

ASPECTS OF FRANCISCAN CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

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PREFACE

The contents of these pages represent efforts to give an objective account of the rise and some aspects of the contributions of the Franciscan Order to England during the thirteenth century. Not by any means does the writer claim that the work is exhaustive. Volumes are yet to be written before a complete picture can be presented of the real worth of St. Francis and those who followed his lead.

Although there is much yet to be done in this particular field of study, the efforts expended in the production of this discourse have been most rewarding. I wish to express my indebtedness to the Department of History at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College for its atmosphere conducive to scholarship and research. I owe grateful acknowledgment in particular, to Professor Lloyd F. Young of the Department of History, who suggested the line of investigation, Dr. Thomas H. Reynolds, Head of the Department, Professor Theodore L. Agnew and Doctors Alfred Levin and Ora A. Hilton, also of the Department of History, who have read and encouraged the work to its completion.

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CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH SCENE

To appreciate the genuine worth of the Franciscans and their contributions to England of the thirteenth century, it is helpful to have a descriptive picture of the English scene during the century, for it was then that the Franciscans arrived there. The present chapter is a brief account of the Isle of England during the era from the standpoint of politics, ecclesiastical affairs, and the pressing social problems which made serious demands upon the total populace.

Politically, the thirteenth century was a period of confusing interplay of secular and ecclesiastical interests in disputes about elections and "papal provisions." Insistent issues were papal taxation, papal subsidies, and papal intervention in domestic politics. These were times when popes were engaged in war with imperial power, in which each side appealed to the whole of Western Christendom for aid.¹

In England the opening of the thirteenth century was a time of civil war.² During the administration of King John, who reigned in England until his death in 1216, there occurred events that were to affect the history of England for years to come, among which were the loss of Normandy to the French, the rebellion of important barons, and the promulgation of Magna Carta in 1215. The passing of John and the accession

¹F. M. Powicke, King Henry III and The Lord Edward. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1947), I, 288.

²Matthew of Westminster, The Flowers of History. Translated by C. D. Younge. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), II, 113. Henceforth referred to as Matthew of Westminster.

of Henry III coincided with an era of political upheaval in England, during which time numbers of Englishmen allied themselves with French forces flowing across the Channel.³ Some of the barons acclaimed as their king Prince Louis of France, son of Philip Augustus.⁴ The cause of the war was found in Magna Carta, wherein were stated definite concessions to the great barons on the part of the king. The war had sprung from disputes arising out of the enforcement of the document rather than from the merits of the Carta itself.⁵

Henry III, who became king at the age of nine years,⁶ was to face eventually a very difficult state of affairs. Upon his accession he pledged himself to maintain the order of the Church and to administer justice in the observance of good laws.⁷ He was crowned after he did homage for England and Ireland to the papal representative.⁸ The young king became the ward of Pope Honorius III, and William the Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, was persuaded to accept the regency of the kingdom until Henry III was sufficiently matured.⁹

In the course of the civil war, through the wisdom and strategy of William the Marshall, Louis, the titular head of the barons, received a crushing defeat.¹⁰ But problems engendered by the strife had to be met — the absorption of the defeated party, the re-establishment of the finances

³Powicke, *op. cit.*, I, 3, 4.

⁴Matthew of Westminster, *op. cit.*, II, 124ff.

⁵Powicke, *op. cit.*, I, 19. The Carta was promulgated under duress. Kings who followed John sought to evade the issue of enforcing a document that contained much they bitterly opposed.

⁶Ingulph's Chronicle. Translated by Henry T. Riley. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 316. Henceforth referred to as Ingulph's Chronicle.

⁷Matthew of Westminster, *op. cit.*, II, 380.

⁸Powicke, *op. cit.*, I, 3, 4.

⁹Roger of Wendover, *The Flowers of History*. Translated by J. A. Giles. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), II, 380. Henceforth referred to as Roger of Wendover.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, II, 392-400.

and machinery of government, the adjustment or eradication of vested interests. From this point of view the minority of Henry III was a significant time in the political history of England.¹¹

During the twenty-two years following his marriage to Eleanor of Provence¹² in 1236, Henry was his own master, ruling with the advice of a council whose members were pledged to give sound advice. Thus, the years 1237 to 1259 were a period of personal rule for the king, years during which important political problems emerged, an era when the financial status of military expenditures caused severe difficulties between king and vassals,¹³ and a time of unceasing bickering with the Roman See.¹⁴ According to Matthew of Paris, a Benedictine cleric, Henry III "gave himself" to the council of the faithful men of his own realm, admitting three barons to the organized body.¹⁵

The marriages of important people were of considerable political significance during this period of English history. The weddings of eminent persons were arranged, or prevented, by political and social considerations rather than by affection. By means of marriages alliances were formed, feuds healed, lordships and tenements were combined, and important policies of the kingdom received their direction.¹⁶ Certain marriage vows, taken by two important persons, proved to be a major cause for a period of political strife in England during the thirteenth century. This marriage was that of Eleanor, Countess of Pembroke, the king's sister, to a

¹¹Powicke, *op. cit.*, I, 19.

¹²Matthew of Westminster, *op. cit.*, II, 177.

¹³Sydney Knox Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England*. Edited by Sidney Painter. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), 321.

¹⁴Powicke, *op. cit.*, I, 259.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 290.

¹⁶Powicke, *op. cit.*, I, 157-158.

foreigner, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a union which occurred in 1238.¹⁷

The marriage of Eleanor and Simon brought many problems of state. It incited anger, since it had been determined without the counsel of proper personnel, such as members of the royal family and other important persons of the realm. Together with the fact that Eleanor's husband, no matter who he might be, would become a power in the land, the background of Simon de Montfort helped explain the resentment of many Englishmen toward his assuming permanent residence in England. In the first place Simon was French, of a people who represented England's foremost antagonist of the period. His father was the head of the house of Montfort in the Ile de France; ¹⁸ one of his great grandfathers, Robert IV, had been the third Norman Earl of Leicester. Again, all of the associations of Simon's boyhood were French, as the members of his family were closely associated with the persons and court of the king of France. "In his family circle he breathed the atmosphere of the new France created by Philip Augustus."¹⁹

In the second place, Simon was self-seeking, ambitious, following the call of fortune wherever French influence had spread.²⁰ His claim to the earldom of Leicester was through his grandfather Robert, who died in 1204. In 1231 Simon was informally styled Earl of Leicester.²¹ While in England

¹⁷Matthew of Westminster, *op. cit.*, II, 183. Eleanor was only sixteen years of age when she was widowed by the death of her first husband, William the Marshall. Under the spiritual counsel of Edmond Abington, later Archbishop, she took the sacred vows of chastity, which meant that she was never to be betrothed again, and would devote the rest of her life to the Church. However, in 1238 the vows were revoked and she became betrothed to the Earl of Leicester. Edmond was shocked by the violation of the oath taken such a short time before. See Powicke, *op. cit.*, 204.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 200.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 201.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 202.

