

A History of the English Austin Friars

(continuation) *)

3. Years of Division 1376-1422

The Great Schism divided the Austins like other religious Orders into a Roman and Avignon Obedience ¹²²⁾. They had no choice in this matter ; the decision was made by the political ruler of each country. The English king followed the Roman Obedience and so did the English Austins. Yet the ruler could enforce his decision only outwardly ; he had no dominion over inner convictions. These had to be won and formed through preaching and teaching, through popular tracts and personal contacts. This was the special task of the mendicants. The English Augustinian province counted many learned men in its midst who worked indefatigably for unity but none contributed as much to its cause as saintly William Flete in distant Lecceto. Nothing sways people as easily as the power of sanctity which by its very nature supplied that higher authority of which the Schism had deprived the Papacy.

The external union with Rome did not save England from a vicious attack on its faith by Wyclif and his Lollards. Their hatred against the Holy See and the hierarchy in general was aimed at the destruction of the organization of the church, and their denial of the real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist struck at the very

*) *Augustiniana* 8 (1958), 22-47, 465-496.

¹²²⁾ Proofs for the following statements are given in my article « The Great Schism and the Augustinian Order », *AUG.* 8 (1958), 281-298.

Since this part of our history is being printed after the edition of our *Sources* has been completed we refer to their respective numbers by adding a D to the numbers quoted in parenthesis. A cross (+) behind a name refers to the chapter on authors.

heart of true Christianity. It has often been said that some English Austins sided with Wyclif's social teaching. Whatever their ideas in this matter might have been, his attack upon faith turned them against him. Their representatives, Thomas Winterton and Robert Waldeby, stood in the forefront of the conflict and made essential contributions to the preservation of the faith.

As if Schism and Wyclifism were not enough to try men's souls to the utmost, a bitter dispute started to separate the Irish limit from the mother province. Its cause lay in the centuries old dislike of the two nations rather than in the petty grievances which were blown up into major issues.

The Schism was not yet resolved when the spirit of disunity, which like an epidemic filled the whole world, took hold of the English brethren themselves. It led to a sharply contested election which gave them in 1419 two provincials and split the province into two warring factions. Thus the English Austins fully reflected the state of divided Christendom.

Dark as these shadows may be the light is brighter, because the same period is one of highest honor for the English province. One of its members, Robert Waldeby, was appointed archbishop of York, the second highest episcopal see of the land; eight others were consecrated bishops for regular dioceses. John Bannard became chancellor of Oxford university and Henry Stocton, vice-chancellor of Cambridge. Whenever such positions multiply within a province it is an infallible sign that it has that mysterious power which attracts talented and idealistic young men; that these received the best possible training and that these facts are known to the powers which rule.

A more detailed presentation of this outline will still leave much to be desired. This deficiency will remain until new discoveries of pertinent sources can fill the void.

a. THE GREAT SCHISM

The decision of the Parliament of Gloucester to remain faithful to the Roman Pontiff was principally due to the eloquent plea for unity by the archbishop of Canterbury. Spiritual reasons, however, were not the only motive. The barons clearly saw that the French Pope could and would be of little help in holding their French possessions. They also recognized the opportunity of wresting finan-

cial gains from the papacy as a price for their loyalty, and immediately set to work to obtain them. The Crown sanctimoniously confiscated all English benefices of French cardinals, but did not restore them to the church. It imposed many new and one-sided laws in church matters and usurped many privileges which had been held by the Roman Curia. These advantages could only be retained if the usurpers adhered to Rome. Siding with Avignon would have entailed their sure loss after the restoration of unity. Avignon, therefore, had little chance to win England over to its side but it tried and sent, among other ambassadors, the first anti-general of the Austins, Master John of Hiltalingen. His mission was bound to fail like those of his predecessors.

The priors general of the Roman Obedience were more effective in their endeavors. The greatest among them, Cardinal Bonaventura Badoer, a friend of Petrarch, traveled widely in the interests of Pope Urban, and was murdered for the cause of unity¹²³). His successor, Bartholomew of Venice (1385-1400), worked indefatigably to protect the Order against further surrenders to Avignon. He excommunicated Hiltalingen; and his letters demanding strictest obedience to Urban could not have been worded more sharply. He commanded all Austins to work for the Roman cause in the pulpit and the confessional, in public lectures and private conversations (D 599). He furthermore obliged all members of his jurisdiction to swear an oath of allegiance and ordered all opponents to be thrown into the monastic prisons. To save the houses in English-held territory he separated them in 1387 from the province of Toulouse and placed them under a special superior, Master Robert Hardewi (D 586). Nothing is known of this English Austin beyond this appointment. He may have been a relative of the Provincial Geoffrey Hardeby but it is more probable that the Roman scribe confused him with Robert Waldeby, the most highly placed Austin of this period. Waldeby had been appointed tutor of Richard, son of the Black Prince, later known as King Richard II. In 1386 he became bishop of Aire in order to keep that bishopric in Roman hands after its occupant had gone over to Avignon. Three years later he was appointed chancellor of

¹²³) D. PERINI, *Il B. Bonaventura Baduario-Peraga* (Rome 1912). Badoer preached also the funeral sermon for Petrarch (PERINI, *op. cit.* 54). He was killed by an archer of Francis Carrara, podestà of Carrara, on 29 of July or 1 August 1385 (PERINI, *Bibliogr. August.* I, 77).

Aquitaine. A man in Waldeby's position would find it easier to enforce the will of the general than an unknown master.

The principal effect of the Great Schism upon the English Province came through the decision of the General Chapter of Würzburg in 1391 forbidding all Austins to obtain their academic degrees at the university of Paris as long as it adhered to Avignon. Since only the theological faculties of Oxford and Cambridge universities were rated somewhat equal to Paris European students flocked to England. Luckily, the English *studia* of the Order were then held in such high repute that even its grammar schools were attended by foreign Austin friars. Masters of the *studia generalia* like Herdeby, Erghome, Ashebourne, Winterton and others certainly surpassed the average professors of their day. The students entrusted to their care were the flower of the Order and exercised in later years a decisive influence on the life of the Order and of the Church. John Gyso of Cologne became a founder of the university in his home town (D 498). Even more important was Berthold Puchhauser of Ratisbon, the first professor of theology at the university of Vienna (D 591). After the devastation of his province by the Hussites he set himself to the task of providing his houses with copies of Augustinian authors, some of which have been preserved until now. John Zachariä became provincial of Saxony and gained wide acclaim as a preacher and opponent of Hus (D 558). This trio of prominent German Austins was surpassed by three Italians, the greatest of them being Blessed John Bechetti of Fabriano. No one is praised as highly in the registers of the prior general who did everything to hasten Bechetti's admission to the *magisterium* though with little success (D 570). He brought to the house of Oxford the example of great religious perfection and at the university of Padua he became known for his efforts to harmonize Plato with the teaching of the Bible. Soon he was joined by Paolo Veneto, one of the most prolific writers of the century and the greatest Italian dialectician of his time. He brought with him from England « many books whose authors had been completely unknown to Italy »¹²⁴) and with their help introduced an Oxonian dialectic which was still in use in Italy when

¹²⁴) Bruno NARDI, *Saggi sull'Aristotelismo Padovano del Secolo XIV al XVI* (Florence 1958) 76 quotes from Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 1381 fol. 2r this passage: « ... certum est Paulum apud Britanos visendorum gymnasiorum gratia aliquando commoratum esse, ac postea in Italiam revertentem multos libros secum detulisse, quorum auctores Italici penitus erant incogniti ».

England had long discarded it (D 630). The third Italian whose name often appears in the registers but nowhere else is Bernardo degli Angelieri of Florence who played a major role as procurator general. The total number of students from foreign countries cannot be determined exactly because individual provincials and other deserving friars received the privilege of sending students to universities of their choice. Between 1383-93 the registers of Bartholomeus Vene-tus record the names of 27 students from Germany, 16 from Italy, 6 from France, 2 from Spain and 1 from Portugal. Since in two years but one religious of each Order could be promoted this additional influx of foreign students retarded the promotion of English friars almost beyond endurance and it is not to be wondered that they stood firmly for the right order and resented the constant efforts for special privileges on the part of influential foreign confrères. It seems unbelievable that none of the old universities would yield to the Mendicants on this restriction of promotions. It became one of the principal causes for the establishment of new universities. Bologna and especially Padua soon surpassed France and England by the brilliance of its teachers and students. By 1427 attendance at the English universities had become so unimportant that general permission was granted to Englishmen to take the places reserved for foreigners. And ten years later total attendance at Oxford had fallen below the thousand mark (D 784n).

