offered him a hundred florins towards the building of the chapel in his convent, then in course of erection,² on condition that, if he were not willing to recommend the Papal indulgences,

¹ The Bishop of Tornacum, or Tournai, from 1497 to 1506, was Petrus (Quicke), a native of Ghent. He was a nominee of Alexander VI., and consecrated at Bruges by Henry, Bishop of Cambrai. He had the office of baptizing the infant Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V., in 1500. He died February 21st, 1506.—*Gallia Christ.* iii. col. 237.

² This chapel was finished in 1502, and consecrated by Philippe de Luxembourg, Bishop of Térouanne. The Franciscan Minorites, or Cordeliers, at St. Omer, had first been settled in a convent built for them in 1238 at the foot of St. Michael's hill, outside the town. This was burnt by the Flemings in 1303, but rebuilt on the same site. In 1477 the building was demolished, to keep it from being occupied by Louis XI. when about to besiege St. Omer; and the Franciscans had to come within the walls. A house was temporarily provided for them in the Rue d'Arras, and a new convent begun in 1483. This was taken possession of by them in 1488, and about ten years later they began the erection of the chapel

he would at least say nothing against them. Hereupon, as if prompted by some inspiration from above, he bade them begone with their Simoniacal money. "Think you," he cried, "that I am one to keep back the truth of the Gospel for money? What if that does hinder your profits? I am bound to have a greater care for souls than for your gain."

For the moment they quailed, conscience-stricken, before the energy of this evangelic spirit. But in the interval, by early dawn next day, there was unexpectedly posted up on the church door a notice of excommunication against him—only to be torn down again by one of the townspeople, before any great number came to know about it. He, however, nothing daunted by these threats, went on teaching the people and sacrificing to Christ with the utmost composure of mind; nor did he show any fear of an anathema, aimed at him for preaching Christ. Presently he was cited before the Bishop of Boulogne. He obeyed his diocesan, and, having no uneasiness about his own safety, went attended by only a single companion. But the townspeople, without his knowing it, had posted guards of horsemen on the road, for fear that he might be waylaid and thrown into some den or other; for there is nothing on which the "accursed lust for gold" will not venture. When the Bishop brought against him certain articles, gathered by his opponents from his sermons, he defended himself with spirit, and

referred to in the text. On the suppression of the Cordeliers throughout Artois in 1656, the convent was given to the Récollets, and continued in their possession till the Revolution. In 1791 it numbered forty-five members of the fraternity.—*Histoire civile . . . de la Ville de Saint-Omer*, par Jean Derheims, 1843, p. 594.

satisfied his superior. Some time afterwards he was summoned afresh, and more articles were brought up against him. After replying to these in like manner, he asked why his accusers were not present to prefer their charges at their own risk as well as his. He had now come twice, he said, to show respect to him as his Bishop ; but he would not come a third time, if similarly cited, for he had something better to occupy him at home. And so he was left to his own devices, either because his enemies had no pretext for injuring him or because they feared an uproar of the people. For, without his courting any such favour, his integrity had made all the most respectable men among them his devoted adherents.

I know you will long have had the question on your lips, what the end of this man was. He offended, not only the Commissaries, but also many of his own fraternity :—not that they had any fault to find with his way of life, but because it was in fact too good to suit their interests. His heart was wholly set on winning souls. As to replenishing the larder, or erecting buildings, or inveigling young men of property,—he was not so active for this as they could have desired. Not that he was inattentive, good man, to these duties either, provided that they tended in any way to the relief of pressing want. But he did not, as so often happens, give them a disproportionate share of his attention. He had even gone so far as to estrange one supporter of the convent, named Thynne. This person was a courtier, and of decidedly courtier-like morals ; a common invader of the marriage-chamber, a promiscuous violator of wedded sanctities ; one who had deserted his own wife, though a lady of high family, and the mother of several children.¹ By chance

¹ It was a state of things not unlike this which prompted the writing

it fell out that she too went astray ; on which he divorced the poor woman, at the very first false step,—he who had pardoned so many false steps in himself. She, sinking to lower and lower depths, came at last to the extremity of misfortune ; for, besides her degraded state, she fell a victim to a loathsome disease. Vitrier tried every means to reconcile the husband and wife, but without success. The hardened reprobate was moved neither by respect for his wife's family, nor affection for their common children, nor by any twinges of conscience at having caused the mischief by his own frequent adulteries and neglect. And so Vitrier gave the man up as hopeless. Not long afterwards the latter sent, as he was accustomed to do, a ham or flitch of bacon to the convent. Now Vitrier, who was then filling the office of Warden,¹ had given orders to the porter, to take nothing in without first calling him. Accordingly, on the arrival of the contribution, he was sent for. But on the servants presenting it, with their master's compliments, he

of the *Enchiridion*. Indeed, we might almost suppose that the bad husband, for whose behoof Erasmus was induced to write it, at the instance of his wife, was Thynne. The first draft of the *Enchiridion*, moreover, was submitted to Vittrarius, and approved of by him. For we can hardly doubt that the "Joannes Viterius Franciscanus, cujus erat in illis regionibus autoritas summa," was our Vittrarius. See the *Catalogus Lucubrationum* (1523), leaf b, 4, quoted in *Oxf. Ref.* p. 166 n. The spelling "Viterius" may perhaps point to "Vitrierius."

¹ The Warden (Guardianus) was the head of a Franciscan convent. This makes the position of Vitrier at St. Omer somewhat more analogous to that of Colet as head of the Chapter at St. Paul's. An engraving of the Warden's seal, distinct from that of the convent, is given in the *Histoire sigillaire de la Ville de Saint-Omer*, par A. Hermand et L. Deschamps de Pas, Paris, 1860, Plate xlii. It represents the Virgin, seated, holding the child Jesus, with the legend : "S'. Gardiani in sancto Avdomaro."

exclaimed : " Take back your load to the place you brought it from ! We receive no Devil's offerings here."

And so, though not ignorant that his life and teaching were a prolific nursery, so to speak, of Christian piety, yet, as he was not of equal service for provisioning the kitchen, they called upon him to resign the Warden's office. This he did with as much good-will as ever he did anything. In his stead there was appointed a man well known to me, whom they sent for from another neighbourhood. Of what character he was, and what a contrast to his predecessor, I will not say ; only that in my opinion he was one to whom no person of sense would have liked to entrust even his kitchen garden. Whether it was that he was thrust upon them by those who wished to get rid of him, or that they really thought him better suited for the office, I know not. But when still further, as the result of associating with Vitrier, there began to spring up a few other like-minded ones, whose absorbing passion was for serving the cause of Christianity, and not for increasing the commissariat, they sent him away to a little convent of nuns at Courtray.¹ There, with character unchanged, still, so far as was allowed him, teaching, consoling, exhorting, he peacefully ended his days. He left behind him some treatises in French, in the

¹ To act, I suppose, as Confessor.—In the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. iii. p. 316, there is an account of a Cistercian nunnery, established first at Marke, a mile or so out of Courtray, then removed to the suburbs, by Beatrice, daughter of Henry III., Duke of Brabant, in 1285, and finally included within the town. This was probably the one, as there does not appear to be any other nearer Courtray than that at Wevelghem, also Cistercian. The abbess of the former, in 1507 and before, was Catharina du Bus, and between 1507 and 1518 Elisabeth Clercq.

way of extracts made from sacred writers; and these, I doubt not, are of a piece with the life and conversation of the author.¹ Yet I hear that they are now condemned by some, who think it very dangerous for the people to read aught but the silly tales of *Histories*,² or the dreams of monks.

There are many in whose breasts some sparks of his teaching still keep alive; and compared to these you would call other people rather Jews than Christians. Though held in such light esteem by his own community, I doubt not that, had this eminent man been allotted to the Apostle Paul for a colleague, he would have preferred him even to his own Barnabas or Timothy.

I have given you my jewel of a Vitrier, as he may truly be

¹ It is noticeable that there was a Joannes Vittrarius, also a Franciscan friar, at Tournay; from whose sermons a number of propositions were selected for condemnation by the Theological Faculty of the University of Paris in 1498. A list of them is given in D'Argentré's *Collectio Judiciorum* (1728), tom. i. p. 340. As Erasmus's Vittrarius was removed from St. Omer to Courtray, he may very well have had a previous removal from Tournay to St. Omer; and the dates would also harmonize. But the language of some of the propositions condemned is so violent, that it is difficult to believe the two to be one and the same person. The first is: "Il vaudroit mieux couper la gorge à son enfant, que de le mettre en Religion non réformée." The third: "Quiconques ouoit la Messe d'un Prestre tenant une femme en sa maison peche mortellement." The tenth: "Les pardons viennent d'enfer." The thirteenth: "Sancti non sunt rogandi." These are comparatively mild specimens.

² By the *Histories* here mentioned, Erasmus no doubt means the once famous *Gesta Romanorum*, or, to give its title more exactly: *Ex Gestis Romanorum historie notabiles de viciis virtutibusque tractantes*, of which many editions were published during the last decade of the fifteenth century. From it Shakspeare is said to have derived the incident of the caskets, and of the Jew's bond, for his *Merchant of Venice*. See Warton's *English Poetry*, sect. xix.

called;¹ a man unknown to the world, but famous and renowned in the kingdom of Christ. Now take his exact counterpart, Colet.

I had described each of them to the other, and they were both ardently desirous of seeing each other. In fact Vitrier had crossed over to England with this object; and Colet related to me afterwards that he had had a visit from a Franciscan, with whose sensible and religious conversation he had been beyond measure delighted. But he added that he had brought with him a stoical² companion of the same order, who seemed to take their Christian conversation amiss, and so cut short the interview.

It may indeed be that Colet deserves the greater praise of the two on this account, namely, that neither the smiles of fortune, nor the impulse of a far different natural bent, could divert him from the pursuit of a gospel life. For he was the son of wealthy and distinguished parents; born too in London, where his father had twice filled the highest municipal office in his city, called by them the mayoralty.³ His

¹ *Vere gemmeum Vitrarium.*—An allusion, apparently, to the derivation of the name from *vitrum*, "glass." In a somewhat different sense Luther struck off the impromptu, after pledging Justus Jonas in a glass goblet:

"Dat vitrum vitreo Jonæ vitrum ipse Lutherus;
Ut vitro fragili similem se noscat uterque."

² The rule that no Minorite should go on a journey without a companion of his own order, has been before referred to. In calling him *stoicum*, Erasmus seems to mean the same kind of morose disputant, that Milton alludes to in his "budge doctors of the Stoic fur."—See Warton's note on *Comus*, 706.