²¹*Ibid.*, 203.

he formed a very warm friendship with Henry III, and in 1238, as a climax to that friendship, Henry gave him his sister, Eleanor, in marriage; the ceremony took place in the king's private chapel in Westminster with the king himself in attendance.²² As a result of the marriage Richard of Cornwall, brother of the king, revolted and gathered about him some of his Kingston allies²³ to make war against Henry. Henry withdrew and sued for a truce in order to gain time. He was able to come to terms with the legates and barons. Richard made peace with Simon after the latter had gone to Rome and secured papal blessings upon his marriage to Eleanor. Developments having taken such a course, the general expectation that foreigners would be swept from the land was not fulfilled. The result was a cleavage between the king and his council on one hand and an important part of the baronage on the other.²⁴

However, despite his political difficulties, Henry spent large sums on affairs that brought pomp and dignity to the kingdom; as a result he was always in need of money.²⁵ Beginning in 1242 the barons refused to make any grants to the king;²⁶ also they withheld their supplies. During these years the king met his obligations as best he could with the help of grants by the clergy, together with "tallages, gifts, exactions from Jews and common merchants, and three scutages levied in 1242 during the Gascon campaign, and in 1246 and 1257 during campaigns against the Welsh."²⁷ In order to gather money to finance his spending, Henry thus left no available source of income untouched.²⁸

²²Ibid., 204.

²³Matthew of Westminster, op. cit., II, 183.

²⁴Powicke, op. cit., I, 292.

²⁵Ibid., 303-304.

²⁶Mitchell, op. cit., 329.

²⁷Powicke, op. cit., I, 292.

²⁸Roger of Wendover, op. cit., II, 483.

Together with unusual political and financial difficulties, Henry's personal rule was made more difficult by "the widespread and complicated growth of ecclesiastical coherence throughout Western Christendom under the direction of the pope."²⁹ Problems disturbing England and the king's court were ecclesiastical appointments, patronage, and finances.³⁰ This was the time when the common law of the Church was extended and defined, especially by the Lateran Council of 1215, in the Decretals of Gregory IX in 1234, and in the many glosses and treatises of the Canonists. The common law of the Church transcended by far the common law of England. It was not a body of general custom, but was statutory, being the law of the universal Church as opposed to the constitutions, customs, or privileges of the church provincial. It had on its side the legislative activity of the pope and cardinals, supplemented or overridden by "the papal plentitude of powers."³¹ Such law bore within it the seed of much confusion and uncertainty, as aspects of it could be altered by each ascending pope, or even declared or interpreted in varying shades of meaning within the administration of a single occupant of the holy office. The only security against such instability came when a law was incorporated in the official body of Canon Law.³²

In the thirteenth century, generally the pope sparingly used the "plentitude of powers" through which divine providence had placed him above the law.³³ In England, especially, the extent of papal intervention was much less than in later years. During the reigns of Henry III and Edward I (1216-1307), the papacy administered the law as a court of

²⁹Ibid., 259.

³⁰Ibid., Also see Roger of Wendover, op.cit., II, 330 ff.

³¹Ibid., 259.

³²Ibid., 261.

³³Ibid., 262.

appeal holding the balance of power between king, archbishops, electoral bodies, and nominees.

After an honest consideration of all factors involved, it is fair to conclude that in the thirteenth century the papal Curia was concerned with justice being done for all. It protected individuals and groups against the wanton ways of kings.³⁴ The pope further sought a high standard for the episcopate as frequently defined by the theological and reforming element in the Church. As far as he was able to see, his nominee was never an unworthy man. As an example one may cite the appointments of the four friars of Edward I's reign — Kilwardtig and Peckham as Archbishops of Canterbury, Aniam, Bishop of St. Asaph, and William Gamsborough, Bishop of Worcester. During this period if favoritism was in evidence in the form of papal support for office, it was not due to corruption on the part of the papal power, but for other reasons: the royal pressure that had led to the confirmation of Peter of Aigueblanche, the most detested of bishops; Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, uncle of the queen; and Aymer of Lusignan, Bishop of Winchester, the king's half-brother.³⁵

Powicke emphasizes the fact that popes of the thirteenth century were honorable and serious-minded men, persons worthy of the highest respect and esteem; contrary opinions, he holds, are:

The misconception that all papal action was an assertion of unsolicited absolutism, whereas in most cases it was the activity of the 'universal ordinary' of a united Church. Also, the dark, the agitated, and litigious side of ecclesiastical politics was the reverse side of the coin. It was the worst effect of the vigorous interplay, in an active, constructive Christendom, of idealists and sharpwitted administrators, theologians and Canonists, scholars and civil servants, monks and secular clergy, all of these and many others all at once.³⁶

³⁴Ibid., 263.

³⁵Ibid., 264.

³⁶Ibid., 265.

However, the thirteenth century popes were not men entirely without fault. One area in which their administration could have been much more efficient was the papal provisions for pastoral power. In a prepared memorandum, Robert Grosseteste, "the foremost scholar of his age," as Powicke calls him, presented a reasoned indictment of the Curia's responsibility for the abuse which hindered the work of Christ in England. Grosseteste pointed out the numerous duties of pastors to the sick and needy and to the parishioners who provided the temporal goods of the Church. Grosseteste emphasized that pastoral power belonged to the bishops, who were in restricted positions as seen in a system of monastic exemptions, and by the necessity of pastors having to engage in endeavors other than the cure of souls. First things were forgotten, and "the common law of the church was not subject to the law divine."³⁷ On behalf of the neglected parishioners of England, it is readily seen why Grosseteste would exert his effort and influence to bring the Minors to England to assist in rectifying Church life.

In order to get an adequate picture of the English scene on which the Franciscans arrived, lived, and worked, some consideration should be given to the social aspects of the people of the Isle. Generally, medieval society was greatly retarded by the principle of status, which carried the idea of a God-ordained distinction of classes. It was generally accepted that an individual should remain in the state in which he was born and should fulfill faithfully the obligations which it entailed. This attitude reflected itself in the economic life of the people in the lower strata. For example, "the townsfolk of Bury St. Edmunds at the end of the twelfth century were to a great extent under servile conditions." The

³⁷Ibid., 283.

poor people each paid reap-silver as a commutation for the harvest work to which they were formerly bound. A fee had to be paid for free pasture. As a remnant of their past condition as bondsmen, they had to plow for the abbots. Many peasants were still subjected to forced labor in fishing or in carting eels.³⁸ And despite the fact that the forests of Leicester were "so greatly thick and full" that it was hardly possible to travel because of the quantity of dead wood and boughs blown down by the wind, the Lord Earl and his council required that those who wished to look for dead wood must be charged at the following rates: six cartloads, 1d.; a horse-load a week $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and a man's load a week $\frac{1}{4}$ d.³⁹

In addition to serfdom the matter of usury was a social problem of the age. The money lender in a course of his transaction would stipulate an extremely early date for the payment of principal, beyond which date the interest was legally charged on the admitted sum. Under these semi-fraudulent contracts interest was charged as high as sixty per cent per year, this at a time when the civil law prohibited Jews from charging more than forty per cent. Eventually a concordat was reached by which the interest-free period was dropped altogether and interest was charged from the very first day of the loan. This practice was a definite breach of the theory of Canon Law, but in England, as elsewhere, such usury was recognized by the Civil Court.⁴⁰

Matthew of Paris records Robert Grosseteste's death bed complaints against Innocent IV in 1235. He said,

³⁸G. G. Coulton, Medieval Panorama. (Cambridge: University Press, 1933), 282.