William Flete

Human frailty had brought about the Great Schism, human effort had to bring it to an end. St. Catherine of Siena, whom even Coulton calls the greatest woman of medieval times, brought more zeal to this effort than any contemporary. She had gathered about her a group of devoted followers, among them the Augustinian William Flete. With two companions he had left England in 1359 to find in Lecceto near Siena that complete union with God which alone can satisfy the true religious (D 443). In Augustinian history no monastery is as famous for sanctity as Lecceto. It derived its name from the dark ilex(oak) woods by which it was surrounded. The monastic plant consisted of the monastery proper where the regular religious life was practiced and a number of individual cells scattered through the woods. A candidate received his fundamental training at the monastery and only when he desired to lead a strictly here-

mitical life and was judged sufficiently prepared for it was he assigned one of those lonely cells where he might strive for complete union with God. Once a week these hermits came to the monastery for salt and bread, the needed consultation or confession ¹²⁵). Wondrous stories of divine communications, harsh penances and great sanctity were told in the streets of nearby Siena. No wonder that St. Catherine was drawn with irresistible force to this holy place where she also became acquainted with William Flete. Like the rest of her compatriots she admired not only his sanctity, austere though it was, but also his learning which made her speak of him as the « baccagliere Inglese ». Studying was Flete's principal occupation after the hours of prayer and penance and his learning impressed all who came to know him.

Little was known of Flete's life and work until Gwynn's *English Austin Friars* gave him the place of honor he deserved. Since then Father Hackett discovered over forty manuscripts of Flete's *Remedies against Temptations* while Gwynn knew only one. This great number of surviving manuscripts mark him as a spiritual writer of importance and are the surest proof of the high esteem in which he was held. His importance will be more fully recognized once his biography by Father Hackett will have appeared and the planned edition of his works realized ¹²⁶).

Flete's piety and learning induced St. Catherine to choose him as her spiritual director. This is true at least for the time before the arrival of Blessed Raymund of Capua. When the saint made the cause of the papacy her own she wanted Flete to engage as actively in Urban's cause as she did. He found it, however, difficult to break the habit of solitude which he had acquired with such pain during the course of twenty years. His cool English temperament let him also see more clearly the difficulties originating from the pope's violent character which was no doubt known to him. At first St. Catherine did not understand Flete, and upbraided him in several letters for not following the pope's call. These letters have ever since been sufficient reason for condemning Flete. St. Catherine, who had to

¹²⁵) JORDANUS DE SAXONIA, *Vitas fratrum* 59. The passage describes eremitical customs in the Tuscan Congregation before the Great Union in 1256, but these practices were revived in the 14th century, especially by Blessed Simon of Cascia.

¹²⁶) GWYNN, *English Austin Friars* 139-192; B. HACKETT, « Spiritual Life of the English Austin Friars of the Fourteenth Century », *Sanctus Augustinus Vitae Spiritualis Magister* 2 (Rome 1959) 473-492.

change her opinion of men on more than one occasion, forgave Flete — if such forgiveness was necessary — and appointed him one of the few men to whom she entrusted her famiglia. She would never have committed those most dear to her to one whom she did not trust and unless she thought him influential and wise enough to guide them well.

While Flete did not follow Catherine's invitation to go to Rome he was nevertheless active in Pope Urban's behalf. According to his own testimony he wrote many letters to all parts of the world, a statement which has been conveniently overlooked. These letters were so effective that among the sixteen reasons given for England's faithfulness to Rome the revelations and letters of William Flete are given as the thirteenth reason ¹²⁷). Unfortunately only a few of the letters sent to England have survived (D 547). By writing them he broke a silence of twenty years. A most touching aspect of these letters is his homesickness for old England, a sentiment which we find in many English Austins. In Flete it was so strong that he was afraid to lose his inner peace just by thinking of the homeland. The ascetical part of the three letters will be discussed in a later chapter. Here we are interested only in his energetic stand for the rightfully chosen Pope Urban, an attitude which could not but impress his confrères and all readers. To weaken Flete's importance the editor of these letters has seen fit to argue for another English friar, also called William, who lived at Centumcellae ; but an unknown writer could not have exercised such influence, only a well known personality could have succeeded. Others have doubted the influence of the lettres. But granted that they were not widely diffused, did Flete not ask therein for processions and public litanies to be held for Urban ? Anyone acquainted with the influence of personal sanctity upon the masses would never deny that such public demonstrations created a strong feeling for Urban's rightful cause thus keeping the people on his side. These letters also helped to propagate the feast of St. Anne in England, after Flete and others had induced Urban to make her feast obligatory for the whole country (D. 544).

St. Catherine of Siena was not the only saint shaping Flete's life. He was also united in a strong friendship with John Colombini, the founder of the Gesuati and a vigorous defender of the poor workers of Siena. Through him Flete saw more clearly the evil of

¹²⁷) GWYNN, *Austin Friars* 240-248.

his day and did not hesitate to take the new political leaders of Siena to task for their cruel treatment of the deposed Duodeci.

Erghome, Ashebourne and Waldeby were outstanding men of their time, but not great religious leaders in the strict sense of the word. This place was reserved for William Flete. It was only the power of his religious personality which influenced England.

The Council of Constance 1414-1418

The Schism in the church was finally ended at the Council of Constance. The Prior General of the Austins, Peter de Vena, took such an intense interest in its success that he did not attend the chapter of Avignon, held in 1415, but had himself represented by a vicar. He also saw to it that sixteen theologians of the Order took part in the Council¹²⁸), of whom only one representative of the English province has become known so far: Master Geoffrey Shale⁺. His name has probably nothing to do with the German word Schale, meaning cup, but seems to be derived from the Gaelic Shales (to-day O'Sheill) or Scail (to-day O'Scahill). In 1421 he was made master regent in Dublin because in the whole Irish limit no master could conveniently take this position. The studium which he directed was probably a *studium concursorium* which prepared young men for ordination. Nowhere is there an indication that Ireland had a *studium generale*.

A copy of Shale's *Art of Preaching* was brought to St. Thomas monastery in Brünn (Brno) Moravia, by the highly respected Lector Simon of Brünn who had studied in Cambridge in 1419 (D 713). Until the recent suppression of this monastery by the Communists the manuscript was preserved in its library but forms now part of the university library of the same city. The codex holds special interest because of several tracts on the reception of the Holy Eucharist under both species, a question which interested Simon's contemporaries more than any other and was discussed in detail at the Council of Constance.

Of Shale's activities at the Council we have only a sermon, preached about 1417¹²⁹). Its theme: « We are one body in Christ »

¹²⁸) HÖHN, *Chronol. Prov. Rheno-Suev.* 85.

¹²⁹) *Brit. Mus. Ms. Royal App. VII* contains nine sermons preached at the Council all of which were overlooked by H. FINKE, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*. Besides Shales sermon the above manuscript contains that of a fellow Augustinian

is presented in strictly scholastic style and abounds in long quotations from St. Augustine.

Shale's name has not been mentioned by a single Augustinian historian of the past nor by any writer of the Council of Constance. The praises were reserved for Master Johannes Zachariä, a fellow student and later provincial of Saxony, who has become a sort of legendary figure in Augustinian history. He was called *Husso-mastix*, Hus-whip, because his sharp dialectic supposedly convicted Hus of heresy. This great achievement — it was said — so pleased the pope that he came personally to the Augustinian monastery in Constance and presented him with the golden rose. It is true that on the 6 March 1418 Pope Martin V carrying the golden rose came to this monastery accompanied by all the dignitaries of church and state then present in the city ¹³⁰). The pope, however, brought the golden rose not to the celebrated Master John Zachariä but to Emperor Sigismund who had established headquarters in the monastery and lay sick abed. Thus another legend is laid to rest though there was some basis in fact for it. The fact of the pope's coming to the Austins carrying the golden rose remained known but in the course of the centuries the reason which brought him there was forgotten. When an explanation was sought in the years after the Reformation anything which shed lustre on the badly shaken Order was readily accepted. One author copied this splendid tale from another until it was firmly established. It should be repeated no longer.