³ Sir Henry Colet, Knt., was the third son of Robert Colet of Wendover, Bucks. A pedigree of the family, but of uncertain authority, is to be found on leaf 19 of a MS. volume of genealogical memo-

mother, who still survives, is a most worthy woman.¹ She bore her husband eleven sons and as many daughters ;² of

randa formerly belonging to Henry St. George (Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS., 27,984). Henry Colet was Alderman of Farringdon Without in 1476, Sheriff in 1477, Lord Mayor in 1486, and again in 1495. He died in 1505, and was buried in St. Dunstan's Church, Stepney.—See Overall's *Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill*, p. 218 n. His monument is on the north side of the chancel at Stepney. The arms shown there, as described by Lysons (*Enviorns of London*, 1795, iii. p. 429) were : "Sable, on a chevron engrailed between three hinds trippant argent, as many annulets of the field." The same coat appears in the engraving of Dean Colet's monument in Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, 1658, p. 64. But I ~~am~~ informed, on the best authority, that the chevron should be plain, not engrailed. The circumstance of these being used as the arms of St. Paul's School alone makes such a trifling point worth notice.

¹ This was the good Dame Christian, of whom we get such charming glimpses in the letters of Erasmus and the Dean. She was the daughter of Sir John Knevet of Ashwellthorp, and Elizabeth, sister and heiress of Sir John Clifton, Knt., of New Buckenham, Norfolk. Her home, in the lifetime of her husband, was "a mansion called the Great Place, surrounded by a moat, nearly adjoining Stepney Church." This was afterwards leased by the Mercers' Company to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and was still standing when Lysons wrote, in 1795, being then "an ancient wooden mansion," know as the Spring Garden Coffee House. After the death of Sir Henry Colet, Dame Christian resided in a smaller house, not far from the former, at the corner where White Horse Street and Salmon Lane now meet. In this house Cornelius Agrippa, in 1510, was set hard to work ("multum desudavi" is his expression) on St. Paul's Epistles, under the teaching of Dean Colet.—See the *Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa*, by Henry Morley, i. p. 230.

² Stow, in his account of St. Anthony's Church, in Budge Row, mentions the figures of Sir H. Colet, his wife, *ten* sons and *ten* daughters, as remaining to be seen in the stained glass windows on the north side.—*Survey*, by Thoms, p. 95. But the number given in the text is fully confirmed by other authorities. As a mere coincidence, it may be noted that the children of Odin and Frea, in Saxon mythology, were also eleven sons and eleven daughters.

whom John, as the eldest, would have been heir to the entire estate, according to the English law, even had the others been alive. But, at the time when my acquaintance with him began, he was the sole survivor of the band. To these advantages of fortune was added that of a tall and graceful figure.¹

During his younger days, in England, he diligently mastered all the philosophy of the schools, and gained the title expressive of a knowledge of the seven liberal arts. Of these arts there was not one in which he had not been industriously and successfully trained. For he had both eagerly devoured the works of Cicero, and diligently searched into those of Plato and Plotinus ; while there was no branch of mathematics that he left untouched.

After this, like a merchant seeking goodly wares, he visited France, and then Italy. While there, he devoted himself entirely to the study of the sacred writers. He had previously, however, roamed with great zest through literature of every kind ; finding most pleasure in the early writers,

¹ *Corpus elegans et procerum.*—George Lily, a son of the first High Master of St. Paul's School, to whom Colet's appearance must have been familiar, has left a similar description of him :—" Huc accedebat egregii corporis proceritas, et suspiciendi oris serenitas, ut subinde in omni actione mirus venerandusque existeret."—p. 87 of the *Elogia Quorundam Anglorum*, appended to Paulus Jovius's *Britannia Descriptio*, 1561. The portraits of him extant confirm this impression. But for its unfortunately defining *ignotum per ignotius*, the following passage from a letter of Stephen Vaughan to Thomas Cromwell, dated 28 March, 1528, would have had an interest for us :—" Two ambassadors have come from the Lady Margaret, who were here before, and lodged at Marcellys' house. The one is a man of sixty, a good deal like Dr. Colet, late dean of Powllys, both in person and gesture."—See Brewer's *Letters and Papers of the reign of Hen. VIII.*, vol iv. p. 1813.

Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome. I should add that, among the old authors, there was none to whom he was more unfavourable than Augustine.¹ At the same time he did not omit to read Scotus, and Thomas, and others of that stamp, if the occasion ever required it. He was also carefully versed in treatises of Civil and Canon Law. In a word, there was no work containing either the chronicles or enactments of our forefathers, which he had not perused. The English nation has poets who have done among their own countrymen what Dante and Petrarch have

¹ *Atque inter veteres nulli erat iniquior quam Augustino.*—I am obliged to confess that the meaning of *iniquior* here is still doubtful to me. The general run of the sentence, and the use of *atque*, seem naturally to point to a climax rather than a qualification. "He read the others much, but Augustine most of all." And the facts of the case appear to bear out this interpretation. For whatever may have been the differences of opinion between Colet and St. Augustine on predestination and other important subjects, it is undoubted that Colet quotes Augustine more frequently than any other Father of the Church in his extant writings; nowhere with disapproval, and more than once with the addition of a *præclare dicit*.—See the passages quoted in the *Letters to Radulphus*, Introd. p. xlv. Hence I was at one time strongly inclined to think that Mr. J. G. Nichols was right in rendering the words, "none did he attack oftener than Augustine" (*Pilgrimages*, 1849, p. 131), in the sense of "none did he read more than Augustine." But the usage of *iniquior* in four other passages of this letter, and elsewhere in Erasmus, in the simple meaning of "unfair" or "unfavourable," is a difficulty I cannot get over. From the following instances out of many (the first four being all in this Epistle), the reader may form his own judgment as to Erasmus's use of the word:—"Nihil autem erat tam iniquum, quod . . . non perpetetur;" "Minus erat iniquus his qui, tametsi sacerdotes essent, etc.;" "Ut minus esset iniquus iis qui non probarent, etc.;" "Thomæ tamen nescio qua de causa iniquior erat quam Scoto;" "Augustinus ex collectacione cum Pelagio factus est iniquior libero arbitrio quam fuerat antea."

done in Italy.¹ And by the study of their writings he perfected his style; preparing himself, even at this date, for preaching the gospel.

Soon after his return from Italy he left his father's house, as he preferred to reside at Oxford, and there he publicly and gratuitously expounded all St. Paul's Epistles. It was at Oxford that my acquaintance with him began; some kind providence having brought me at that time to the same spot. He was then about thirty years old, some two or three months younger than myself.² Though he had neither obtained nor sought for any degree in Divinity, yet there was no Doctor there, either of Divinity or Law, no Abbat, or

¹ Gower and Chaucer are probably alluded to, in this rather vague description.

² It is a matter of regret that the dates in the earlier part of Erasmus's history cannot be fixed with more certainty. M. Herminjard has done much for the chronology of his letters, in his *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, but his first volume only begins with the year 1512. If we could rely on the statement in the text, that Colet was the younger of the two by a few months, it would affect the question of the year of Erasmus's birth. For the date of Colet's death appears fixed beyond dispute as Sept. 16th, 1519 (see the inscription on his coffin, given at p. 505 of *Oxf. Ref.*), and there was added on his monument in St. Paul's, "vixit annos 53." Now if this could be depended upon as meaning that Colet had completed fifty-three years in September, 1519, and if Erasmus, who was born on October 27th (for he was sure of the day, though not the year), was a few months older, he must have been born in 1465. With this agrees a manuscript entry (I know not of what authority), on the fly-leaf of a copy of the *De octo orationis partium, etc.*, Paris, 1534 (Brit. Mus. 624, a. 6), written in an early hand: "Obijt Erasmus 12 Julii 1536 vixit 70 añ. 8 mens. 16 diebus." But on the other hand, the inscription "vixit annos 53" appears to have been a later addition to Colet's tomb. In Holland's *Monumenta Sepulchraria*, first printed in 1614, the words are absent. In the later edition of 1633, after the restoration of the monument, they appear. Hence they were possibly due to a mere

✓ other dignitary, but came to hear him, and brought his text-books with him as well.¹ The credit of this may have been due to Colet's personal influence; or it may have been due to their own good-will, in not being ashamed to learn, the old from the young, doctors from one who was no doctor. However, the title of Doctor was spontaneously offered him some time later, and accepted by him, though rather to oblige the offerers than because he sought it.

From these sacred occupations he was called back to London by the favour of Henry the Seventh, and made Dean of St. Paul's, so as to preside over the cathedral of that apostle, whose epistles he loved so much. This takes precedence of all the deaneries in England, though there are others with richer incomes. Hereupon our good Colet, feeling his call to be for the work, and not for the empty honour, restored the decayed discipline of the cathedral body, and—what was a novelty there—commenced preaching at every

inference from a passage in one of Erasmus's letters: "Joannes Coletus, qui decessit anno *ferme* quinquagesimo tertio" (Epist. xxiii. 5, ed. 1642). Assuming from this that Colet may have been only turned fifty-two in September, 1519, Erasmus, if the elder of the two, and born in October, could not have been born in a later year than 1466.

¹ *Etiam allatis codicibus*.—Fault was found with Mr. Seebohm for rendering this "note-books," in the *Oxford Reformers*. But in truth the two might be much the same thing. The broad margins of manuscript texts were a favourite depository of notes. The point would not be worth alluding to, but for its connection with a charge brought by Dean Alford against Erasmus:—"Erasmus also, besides committing numerous inaccuracies, *tampered with the readings* of the very few MSS. which he collated." (*Gk. Test.* 4th ed. *Proleg.* ch. vi. § 1). The expression in italics is too strong a one to be justified, even on the authority of Wetstein. Erasmus, or any other scholar of his time, would use his "codices" as note-books, with more freedom than we can perhaps appreciate.

festival in his cathedral, over and above the special sermons he had to deliver, now at Court, now in various other places. In his own cathedral, moreover, he would not take isolated texts from the gospels or apostolic epistles, but would start with some connected subject, and pursue it right to the end in a course of sermons: for example, St. Matthew's Gospel, the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer. He used to have a crowded congregation, including most of the leading men both of the city and Court.

The Dean's table, which in former days had ministered to luxury under the guise of hospitality, he brought within the bounds of moderation. For having done without suppers entirely for some years before,¹ he was thus free from company in the evening. Moreover, as he dined rather late, he had fewer guests on those occasions as well; and all the fewer, because the repast, though neat, was frugal, and the sitting at table short, and, lastly, the conversation such as to have no charms but for the good and learned. When grace had been said, a servant² would read aloud, in a clear, distinct voice, a chapter from St. Paul's Epistles, or the Proverbs of Solomon. He would then usually repeat some passage selected from the part read, and draw a topic

¹ Warham did the same (see Appendix D), and Lupset at one time followed the example. Erasmus, in a letter to Lupset, written Aug. 23rd, 1520, gives him some sensible advice on the subject:—"As to your wholly abstaining from suppers, after Colet's example, I do not approve of it, any more than I approved of it in his case. If you feel that at your age the bodily energies need curbing, you will effect this more successfully, in my opinion, by temperance in eating and drinking, than by severe and prolonged abstinence."