³⁹Ibid., 283.

⁴⁰Ibid., 337.

The Caursins are manifest usurers; and they have been cast forth from France (for this plague was then unknown in England) by holy fathers and teachers whom we have seen and known personally.... Notwithstanding, this pope hath raised them up and protected them in their high place; and, if any man speak against them he is wearied with loss and labor, as we have seen in the case of Bishop Roger of London....⁴¹

Matthew, speaking for himself, said

From that time forward (1229) the land of England has never lacked certain Ultramontanes, who style themselves merchants; most impious usurers, who seek nothing else than to enslave those men whom the Roman Court pressed for money.⁴²

The thirteenth century is remembered for the rise and development of important English cities. In the course of the city's evolution may be noted the presence of other factors that contributed to the social problems confronted by the Franciscans upon their arrival in England. In his important treatise on the subject, Carl Stephenson states that the origin and development of town life in England appear in truest character among the social problems of the period.⁴³

The distinction now made between the municipality and the village had comparatively little form in the Middle Ages. The town was scarcely more than an overgrown village.⁴⁴ How this agricultural community became urban and the township became the modern "town", in which trade was the dominant factor, was a process somewhat different in England from that experienced on the continent, where the municipality normally originated in the outer enclosure of some bourg. These settlements were stimulated by the great revival of commerce shortly before A.D. 1000. Men specialized in trade,

⁴¹Ibid., 337-338. From "Chronicle Major" (Rolls Series) V, 465, (A.D. 1253).

⁴²Ibid., from "Chronicle Major", Ibid., III, 188-189. The fact that such noted churchmen of the period as Matthew of Paris and Robert Grosseteste should concur on the practice of usury is indicative of the problem.

⁴³Carl Stephenson, Borough and Town. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1939), 214.

⁴⁴Coulton, op. cit., 282.

to the extent that commercial activities outgrew the agricultural interest of the old community. Nestling immediately close to the walls of the fortress or bourg, the new settlements in the course of time became sufficient in wealth and strength to entrench themselves.

In direct contrast, according to G. G. Coulton, the towns of England grew up at the breaks in transportation, of which Cambridge is a typical example. Thus, fortress and town sprang from the same cause, the crossing of road with an otherwise impassable river. It was practically inevitable that traders should settle there. For obvious reasons wise lords granted to these traders urban privileges.⁴⁵ It is well to remember that the populations of such establishments increased partly due to charter stipulations that residents were to enter all their trade relations at a stated town.⁴⁶

Although we find in the towns "an instinctive expression of man's social impulses," at the same time much that was anti-social caused the instinct for rivalry, exclusiveness, and pugnacity which he gathered side by side with his higher social qualities. In Cambridge the right of intramunicipal reprisals prevented mobility from town to town; to this anti-social manifestation was added the city's encroachment upon the lepers' Hospital. Equal anti-social tendencies were found among the guilds of craftsmen and merchants, which though beneficent for their members were anything but socially inclined toward outsiders.⁴⁷

Another social problem of the period, one tremendous and defying the skill and philosophy of the age, was leprosy.⁴⁸ To the general public the

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 283.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 284-285. This was according to the Charter of Cambridge issued by Henry I, 1125.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 284-285.

⁴⁸Thomas Eccleston, *Monumenta Franciscana*. Edited by J. S. Brewer. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), xxiii. Henceforth referred to as *Monumenta Franciscana*.

best that could be done for the innocent victims of the evil was to banish them from society. Leprosy, loathsome and infectious in highest degree, was found in the king's court and council chamber, and in the degraded quarters of the city. Medical skill knew no cure; the only precaution was the dismemberment of the affected limb. In addition to banishment from homes, occupations, and townships, lepers were deprived of civil rights, "incapacitated from making a will and excommunicated from the Church." Although leprosy was made penal, the severest penalty could not extinguish the afflicted; "they still continued to cumber the earth."

According to the ancient law of England, leprosy was an impediment to descent. A grant made by a person after he fell sick of leprosy was void....

Even in the poor and inadequate provision made for the leper by the charitable, the tone in which their rules are conceived, show the total degradation in which the infected was held. The pious benefactor to the Lazar hospital of St. Julian's, Hertford, Mon. ii. 376, begins thus: -- "Seeing that among all infirmities the disease of the leprosy is more disgusting than any, and they who are visited with this disease, at all times and places ought to present themselves in more humble garb and gesture, as more contemptible and humble than the rest of their fellowmen, according to the word of the Lord, in Leviticus; "Whosoever is stained with the leprosy shall rend his garments and go bare-headed!" Yet ought they not on that account to despair or murmur against God, but rather to praise and glorify Him who was led to death as a leper....⁴⁹

Upon their arrival in England, the Franciscans bound themselves by duty and love to devote a considerable part of their ministry to those cast off from human society because of this terrible infection.

Much more might be written concerning the English scene of the thirteenth century, the era when the Franciscans first came to the Isle. However, enough of political conditions and ecclesiastical and social developments has been described herein for one to appreciate the Minors' real worth and their endeavors to alleviate many of the difficulties retarding the progress of the English people.

⁴⁹Ibid., xxii.

CHAPTER II

FRANCISCAN ORIGINS

The contribution of the Franciscans were intimately related to the founding purpose of the movement. A thesis that is to set forth aspects of important achievements of the Franciscans does well to include a section on those significant origins relative to the Order. Furthermore, a narration of Franciscan origins should recognize the influence exerted by Francis of Assisi, founder of the Order, preeminent saint of the middle ages,¹ from whom the Order gets its name. What the founder of the Franciscan Order desired was far more than the foundation of an order,² he longed for a true awakening of the Church in the name of the evangelical ideal which he had found. St. Francis desired to imitate Jesus at any price,³ in deed and in spirit. As a result many Europeans awoke when they heard of the penitent from a little Umbrian town.⁴

Francis was born about 1182,⁵ the son of a wealthy cloth merchant of Assisi.⁶ About two years after his conversion in his city, Francis put on the garment of a poor hermit.⁷ He gave himself to serving the poor and the lepers, and to rebuilding such chapels as St. Damian,⁸ St. Peter, and

¹Paul Sabatier, Life of St. Francis. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), xv.

²Ibid., 17.

³Henry O. Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind. (London: Macmillan Co., 1938), 4th ed., I, 434.

⁴Sabatier, op. cit., 17.

⁵Taylor, op. cit., 451.

⁶Sabatier, op. cit., 2.

⁷Herbert Holzapfel, History of The Franciscan Order. Translated by Antonine Tibesar and Gervase Brinkmann. (Teutopolis, Ill.: Saint Joseph Seminary, 1948), 6.

⁸Taylor, op. cit., I, 441.