Gerolamo Savio (or Leonardi), bishop of Rimini 1418-35 but then « ambassador of the great lords of Malatesta ». PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.* does not know this sermon. About Savio see LANTERI, *Eremiti* I, 323.

¹³⁰) « Als Papst Martin V am Samstag vor Laetare zu Mittelfasten (6 März 1418) eine goldene Rose weihte, da « Sandt er », wie Kirchental S. 122 sagt, « den rosen unseren Herrn, dem künig, bey dem Margraven von Brandenburg zu den augustinern do er siech lag (an Rose des Beines), und fürt in also offentlich an seiner Hand ab der pfallenz zu den augustinern, and ritten mit Im all Kardinal, Erzbischof, Herzogen, fürsten, grafen, freyen, ritter und knecht, und all Herren, gaistlich und weltlich, und posauner und pfiffer, die ymmerdar posauten und pfiffen tu widerstrit. Und so sy zu den augustinern kamen, da fürt man den künig herfür, und empfung in vast demütiglich ». B. STENGEL, *Das ehemalige Augustinerkloster zu Konstanz*, p. 187.

A. Massari, the last medieval chronicler of the Augustinian Order, does not know the story of the golden rose. Román's, *Chronica* which appeared in 1569 seems to have it for the first time. Román seems to have loved anything sensational. He also brings for the first time the massacre of London (D 1161). For Spain also he records facts (?) which are not to be found in any other history.

One other English Austin is mentioned in connection with the Great Schism. In 1399 Master John Hynkeley was called to Oxford by King Richard II « to consider with other learned men ways and means to terminate the Schism in the Church » (D 645). Hynkeley wrote three books on the authority of the Church (*De potestate Ecclesiastica*) against Wyclif which are now lost. He also worked energetically with Archbishop Courtney in stamping out heresy. In Leicester he fought especially against William Swinderby, one of Wyclif's main agents. He might also have been the author of a letter to one of the prelates of the Council of Constance who had a great love for the Austin Friars¹³¹). The writer alludes to the many afflictions and the great harm his Order had suffered during the Schism without giving any details. He referred no doubt to the bitter division caused by the Schism. He might have alluded to the dangerous attack of William Pateshull and his fellow Lollards upon the great house in London or called attention to the horror of the Hussite wars which had destroyed all monasteries in Moravia and Bohemia and even some in Bavaria (D 713).

b. THE IRISH QUESTION¹³²)

By the middle of the fourteenth century there existed thirteen Austin friaries in Ireland. They formed the fifth and largest but also the poorest limit of the English Province. Ireland's location, its Gaelic tongue, and its racial differences demanded the independence of this limit. This was achieved in fact though not by law. It

¹³¹) *Brit. Mus. Add. Mss.* 45523, fol. 58v: « Ego et prefata religio Sancti Augustini, que ab origine pestiferi schismatis et ipso durante schismate multifarie scessa et lacerata damna quamplurima atque detrimenda passa fuit et adhuc patitur ». The letter was written in support of the real petition now unknown. It was presented to the prelate by B. de Ber. (or Bre.), doctor of Canon Law and professor in Limoges. Was the intermediary perhaps Peter Ameilh (Amely) de Brenaco who was confessor and librarian of Pope Gregory IX whose return to Italy he described in verses? See P. RONZY, *Le Voyage de Grégoire IX ramenant la Papauté de Avignon à Rome* [1376/7], Florence 1952. Brenacum was a small town near Limoges.

¹³²) Where no other references are given we base our narrative on F. X. MARTIN, « Irish Material in the Augustinian Archives, Rome, 1354-1624 », *Archivium Hibernicum* 19 (1956) 71-122, and « The Irish Augustinian Reform Movement in the 15th Century », *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn S. J.* Dublin 1961, 230-264.

would seem that its erection into a province was refused chiefly for political reasons ; most of the Irish houses lay within the English pale and royal policy kept Irish institutions dependent on English ones. With the Reform Movement of Banada (1423) whose houses lay in independent territories an ever greater degree of self-government was granted but never complete independence. Other reasons, therefore, must have made a union desirable. One of them, no doubt, was the lack of all colleges of liberal arts and theology throughout Ireland and the consequent dependence on the English *studia*, a dependence all the greater because of the poverty of the limit.

Nothing is known concerning the laws and privileges regulating the relationship between the English province and the Irish limit until 1359 when the prior general, Matthew of Ascoli, confirmed the ancient usage of an Irish vicar being appointed by the English provincial. This vicar was to rule in all spiritual and temporal matters. Once a year he was to call the more prominent members of his limit for a chapter or congregation, choose four of them and fix with their advice and consent the membership of each house. Two delegates had to bring the acts of these assemblies to the annual provincial chapter and pay towards its expenses a *pistura*. If other Irish priors or masters of divinity wanted to attend such chapters they also had each to pay a *pistura*. Like the four English limits the Irish also had the right to propose at these meetings its candidates for academic degrees.

Only one Irish master is known at this time (1359), John Dale. At a period when England had a superfluity of masters in theology, their scarcity in Ireland indicates the difficulties under which talented Irishmen labored who desired a higher education. In all Ireland there was not one college of liberal arts and theology ; in fact an Irish university did not come into existence until 1591. This depressing state of affairs had induced the prior general to demand the regular attendance of at least six Irish friars at the English *studia*. The long years needed for obtaining academic degrees weighed, however, heavily on the finances of the poor limit and after the devastation of the Black Death, even an annual payment of one mark for each student was thought too difficult. In May 1348*, therefore, they appealed to the king. They stated that John de Graunsete was willing to pay the six marks if he could charge his tenements in Dublin with it. When no answer was forthcoming they repeated their

request in July of the same year* adding the promise that four friars in their houses of Dublin, Drogheda, Cork and New Ross would say a daily mass for the king and his family. This time their petition was granted. Before a change for the better was noticeable matters had become so bad that between 1354 and 1359 three general chapters granted the Irish limit as well as other provinces the right of appointing men as priors even though they did not speak Latin. In 1361 Lionel, second son of King Edward III, was appointed viceroy of Ireland¹³³). He brought with him the love for the Austins with whom he had become acquainted in Clare, Suffolk. Seeing their academic difficulties he created for them a professorship of theology at the house of scholars connected with St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (D 488). This favor may have relieved their difficulty but could not essentially change it. It may, however, been the first step toward their *studium* in Dublin mentioned in 1421*.

After the departure of Lionel, English prestige in Ireland constantly decreased. Instead of correcting their own mistakes the English believed that the increased emigration of Anglo-Irish to their country was the cause for so many « wild » Irish settling in their places. Since these newcomers were neither as docile nor as reliable as their predecessors the king forced all Irishmen living in England to return to their native soil by September 1393 or face the penalty of death¹³⁴). The prior general of the Austins, therefore, commanded that all Irish subjects return home by All Saints 1394. It is interesting to note here again how policies and problems of the realm are reflected in those of the Order.

The harsh new attitude of the king stirred up the ever present racial antipathy to fever heat. While national and racial considerations should halt at the monastery gates it is well to realize that religious are also children of their times and environment. Only intensive spiritual training will succeed in overcoming such human frailty in the individual religious. Henry Teesdale, it would seem, did not succeed in this. Elected prior provincial in the first year of the Schism he showed his animosity against the Irish at the General Chapter held at Gran, Hungary, in 1385. The assembled voters gave to his diffinitor full power « to abrogate, correct, modify or increase

¹³³) E. CURTIS, « Te Viceroyalty of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in Ireland 1361-1367 », *The Journal of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries in Ireland* 47 (1917) 165-181 and 48 (1918) 65-73.