² The Latin word is *puer*, which should, perhaps, be literally rendered "boy;"—such a one as Lupset was in Colet's household, or Thomas More in that of Cardinal Morton.

of conversation from it, inquiring of any scholars present, or even of intelligent laymen, what this or that expression meant. And he would so season the discourse, that, though both serious and religious, it had nothing tedious or affected about it. Again, towards the end of the meal, when the requirements of nature, at any rate, if not of pleasure, had been satisfied, he started some other topic; and thus bade farewell to his guests, refreshed in mind as well as in body, and better men at leaving than they came, though with no overloaded stomachs. The pleasure he took in conversing with friends was extreme, and he would often prolong the talk till late at night. But still it was all either about literature or about Christ. If there was no agreeable person at hand to chat with—and it was not every sort that suited him—a servant would read aloud some passage from Holy Scripture. Occasionally he took me with him for company on a journey, and then nothing could be more pleasant than he was. But a book was ever his companion on the road, and his talk was always of Christ.

He could not endure any slovenliness; so much so as not to tolerate even an ungrammatical or illiterate mode of expression. All his household furniture, his service at table, his dress, his books, he would have neat: as for splendour, he did not trouble himself. He used to wear only dark-coloured robes, though priests and divines in England are usually robed in scarlet.¹ His outer garment was always of woollen cloth, not lined; but if the cold required it, he would protect himself with an inner lining of fur.

¹ From the expression "*non nisi pullis vestibus utebatur*," it is inferred that the Gratianus Pullus, the companion of Erasmus in his pilgrimage to Canterbury, was no other than Colet; and this inference



All the revenue that came in from his preferments he left in his steward's hands, to be laid out in household expenses. His private fortune, a very large one, he would himself dispose of for charitable purposes. At his father's death he had inherited a large sum of money; and fearing lest, if he hoarded it up, it might breed some distemper of mind in him, he built with it in St. Paul's Churchyard a new school of splendid structure, dedicated to the Child Jesus.¹ He attached to it also a handsome residence for the two masters to dwell in, and assigned them a liberal stipend to teach free of charge; but on condition that the school should only admit a fixed number. The school was divided by him into four partitions. The one first entered contains those whom we may call the Catechumens, none being admitted but such as can already both read and write. The second contains those under the sur-master's teaching; and the third, those who are instructed by the high master. Each of these partitions is separated from the others by a curtain, drawn to, or drawn aside, at pleasure. Over the high master's chair is a beautifully-wrought figure of the Child Jesus, seated, in the attitude of one teaching; and all the young flock, as they enter and leave school, salute it with a hymn. Over it is the coun-

is confirmed by a passage in the *Modus orandi Deum*.—See J. G. Nichols' *Pilgrimages*, p. 127. For portraits of Colet, see also the note at p. 128 of the same work, where for Catlep read Catley.

In the fine memorial window now in course of erection in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford, containing the figures of Colet, Erasmus, More, Lily, and three other promoters of learning in England, Colet is represented in the scarlet robes of a Doctor. At the risk of making this note a rambling one, I must add that Cambridge is about to follow the example of Oxford in this respect, a figure of Colet being in preparation for a stained-glass window in the chapel of Emmanuel College.

¹ See Appendix A.

tenance of God the Father, saying, HEAR YE HIM: an inscription added at my suggestion. At the far end is a chapel, in which Divine Service may be held. The whole school has no bays or recesses, so much so that there is neither any dining-room nor dormitory. Every boy has his own proper seat, on regularly ascending tiers, with gangways left between. Each class contains sixteen; and the head boy in each class has a stall somewhat higher than the rest. Boys of all kinds are not admitted promiscuously, but a selection is made according to natural capacity and ability.

A most far-sighted man, Colet saw that a nation's chief hope lay in having the rising generation trained in good principles. But, though the undertaking cost him a very large sum of money, he allowed no one to share it. Some person had left a legacy of a hundred pounds sterling towards the building. But when Colet perceived that, on the strength of this, outsiders were claiming some rights or other, he obtained his Bishop's sanction to apply the sum towards providing sacred vestments for the Cathedral.¹ Over the revenues and the entire management of his school he placed neither priests, nor the Bishop, nor the Chapter (as they call it), nor noblemen, but some married citizens of established reputation. And when asked the reason, he said that, while there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in these.²

¹ Such a diversion of a testator's bequest was quite in accordance with Colet's principles. See his second *Exposition of Romans*, in the *Letters to Radulphus, &c.* (1876), p. 112.

² In the *Dialogus de recta . . . pronuntiatione* (1643), p. 27, Erasmus again alludes to Colet's wisdom in the choice of governors for his school. The passage, with some others in illustration, is given at p. 19 of the edition of the *De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ* (1867).

This was a work that no one failed to approve. But many were surprised at his building a magnificent dwelling within the precincts of the Carthusian monastery,¹ not far from what is called Richmond Palace.² He said that he was preparing an abode for his old age, when he should be no longer equal to his work, or be enfeebled by sickness, and so compelled to retire from society. There he was minded to philosophize with two or three chosen old friends, among whom he was accustomed to reckon myself. But death forestalled him. For, having been seized a few years before with the sweating sickness (a disease that is the special scourge of England), he was now for the third time attacked by it; and though he recovered from it to some degree, an internal disorder ensued from what the disease left behind it, of which he died. One physician pronounced him dropsical. Nothing fresh was discovered by the post-mortem examination, except that the liver was found to have the extremities of the lobes rough with tuft-like excrescences.³ He was buried at the

¹ The Carthusian monastery of Shene, or Sheen, was founded by Henry V., along with the Brigittine convent of nuns at Isleworth, on the opposite bank of the river. For a full account of them, see *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, edited by J. H. Blunt (1873). It is not quite clear on what terms Colet would have resided within the precincts of the monastery, in a dwelling which Erasmus calls "magnificentissimas," and which may perhaps have deserved the epithet, as Wolsey afterwards occupied it.—See Blunt's *Reformation* (1869), p. 48 n. Colet's retiring to "philosophize" had a parallel in what we are told of Sir Christopher Wren, who "finding his patent superseded, quickly retired to his house at Hampton Court, saying, *Nunc me jubet Fortuna expeditius philosophari*."—See his *Life* by L. Phillimore (1881), p. 329.

² The name of the King's palace was changed from that of Sheen to that of Richmound, or Richmond, in 1501.—Fabyan's *Chronicle* (1559), f. 533.

³ *Nisi quod hepar repertum est extremas fibras cirrhis prominentibus hirsutum*.—What may be the precise meaning of these terms, I must leave to those who have professional knowledge to decide.

south side of the choir in his cathedral, in a modest grave, chosen by himself some years before for the purpose, with the inscription placed over it : IOAN. COL.¹

Before I conclude, my friend Jonas, I will mention a few particulars, first of his natural disposition, then of his peculiar opinions, and lastly of the stormy scenes in which his sincere religion was put to the test. It, was but a very small portion of this religious spirit that he owed to nature. For he was gifted with a temper singularly high and impatient

¹ The exact spot where this monument stood is marked on an engraving of the ground-plan of the Old Cathedral made by Daniel King in 1658. It was at the south-east angle of the choir, near the place where Donne's monument was afterwards erected. On King's engraving it is denoted, by a slight error in lettering, as "The Mon : of Jo : Callet ;" and this may perhaps explain a statement which must have often puzzled anyone who chanced to read it in Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops* (New Series, i. p. 284 n.), namely, that Dr. Knight "remarks that Calet was the usual mode of pronouncing Colet." The modest memorial prepared by Dean Colet himself was replaced by a larger and handsomer one at the cost of the Mercers' Company. An account of this will be found in the *Monumenta Sepulchraria* of H. H. (Henry Holland), 1614. About 1630 this was "beautified and repaired" by the same company, with an enlarged inscription "in gilt Brasse fixed to his Tombe." Descriptions of this may be seen in Holland's *Ecclesia Sancti Pauli illustrata* (1633), Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, and many other places. After the Great Fire, the wall in which his coffin had been built up was taken down, about 1680 : but Anthony a Wood, who has recorded the circumstance, and a most painful anecdote in connection with it (*Athena*, by Bliss, i. p. 26), has not informed us to what place the remains were transferred. Gough, in his *Sepulchral Monuments*, 1796, vol. ii. p. cccxxiv., says that he saw portions of the monument, still in fair preservation, in "St. Faith's vaults," on May 19th, 1783. In Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 388, an engraving is given of a headless bust, discovered in the vaults under St. Paul's, Jan. 31st, 1809 (p. 367 n.). This is said to be Nowell's, but appears to me to resemble much more closely the corresponding portion of Colet's monument. No traces of it can now be discovered.

of affront; he was, as he himself confessed to me, naturally prone to incontinence, luxuriousness, and indulgence in sleep; overmuch disposed to jests and raillery; and he was besides not wholly exempt from the taint of covetousness. But these tendencies he combated so successfully by philosophy and sacred studies, by watching, fasting, and prayer, that he led the whole course of his life free from the pollutions of the world. As far as I could gather from my intimate acquaintance and conversations with him, he kept the flower of chastity even unto death. His fortune he spent on charitable uses. Against his high temper he contended with the help of reason, so as to brook admonition even from a servant. Incontinence, love of sleep, and luxuriousness, he vanquished by an uniform abstinence from supper, by constant sobriety, by unwearied exertions in study, and by religious conversation. Yet if an occasion had ever presented itself, either of conversing with ladies, or being a guest at sumptuous repasts, you might have seen some traces of the old nature in him. And on that account he kept away, as a rule, from laymen's society, and especially from banquets. If forced at times to attend them, he would take me or some similar companion with him; in order, by talking Latin, to avoid worldly conversation. Meanwhile he would partake sparingly of one dish only, and be satisfied with a single draught or two of ale. He was abstemious in respect of wine; appreciating it, if choice, but most temperate in the use of it. Thus, keeping a constant watch upon himself, he carefully avoided everything by which he might cause anyone to stumble; not forgetting that the eyes of all were upon him.