Portiuncula, the latter becoming the church of his heart.⁹ While there one day, he heard the officiating priest in celebrating the mass repeat the words of Christ:¹⁰

And going, preach saying; the kingdom of heaven is at hand...do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses; nor script for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff; for the workman is worthy of his meat.¹¹

Immediately St. Francis cried out, "This is what I have sought", and, throwing aside his purse, staff, and shoes, he attired himself in the poor clothing of the Umbrian peasants, using the simple rope for a girdle.¹²

Thus he began preaching in Assisi, his home city.¹³ His sermons were but simple and sincere talks accompanied with the greeting, "Lord give thee peace!"¹⁴ After a few weeks of such a devoted ministry, two esteemed men of Assisi joined him. They were Bernard of Quintavalle and Peter Catanta, the latter a Canon and Doctor of Laws.¹⁵ Together the three went to the little Church of St. Nicholas to consult the Gospel in order to discover the Divine Will. They were led to Matthew 19:21, Luke 9:2, and Matthew 16:24:

If Thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast and give it to the poor...And He sent them to preach the kingdom of God and to heal the sick. He said unto them, 'take nothing for your journey, neither staff, nor script, nor bread, nor money; neither have two coats'....If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.¹⁶

Francis proclaimed to his pledged companions, "That shall be our life and our rule, do as you have heard!" Joined by Giles of Assisi, these men

⁹Holzappel, op. cit., 4.

¹⁰Sabatier, op. cit., 69.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Holzappel, op. cit., 4.

¹³Sabatier, op. cit., 71.

¹⁴Holzappel, op. cit., 4.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Sabatier, op. cit., 75.

penance went everywhere serving the lepers, preaching peace, and announcing the Kingdom of God.¹⁷ Their first meeting-place was an abandoned hut in the country called Rivotorto, a short distance from Portiuncula, their first place of prayer.¹⁸ When Francis journeyed to seek the pope's confirmation for the rule which he had drawn, their number had reached twelve.¹⁹ After some deliberation Innocent III received them graciously, confirmed their way of life, and gave them permission to preach the message.²⁰

On his return to Assisi Francis called his followers the Friars Minor.²¹ This was done in order to contrast the humility of the men of his Order with those of the traditional orders.²² As ordinary people, they were to esteem themselves lowly and submissive in mind and deed. The friars, therefore, continued their former activities, the preaching of penance and common labor. Choosing Portiuncula as a meeting place, they built themselves common huts around the little church which the Benedictines of Mt. Subasio had given them. They always met there, especially for Pentecost and the feast of St. Michael, sharing their experiences and encouraging each other to fidelity in their calling.

According to ancient tradition, the Franciscan Order was officially established April 16, 1209. What actually took place on this day was a free organization of friars impelled by a fervent religious ideal. St.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Roger of Wendover, The Flowers of History. Translated by J. A. Giles. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), II, 294. Henceforth referred to as Roger of Wendover.

²⁰Matthew of Westminster, The Flowers of History. Translated by C. D. Younge. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), II, 106.

²¹Ibid., 105.

²²Ibid.

Francis developed three rules for his Order:²³ the Rule of 1210, the Rule of 1221, and the Rule of 1223. To these Rules, at the close of his life, he added his Final Will and Testament.²⁴ He presented the First Rule to Pope Innocent III for sanction in 1210. The objective of the Rule was to direct and encourage his disciples to follow the only perfect example of humanity, Jesus Christ. It is held by some that the Rule of 1210 alone is truly the work of St. Francis,²⁵ other promulgations ascribed to him being the work of the organized Church and later ministers of the Order.²⁶

In the First Rule

All is alive, free, spontaneous;...it may be summed up in two phrases; the appeal of Jesus to man, "Come, follow me," the act of man, "He left all and followed him."²⁷

The first followers of the Rule were like the Apostles of Christ in that they roved about preaching the Gospel. They always maintained themselves in a state of poverty, having no home, no property, and no money. They devoted themselves to the sick, especially to the lepers; their minds and hearts were centered on saving others.²⁸

By 1221 the Franciscan Order had increased so greatly that the First Rule had lost its adequacy.²⁹ Therefore, Francis formulated another Rule to meet the new demand.³⁰ In the Second Rule are Bible passages and regulations of the Order.³¹ All members of the Order were admonished to

²³Holzapfel, op. cit., 5.

²⁴The Rule of 1210 has not been preserved. Remains of the Rules of 1221, 1223, and the Will of St. Francis may be found in the Appendix of this work, pp. 47-58.

²⁵Sabatier, op. cit., 254.

²⁶Ibid., 253.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Holzapfel, op. cit., 15.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰The Rule of St. Francis, 1221, quoted in Paul Sabatier, op. cit., 255ff. Henceforth referred to as the Rule of 1221.

³¹See Appendix II, pp. 51-56.

dispense with obstacles, cares, and anxieties in order to be free to give themselves without reservation to the great mission to which they pledged their lives "with a pure heart and a sincere purpose." The Minors were instructed to devote themselves to watchfulness and prayer that they should be found worthy "to escape all things which would come to pass, and to appear upright before the Son of Man."³² In contrast to the Rule of 1210, the Rule of 1221 was extraordinarily long, covering at least ten folio pages.

The year of 1223 marked the foundation of a third Rule ascribed to the founder of the Order. Called the *Regula Bullata*,³³ it was approved by Honorius III in 1223.³⁴ According to the Rule, means of sustenance were the duty of labor. Begging for alms was retained, but the acceptance of money individually was still prohibited.³⁵ According to the Third Rule the brothers were to be obedient, chaste and without personal possessions.³⁶ Those who aspired for membership in the Order were to be examined as to their faith and the sacraments of the Church. If they were pure enough to be accepted, they were instructed to sell their possessions and give to the poor; after this the seekers were given the garments of probation, which included two gowns without cowls and belts. When the year of probation was over, they were to be received, with the promise always to observe the Franciscan life and Rule.³⁷ These bonds were never to be broken. The

³²Ibid.

³³Holzappel, op. cit., 15.

³⁴Henry Bettenson, (ed.), Documents of The Christian Church. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 181.

³⁵The Rule of 1223, quoted in Henry Bettenson, ed., Documents of The Christian Church. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 183. Henceforth referred to as The Rule of 1223.

³⁶The Rule of 1223.

³⁷Ibid.

clerical brothers were required to perform the divine service in accordance with the Holy Church. The duties of the lay brothers were to say "twenty-four paternosters at Matins, five at lauds, seven each at Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, twelve at Vespers, seven at the Completorium," and to pray for the dead.³⁸ They were never to quench the spirit of holy prayer and devotion, because other activities were subordinate to these. Not only were the brothers to possess nothing, but they were to serve God in poverty and humility. They were not to be ashamed in seeking alms. If a bishop forbade a brother to preach in the diocese, he was not to preach. Furthermore, no brother was to preach to the people unless he had been examined and approved by the general minister of the brotherhood and had been given special permission to do so. He was exhorted to use pure language and to speak brief discourses according to the example of Christ. The brother was not only required to obey, but he was exhorted to be on guard against pride, vainglory, envy, avarice, and the like. A brother was charged not to hold conversations with women, in order that suspicion would not be aroused; women were not to enter nunneries unless they had been given special permission by the pope. Without approval of their provincial ministers, the brothers were not to go on missions to the Saracens and other infidels, and only those who were physically fit for the missions were allowed to undertake them.³⁹

When Francis became ill and death was near, he wrote a word of farewell to his brethren.⁴⁰ Called the "Last Testament," it collects in short sentences all the teachings from the letters and General Chapters.⁴¹

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Johannes Jorgensen, St. Francis of Assisi. (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1912), 316.