¹³⁴) CAPGRAVE, *Cronicle* 258/9; ANSTEY, *Munimenta* I, 236.

the privileges and graces of the Irish limit ». They had been deceived, however, by the shrewdly worded proposition. Teesdale made use only of the power to abrogate and abolished all privileges of his confrères on the Emerald Isle. Thereupon the Irish refused to pay the annual four marks of sterling which they had formerly paid for their privileges. Bitter accusations from both sides came to Rome but nothing was done until 1391 when the general chapter of Würzburg directed the Prior General Bartholomeus Venetus to restore all former graces of the Irish limit. He officially disapproved of Teesdale's action as « exceeding the bounds of justice and charity ». He ordered, however, that the Irish limit pay the prescribed annual tax. Thereupon the English provincial demanded all arrears and when this was refused he excommunicated the Irish vicar, Gerald Caneton, and all his priors. Teesdale did not act on his own in this matter but executed only the decision of the provincial chapter held at Gorleston in 1392. The Irish, however, had some good canons in Masters John Holywood, Adam Payn and Caneton himself. They appealed to the general in the prescribed form thus preventing any action against their limit. In 1394 the general reduced the payment of the unpaid taxes to 50 ducats and restored to the Irish limit its former rights and privileges. The favor shown may have had other reasons beside the need for mercy. Ireland as a country was not firmly established in the Roman fold during the Great Schism. The English-held territory remained loyal to Rome but the rest of Ireland was inclined to follow the course of political expediency and more than one bishop and lord joined at times the Avignon Obedience. Religious superiors, therefore, had to be very careful not to antagonize those followers in borderlands who were still faithful but restless.

When the Irish recognized the favorable attitude of the Roman Curia they tried to press their advantage by clamoring for the reduction of other taxes. As the fifth limit they had to pay one fifth of all expenses incurred by delegates to general chapters and one fifth of all assessments prescribed by the general. The reduction of these charges was refused ; yet the complaints gained one small advantage : they had to pay no longer one fifth of the expenses required for papal privileges unless they shared in them.

Had there been full unity among the Irish brethren they would have steadily wrested more concessions from the English province but they were weakened by their racial differences. In 1397 it be-

came necessary for the general to demand that the four diffinitors of the Irish chapters be chosen from the four parts (*plagae*) of Ireland : one each from Ulster, Connacht, Leinster and Munster.

The years 1413 and 1422 mark another high in anti-Irish feeling. All Irish students at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were dismissed, thus depriving them of a chance for higher education. The expulsion did not apply to students of theology yet the long list of scholars assigned to England by the prior general Favaroni does not contain the name of a single Irishman. Were they afraid of England's hostile attitude or did they choose to share the fate of their nation ?

In 1456 troubles were again brewing and for seven successive years the Irish limit did not pay its provincial taxes until the threat of excommunication made them comply.

Once the Reform movement of Banada started in Ireland (1423) the rights of the English provincial were gradually reduced to a minimum. Since 1464 the general appointed the presidents for the Irish chapters in the same way as those for England. In 1476 Ireland became practically a province of its own by receiving the right to elect its own vicar. His lawful election *ipso facto* included his confirmation. In 1480 the English provincial was told by the general not to « molest » any house of the Observance ; he could exact the prescribed tax and nothing else. This exclusion of the provincial authority took place in all provinces in which Reform congregations were established. Once their first fervor had grown cold, this exclusion of ordinary authority greatly weakened the Order. When the evil consequences became evident in 1524 the blame was conveniently shifted to the English provincial, Master John Stokes, even though the vicar and the priors of Ireland no longer recognized his authority. The destiny of man, however, is directed by an infinite wisdom which uses the failures of men to achieve its purpose. Subsequent events were to demonstrate how fortunate the separation was.

Henry Teesdale 1376/1380 ; 1385/1388*

Teesdale's handling of the Irish question seems to reveal him as a highhanded, harsh superior who insisted on his way be it fair or foul. This may well have been the opinion concerning him in the Irish limit. In his own country, however, he was liked so well that

after two terms in office (1376 ?-1381 ?) he was re-elected in 1385 for a like number of years. At the expiration of his office he was allowed to retire and was granted a servant for life. He seems to have been quite old by that time.

His strong will enabled him to bear the trials which beset his government from the very beginning. In the first year two friars drowned in the Ouse river (D 526) ; Rye was burnt to the ground (D 533), Cambridge ran into financial difficulties (D 527) and the Great Schism created a multitude of problems, most of all by the many foreign students who finding the heavy expenses of their student years most burdensome provoked considerable unrest by their constant requests for special favors. His first year saw also the eyes of the whole country fastened on the house of Clare when the bodily remains of Prince Lionel were transferred from Pavia and placed in Clare beside the remains of his first wife Elizabeth de Burgh. Also about 1377 Newport, the only Augustinian settlement in Wales, was founded by Hugh, second earl of Stafford (D 530). Little is known about this new place beyond the fact of its foundation. The difficulties which had arisen with St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, which held the advowson of the local parish church, were settled on 2 July 1377*. The accord was signed also by Teesdale. The destruction of the young foundation in 1402 (D 666) was probably the principal reason why it never became an important center for the neighborhood. We know of the plans for two additional foundations : one was to be at Bernard Castle, Durham Diocese, for which Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick received permission in 1381 (D 547). The other attempt was made in Tawstock for which Ralph Basset, lord of Drayton, gave land in 1385 (D 563). Since it was located near Barnstaple where the Austins had tried once before to erect a house, we may surmise that the Cluniac prior again prevented its realization. The reasons for the failure of Bernard Castle are not given.

During Teesdale's time as provincial the English Austins experienced one of their truly flourishing periods. At no other time they had so many outstanding members who in turn gained powerful friends. Some of these new friends had fought side by side in France and we cannot but conclude that Robert Waldeby, the king's physician and his administrator of Aquitaine, was the principal cause for this friendship. These friends were in particular James d'Audley, Richard Stafford, Ralph Basset and Reginald Cobham. Their liegemen followed their lead. In November 1379*, for example, Sir Tho-

mas Dutton, one of Audley's four squires, established with great pomp a perpetual chantry in Warrington. Teesdale was also present. Another great lord, William Morley, wanted to be buried at Austin Friars in Norwich. In his will he also bequeathed a gift to the Austin Friar Richard, his confessor, who was probably identical with Richard Cheffer+, an outstanding preacher.

Teesdale was a man of order. He appointed Master Erghome to settle the differences between the house of Clare and its former Prior Robert concerning the expenses for Prince Lionel's funeral (D 531); he pressed the arrest of fugitive friars (D 585), and when the sanctuary rights of Clare had been violated he induced Robert of Baybroke, bishop of London, to impose the necessary penalty on the culprits (D 562). The *Cartulary of Clare* gives an interesting description of the latter case. A John de Quintone had stolen some goods from Thomas Mortimer, kn. To avoid punishment he sought asylum in Clare's conventual church. Mortimer and six of his men seized Quintone, cut off his ears and then returned him to the church. The bishop excommunicated them for this deed and prescribed as penance that Mortimer walk on a Sunday before Lent barefooted to the friars' church and place on its altar a golden cloth and a candle weighing three pounds. His accomplices had to offer candles weighing one pound each.

c. WYCLIFISM

Thomas Winterton 1381-1384 ; 1388-1402

Master Thomas Winterton+ followed Teesdale twice in the government of the province. His first year in office was as depressing as that of Teesdale. Deep social unrest stirred England's lower classes and erupted in the violence of the Peasants' War and the Revolt of Wat Tyler. The participation of some Austins of Clare in the Peasants' War cannot be proved but Austin Friars in London witnessed the violence of Wat Tyler's Revolt when thirteen Flemings who had sought refuge in their large church were dragged out and killed (D 545). The same year 1381 saw also the condemnation of Wyclif. Because the theological cathedra of the university stood in the dining hall of Austin Friars, Oxford, until the university built its own theological school, Wyclif received his condemnation while teaching in the monastery.