I never saw a more highly-gifted intellect. But though he felt a peculiar pleasure, on this account, in kindred intellects,

he liked better to bend his mind to such things as fitted it for the immortality of the life to come. If at times he sought relaxation in sprightlier talk, he would still philosophize on every topic. He took a delight in the purity and simplicity of nature that is in children; a nature that Christ bids His disciples imitate; and he was wont to compare them to angels.¹

To complete, now, the second part of my promised account, his opinions differed widely from those commonly received. But in this matter he showed a remarkable discretion in adapting himself to others, so as to avoid giving offence to any persons, or bringing any slur on his good name. For he knew well how unfair men's judgments are; how ready they are to believe evil; and how much easier a thing it is for slanderous tongues to tarnish a man's good name, than for kind-spoken ones to repair it. Among friends and scholars, however, he would express his sentiments with the utmost freedom. As to the Scotists, for example, to whom the common run of men ascribe a subtlety peculiarly their own, he said that he considered them dull and stupid, and anything but intellectual. For it was the sign of a poor and barren intellect, he would say, to be quibbling about

¹ With this compare the gentle words at the end of the "lytel prohome" to the *Accidence* Colet wrote for his school:—"Wherfore I praye you al lytel babys and lytel chydren lerne gladly this lytel treatyse and commende it dyligently vnto your memoryes. Trustynge of this begynnynge that ye shall procede and growe to parfyt lyterature, and come at the last to be grete clarkes. And lyfte vp your lytel whyte handes for me, whiche prayeth for you to God."—Leaf A. v. of *Coleti æditio* (1527). Colet must indeed have been an accomplished dissembler, if he could write this, and be at the same time the flogging divine stigmatized by Erasmus. As the question is too long for discussion here, it is reserved for the appendix.—See Appendix B.

the words and opinions of others ; carping first at one thing and then at another, and analysing everything so minutely. Yet for some reason he was even harder on Aquinas than on Scotus. For when I was once praising Aquinas to him as a writer not to be despised among the moderns, since he appeared to me to have studied both the Scriptures and the early Fathers—such being the impression I had formed from his *Catena Aurea*—and had also a certain unction in his writings, he checked himself more than once from replying, and did not betray his dislike. But when, in another conversation, I was reiterating the same opinions more strongly, he looked hard at me, as if watching whether I were saying this in seriousness or in irony. And on perceiving that I was serious in what I said, he broke out, like one possessed :—“ Why do you preach up that writer to me ? For, without a full share of presumption, he never would have defined everything in that rash and overweening manner ; and without something of a worldly spirit, he would not have so tainted the whole doctrine of Christ with his profane philosophy.” Struck with his impetuous manner, I began a more careful study of this author’s writings : and, to be brief, my estimate of him was undoubtedly diminished.¹

¹ These words of Erasmus should not be strained to mean more than he intended. In his later and maturer writings he often finds fault with Aquinas, but nearly as often admits his intellectual greatness, regretting again and again that his ignorance of Greek made him, so to speak, but a blinded giant. Thus in the index to his *Annotationes*, the reader will find many censorious items under “ Thomas ; ” but one such passage as the following (from his note on Rom. i. 4) will show what Erasmus really thought of Aquinas :—“ Vir alioqui non suo tantum seculo magnus. Nam meo quidem animo nullus est recentium theologorum, cui par sit

Though no one approved of Christian devotion more warmly than he, he had yet but very little liking for monasteries, —undeserving of the name as many of them now are. The gifts he bestowed upon them were either none, or the smallest possible; and he left them no share of his property even at his death. The reason was not that he disliked religious orders, but that those who took them did not come up to their profession. It was in fact his own wish to disconnect himself entirely from the world, if he could only have found a fraternity anywhere really bound together for a gospel life. And he had even commissioned me to seek for such a one, when I was about to visit Italy; telling me that among the Italians he had discovered some monks of true wisdom and piety. Moreover, he did not consider what is popularly deemed religion to be really such, being as it often is mere poverty of intellect. He was accustomed also to praise certain Germans,¹ among whom there even yet lingered, as he said, some traces of primitive religion.

He was in the habit of declaring that he nowhere found more unblemished characters than among married people; on whom such restraints were laid by natural affection, and

diligentia, cui sanius ingenium, cui solidior eruditio: planeque dignus erat cui linguarum quoque peritia reliquaque bonarum literarum supellex contingeret, qui iis quæ per eam tempestatem dabantur tam dextre sit usus."

¹ Who may be alluded to here, I cannot tell, unless it be the Brethren of the Common Life, an association originally founded at Deventer by Gerhard Groot in 1384, and thence sending out branches through many parts of northern Europe. For an account of them see Kurtz: *Hist. of the Christian Church*, tr. by Edersheim (1868), i. p. 457, and Neale *Mediæval Preachers* (1856), p. 294. The allusion in "some monks among the Italians" is thought by Mr. Seebohm to be to Savonarola and his companions.

family and household cares, that they were withheld, as by so many barriers, from rushing into all kinds of wickedness. Though himself living in perfect chastity, yet, of all in the list of offenders, he was less hard on those, were they priests or even monks, whose only offence was incontinence. It was not that he failed to abhor the vice of unchastity; but that he found such persons not nearly so bad, in comparison, as some others, who thought no small things of themselves, though overweening, envious, slanderous, backbiters, hypocrites, empty-headed, ignorant, given up heart and soul to money-making and ambition; while their acknowledged infirmity rendered the former more humble and unassuming. Covetousness and pride, he would say, were more detestable in a priest than keeping a hundred concubines.

I would not have anyone strain these opinions to such a degree as to suppose incontinence in a priest or monk to be a slight offence; but only to infer from them that those of the other kind are still further removed from true religion.

There was no class of persons to whom he was more opposed, or for whom he had a greater abhorrence, than those bishops who acted the part of wolves instead of shepherds; showing themselves off before the people with their guise of sanctity, their ceremonies, benedictions, and paltry indulgences, while at heart they were slaves to the world, that is, to ostentation and gain. He had a leaning to some opinions, derived from Dionysius¹ and the other early divines, though not to such a degree as to make him contravene in any points the decisions of the Church.

¹ An abstract of the *Celestial Hierarchy* and the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, made by Colet, is preserved in the library of St. Paul's School. It was translated and published in 1869.

Still, they made him less hard on such as disapproved of the universal adoration of images in churches, whether painted, or of wood, or stone, or bronze, or silver; or again on those who doubted whether a priest, openly and notoriously wicked, had any efficacy in the administration of the sacraments. Not that he in any way leaned to this error of theirs, but he was indignant against such as, by a life of open and unmixed depravity, gave occasion to surmises of this kind.

The colleges established in England at a great and imposing cost¹ he used to say were a hindrance to profitable studies, and merely centres of attraction for the lazy. And in like manner he did not attach much value to the public schools,² on the ground that the race for professorships and

¹ The age in which Colet lived was an age of foundation of colleges. At Oxford he saw the erection of Brasenose in 1509, and Corpus Christi in 1516; while the splendid foundation of William of Waynflete, Magdalen College and Hall, preceded the date of his birth by no more than eight years. At Cambridge, without reckoning the re-foundation of Queens' the year before his birth, he saw the rise of St. Catharine's in 1473, Jesus in 1496, Christ's in 1505, St. John's in 1511, and Magdalene in 1519. Why Colet should have thought unfavourably of the working of such institutions as those of Bishop Fisher or the Countess of Richmond and Derby, is not clear.

² By "public schools" here, it need hardly be observed that Colet did not mean what we now commonly call by that name, but the University Schools, in which the public lectures were given by the regents, and the examination of candidates for "inception" was held. In Matthew Stokys' Book, printed at the end of Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes . . . of Cambridge* (1841), many interesting particulars are given of the proceedings in these "common schooles." It must be remembered that, in Colet's time, the instruction now given by the colleges, or by private tuition, had to be sought almost entirely from the public lectures of the regent masters in arts and doctors. Moreover, "all doctors, in whatever faculty, were called likewise *professores*, and

fees spoilt everything, and adulterated the purity of all branches of learning.

While strongly approving of auricular confession, saying that there was nothing from which he derived so much comfort and spiritual advantage, he yet as strongly condemned its too solicitous and frequent repetition. It is the custom in England for priests to celebrate the Holy Eucharist every day. But Colet was content to do so on Sundays and festivals, or at the most on some few days in addition ; either because it kept him away from the sacred studies by which he used to prepare for preaching, and from the necessary business of the Cathedral, or because he found that he sacrificed with devouter feelings if he let an interval elapse. At the same time he was far from disapproving of the principles of those who liked to come every day to the Table of the Lord.

Himself a most learned man, he did not approve of that painful and laborious erudition, which is made complete at all points, so to speak, by an acquaintance with all branches of learning and the perusal of every author. It was his constant remark, that the natural soundness and simplicity of men's intellects were impaired by it, and they were rendered less healthy-minded, and less fitted for Christian innocence, and for pure and simple charity. He set a very high value on the Apostolic Epistles ; but he had

possessed an equal capacity to claim and occupy the *chair* (*cathedra*) on solemn inceptions and other occasions."—Peacock, *ut sup.*, p. 34 n. We can thus understand the rivalry and competition for fees that would prevail, when the schools (at least in Cambridge) had to be hired by the lecturer, and his remuneration depended on the fees paid by those resorting to him.—See further Mullinger's *University of Cambridge* (1873), p. 301.

such a reverence for the wonderful majesty of Christ, that the writings of the Apostles seemed to grow poor by the side of it. He had with great ability reduced almost all the sayings of Christ to triplets,¹ intending to make a book of them. The rule that priests, even though busily occupied, must say long prayers right through every day, no matter whether at home or on a journey, was a thing that he greatly wondered at. As to the public service of the Church, he was quite of opinion that that should be performed with proper dignity.

From numbers of the tenets most generally received in the public schools² at the present day he widely dissented, and would at times discuss them among his private friends. When with others, he would keep his opinions to himself, for fear of coming to harm in two ways; that is to say, only making matters worse by his efforts, and sacrificing his own reputation. There was no book so heretical but he read it with attention. For from such, he said, he many a time received more benefit than from the books of those who so define everything, as often to flatter their party-leaders, and not seldom their own selves as well.

He could not endure that the faculty of speaking correctly should be sought from the trivial rules of grammarians. For he insisted that these were a hindrance to expressing oneself well, and that that result was only obtained by the

¹ *Ad terniones*.—What these ternaries, or triplets, probably were, has been explained in the Appendix to the *Letters to Radulphus*, p. 311. As there stated, many of the sayings of Christ lend themselves readily to such an arrangement. Compare, for example, the three words to the Herodians, Matt. xxii. 20, 21; to Mary Magdalene, John xx. 15—17; to Paul, Acts ix. 4—6.

² See the last note but one.

study of the best authors. But he paid the penalty for this notion himself. For, though eloquent both by nature and training, and though he had at his command a singularly copious flow of words while speaking, yet, when writing, he would now and then trip in such points as critics are given to mark. And it was on this account, if I mistake not, that he refrained from writing books: though I wish he had not so refrained; for I should have been glad of the thoughts of such a man, no matter in what language expressed.