⁴¹Ibid., 325.

Briefly, Francis recalls his sinful state and the effects the sight of lepers had upon him. The "Most High" revealed to him that he should live in accordance with the "Holy Gospel," and that brothers should seek holy poverty if they were to live according to Christ. This meant that they would always live as strangers and pilgrims. Francis was anxious that the brothers not regard this will as another Rule, said he,

for this is only a reminder, a warning, an exhortation. It is my last Will and Testament, that I, Brother little Francis, make for you, my blessed Brothers for this that we may observe in a more catholic way the Rule which God has put before us...And I, Brother Francis, your little one and servant, as far as I can, confirm to you within this most holy blessing. Amen.⁴²

There were three distinct orders constituting the Franciscan movement in the years after its inception. The first of these, the Friars Minor, dating from 1209, when St. Francis obtained from Innocent III an unwritten approbation of the simple rule he had prepared for the guidance of his first companions, is the one spoken of thus far. The two additional ones are the Poor Clares, also known as the Nuns of St. Clare, and the Brothers and Sisters of Penance.⁴³ Despite the fact of the founding of the Poor Clares in 1212, it did not receive its rule from St. Francis until twelve years later, about the time of the arrival of the Minors in England.⁴⁴

The year 1221 is assigned by tradition as the founding date of the Brothers and Sisters of Penance, now known as Tertiaries or the Third Order. This was devised by St. Francis as a middle ground between the cloister and the world for those who wished to follow the steps of the saint but were prohibited by marriage or other ties from entering the

⁴²The Will of St. Francis, 1226, quoted in Thomas C. Mendenhall, Basil D. Henning, and A. S. Ford, Ideals and Institutions in European History. (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1948), 42.

⁴³These orders are also known respectively as the First, Second, and Third Orders of St. Francis. See Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, 217.

⁴⁴Pascal Robinson, "Franciscan Order," Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, 217.

First or Second Order.⁴⁵ At the time when some lay people were impatient with the indolent and sometimes scandalous lives of many clerics in southern Europe, they were inspired with the idea of reforming Christendom by preaching.⁴⁶ Although this Order generally signified lay members who did not necessarily live in community, it was subdivided into two sub-classes: regulars and seculars. The former lived in convents and took certain vows. The latter lived in the world and took no vows, merely making a promise to live the good life.⁴⁷

A student of the founding and maiden activities of the Franciscan Order cannot fail to be impressed by the charitable spirit and by the wisdom and foresight of the founder and his followers. Here is seen clearly the real meaning of self-sacrifice, in a way seldom seen since the days of Jesus and his earliest disciples. The ancient Rule and Testament of Francis not only bespeak the vision of the saint and the determination that all who willed might follow the clearer light, but they are worthy for people of every age who are committed to leading lives of devotion and humble service to their fellowmen.

Thus, the Friars of St. Francis, who possessed a goodly part of the vision of their originator, and who were animated by his spirit of charity and passion to serve, were to give a favorable response to an invitation to come into England and assist in movements for reform.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Benedictine Jarrett, "Third Order," Catholic Encyclopedia, XV, 637.

⁴⁷Whereas the regulars of the Third Order participated in all the indulgences granted the First and Second Orders, they could not assume for themselves the leniency accessible to the seculars. See Catholic Encyclopedia, XV, 637.

CHAPTER III

THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRANCISCANS IN ENGLAND

Within two decades following the founding of the Order in 1210, the first contingents of the Franciscans arrived in England. Nine members of the Order made the advent in 1224, four being clerks and five laymen. Three were Englishmen by birth, one from Norfolk, another from Northampton, and the third from Devon. One of the priests was from Pisa, one from Florence, and another from Lombardy. The remaining two came from elsewhere in Italy. Agnelus, one of the nine, probably had been received into the Order by Francis himself in 1211; Richard of Ingeworth had joined the brotherhood in Italy and had been among the first to cross the Alps in 1217; Lawrence of Beauvais, who had apparently known St. Francis in the past, returned to visit him in 1225 and was one of the two to whom the saint, on request, gave his tunic. The Franciscans were assisted in their crossing to England by the monks of Fiecamp. Upon reaching Canterbury they stopped for two days at the priory of the Holy Trinity. Four of this group set out for London while the other five went to the Priests' Hospital and remained there until further provisions were made for them. The four brothers who set out for London were kindly received by the Dominican preachers (who had preceded the Minors to England in 1221), and remained with them for fifteen days. Soon the brothers hired a house at Cornhill for themselves. They made cells and filled the gaps in the partition with grass, a simple device which was endured until the next summer.¹

¹Dom David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1948), 130.

Shortly before the Feast of All Saints,² the friars scattered. Brother Richard of Ingeworth and Brother Richard of Devon went to Oxford and remained there eight days in the dormitory of the preachers of the Dominican Order.³ They then hired a house in St. Ebb's parish, remaining until the following summer, when they went to Northampton. In Oxford, the Franciscans were received by Robert le Mercer. While at his house the Order received many honorable bachelors and nobles. Later they hired a house from Richard le Muliner, who bestowed the site and the house upon the community of the town for the use of the friars. In Canterbury the king gave the Franciscans ten marks; with which they built a chapel so meager than one carpenter made it in a single day.⁴

The Franciscans, as a rule, seated their convents and Order in the most wretched localities. In the largest towns they chose the swampy, low, and undrained spots in the most neglected quarters. Many of their buildings, in contrast to the great monasteries and Abbeys that excite us today, were small and low and insignificant in appearance.⁵ In many respects the poverty of the Franciscans' buildings corresponded with that of the surrounding districts.

In England as elsewhere the Franciscans taught humility, temperance, unworldliness, patience, and submission to authority.⁶ Since their learning was directed to practical ends, their efforts were to train men for interpreting the Holy Scripture logically to supply the literal and practical meaning rather than the allegorical and mystical. Students resorted

²A church feast observed on November 1st of each year.

³Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., 5-9.

⁴Ibid., 19-21.

⁵Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., xviii.

⁶W. R. W. Stephens, The English Church. (London: Macmillan Co., 1909),

to their English schools due to the superior reputation of the Oxford friars who had come to supply professors to foreign schools and universities.⁷

Robert Grosseteste, in a letter to Gregory IX, praised the friars of England and stated their excellence and usefulness to the people of England. They illuminated the land with the brilliant light of preaching and teaching.⁸ The Bishop of Lincoln stated if the pope could see with what devotion and humility the people run to hear from the friars the holy word of life, to confess their sins, to be taught the laws of living; if he could see the advancement they have brought in the Church by their example; he, too, would say that the light had arisen for those who dwell in the shadow of death. The friars continued to show obedience to prelates and to the head of the Church; they were patient in tribulation and abstained even in the midst of plenty. So indispensable were the Franciscans' services to the English inhabitants that the pope in time gave his wholehearted support to assure the continuance of the light and enthusiasm brought by the Order of St. Francis.⁹

While some of the older English orders were kindly disposed to the Minors, many other clergy were jealous of the friars' influence.¹⁰ The latter were criticized for not confining their activity to manual labor and to reading and prayer like the older orders. They were accused of bringing scandal on the Church in their manner of teaching, their dress, and in their dependence upon almsgiving. They were charged with breaking down the notion that laity and clergy were distinct elements, like wine and water that would not mix,¹¹ a notion fostered by the clergy. This

⁷Ibid., 326.