The province was fortunate to have a man like Winterton at its helm during this difficult period. His fine theological training enabled him to understand Wyclif's heresy clearly, and his gentlemanly, truly Augustinian conduct avoided rude polemics in his writings against him. Bishop Bale was probably right in calling Winterton a friend of Wyclif before the latter's defection. In his *Absolutio* Winterton treats Wyclif with respect and an evidently sincere desire to regain him for the true faith. Winterton had not been the only Augustinian to be drawn to Wyclif. One reason was Wyclif's reliance on St. Augustine and such love of their Father always appealed to Augustinian scholars. Wyclif appealed to the friars also as a leader in the cause of social justice. The friars were opposed to the *possessio-nati*, especially the great abbeys. This antagonism cannot be explained as a natural reaction to the constant acts of hostility on the part of the abbeys whenever friars wanted to erect a house within their territory. The cause lay deeper. Mendicants came as a rule from the common people, understood their misery, knew their burdens. They helped the sick by their knowledge of medicine, the needy by their alms. The suppressed masses held no grievance against the friars as they did against the great abbeys. Friars had no big estates demanding the hated villeinage nor did they impose taxes. No wonder that Wat Tyler's and Jack Straw's « avowed desire » was « to abolish all ecclesiastics save the friars » (D 545).

Amongst the Austins of this period a definite trend towards social justice is noticeable. Men like Ashebourn and Bankyn spoke strongly for the common man. In various cities an ever closer contact with the guilds was established and at least one document proves a fine sense of social responsibility towards their employees. In 1379, the house of Lynn made a contract with Geoffrey Gadgrave, its miller and baker, to pay him 30s a year for his work. For old age and sickness, that is inability to work, they provided no salary but room and board for life as for any of the brethren (D 534).

As long as Wyclif stood for the social uplift of the masses the Austins were with him but when he attacked and denied clear dogmas of the faith they turned against him. Adam Stocton⁺ best expresses this change of attitude when he crossed out the words *venerabilis doctor* with which he had prefaced Wyclif's name in his manuscript and wrote over it *execrabilis seductor*¹³⁵). The « Earth-

¹³⁵) GWYNN, *Engl. Aust. Friars* 255.

quake Council » of 17 May 1382* which condemned Wyclif was attended by the Austins Ashebourne and Bankyn, doctors of Oxford, John Hormenton, doctor of Cambridge, and Robert Waldeby, doctor of Toulouse. In later meetings they were joined by Master John Curteys. After his condemnation Wyclif retired to his vicarage in Lutterworth. Being protected by the powerful John Gaunt he did not undergo the punishment so quickly meted out to confessed heretics in those days. His followers, the Lollards, wandered about spreading his heresies, exciting the masses and doing much other mischief. When the unrest had led to the murder of Sudbury, bishop of London and chancellor of the kingdom, John Gaunt's policy of blind inactivity was quickly changed. The young king gave his fullest support to William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, who vigorously sought out the leaders of the Lollards. The other bishops joined in this concerted drive to stamp out heresy and learned friars were their most valued helpers. The Austins wrote many books and tracts against the Lollards but only the *Absolutio* of Winterton has survived. They also proceeded against those who had defected from their own ranks. In May 1387* John Bankyn, prior of London, asked the bishop of Ely to issue warrants for the arrest of William Pateshull, Thomas Beauchamp, Robert Stokusle and John Sude (?) all of whom had left the Order without permission. In October 1395* Stephen Peryn was added to this list. It is, however, impossible to say whether they only followed the example of vagabond friars in the past or were active Lollards. The worst among them was Master Peter Pateshull who had joined the sect in 1386 and subjected his former confrères in London to calumnies of the worst kind. After one of his public tirades a mob of Lollards started to burn down London's Austin friary but were held in check by the calm courage of Ashebourne, regent of the monastic school, and Bankyn, prior of the house, until the sheriff could disperse the mob (D 584).

Oxford's secret support of Wyclif's heresy destroyed its reputation as a bulwark of orthodoxy. The failure by the two leading universities of Christendom, Paris through its conciliar theories, and Oxford through heresy was a severe blow to the papacy. They were to pay dearly for this defection. Strongly supported by the popes the universities of Padua and Bologna took over Europe's intellectual leadership through the brilliance of its professors and students. Austin professors were to play a far greater role at these Italian universities than they ever had at Paris and Oxford. Even their bright stu-

dents like Zachariä and Puchhauser did not graduate from Oxford but Bologna and John Erghome⁺, an English Austin, seems to have preceded them, though not for the same reasons¹³⁶). With the departure of the continental students the influence of England on the theological development of the Order became very weak indeed. Whatever influence it still exercised came from the English masters who taught at foreign universities. In England itself the Order began to gravitate towards Cambridge. The more important English masters of the fifteenth century are almost without exception graduates of Cambridge. The house in Oxford sank so low that in 1426 it had not sufficient members to carry on its work (D 742). The Order suffered heavily from this development because it was in Cambridge not in Oxford that the Reformers of the sixteenth century found their stronghold.

In 1389 Thomas Winterton gave permission for a new foundation in Thetford, Norfolk (D 602). Its patron was John Gaunt, the younger brother of Prince Lionel. The Dominicans tried to block the foundation but could not prevail against the mightiest man in the kingdom. Thetford was always regarded as a royal foundation. That it was founded from the very beginning as a school for talented boys of the neighborhood cannot be proved. The fifteen boys in its school mentioned in 1424 were probably candidates for the Order (D 733).

Thetford was the last Austin friary established in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For more than 120 years not a single effort at expansion was made, not a single offer or request for a new foundation is known. A sudden stagnation afflicted all religious Orders alike but historians have given little thought to the causes for this decline beyond pointing out the steady decline in membership, although certain factors were evident which preceded similar failures in other countries. The decrease in mem-

¹³⁶) F. EHRLE, *I Più Antichi Statuti della Facoltà Teologica dell'Università di Bologna*. Bologna 1932. John Zachariä is listed as no 120 among the new doctors and Berthold of Ratisbon as n° 128. As far as Erghome is concerned Father Hackett made the following observations. The Master Johannes de Anglia (n° 18) is mentioned before Giovanni da Siena OESA who was master before 8 Sept. 1370. This should, therefore, be the terminus ad quem for John of England's inception as master. Erghome was not master before 8 September 1372 when he signed the Library Catalogue of York (*Fasciculus* 19). EMDEN, *Biogr. Reg. Oxford* I, 644 cites MAZZETTI, *Memorie Storiche sulla Comunità di Bologna* p. 297 for 1380 as the date of John of England's inception as master. If this be correct, then there is no a priori reason why he is not identical with Erghome.

bership became a matter of such alarm to the prior general that he admonished Provincial Teesdale in 1385 to pay special attention to this vital question (D 568). Exact figures, however, are difficult to get. The episcopal lists of *ordinati* would be an infallible guide if they were all available but many have been lost, and even in the existing registers are *lacunae* for as many as thirteen years. Some insight into the seriousness of the situation may be gained from the episcopal registers of the Diocese of Hereford. They show that the Black Death did not immediately bring the expected drop in membership. Apparently many were moved to enter by the horrors they had witnessed who ordinarily would not have joined the religious life. The drop in membership is noticeable with frightening clarity when the generation born after the Great Plague should have been ready for ordination. Between 1327-1361 the Hereford registers enumerate 114 *ordinati* but they list only 49 between 1361-1404¹³⁷). This constitutes a loss of about 60 %, a loss which is due to the general decrease in population on the one hand and the diminished attractiveness of the religious life on the other. The decline of religious discipline which followed the Black Death and the Great Schism robbed religious of the power to train souls to greatness which alone gains a large following. This will be considered in the next chapter. Neither did any English Order cultivate a great new goal like foreign missions which attracted so many vocations in the following centuries. All these shortcomings within monastic life have been repeated time and again. Too little emphasis, however, is put on the tremendous harm done by the enemies of monasticism, Wyclif and his Lollards, Langland, Chaucer and their circles. By conscious exaggeration and distortion of existing faults and weaknesses common to all human beings, they created an ugly caricature of religious men and women,

¹³⁷) In addition to the printed lists of *ordinati* in the *Publications of the Canterbury and York Soc.* etc., we can supply some new material from unpublished registers through the kindness of A. B. Emden.