And now, that nothing may be thought wanting to the finished religious character of Colet, listen to the storms by which he was harassed. He had never been on good terms with his bishop,¹ who was, to say nothing about his principles, a superstitious and impracticable Scotist, and thinking himself on that account something more than mortal. I may say that, whilst I have known many of this school whom

¹ This was Dr. Richard Fitz-James, successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London. He was a native of Somersetshire, and, along with his brother, Sir John Fitz-James, Lord Chief Justice, founded and endowed the school of Bruton in that county. He is one of those to whom Erasmus has hardly done justice; for he must have been a man of ability. In 1469 he was Fellow of Merton. In 1481 he was Vice-Chancellor at Oxford. In 1483 he was Warden of Merton, and a great benefactor to his college, as also to St. Paul's, of which he was made Treasurer the same year. He became Bishop of Rochester in 1496, of Chichester in 1504, London in 1506. He died Jan. 15th, 1521-2. See Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. p. 24. Besides being joint-founder of a Grammar School, we find him providing for the restoration of a divinity-lecture in St. Paul's. See the extract from his register in Dr. Simpson's *Registrum Statutorum*, p. 413. His work was thus, in its way, not wholly out of harmony with Colet's. But it is likely enough, as is suggested in Knight's *Life*, p. 63, that the Bishop was driven to stir in reviving the old divinity-lecture by what Colet had done, and might not act in the matter with any good will.

I should not like to call bad men, I have yet never to this day seen one who, in my opinion at least, could be termed a real and sincere Christian. Colet was no great favourite either with many of his own college, being too strict about canonical discipline; and these were every now and then complaining of being treated as monks; though in fact this college formerly was, what in ancient deeds it is styled, the Eastern Monastery.¹ However, when the animosity of the old bishop (who was, I should have said, full eighty² years of age) was too virulent to be suppressed, he took as his coadjutors two other bishops, as wise and as acrimonious as himself, and began to give Colet trouble. His weapons were just what such persons resort to when plotting anyone's destruction; that is to say, he laid an information against

¹ *Oriente monasterium*.—That St. Paul's was called a "monasterium" in former times admits of no question. It is so styled in each of the two documents printed at the beginning of Book IV. of Dr. Simpson's *Registrum Statutorum*. Weever also, speaking of Sebba, King of the East Saxons, who, along with his queen, assumed the religious habit in St. Paul's, says: "Here he continued a monk in this monastery (for in his time, saith Radulphus de Diceto, were monks in this church), untill the day of his death, which happened in the year 693."—*Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 357. Whether Erasmus, who probably received his information on the subject from Colet, may have meant by "*orientale*," "belonging to the East Saxons," I am not prepared to say. His use of the epithet is open to question. But there is no necessity to infer from it that he meant that St. Paul's was ever called by the English name of Eastminster, a name applied to an abbey near the Tower, otherwise known as St. Mary de Graces, or New Abbey; on which see Norden's *Speculum Britanniae* (1593), p. 43. Hence part of the discussion on this point in *Notes and Queries* (5th Ser. xi. p. 62) seems beside the mark.

² According to Newcourt, he went up to Oxford in 1459. It is hardly likely, therefore, that he would be as much as eighty years old at the time to which this refers—1512, or earlier.

him before the Archbishop of Canterbury, specifying certain articles taken from his sermons. One was, that he had taught that images ought not to be worshipped. Another, that he had done away with the hospitality commended by St. Paul, seeing that, in expounding the passage from the gospel, with its thrice repeated *feed my sheep*,¹ while he was in accordance with other expositors on the first two heads (*feed* by example of life ; *feed* by the word of doctrine), he had disagreed with them on the third ; saying that it was not meet that the apostles, poor as they then were, should be bidden to *feed their sheep* in the way of any temporal support ; and had substituted some other interpretation in lieu of it. A third article was that, having said in the pulpit that there were some who preached written sermons—the stiff and formal way of many in England—he had indirectly reflected on his bishop, who, from his old age, was in the habit of so doing. The Archbishop,² to whom Colet's high qualities were perfectly well known, undertook the protection of the innocent ; and, as Colet himself disdained any reply to these and still more frivolous charges, he became a protector instead of a judge. Still the old Bishop's animosity was not allayed. He tried to excite the Court, with the King at its head, against Colet ; having now got hold of another weapon against him. This was, that he had openly declared in a sermon that “an unjust peace was to be preferred to

¹ St. John xxi. 15-17. Erasmus, in his own *Annotationes* on the passage, draws the same two lessons from it as Colet, not adding any third one.

² This was William Warham, consecrated Bishop of London in 1502, translated in the following year to Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor from 1503 to 1515. He died Aug. 22nd, 1532. For Erasmus's description of him see Appendix C.

the justest war," a war being at that very time in preparation against the French.¹ A leading part in this play was being taken by two Franciscan friars;² of whom one, a very fire-brand of war, earned a mitre, while the other used to declaim like a Stentor in his sermons against *poets*,—meaning Colet, who had not the least taste for poetry, though in

¹ The time referred to was probably the Lent of 1512, in the summer of which year Henry's first expedition against the French was undertaken. See *Oxf. Ref.* p. 260. With regard to the particular expression in Colet's sermon then challenged, it is not quite clear whether his opponents knew the words to be a quotation from Cicero. They occur in a letter written some two years after the battle of Pharsalia, in which he says: "Quid ego prætermisi aut monitorum aut querelarum? *quum vel iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello anteferrem.*"—*Epist. ad Div.* vi. 6.

² These are commonly thought to have been Standish and Bricot; but there are some difficulties in the way. Erasmus here says that one of them earned a mitre, and, a little later on, that Bricot from a Franciscan friar became a bishop. This seems plain enough: but then we do not find the name of Bricot in any of the lists of occupants of English sees about this time. On the other hand, Dr. Henry Standish, Provincial of the English Franciscans, is known to have been made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1518. Erasmus himself calls him so, in a letter to More, in which he speaks of some of his doctrines being attacked by "Standicius Minorita, theologus, Episcopus a Sancto Asino." "The bysshope of Sent Asse" (whence Erasmus's jest of "a Sancto Asino"), "doctor Standyche," is also mentioned in the *Grey Friars Chronicle* (printed in *Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. ii.) p. 190. So that, if we assume Standish and Bricot to be the two, we seem forced to conclude that it is by a lapse of memory that Erasmus afterwards speaks of Bricot as made a bishop. Even then our difficulties are not at an end; for the one who did *not* "earn a mitre" is here spoken of as "declaiming against poets"—meaning Colet. But Colet's letter to Erasmus, in which he mentions what must needs be thought the same circumstance, was written in 1512 (*Oxf. Ref.* p. 251), six years before the consecration of Standish, and yet describing his assailant as "Episcopus."

The same two are possibly referred to in the long note on 1 Cor. xv. 51 (*Annotaciones*, Basil, 1535); and there also one of them is said to be "episcopi quoque dignitate præfulgens."

other respects not unskilled in music. At this juncture the noble young King gave a conspicuous token of his kingly disposition ; for he privately encouraged Colet to go on without restraint, and improve by his teaching the corrupt morals of the age, and not to withdraw his light from those dark times. He was not unaware, he said, of the motive that incited those bishops against him, nor unconscious of the benefits he had conferred on the English nation by his life and doctrine. He added, that he would put such a check on their attempts, that others should clearly see that whoever assailed Colet would not go unpunished. On this, Colet expressed his gratitude for such kind feeling on the King's part, but prayed leave to decline the offer. He would have no one, he said, worse off on his account : sooner than that, he would resign the office which he bore.

Some time afterwards, however, the faction had an occasion given them for hoping that now at last Colet might be crushed. An expedition was being got ready against the French, to start after Easter. On Good Friday¹ Colet preached a noble sermon before the King and his Court on the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to war and conquer under the banner of Him, their proper King. For they, he said, who through hatred or ambition were fighting, the bad with the bad, and slaughtering one another by turns, were warring under the banner not of Christ, but of the Devil. At the same time, he pointed out to them how hard a thing it was to die a Christian death ; how few entered on a war unsullied by hatred or love of gain ; how incompatible a thing it was, that a man should have that brotherly love without which no one would see God, and yet bury his sword in his

¹ March 27th, 1513. See *Oxf. Ref.* p. 264.

brother's heart. Let them follow, he added, the example of Christ as their Prince, not that of a Julius Cæsar¹ or an Alexander. Much more to the same effect he gave utterance to on that occasion; so that the King was in some apprehension lest the soldiers, whom he was on the point of leading abroad, should feel their courage gone through this discourse. On this, all the mischief-makers flocked together, like birds setting upon an owl,² in the hope that now at last the mind of the King might be exasperated against him. By the King's order Colet was sent for. He came, and had luncheon in the Franciscan convent adjoining Greenwich Palace.³ When the King was apprised of his arrival, he

¹ *Julios aut Alexandros*.—In this use of the name Julios, Colet (or Erasmus, who reports his words) can hardly have failed to intend some allusion to the warlike Pope Julius II., whose reign came to an end in this very year, 1513. "This Pope," says Godwin, "more like to that Cæsar whose name hee bare, then Peter, from whom he would faine deriue his succession, . . . had written letters to our King, wherein hee entreated his assistance towards the suppression of the French."—*Annales*, 1630, p. 9.

² *Velut ad bubonem, omnes convolant mali*.—There is a metrical run in this expression, but I am not aware of its being a quotation. The reference seems to be to what Pliny tells us of the way in which the owl defends itself against the attacks of other birds, under the heading of "Noctuarum contra aves solers dimicatio." "Majore circumdatæ multitudinæ, resupinæ pedibus repugnant, collectæque in arcum [*al. arcum*] rostro et unguibus, totæ teguntur."—*Hist. Nat.* x. 17. In what follows, about the hawk sometimes coming to its assistance—"auxiliatur accipiter collegio quodam naturæ, bellumque partitur," Erasmus might have found an apt simile to illustrate the interference of the King.