⁸Grosseteste, op. cit., 179.

⁹Ibid., 180.

¹⁰Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., xxv.

¹¹Ibid., xxviii.

kind of disfavor was to be expected from clergymen of bad repute, who knew the friars were brought to England for the express purpose of amending the conduct of religion on the Isle.¹²

Despite criticism, the Minors struck a sympathetic chord and at once found favor in the larger towns of England. Within six months of their landing they had established friaries in the English centers of ecclesiastical, civil and intellectual life. Within the next five years at least a dozen more houses were founded at such places as Norwich, Worcester, Hereford, Cambridge, Nottingham, and Stanford. By 1240 about twenty other friaries were added in England and penetration made into the land of Scotland. And in the period of their first thirty years in England their number had increased to 1,242, the most rapid increase being in London, Canterbury, Oxford, Cambridge, Hereford, and Lynn.¹³

The acceptance of the Franciscans is more remarkable when we recall their aim to uphold the honor and dignity of the Roman See at a time when it was despised and had ceased to command genuine respect in England for the administration of political affairs. Donations were constantly made to the Order for fostering its charitable programs. The great number and the small size of these gifts indicate the class from whom they were received, and are a testament to Franciscan popularity.

In contrasting the miserable state of the Franciscans upon their arrival in England with the place of importance which they achieved very early, Knowles¹⁴ states that the Franciscans did not appear to be men of

¹²This statement does not imply that all English clergymen who looked unfavorably on the Franciscans were clerics of bad repute. Matthew of Paris was one such critic of the Minors whose intellect and labors were well esteemed and accepted.

¹³Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., 10.

¹⁴Knowles, op. cit., 131-132.

distinction when they first came to Dover. Clothed in rough and patched tunics and without visible support, the nine Minors appeared to be wayfarers and vagabonds.

The thirteenth century, which saw the advent of the Minors upon the English scene, has been called the gem of the middle ages. If this statement contains a single element of truth, it is nowhere more applicable than to the Isle of England. The century witnessed the transformation of the realm from village life to a beginning of metropolitanism. It was a span of time accented by the rise of renowned cathedrals, by the beneficent activities of mendicant orders, by the founding of great institutions of learning, by the formulation of theological dogma, by the betterment of the plight of the underprivileged. Not only were the Franciscans a part of these developments, but they were a conspicuous element whose endeavors, sacrifices and contributions were indispensable to the lives of the English. The country and its peoples were made better intellectually, politically, socially, and spiritually by the Franciscans having accepted the invitation extended by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1223 and began their labor on the Isle.

CHAPTER IV

ASPECTS OF FRANCISCAN CONTRIBUTIONS

The coming of the Franciscans into England in the thirteenth century remains an outstanding event in English history because of the contributions they made to the inhabitants of the Isle. Especially are the contributions noted in the development of English universities, the services of scholars of note, progress in physical and medical sciences, and in the art of preaching. Prior to the thirteenth century the chief centers of education in England were the schools of monastic houses and cathedral churches.¹ But the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries witnessed the rise of universities and a continuation of concern for the education of even the most underprivileged.² The friars were very influential in these new intellectual establishments, furnishing students, scholars, and teachers for the schools and setting up libraries at Paris, Oxford, Cesena, Todi, and Assisi.³ This concentration of vigorous activity was not done by chance, for the orders of the period seized upon towns where universities were situated in an effort to gain converts as well as to establish a hold upon the thought of the age. Examples of such concentration were Paris, Cambridge, Oxford, and Bologna.⁴

¹Goldwin Smith, A History of England. (Chicago: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), 98.

²Charles Guignebert, Christianity Past and Present. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927), 329.

³Herbert Holzappel, The History of The Franciscan Order. Translated by Antonine Tibesar and Gervase Brinkman. (Teutopolis, Ill.: St. Joseph Seminary, 1948), 216.

⁴Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in The Middle Ages. Edited by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936), III, 66.

In the Franciscan Order there were three classes of schools in the thirteenth century,⁵ which included: (1) General Studies,⁶ in organic connection with a university; (2) General Studies, not affiliated with a university; (3) Particular Studies, also called Provincial or Local Studies. The Local Studies were open to the public as well as to the friars.⁷

In this discussion the treatment will be limited to those institutions situated in England, namely, Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Oxford, as a city, possessed the advantages required to become the home of the nation's future greatest institution of learning. Its central position in the kingdom, low cost of living, and adequate housing for the thousands of strangers made Oxford an ideal place for the University's founding.⁸ However, there are not the only reasons contributing to the University's establishment in Oxford. Other reasons for the founding in Oxford were the academic migration of masters and scholars from the University of Paris in 1167-1168, together with the recall of English scholars from Paris by Henry II, King of England, and his program of intramural reprisals occasioned by his quarrels with Thomas a' Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the king of the French.⁹ These scholars of dispersion tended to congregate under their former masters and to bring into England their former studies, discipline, and organization, as far as the altered circumstances permitted. Oxford is the only town where these scholars are known to have congregated.¹⁰

⁵Holzappel, op. cit., 217.

⁶The General Studies with the greatest dignity were connected with the universities. See Holzappel, op. cit., 217.

⁷Holzappel, op. cit., 217.

⁸Rashdall, op. cit., 9.

⁹For a complete treatment of Oxford's founding see Rashdall, op. cit., 5 ff.

¹⁰Rashdall, op. cit., 14.

As a center of speculative thought and religious life, Oxford contributed much to the making of English history. Its influence upon religious life opened a new page in the annals of England and in the civilized world.¹¹ Foreigners came to Oxford as the school that was superior to all others. This assertion is justified by the products of the University. Whereas, Italy produced Thomas Aquinas, the great theologian and organizer; Germany, Albertus Magnus, the laborer; and Spain, Raymond Lully, adventurer and genius, institutions of no other nation can show a succession of names comparable to the English schoolmen for originality, breadth, and variety of attainments.¹² Products of Oxford were a part of a great procession of the most celebrated scholars ever to proceed from the halls of any institution of learning.¹³

The Franciscans were very influential factors in the development of Oxford University. Indeed, the majority of the greatest and most renowned teachers of Oxford University were men of the Franciscan Order.¹⁴ At Oxford it was the Franciscan lecturers who soundly established and maintained the services and fame of the University.¹⁵ The University of Oxford profited immensely through its incorporation of the schools of the Order.¹⁶ This is appreciated today in full recognition that the plight of the Franciscans at Oxford was not easy at all times. They were not welcome by all, nor did they remain there without great difficulty.

¹¹Ibid., 257.