		Priests	Deacons	Subdeacons	Acolytes	Total
Canterbury	1367-1406	10	13	9	5	37
Lichfield	1360-1385	42	25	31	—	98
London	1362-1375	31	21	22	11	85
Winchester	1367-1404	6	4	6	—	16
Worcester	1367-1406	3	2	7	4	16
York	1357-1380	91	44	33	21	189
Total		183	109	108	41	441

and consequently an aversion for the religious life, thus causing a severe dwindling of vocations. We have seen the same forces at work in our own day, for example in Nazi Germany, and it is enlightening to notice that their purpose and methods were the same. As a result of this propaganda a law was passed in 1402 forbidding mendicant Orders to accept boys before the age of fourteen. Originally the antagonists had demanded a minimum age of twenty-one and their supporters in Parliament had even described the admission of younger boys as kidnapping (D 664). The law should have been unnecessary if both Canon Law and the Constitutions of the Order had been observed, but the need for vocations blinded local superiors. The outcry in Parliament was partially justified since boys at the age of ten did not only receive the habit but made also solemn profession without understanding obligations involved and in many cases without a real vocation (D 663, 977). On the other hand the new law seems to have greatly decreased the elementary training of boys and thus hurt the monastic schools which supplied vocations. A decade later we hear repeated complaints about the dearth of members at Oxford and Cambridge, Rye and Northampton.

A further cause for the decline of new foundations lay in the financial difficulties of both king and noblemen due to the huge financial losses in France and the ruinous Wars of the Roses. Kings and noblemen had been, with few exceptions, the only founders of Austin friaries in England. Money was no longer available for such purposes. The long wars also affected the growth of the population and even more so good morale and high ideals, the necessary foundations of vocations. The weakening of the moral fibre among the people should not be overlooked in an analysis of the decrease of vocations and the lower standard of those who knocked at the monastery gate for admission.

The anti-mendicant spirit engendered by the Lollards also found its way into orthodox circles. In 1400 Orford had to ask for protection (D 1170) and four years later the pastor of Mancetter started a long and bitter battle against the Austins of Atherstone (D 669-672). Nothing is known so far of the difficulties of Orford but those of Atherstone are given in great detail. They concern principally the same points of dispute which had engaged religious and secular clergy for so many decades. Some of the complaints of the pastor, William Brinkelow, were fully justified. The people of Atherstone, not having a parish church of their own, had become

attached to the Austin friary and attended their church rather than that of distant Mancetter. The bishop of Lichfield, John Bourgh, a Dominican, saw the difficulties but thought the accusations of the pastor without merit and refused to act. Thereupon the pastor complained to Rome and Rome ordered the bishop to investigate. The willingness of the Austins to arbitrate is evident from every page of the long legal document, while some demands of the pastor show an acrimonious, unchristian spirit. He resented not only the burials in the friary but was also incensed by the pews in their church which made services more comfortable. The Austins were so sure of their cause that they left it entirely to the judgment of a board of arbiters but they were to be deeply disappointed. The arbiters, all seculars, sided with the pastor even in cases which had nothing to do with parochial rights and which were treated differently both in the diocese of Lichfield and all other places where mendicants had houses. The Austins for example were forbidden of preaching on Sundays or announcing lost articles, of blessing bread or distributing holy water. The much disputed question whether parents had the right to decide on the burial place for their children was decided in favor of the pastor. Even the canonical portion (1/4) was extended to gifts and stipends which had nothing to do with directives of Pope Boniface VIII.

Archbishop Robert Waldeby ¹³⁸⁾

The foundation of Thetford was probably due to Robert Waldeby⁺ who worked side by side with John Gaunt in France and had gone to Spain to find a bride for him. His position and activities distinguish him so much from the average English Austin friar that he seems a man apart. The main reason for his joining the Order was probably the deep impression his stern older relative, John Waldeby, the author and famous preacher, had made upon him. Robert had not received his early training in the Order but had entered as *doctor utriusque juris* and had studied medicine besides. Either the need for priests after the second great pestilence of 1361 or his previous studies were the reason why he received all the orders from

¹³⁸⁾ For general biographies of Robert Waldeby see DNB LIX, 12-13; E. A. FORAN, « Robert de Waldeby, Archbishop of Dublin 1390/5 », *Irish Ecclesiastical Review* ser. 5, vol. 17 (1921) 356-364; GWYNN, *Engl. Austin Friars* 272.

acolyte to priesthood within a year ¹³⁹). A fortuitous circumstance sent him to Toulouse. In 1365 Pope Urban V issued an extraordinarily sharp command to the Austins to send gifted students to Toulouse, his *alma mater*, for obtaining academic degrees ¹⁴⁰). The Order obeyed and Waldeby was no doubt rather willing to go because in Toulouse he would not find the overcrowding of other universities and, therefore, would not have to wait so long for his doctorate. By 1370 he was master and was called « Doctor Tolosanus ». This turn in his life proved fortunate because in Toulouse he met the Black Prince († 1376) who made him tutor of his son, the future King Richard II. When John Gaunt succeeded the Black Prince Waldeby quickly rose in stature. In 1383 he was chosen as a member of an embassy sent to Spain to arrange a marriage with a Spanish princess and thus guarantee peace with that country ¹⁴¹). In 1386 he accepted the bishopric of Aire in Gascony when its former incumbent had joined the Avignon Obedience ¹⁴²). In 1389 he was appointed chancellor of Aquitaine ¹⁴³).

Gaunt failed in Aquitaine principally for lack of money and Waldeby had to share this burden. He was granted in 1390 the paltry sum of £ 40 « in consideration of his good services and the great expenses in behalf of the person of the king » ¹⁴⁴). Whether he ever received this little recompense is not known. In the same year he was appointed archbishop of Dublin, but apparently saw little of his new diocese. All through 1391 ¹⁴⁵) he was absent more for political than religious reasons as his appointment to Chancellor of Ireland in 1392 proves. He stayed in England « to survey the muster of men-of-arms, armed men, archers and others, whom by advice of the

¹³⁹) He was ordained acolyte on 22 May 1361 and priest on 12 March 1362: *York, Reg. Thoresby*, fol. 320v.

¹⁴⁰) AA 5 (1914) 121.

¹⁴¹) RYMER, *Foedera* III (3) 150; E. PEROY, *L'Angleterre et le Grand Schisme d'Orient*. Paris 1935, 257. On p. 407, Doc. VIII he is called Robert Warcebi, magister.

¹⁴²) D 577; DEGERT, « L'ancien diocèse d'Aire », *Revue de Gascogne* n. s. 6 () 226. Several older authors falsely changed *Adurensis* to *Sodorensis*, the diocese on the Isle of Man.

¹⁴³) Pat. Rolls 16 Jan. 1389 p. 174 mention him as chancellor of Aquitaine, his appointment must have taken place some time previous.

¹⁴⁴) Pt. 239. See also Pt. Rolls AD 1394, p. 387 where he is exempted from sending his temporalities for the defense of Ireland.

¹⁴⁵) Pt. 383, 485, 495.

Council the king has ordered to Ireland ¹⁴⁶⁾ ». When everything was ready in 1394 he sailed with the king to Ireland. In the same year (17 Richard II) he and the young count of Rutland were sent as ambassadors to France. They successfully mediated a truce of four years, one of the conditions being that King Richard II marry Isabelle, the daughter of Charles VI, king of France ¹⁴⁷⁾. His debts must have plagued Waldeby a great deal because in the next year he obtained the bishopric of Chichester. Walsingham, an unkind chronicler, remarks : « he exchanged the higher prelacy for a lower, but better paying one ». He should have credited Waldeby with a sense of responsibility rather than of avarice. Waldeby had jumped, however, from the frying pan into the fire, because the papal tax for Chichester was 1,330 florins in gold, a huge sum in those days (D 638). He received the temporalities for this see only on 13 January 1396 ¹⁴⁸⁾.