³ Greenwich was closely connected with many important events in the life of Henry VIII. He was born there, and baptized in the parish church. It was there, on June 3rd, 1510, that his marriage with Katharine of Aragon was solemnized. There, in 1515, his sister Mary, the Queen-Dowager of France, was married to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. From a natural partiality to the place of his birth, Henry

went down into the convent garden, dismissing his attendants as Colet came out to meet him. As soon as they were alone, the courteous young prince bade him be covered, and converse with him without ceremony, himself beginning in these terms:—"To spare you any groundless alarm, Mr. Dean, we have not sent for you hither to disturb your sacred labours, which have our entire approval; but that we may unburden our conscience of some scruples, and with the help of your counsel may better discharge the duties of our office." (I will not, however, repeat the whole conversation, which lasted nearly half an hour.) Meanwhile Bricot, who from a Franciscan friar had now become a bishop, was in high spirits in the palace, supposing Colet to be in danger; whereas the King and he were at one upon all points, save only that the King wished him to say at some other time, with clearer explanation, what he had already said with perfect truth, namely, that for Christians no war was a just one. And this was for the sake of the rough soldiers, who might put a different construction on his words from that which he had intended. Colet, as became his good sense and remarkable moderation of temper, not only set the King's mind at rest, but even increased the favour in which he stood before. On returning to the palace, the King had a wine-cup

neglected the previous royal residence of Eltham, and "bestowed great cost upon Greenwich, till he made it, as Lambard says, 'a pleasant, perfect, and princely palace.'"—See Lysons: *Environs of London*, iv. p. 430. The convent of Franciscan friars adjoining the palace had been endowed by Henry VII., and Queen Katharine was afterwards a liberal benefactress to them. Their advocacy of her cause proved their ruin. Henry VIII. suppressed the order throughout England, and dissolved their convent at Greenwich in 1534.—See Lysons, *ut sup.*, p. 464, and Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* (1787), § xxvi.

brought to him, and pledged Colet in it before he would let him depart. Then embracing him most courteously, and promising all that could be expected from the most gracious of sovereigns, he let him go. And as the throng of courtiers was now standing round, eager to hear the result of this conference, the King, in the hearing of all, said, "Let every man have his own doctor, and every one follow his liking; but this is the doctor for me." Thus they departed, like the baffled wolves in the adage,¹ Bricot more than all; nor did anyone from that day forward venture to molest Colet.

I have now given you, Jonas, not finished portraits, but outline sketches only—all that the scanty limits of a letter allowed—of two men of our age whom I consider to have been true and sincere Christians. It will be for you to select from each what you think most conducive to true religion. And if you ask which of the two I prefer, I deem them worthy of equal praise, considering that they were in circumstances so unlike. On the one hand, it was a great thing for Colet, in worldly circumstances such as his, to have steadily followed the call, not of natural inclination, but of Christ. On the other hand, the merit of Vitrier makes a yet fairer show, in having attained, amid such conditions of life, to so much of the Gospel spirit as he displayed. It is as though a fish were to contract no marshy flavour, though ever living in a marsh. In Colet were some traits which showed him to

¹ *Ita discesserunt quidam lupi, quod aiunt, hiantes.*—The adage referred to by Erasmus is noticed in his *Adagia* (1629), p. 270, under the heading "Lupus hiat." The idea is that of being baulked of one's object:—"dicebatur, si quis re multum sperata multumque appetita frustratus discederet."—The use of the word *quidam* in the text is not very clear to me.

be but man. In Vitrier I never saw anything that savoured at all of human weakness. And if you take my word for it, Jonas, you will not hesitate to enrol these two in the calendar of saints, though no Pope should ever canonize them.

Happy spirits! to whom I owe much, aid by your prayers Erasmus still struggling in the miseries of this life; that so I may rejoin your society, never to be parted from you more.

Adieu, Jonas! If I have done justice to your wishes, it is well. I have been far, I know, from doing justice to my subject.

ANDERLECHT,

*June 13th, 1519.*¹

¹ The expression "ex rure Anderlaco" points to some country spot in the neighbourhood of Anderlecht, where Erasmus was now staying. Anderlecht is a neat town, west of Brussels, so near as now in fact to form part of the suburbs.

The date 1519 is manifestly wrong, as Colet did not die till September 16th in that year. It is the same in the London edition of 1642; but should no doubt be 1520. In a letter to Lupset, dated August 23rd, 1520, Erasmus refers to this account of Colet as already written; so that, if the day of the month be right, 1520 is the only year possible. M. Herminjard unfortunately does not include the letter in his *Correspondance des Réformateurs*.

APPENDIX A.

P. 27.—THE FOUNDATION OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.

IT may be convenient to group together here a few notes on Erasmus's account of the foundation of St. Paul's School, instead of distributing them over the text.

The site on which the school was built appears to have been previously occupied by bookbinders' shops. We learn this from an interesting passage in the *Grey Friars Chronicle*, printed in vol. ii. of the *Monumenta Franciscana* before quoted. Speaking of the great storm on January 15th, 1505-6, which drove Philip the Fair into Weymouth Harbour, the writer says (p. 185): "That same nyghte it blewe downe the weddercoke of Powlles stepulle the lengthe of the est ende of Powlles church vn-to the syne of the blacke egylle; at that tyme was lowe howses of bokebynderes wher nowe is the scole of Powles." Near the site, and standing crosswise to the line of the school, a little on the south, was an old building, already bearing the name of "Paul's Scole." In Colet's will, dated June 10th, 1514, for the endowment of his new school,¹ this is particularly mentioned, and is elsewhere styled his "grammar house," and the "old scole." Its dimensions are given as 55 feet by 20. It had four shops under it, each let for 20s. annually to one Berrel;

¹ Printed at p. 586 of Vol. II. of the *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on . . . certain Colleges and Schools* (1864):

and it was close to "Saint Austin's Gate," that is to say, near the present corner of Watling Street. It had been purchased not long before from some mercers of the city, whose names are given.

A certain interest attaches to this earliest "Paul's Scolē." It seems most natural to conclude that it was the old Cathedral School, which for some reason had become disused, and the building in consequence sold. The late Miss Hackett—a lady whose name should ever be gratefully remembered by the chorister-boys of this country—has reminded us that "among the Grammar Schools licensed by Henry VI., one is particularized 'within the Cemetery of St. Paul's Churchyard' . . . and 'one that was School-master at Paul's' is mentioned by Sir Thomas More as among the bystanders at the proclamation of King Richard III."—*Correspondence and Evidences*, 1832, p. 70. Still earlier, in the reign of Edward V., "one that was schole-mayster at Paules" is spoken of by Hall in his *Chronicle* (ed. 1809, p. 362).

Of the three structures successively erected on Dean Colet's site, the first, described by Erasmus, was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. It is a matter of regret that we have no picture or engraving of it, as being the school of Milton and Marlborough. In W. Smith's *De Urbis Londini Incendio Elegia* (1677), p. 10, some lines occur on its destruction :—

"Ensifero preclara cadit Schola proxima Paulo,
Colleti gratæ quam posuere manus," etc.

but no detailed account. Its dimensions are, however, given with precision by its founder in the Will before-

mentioned, as 122 feet by 33. It must thus have been of very nearly the same size as the second building, which, if I may trust an old engraving, measured 120 feet in length.

The second St. Paul's School stood from its erection after the fire in 1670, till it was taken down in 1823, to be replaced by the more solid structure now occupying the same site. Of this there are many engravings in existence. The earliest is a scarce one, published soon after its completion, showing a tall lantern over the centre, somewhat resembling the one over the library of Lambeth Palace. Another good engraving is that in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*. Both agree in showing no door, or entrance of any kind, in the front of the school itself. It is commonly said that this building was on much the same plan as the original one; but there must have been at least one important difference. Colet provided only one master's house, at the north end, the second master having only a "lodging in the Old Change," and "going to commons" with the high master. The second school-building had two masters' houses of similar appearance, one at each end. In the third, or present, structure, this accommodation was again doubled.

The chapel spoken of by Erasmus, in the text, was at the south end of the first building, forming the fourth "compartment" or "division" which he describes. It is referred to in the Will of 1514 as "the chapel founded in the same." In it, according to the statutes, the chaplain was daily to sing mass, and "praye for the Children to prosper in good lyfe and in goode litterature to the honor of god and oure lorde Criste Jesu." The endowment of the chapel, after being confiscated, as "for superstitious uses," was restored

by Queen Elizabeth, Jan. 6th, 1580, on a payment of £300. The original service in the school chapel was replaced after the Reformation by a form of Latin prayers, in which the "Capellanus" and "Chorus" took part alternately. The custom of late years has been for the captain of the school to read a selection of these prayers at the beginning and end of morning and afternoon school. Some of them were composed by Erasmus himself; and one of his, in particular, the "Audi preces meas, æterna Patris Sapientia," is of great beauty; while another of the Pauline prayers, the "Omnipotens et sempiterne Deus," was made one of the most familiar to school-children through its English version by Dilworth.

Of the "Catechism" drawn up by Dean Colet, some account was given by the writer in his edition of the *De Sacramentis*, p. 20; as also of the hymn which the scholars are stated by Erasmus to have sung on entering and leaving school. Of Colet's "Accidence," in like manner, an account was given by him in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 4th and 11th, 1880.

The bust of the founder, which stood over the high master's chair in the first school, was found among the ruins after the Great Fire, comparatively uninjured, and is still preserved in the school, though its place is taken by a modern copy in marble, executed by Bacon. Strype, in his edition of Stow's *Survey*, i. p. 163 sq. describes the discovery of the bust by a city antiquary named Bagford, who "observed that it was cast and hollow,¹ by a curious art now lost."

¹ This appears in Dr. Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 374, as follows:—"who observed it was cast; an hollow plate whereof you have in the Life."

A few words may be added on the number of the scholars, as fixed by Dean Colet. It will be observed that while, in his statutes, he directs that it shall be 153, "according to the number of the seats in the school," he adds no reason for it. It is natural, of course, to think of the number of the fish in St. John xxi. 11, as suggesting this, and I have no desire to find fault with the prevalent interpretation. All I would protest against is, the assumption that any authority is given by the founder himself, or by any contemporary writer, for that interpretation. Erasmus, as will be seen from the text, merely says that the number was a fixed one:—"ad certum numerum." George Lily, son of the first High Master, and Polydore Vergil, both of whom have left contemporary descriptions of the school, make no allusion to the circumstance. The earliest writer who does so is Fuller, to whom such an allusion would be very likely to commend itself. And it is a little singular to observe, that in an original copy of the statutes, described in the *De Sacramentis*, p. 3, there occurs the following note in the handwriting of Colet himself:—"Of halydayes and halfe halydayes all noubred togyder in whiche ys no teachinge there be yn the hole yere vij^{xx} and xiiij." Seven score and thirteen would just make up 153.

APPENDIX B.

P. 32.—ON COLET'S ALLEGED SEVERITY IN SCHOOL.

ERASMUS tells a story, without mentioning any names, of a case of cruel punishment in school. It has been assumed that this refers to Colet, and that he is the one

stigmatized by Erasmus for attempting to train boys in a worse method than anyone would employ for "training a slave or an ass." The apparent want of reluctance to attach this discredit to a man like Colet, and the unwillingness shown in retracting the imputation, is somewhat strange. But it quite illustrates the remark of Dr. Maitland:—"I know too well how common it is with people to throw stones and run away, and how very hard of hearing they are when they are called back."