¹²Thomas Eccleston, Monumenta Franciscana. Edited by J. S. Brewer. (London: Logman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), lxxxii. Henceforth cited as Monumenta Franciscana.

¹³Ibid., lxxx-lxxxi.

¹⁴Rashdall, op. cit., 250.

¹⁵Holzappel, op. cit., 220.

¹⁶Ibid.

Not only was the influence of the Franciscans felt at Oxford University; though to a somewhat lesser degree, Franciscan influence was a contributing factor in the development of the University of Cambridge. Cambridge, as an institution of learning, first appeared in history in connection with the dispersion following the suspension of clerics from Oxford in 1209.¹⁷ The occasion was the accidental death of a certain woman at the hands of a cleric. The offender's quarters were raided by the mayor and burgesses, several clerics were apprehended and, upon the consent of King John, two or three of the clerics were hanged.¹⁸ Other clerics were attacked by townsmen and had to flee for safety. Many went to Cambridge.¹⁹ However, in 1224, a legislative ordinance was addressed to the burgesses of Oxford enjoining the following: those confessing to or convicted of hanging the clerics would do penance; concessions in hotel rentals would be given the clerics; the town was to provide something approaching pensions for poor scholars; festival grants were to be given to the patrons of scholars; food was to be sold at a reasonable rate; and an oath that the ordinance would be observed was to be taken by fifty of the chief burgesses; this oath was to be renewed annually by as many of the chief burgesses as the bishop should require.²⁰

With the return of the clerics to Oxford in 1214, Cambridge was deserted by scholars. From then until 1229 nothing definite is known concerning the town. Nevertheless, in 1228 there occurred another exodus of scholars, this time from the University of Paris. Henry III, as Henry II

¹⁷Rushdall, *op. cit.*, 278.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 33-34.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 34.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 34-35.

before had done, offered an asylum to such scholars, extending certain towns in England for their residence. One place to which they repaired was Cambridge. After the Paris migration a distinct academic organization became traceable to Cambridge.²¹

The Franciscans early exerted influence upon the University of Cambridge.²² It is highly probable that Minors came to Cambridge shortly after their arrival in England, perhaps in 1224 or 1225.²³ As at Oxford, the mendicants gave to Cambridge its earliest pattern of collegiate life. Concerning the influence of the Franciscans at Cambridge University, it has been said that their establishments gave stability to the struggling University and aided in preventing its dissolution in times of stress.²⁴ Thus, despite the fact that Cambridge did not enjoy the prestige of Oxford, it ranked with the Universities of Paris and Oxford as an adequate institution for theologians through the services of finely trained teachers and students who were followers of St. Francis.

A second distinguishing contribution of the Franciscans to England in the thirteenth century was the succession of members who were renowned for their exceptional scholarship. Some of the most brilliant minds and scholars in the thirteenth century intellectually world belonged to the Franciscan Order. This great galaxy of savants was headed by Robert Grosseteste, first chancellor of Oxford University and later Bishop of Lincoln. Grosseteste probably was Oxford's most noted teacher, and is said to have given Oxford its peculiar character.²⁵ Grosseteste was an

²¹Ibid., 278.

²²Holzapfel, op. cit., 220.

²³Rashdall, op. cit., 294.

²⁴W. W. Rouse Ball, Cambridge Papers, 185. Cited in Rashdall, op. cit., 294.

²⁵Holzapfel, op. cit., 219.

intellectual giant whose range of learning was unrivaled, embracing philosophy, mathematics, geometry, physics, Hebrew, and Greek as well as theology. He was a prolific writer on all such subjects.²⁶ But what constituted his chief claim to the gratitude of his contemporaries and of posterity was his directing all learning to practical ends.²⁷ In his lectures to the brethren he urged them to study.²⁸ He labored to point out the necessity for the systematic study of theology, predicting to his students that the appalling results of ignorance would befall them just as they had other religious men.²⁹

During the administration of Grosseteste over the see of Lincoln, not only did he exercise jurisdiction over masters and scholars of Oxford, but he also claimed power to regulate matters of purely academic concern.³⁰ However, as long as Lincoln was presided over by Grosseteste, there was harmony between the University and the diocese, and the University was encouraged and protected.³¹ In making their contributions to England in the thirteenth century, the Franciscans were more indebted to Robert Grosseteste than to any other single individual, with the exception of the founder of the Order himself.

Second only to the great bishop in learning and versatility of gifts was his intimate friend, Adam de Marisco, the first brother of the Order appointed by Grosseteste to read lectures at Oxford.³² Adam de Marisco

²⁶Smith, op. cit., 105-106.

²⁷W. R. W. Stephens, The English Church. (London: The Macmillan Co., 1909), 325-326.

²⁸Rashdall, op. cit., 241.

²⁹Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., 1.

³⁰Rashdall, op. cit., 114.

³¹Ibid., 115.

³²Stephens, op. cit., 326.

was a native of Somersetshire,³³ a priest, Oxford-trained. Under the wardenship of Angellus of Pisa, Adam de Marisco entered the Franciscan Order at Worcester between 1236 and 1239.³⁴ Upon the elevation of Grosseteste to the bishopric of Lincoln, Adam de Marisco succeeded to the chancellorship of Oxford University.³⁵ It was under his direction that the University rose to a position second to none, not even to the eminent University of Paris. The testimony by Roger Bacon, another Franciscan scholar of note, is indicative of the worth and contribution of Adam de Marisco as a schoolman.³⁶

The intimacy of Adam de Marisco with Robert Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort, two great reformers of the period, suggests that he shared their sentiments on the great political and religious questions which agitated the reign of Henry III. With Grosseteste, Adam de Marisco insisted on firm resistance to the secularizing spirit rapidly invading the Church and grasping its temporal possessions.³⁷ Among Adam de Marisco's letters written to people of various walks of life,³⁸ one discovers that Grosseteste,

³³Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., lxxviii.

³⁴Ibid., lxxxix.

³⁵Ibid., xxxii.

³⁶Said Roger Bacon, "Et adhuc vulgus philosophantiu, semper est imperfectum et pauci sapientissimi fuerunt in perfectione philosophae. Ut. primi compositores, ut Salomo, deinde Aristoteles pro tempore sup; postea Avicenna, et in diebus nostris Dominus Robertus Episcopus nuper Lincolnensis et Frater Adam de Marisco; quia hi fuerunt perfecti in omni sapientia et nunquam fuerunt plures perfecti in philosophia." Cited in Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., c.

³⁷Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., lxxxviii.