When the unfortunate Archbishop Arundel had to vacate the York diocese Waldeby was appointed in his stead ¹⁴⁹⁾. With this new position his debts again increased because he had to pay 10,000 florins to Rome. His political acumen, however, was needed in London. When he died suddenly in December 1397 he had not yet visited his new diocese. King Richard II immediately took all of Waldeby's possessions into his hands and returned them to his successor only after having received the promise that the 500 marks owed to him would be paid ¹⁵⁰⁾.

Waldeby was one of the courtier bishops of whom Thomas Hoxey had complained in February 1397 ¹⁵¹⁾. It would be a redeeming feature if he really had been « *literatorum primas, linguarum peritia atque eloquentia praestans* » as Bale describes him. Unfortunately he mistook Robert for John Waldeby⁺, the author, whom the accolade fits very well.

Only a few royal records mention Robert Waldeby's purely

¹⁴⁶⁾ Pt. 134.

¹⁴⁷⁾ PEROY, *L'Angleterre* 365.

¹⁴⁸⁾ Pt. 664 and AD 1397: Pt. 50.

¹⁴⁹⁾ « *Provisione papali contra vota totius cleri Eboracensis* (Annales Ricardi p. 94) »: PEROY, *L'Angleterre* 341; H. THOMPSON, « The Registers of the Archbishops of York », *Yorks. Arch. Soc.* 32 (1935) 255; EUBEL, *Hier.* II, 233 has him appointed on 5 Oct. 1396.

¹⁵⁰⁾ 2 Febr. 1398, Pt. 318.

¹⁵¹⁾ A. STEEL, *Richard II* (Canterbury 1941) 220.

religious activities. In 1391 he was given permission to arrest preachers of heresy in Ireland. Waldeby had always opposed heresy. He participated in the Earthquake Council held at London in 1382 which unanimously condemned Wyclif (D 550). Again as archbishop of Dublin he took part in the Council of Stamford in 1392 (D 621). Bale claims that he did not agree with all acts of this Council (« ubi non omnia approbat ») but then such is the case at each Council. It rather seems that Bale could not desist from his habit of foisting his own ideas on historical persons whether they were appropriate or not.

Waldeby died on 29 December 1397, more than sixty years old. By order of the king he was buried in Westminster, London. His monument, the earliest inscribed monument now in existence was made of brass. Its worn condition suggests that originally it was level with the pavement. Now it is attached to the wall. The inscription was already mutilated in 1665 when Sir James Ware wrote his *History of Irish Bishops*. It reads :

Hic fuit expertus in quovis iure Robertus XX
De Waldeby dictus [nunc est sub marmore strictus
Sacrae Sripturae doctor fuit et geniturae
Ingenuus medicus et plebis semper amicus
Consultor regis, optabat prospera legis
Ecclesiae choris fuit unus his quoque honoris
Praesul Adurensis post archos Dubliniensis
Hinc Cicestrecensis tandem] primas Eborensis
Quarto. K. ianui migravit cursibus anni XX
Sepini. milleni. ter C nonies quoque deni. XX
Vos precor orate que sint sibi dona beate XX
Cum sanctis vite ; requiescat et hic sine lite. XX

At the time of Waldeby other members of the Augustinian Order were appointed bishops¹⁵⁴) especially in Ireland. In 1394*

¹⁵²) Pt. 462. For his activities in Dublin see also *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register* ed. Ch. MACNEILL (Dublin 1950) 228 (16), 229 (45), 252 (47b).

¹⁵³) We follow the edition of H. J. LAWLOR, « The Monuments of the Pre-Reformation Archbishops of Dublin », *The Journal of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland* 47 (1917) 116-118. Lawlor reminds us that the letters K [Kalendas] and C [Centrum] must be taken as monosyllables that is we must pronounce the name of the letter in each case, not the word for which it stands. *Ianui* stands for *Januarii* and *sepini* instead of *septem* seems to be an error of the engraver. The XX stand for the ornaments in the original. Plate in MACKLIN, *Brasses of England*, plate XI and POLAND, *The Friars of Sussex*, p. 214.

¹⁵⁴) For sources see List of Bishops in Appendix.

Gerald Caneton who had been involved in the Irish Question was made bishop of Cloyne and was succeeded in 1413* by Master Adam Payn. Whether Thomas Edwardstone, the confessor of Prince Lionel, actually obtained an Irish see cannot be proved. John Waltham, however, was appointed to Ossory in 1399* and Robert Aketon (Askeaton) to Kildare in 1404. Several Austins became auxiliary bishops, falsely called suffragans by English historians. In 1390 a friar William was bishop of Prishtna (Albania) i. p. i. and auxiliary to Norwich. He is most probably identical with the William Edmundi or Egmundi who was auxiliary to Lincoln in 1390. He seems almost certainly to be the same as the mysterious bishop « Naunby » who was active in the diocese of Lincoln in 1392 (D 621). Henry Winter who had become papal chaplain in 1396 (D 655), was appointed bishop of Harran (*Caraciense*) in Armenia i. p. i. in November 1400* and received permission in December to exercise his episcopal functions in other dioceses. In 1402* John of Norwich was consecrated « episcopus Jerolamensis », a see unknown to historians. It is probably Jerusalem (*Jerosolymitanus*) whose episcopal throne had been occupied by the Hungarian Augustinian Stephan¹⁵⁵). John of Norwich is most probably identical with John Beverlee who had received the right to choose his own confessor on 13 March 1399. He served as auxiliary to Norwich. These auxiliaries confirmed and ordained, dedicated churches and cemeteries, supervised elections of superiors in monasteries and nunneries subject to the bishop of the diocese. They had not the power of a diocesan bishop but they were men of outstanding merit and knowledge, great preachers, and being known as Austins brought credit to their Order.

Some Austins were sent as bishops to foreign countries. John de Eremo (L'Ermite ?) for example was appointed bishop of Bazas (Vessin, France) in 1396 but does not seem to have taken possession of his see because of the Schism. A friar John was sent as bishop to Holar, Iceland, in 1427 but instead of going to his diocese he carefully inquired of a ship's captain about conditions and meanwhile served as auxiliary. Another English Austin, Robert Wodborn succeeded him in 1441.

¹⁵⁵ J. UDVARDY, « Etienne de l'Île († 1382) Ermite de Saint Augustin, Archevêque de Kalotcha (Hongrie) », AUG 6 (1956) 322-335.

d. THE DIVIDED ELECTION OF 1419

The Schism of the Church universal had scarcely terminated when the English province started one of its own. The trouble had long been brewing. In 1414 Prior General Peter de Vena had come to England for the avowed purpose of establishing peace but with little success. His registers, have disappeared and thus we do not know a single clearly stated reason for the differences. Some inkling may be had from the bull of Pope Martin V *Pro cunctorum Christianae* of 1418* which denounces the abuse of long terms in office: « Not without displeasure have we heard, that some members of the Austin Friars, though they be masters in theology, have tried to perpetuate themselves in the provincialate which according to the laws and good customs of the Order is limited. Driven by a spirit of vainglory, goaded by ambition, and dissatisfied with their [ordinary] lot, they try to remain in office for life. Hence it happens that provincial chapters are forbidden or delayed one way or another ; consequently faults and even excesses are not corrected, corrupt or otherwise illicit pacts are entered into. The consequences of this situation are schism, rivalries (*odia*) and other evils which confound and hurt the Order and are a scandal to many ».

This might well have applied to England where no provincial is known between 1402 and 1417 other than William Wells Sr.¹⁵⁶). Human nature chafes under a long regime even a good one. But when the superior becomes old and sickly and does no longer understand the needs of changed times unrest is bound to raise its head. If illegal means such as are described in the papal bull are used for one's perpetuation in office a strong reaction is inevitable. It was claimed by Herrera that Wells Sr. had ruled for more than twenty years but this can be maintained no longer. In 1417 a certain Master John Baumburgh appears as prior provincial (D 707). He and Wells were rival candidates at the provincial chapter of Winchester held in 1419. 75 voters were present. 38 electors, 15 of whom were masters of theology, voted for William Wells and 37, among them 9 masters of theology, voted for John Baumburgh. Being wise in the ways of government Wells immediately applied for confirmation, his request arriving at the chapter general of Asti.