I am not, of course, unaware that the age was one of a roughness and severity in some things, which we should now call barbarous. Anyone can recall the anecdote in the *Christianum Matrimonium*¹ about the little girl of five, who was "flogged till she fainted for forgetting to say 'Madame ma mère,'" or for saying (poor little Belgian!) "Nany," instead of "Salve vostre grace, Madame." Neither am I in the least disposed to join in the cuckoo-cry of those who declaim against corporal punishment altogether. All I am concerned with is the simple question whether Dean Colet was, or was not, the person meant by Erasmus in his story. That must be determined by the facts themselves, which are simply these.

In 1529, ten years after Colet's death, Erasmus published a *Declamatio*, or set rhetorical composition, addressed to the Duke of Cleves. It was merely a literary exercise, written in fulfilment of a former promise to the young Duke's tutor, as a sort of complimentary offering to his pupil. For his subject, as was natural under the circumstances, Erasmus took education. But, to show how little he was likely to have England, or things English, prominently in his thoughts

¹ Ed. 1526, leaf A, 6 vers.

at the time, it may be as well to notice, that the preface is dated from Freyburg in Brisgau, the south-west part of Suabia ; while the town of Cleves, or Kleve, was the capital of a duchy in Westphalia. After some sensible remarks about the way of teaching little children, he comes to the subject of dame-schools. To these, as they were then conducted, he has a strong objection. In the first place, "for a woman to have rule over boys is against nature. And when a woman is roused to anger, there is nothing more unmerciful." Nor did the schools of the monasteries, or the "collegiate" schools—those kept by *Fratrum Collegia*—deserve any better recommendation. "Their sole object," he says, "was gain ; and in their security from inspection (*in latebris suis*) they taught the youthful mind by men who, as a rule, were either untaught themselves or else badly taught, even granting that they had common decency and sense." To such schools Erasmus would have no parents send their children. "It should either be a public school or none."

In the next section he describes the severe punishments prevailing in different schools. "Next after the Scotch," he writes, "none are more given to flogging than French schoolmasters."¹ The reason they gave, unless Erasmus maligns them, was that French boys were incorrigible except by the rod. This leads him to mention an incident in his own school life : how his master had once tried the experiment of thrashing him, and had afterwards regretted it, as only

¹ "Gallis literatoribus secundum Scotos nihil est plagosius."—It is difficult to believe one's eyes when one sees this rendered in Knight (*Life of Colet*, p. 152), "the rigid French schoolmasters of the Scotical clan." Shade of Buchanan ! that anyone, after reading this, should think the use of the birch a crime !

tending to spoil one of such a disposition as his. In the very next paragraph he continues:—"And none torture boys more cruelly than those who have no ability to teach them. I know a certain Divine, &c.;"—the anecdote thus introduced being the one on which all this misrepresentation has been based.

These details have been given, at the risk of wearying the reader, that he may be acquainted with the setting of the story, and better able to judge of the probability of its referring to this country at all. Here, then, is the story, as it appears in an old English version,¹ with the few sentences that immediately precede it: "These kynde of men shuld have ben bouchers or hangmen, not teachers of youth. Neyther do any torment chyldren more cruelly, then they that canne not teache them. What shulde thei do in scholes but passe the daye in chydyng and beatynge? I knewe a divine and that familerly, a man of greate name, whych was never satisfied with crudelity against his scholers, when he himself had masters that were very great beaters. He thought yt dyd much helpe to cast downe the fiersnes of their wittes, and tame the wantonnes of their youth. He never feasted amonge hys flocke, but, as Comedies be wont a have a mery endyng, so, contrary, when they had eaten theyr meate, one or other was haled oute to be beaten wyth roddes: and sometime he raged against them that had deserved nothyng, even because they shuld be accustomed

¹ *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* . . . by Rychard Sherry, 1550, leaf M. 1.—It should have been mentioned that the *Declamatio* itself occupies coll. 485-516 of tom. i. of the Leyden edition of Erasmus's works. Its exact title is: *Declamatio de pueris ad virtutem ac literas liberaliter instituendis, idque protinus a natiuitate.*

to stripes. I my selfe on a time stode nexte hym, when after diner he called out a boie as he was wont to do; as I trow, ten yere olde. And he was but newe come frome hys mother into that compani. He told us before, that the chylde had a very good woman to hys mother, and was earnestly committed of her unto hym. Anon, to have an occasion to beate hym, he beganne to laye to hys charge I wotte not what wantonnesse (when the chylde shewed hym selfe to have nothyng lesse), and beckened to hym to whom he committed the chyefe rule of hys colledge, surnamed of the thyng a tormentoure, to beate hym. He by and by caste doune the chylde, and beate hym as though he had done sacrilege. The divine sayde once or twyse, it is inoughe, it is inoughe. But that tormentour, deaffe with ferventnes, made no ende of his bochery, tyl the chylde was almost in a sounde (swoon). Anon the divine turninge to us, He hath deserved nothyng, quod he, but that he must be made lowe. Who ever after that maner hath taught hys slave or hys asse"?

So far Erasmus, in the quaint old English version. Now for a string of commentators; at the head of whom, I am sorry to say, I must place Bishop Kennett himself. After speaking of Erasmus's views on education, he continues:—"And therefore he was almost angry with the Dean and his two masters, and told a story of them, which he thought not to their reputation, and so concealed their names: but I think there can be no other application of it. I leave it as a task to be translated by some ill-deserving Paul's scholar."¹

¹ Lansdowne MSS. vol. xcvi. fol. 132 (128) vers. Kennett gives no translation. The paragraph which precedes: "Under these two excellent masters world" is reproduced verbatim in Knight, p. 152.

Bishop Kennett, it will be observed, speaks modestly:—"I think there can be no other application of it."

Not so Dr. Knight, who comes next. His comment on the extract is that "it will be a hard task to apply to any other than to them."¹ One is tempted to reply, with Bentley, "I would do a much harder thing to oblige"—Dr. Knight.

The censure becomes severer, as the story is retold by Tytler, in his *Life of King Henry the Eighth*:²—"The amiable Erasmus has left us a picture of the manner in which Colet used to superintend the flagellations, and the good will with which Lilly administered them, which is at once ludicrous and revolting;" or by the author of *Philomorus*,³ according to whom, the domestic gentleness of Sir Thomas More formed "a pleasing contrast with the picture drawn by Erasmus of the sternness with which Colet was at that time superintending the flagellations in his recently-founded school of St. Paul, and the good will with which Lily administered them."

A writer in the *Quarterly Review*⁴ is struck by the incongruity of all this with the delight in children which Colet is said by Erasmus himself to have taken; "nevertheless," he continues, "he thought no discipline could be too severe in his school, and, whenever he dined there, one or two boys were served up to be flogged for the dessert."

And so I might go on, through magazine articles and reviews *usque ad nauseam*, down to the Report of Royal Commissioners,⁵ who say that "the 'schola Liliانا' appears

¹ *Life of Colet*, p. 155.

² Ed. 1837, p. 38.

³ Ed. 1842, p. 32.

⁴ Vol. xxxix. p. 104.

⁵ On Colleges and Schools (1864), i. p. 194.—As the "schola

in the time of Erasmus, to have been the scene of much unnecessary severity," and to one of the latest biographers of Erasmus,¹ who is constrained by Mr. Seebohm's arguments to admit, though with evident reluctance, that "perhaps it may be well to give him (Colet) the benefit of the doubt."

Perhaps it may: but whether that is quite enough, we will now endeavour to ascertain. In the first place, is there a tittle of evidence to point to an English school at all, as being the scene of the occurrence, let alone the newly-founded St. Paul's? The *plagosi literatores* mentioned just before, as the most successful followers of Orbilius, were not Englishmen, but Scots and Frenchmen. The scene of Erasmus's own castigation was not England, but Holland. The nobleman for whom he wrote would be more familiar with Westphalia than England. But, even admitting that we had a bad pre-eminence at that time in matters of education, why fix on St. Paul's as the offender? The place in question is called by Erasmus a *collegium*, not a school; the

"Liliana" was in the University of Louvain, it is not clear at first sight what this had to do with the matter. But it is plain from another reference to a letter of Erasmus, in which the expression occurs, that the writer supposed Dean Colet's school to be meant by it. Knight's *Life*, to go no farther, might have saved him from the mistake; at p. 128 of which we read of "John Nævius, master of the Lilian school at Lovain," to whom Erasmus dedicated his *Catonis Disticha de Moribus*. Erasmus mentions it several times (*Epp.* ed. 1642, coll. 436, 528, 756), under the name of *Collegium Lilianum* or *Liliense*; and Vives, who knew as much about Louvain as most people, tells a story about a former master of the "gymnasiun Lilianum" there, who had a number of boys under his care (*sub cura sua pueros habebat complures*), as to the way in which he used to prepare for interviews with their parents.—*De trad. discipl.* (ed. 1636), p. 593.

Drummond: *Erasmus*, 1873, i. p. 223.

flagellant is its prefect; and the proceedings described are just such as were prevalent in the monastic and collegiate schools denounced just before. The one kind of school held up for commendation in this treatise is the "public school," which is exactly what St. Paul's was; and yet there is such poverty of invention, that none but this can be found to answer the description of one in every respect the opposite.

It seems but a slaying of the slain to carry on the refutation any further. Yet there is such a vitality in stories to anyone's discredit, and such a complacent obstinacy in those who repeat them, that even this will probably survive much longer. Let it be noted then, in fine, that Richard Pace, Colet's successor in the Deanery, would hardly have dedicated to him his treatise *De Fructu*,¹ in which he ridicules the schoolmasters who flog because they cannot teach, if such had been the mode of education at St. Paul's; that the incompetency to teach, which is made the fitting prelude to this "tormenting" of children, has not been generally laid to the charge of William Lily, one of the most advanced scholars of his time; and that Dean Colet's new school, as Erasmus expressly tells us, had no dining-hall attached to it. Being meant for day-scholars, it naturally had no such "coenobium." Hence its founder could not have dined there with his flock; nor could he have had "one or two boys served up to be flogged for the dessert," however natural the desire might have been.

¹ See p. 97 of *Richardi Pacei . . . de Fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur liber*, 1517. The dedication to Colet is on p. 12.

APPENDIX C.

P. 41.—CHARACTER OF ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.

THE following is the description of this good prelate given by Erasmus. It occurs in the first book of his *Ecclesiastes*, and was written when death had removed all inducements to flattery :—

“I here bethink me,” he says, “of the name of one who deserves all the remembrance posterity can bestow. It is that of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, a Doctor of Divinity in deed if not in title. For his degree of Doctor was obtained in Civil and Canon Law. Having gained distinction by the successful conduct of various embassies, he became highly valued by that sagacious prince, Henry VII., and was raised by successive steps to the exalted position of Archbishop of Canterbury, the foremost a subject in England can attain. Burdensome as this office is, another and yet heavier charge was added to it. For he was constrained to undertake the office of Chancellor, an office in that country of absolutely royal rank. Before the holder of it, whenever he appears in public, the crown and sceptre are borne, and before none other. For he is, so to speak, the king’s eye, and the king’s mouth, and his right hand, and the supreme judge of the whole realm of Britain. This department he administered for a number of years with such ability, that you would have said he was born for the office, and had no other cares to occupy him. Yet at the

same time, in all matters relating to religion, and the ministrations of the Church, he was so watchful and attentive, that you would again have said he had no external cares to distract him. He found time for the reverent performance of his own daily devotions, for celebrating mass almost every day, for being present at two or three services besides, for hearing causes, for receiving embassies, for counselling his sovereign, if any serious emergency had arisen at Court, for the visitation of churches, when anything befell to require his intervention, for entertaining often as many as two hundred guests ; while lastly his own reading and study had their share of quiet leisure. For such varied matters of weight as these, he found, single-handed as he was, both the time and the will. - But then he gave up no time to the sports of the chase, or to gaming ; none to idle talk ; none to dissipation or the pursuits of pleasure. In lieu of all such gratifications, a chapter from some pleasant book, or a chat with some learned man, was quite sufficient for him. Though at times he numbered among his guests both bishops, and dukes, and earls, his dinner was always over within the hour. Amid all the splendid establishment which his high office demanded, he himself was singularly abstemious. Wine he seldom tasted. Even at seventy years of age he would usually drink the small ale they call beer, and that too very sparingly. And yet, though equally temperate in eating also, he had such a pleasant look, and such a cheerful way of talking, that he brightened up all the repast. You would see no difference in his composed demeanour, whether it were after dinner or before. From suppers he either abstained altogether, or, if some intimate friends had chanced to arrive—among whom I might count myself—he would sit to

table, but would scarce taste anything on it. If no such friends presented themselves, he would spend the time allotted for supper in prayer and study. In the sayings that fell from his lips there ran a vein of rare pleasantry, equally removed from the trivial and the sarcastic. He found a like pleasure in the outspoken jests of his friends. But from coarse jocularities or detraction he shrank as one would from a serpent. Thus did this eminent man find the days amply long enough for him, though many complain of their being too short. But then such persons, who are ever and anon complaining of want of leisure for their serious occupations, waste on trifles a good part of the day, and not seldom of the night as well."

Erasmus goes on to mention the circumstances, honourable alike to his patron and himself, of his presentation to Aldington; adding these noble words:—"I say not this in flattery. I loved him in life, and I love him none the less in death. For what I loved in him is not dead."

Warham was a liberal patron of men of letters, and died so poor, notwithstanding all his preferments, that when, in his last illness, he inquired of his steward what amount of money remained, the answer was:—"but thirty pounds."—"Satis viatici ad cælum," he exclaimed; "enough to carry me to heaven."¹

¹ The story is almost too familiar to be repeated; and I have only reverted to it because, in an article on Erasmus in *Fraser's Magazine* (February, 1876, p. 188), Dean Colet was made the subject of it.

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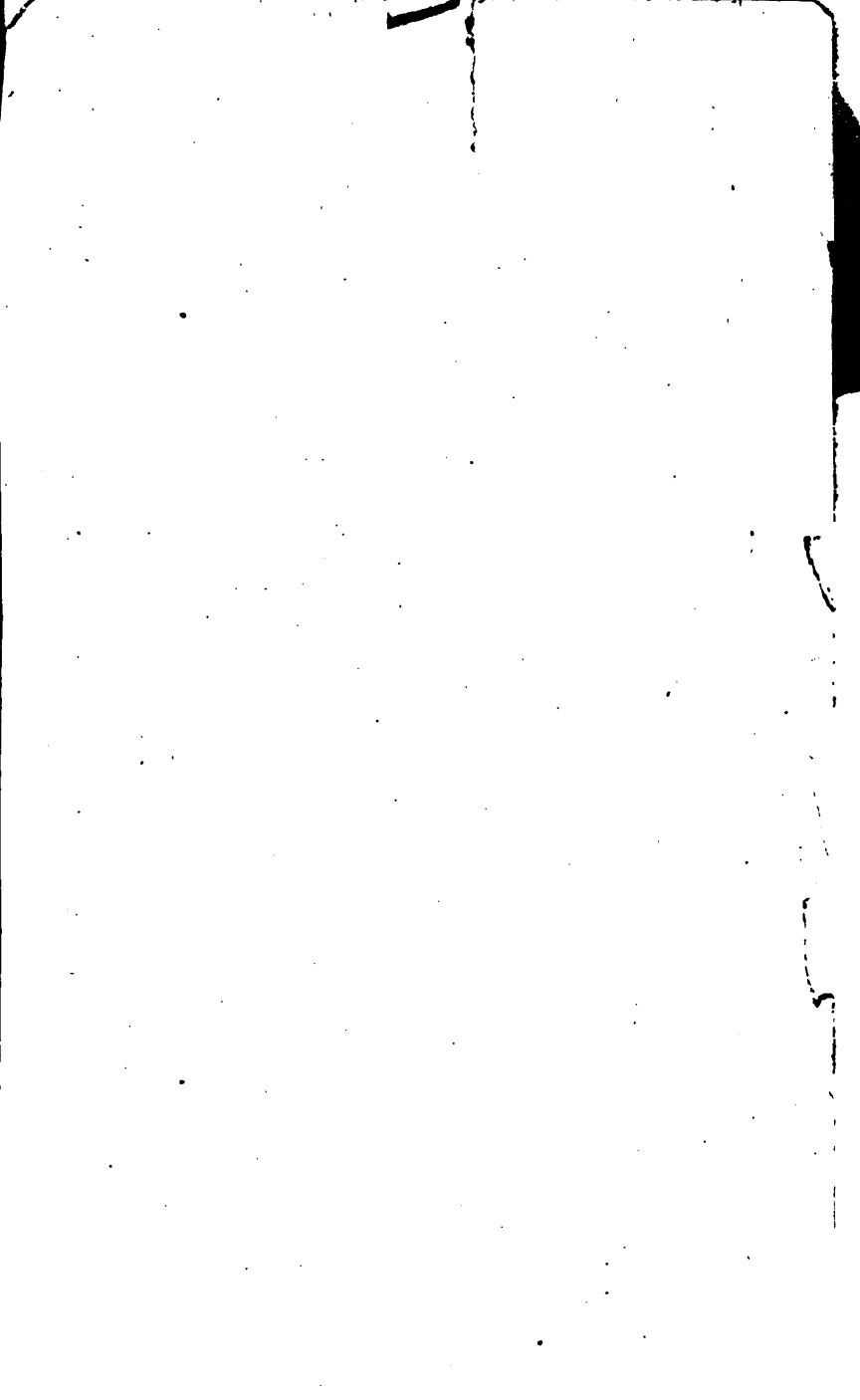
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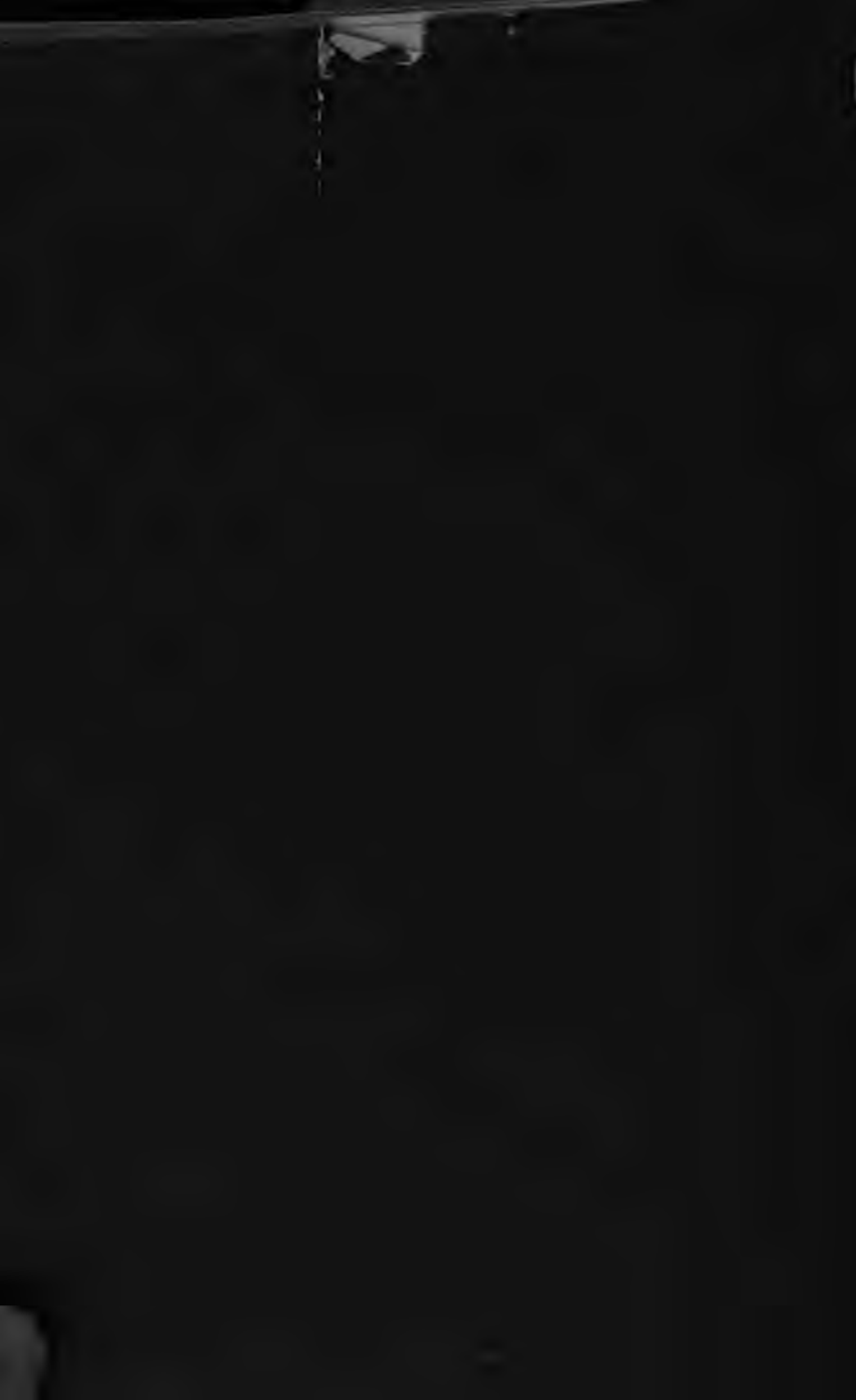
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