¹⁵⁶) Thomas Cressall has falsely been mentioned as provincial (D 701) and the provincial James (D 705) was probably identical with John Baumburgh.

After putting the matter before the papal president of the chapter and discussing it carefully with his difinitors the general confirmed Wells. A few days later Master Thomas Constable arrived and protested against the decision because men who had been excommunicated, deprived of the right to vote and even some who had been jailed had been allowed to vote for Wells ¹⁵⁷). The general thereupon appointed Masters Henry Colchester and John Birkwood to investigate these accusations and when their report favored Wells, he confirmed him again. The leader of the opposition, Master Roger St. Yves, refused to accept the general's decision but ruined all his chances when he had the unbelievable effrontery to appoint himself vicar general, travel through the province, excommunicate all who had the courage to oppose him and commit other kinds of mischief ¹⁵⁸). By his stubbornness and daring he held his followers in line and was also supported by a semblance of legality in making one appeal after the other. After two years of negotiations the general's patience was exhausted. His eloquent appeals for unity among the followers of St. Augustine having failed he now told St. Yves that in the future none of his appeals would be heard. He would still pardon him, however, if he accepted Wells as his lawful superior, else the full force of the law would take effect ¹⁵⁹). Two hard blowse brought St. Yves to his knees. His followers had dwindled to nothing because the general had used an effective means obtaining their submission. He had threatened to stop their promotions to all academic degrees if they did not submit within a given period. John Whetelay, John Orford and William Gormechestre among others quickly promised obedience in the presence of witnesses. The other reason which forced St. Yves' submission was the irreparable harm his cause had suffered by the illegal actions of his procurator, Thomas Constable. He belied his very name by his instability and lack

¹⁵⁷) « ... dictam electionem ... non tenere, immo annullanda ex eo quod per excommunicatos aliquos, infames, carceratos et voce privatos electus fuerat... » (Dd 4, fol. VIIb).

¹⁵⁸) « ... magister Rogerius de sancto yvone sub pretextu vicariatus provinciam ipsam visitavit [non] ad edificationem sed ad turbationem contra plures fratres sententiam excommunicationis fulminavit, ad carceres aliquos iudicando, bonis concessis ab ordine privando et quam plura alia faciendo pocius livore quam caritate, quod non sine mentis amaritudine audivimus... ». General recalls all these illegal acts. Dd 4, fo. 10v, 26 Jan. 1420.

¹⁵⁹) Dd 4, fol. 47v-48.

of balance. His reputation had sunk so low, that London refused to accept him as a conventual. Rye accepted him but he failed to fulfill his agreement and joined the staff of a secular lord (D 768). When in 1426 the prior general inquired what he had done with the collection which as procurator of the Provincial Baumburgh he had taken to the general chapter of Asti, he claimed to have taken it back with him when his candidate was not recognized and that afterwards it was used up in efforts for Baumburgh but no one believed him ¹⁶⁰).

The death of Wells in 1422 ¹⁶¹) ended the dissension after it had lasted for more than two years. In order to avoid similar troubles Pope Martin V demanded that in future chapters must be held each year ; that no provincial could stay in office longer than three years and only two years, if he was not a master of theology. This constitution *Pro cunctorum Christianae* of 1418 became known as the « Martiniana ». It had to be modified for England and some other provinces where houses were widely scattered thus making yearly assemblies difficult. The change, made in 1427*, allowed chapters to be held every two years but did not permit any extension of the tenure in office. Until 1418 chapters had been held each year at which provincials had resigned but could be re-elected as often as the voters wished. Yearly chapters, therefore, had little influence upon the continuity in government. The new law created a lack of continuity and thus brought an element of instability into the life of all mendicant Orders. Provincials of two years tenure could plan and accomplish but little. The fact that so little of importance was accomplished in the decades which followed, may well have resulted from these short terms in office. Large undertakings and vital programs take time and more often particular talents to carry them

¹⁶⁰) « Declaravimus per nostras litteras ad conventum novi castri [Newcastle] provincie Anglie missas, magistrum Thomam Constable nichil ab ipso conventu percipere debere ratione pecuniarum dudum sibi a magistro olim Joanne Bamburg traditarum, quas cum nobis aut procuratore ordinis dare [sic] deberet pro collectis ordinis ab illa provincia debitis, ob quam causam ipsas ad Astense capitulum mandante dicto magistro Joanne detulerat, neque id fecisset, demumque finxisset se in lite prefati magistri cuius procurator venerat consumpsisse, quod nulla ratione probare potest. Merito a provincia compulsus est restituere. Nunc cum illo magistro mortuo, ipsas a suo conventu ab herede petat, nichil sibi deberi iudicamus ». Dd 4, fol. 191v, 21 March 1426.

¹⁶¹) The death of William Wells Sr. is recorded by the general on 30 October 1422 (Dd 4, fol. 97v). On 13 April of the same year he had granted him the grace of a jubilarian (fol. 74v).

through. The *Martiniana* had tried to correct serious abuses and it would seem that the suppression of these abuses would have been sufficient. But the method of their correction from which dispensation was granted with extreme reluctance (D 904) had regrettable consequences. The injunctions of this law decree played an important role in the history of the English Austins and led to the deposition of several provincials.

Lack of continuity did not plague individual houses. They elected their own priors and kept them in office as long as they wished (D 1032b). They also managed their own finances. Strong priors like Capgrave in Lynn or Bewick in York could bring, therefore, their houses to a high standard while other friaries suffered of shortage, in men and money.

Thomas Sharington 1422-1427

William Wells had died before his last term in office had expired and the province was directed by the difinitors until the chapter could meet at Little Yarmouth on 22 July 1422*. There the voters elected Master Thomas Sharington as provincial. He was born of a well-to-do family in Norwich and made his first studies most probably at the *studium particulare* of his home town, which was then held in such high repute that even foreign Augustinians studied there. Friar Thomas was probably ordained in 1391 because on May of that year he was sent as a student to Cambridge for three years (D 1167). He was still alive in 1434 as is evident from his appointment of president for the next chapter (D 770).

Sharington must have been a highly respected man of unusual influence, prudence and moderation, otherwise he would never have been chosen at this most difficult moment when the unrest within the province still perturbed the hearts of many. Apparently he succeeded completely in quieting the storm because nothing further is heard of dissensions. This first and principal task was outweighed by the need for more vocations evidenced by the lack of manpower in various houses. For example Thetford could not find the needed limitors (D 753) and Northampton was so short of men that the Order was in danger of losing it (D 747). Under Sharington's successor similar complaints came from the houses in Rye, Orford and Cambridge. Sharington tried to solve the problem in several ways. He refused academic degrees to anyone who had not

gained at least one new member and provided for his sustenance, or in lieu had paid at least 11s a year (D 730). This requirement brought about a competition for prospective candidates and necessitated the rule that novices could enter only the Austin friary of their district (D 742). Shortage of men is alleviated to-day by the transfer of men from one house to another. The provincial can do this because members are affiliated to the province, while in medieval times they were affiliated to individual houses and only the general could make a permanent transfer after the houses involved had given their consent. The registers of the general, therefore, overflow with grants of affiliation, until the general found it wiser to delegate this power to the provincial. Though this was a further loss of contact with Rome it was a reasonable move and has proved practical ever since.

Master Thomas Sharington was no doubt fully conscious of the fact that most of these moves could be only makeshifts. He could not help but see that the lack of money for the education of the Order's youth resulted from the superabundance of personal privileges which devoured the substance of the houses without leaving sufficient money for common aims. Sharington was one of the few provincials who obtained a commission for examining all privileges with the right to abolish those which were misused or proved harmful to the life of the province (D 730).

He was supported in this endeavor by the spiritual revival which made itself felt at this period. In Ireland the Observant Movement started at Benada one year after he had taken office. In England, however, serious-minded members could not find anything similar they had to seek it outside their province.

The intellectual life of the province was maintained at a very high level during Sharington's regime as the many graduates of the province indicate. Influenced by the humanists' search for manuscripts a love of books was noticeable everywhere. It led to the establishment of valuable libraries of which none was as famous as that of Little Yarmouth where John Brome, for many years its prior, had gathered some of the rarest books in England (D 979).

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