³⁸Adam de Marisco's letter to Simon de Montfort and his countess expresses ideas of reform. It also reflects confidence and perseverance in reforms. It seems that Adam de Marisco is fully cognizant of the treachery and deceit which surrounded Simon de Montfort, for he suggests in his letter that the only hope of safety for the Earl against the danger of his enemies, the plots of his deceitful friends and the reverses of the world, was in reliance upon God, who sits on the throne of justice and judgement. Ibid., xci-xcii.

the great spiritual reformer of the church, and Simon de Montfort, the champion for civil freedom for the people, were acting in cordial cooperation.³⁹ Many reformers had given up, but Adam de Marisco encouraged Grosseteste to persevere. He mentions his own persistence and frequent depressions because of filthiness and vileness and foolishness of clerks in managing affairs of the Church. He further admonished the bishop not to delay in correcting these conditions. Adam de Marisco expressed his readiness to serve the bishop in any way possible in the proposed reformation.⁴⁰

In addition to other duties Adam de Marisco was selected as counsellor or confessor at court. His influence on Henry III was so great that he was used twice on foreign diplomatic missions. He enjoyed the confidence of Queen Eleanor, who was also listed among his correspondents.⁴¹

Roger Bacon, philosopher, scientist, and theologian, was the third great teacher of Oxford in the thirteenth century.⁴² Born in the town of Oxford, he studied at the University as well as at the University of Paris;⁴³ while at the latter he joined the Franciscan Order.⁴⁴ Bacon is remembered for his refutation of the authority of the Church in scientific matters. He contended that all propositions should be sustained by proofs based on experimentation.⁴⁵

A fourth Franciscan scholar who became celebrated as an eminent teacher

³⁹Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., lxxviii-xciv.

⁴⁰Ibid., xc-xci.

⁴¹Dom David Knowles, The Religious Order in England. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1948), 181.

⁴²Rashdall, op. cit., 238.

⁴³Henry O. Taylor, The Medieval Mind, 4th edition. (London: The Macmillan Co., 1938), II, 516.

⁴⁴Ibid., 517.

⁴⁵Ibid., 515.

was John Duns Scotus, a Scottish scholastic theologian. Scotus exhausted himself in his career and work. A man of strong will, Scotus faltered in labor no more than his reasoning wavered in its most intricate course to honest conclusions. His learning was complete. He knew the Bible and the Fathers and was a master of theology, astronomy, mathematics and philosophy.⁴⁶ One might expect such a man to be of tremendous influence through the reactions occasioned by his masterful teachings.⁴⁷

Franciscan scholarship was also influential among the writers and chroniclers in the thirteenth century. It is held by some that the early Minors have left more intimate records of their doings than any other contemporary religious body. Besides the literature directly connected with the founder and his early followers, the Minors of the second generation gave vivid accounts of the Order and its luminaries as they saw them. The very simplicity the Franciscan chroniclers were taught to prize and a sense that they were a new leaven in the Church, together with a real appreciation of the sainted and remarkable personalities of their brethren, combined to inspire these compositions.⁴⁸ The chronicler Thomas de Eccleston, author of De Adventus Fratrum Minorum In Angliam, was one of the best historians of the Order.⁴⁹ It is believed that Eccleston attended Oxford, visited London and other places, and had known several eminent English friars.⁵⁰ Eccleston began collecting material for his book at the age of twenty-five.⁵¹ He desired to investigate the origin, increase, and

⁴⁶Ibid., 543.

⁴⁷Ibid., 548.

⁴⁸Knowles, op. cit., 127.

⁴⁹Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., lxxii.

⁵⁰Knowles, op. cit., 127.

⁵¹Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., lxxii.

success of the Order, especially its settlement and progress in England.⁵² He gives a clear and untarnished picture of the Minors in their poverty before they had been glorified by the eminent schoolman of a later period.⁵³ He stated that he was an eye-witness of the charity shown to the friars by the city of London during the years after their arrival. His book seems to be singularly free from egoism, remarkably sober and accurate. With its simplicity, it is one of the last examples of that chronicling genius that distinguished the countrymen of Bede for five centuries after his death.⁵⁴ With such stalwarts as Robert Grosseteste, Adam de Marisco, Roger Bacon, and Thomas de Eccleston in their orbit fighting, serving, and reforming, the Franciscans were inevitably to leave their imprint upon the annals of English history.

It should be remembered that the Order was founded for more than religious motives. Francis was interested also in the physical welfare of humanity. Therefore, the Franciscans were forced into related studies in order to prepare themselves for social work among the large town populations. The early attention of the friars to disease and sickness developed within the Order those medical studies and pursuits for which they became renowned.⁵⁵ Physics had been studied before as a requirement of academic training, but now knowledge therefrom was to be directed toward the relief of human suffering. Knowledge of physical science followed in the footsteps of the Franciscan missionary. With this knowledge of scientific skill, the physicists and the missionaries were acquainted with the

⁵²Ibid., lxxi.

⁵³Ibid., lxxiv.

⁵⁴Knowles, op. cit., 128.

⁵⁵Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., xlii-xliii.

composition and decomposition of bodies, the art of distillation, and the use of laboratories. This knowledge and skill made them popular with the mercantile classes, whose enterprises carried them into various trading areas of the world.⁵⁶

Finally, Francis intended that all his followers preach.⁵⁷ His disciples were to work not only toward the sanctification of their own soul, but they were to seek the salvation of others as well.⁵⁸ He based this intention on the example given by Christ and his followers and included in his rules material on preaching.⁵⁹ He emphasized that if one could not preach by word of mouth he could do so in his daily conduct.⁶⁰

The Franciscan method made an unusually deep impression upon the people, being adapted to the requirements of those classes in the community for whom the Franciscans felt the deepest sympathy. The new style in preaching was founded on meditation and experience,⁶¹ as well as on the needs of the lower classes, for the Franciscans had to speak to the hearts of unlearned men and women, however rough and insulting the treatments they sometimes received.⁶² Preaching as well as poverty was the great object of the Franciscan's life.⁶³ This new approach to preaching was less formal but not less effective. It was suited to audiences of both sexes, appealing directly to the deeper emotions and being popular as well as dramatic.⁶⁴

⁵⁶Ibid., xlv.

⁵⁷Sabatier, op. cit., 33.

⁵⁸Holzapfel, op. cit., 172.

⁵⁹The Rule of 1223.

⁶⁰Holzapfel, op. cit., 172.

⁶¹Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., xxiv.

⁶²Ibid., xxxv.

⁶³The Rule of 1223.

⁶⁴Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., xxxv.

This new method caused criticism of and accusations against the Franciscans. Their opponents, jealous of the influence and results of their preaching,⁶⁵ condemned them for magnifying preaching and for declining, in contrast to the older orders, to confine their labors. They were also accused of making their sermons agreeable to the people, of communicating with secular persons, of bringing a scandal on the Church, and of derogating from the dignity of the clerical office.⁶⁶ But numbers of individuals were attracted by their sermons concerning personal experiences, by their examples of contempt of worldliness, by their exhortations on penance; such preachers could reach their hearers with messages born out of the depths of religious fervor and conviction.⁶⁷

However, as the number of Minorites grew and a variety of people joined the Order, changes had to be made concerning the responsibility of individuals for preaching. Whereas the Rule of 1221 required the preaching be done by permission of the ministers, the Rule of 1223 forbade one to preach without consent of the bishop and general.⁶⁸ The friar had to show his ability to preach in order to gain his permit. The limitations on preaching gave rise to two divisions of the friars; the preachers or "Magni Praedicatores," who were highly appraised and regarded in the Franciscan Order; and the lay-brothers, who were allowed to preach by conduct, but were not pulpiteers.⁶⁹ The ideal preacher was to take his sermon from God's word and to work for the salvation of souls rather than for selfish aggrandizement.⁷⁰ Because the Order of St. Francis was imbued with this fervor,

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, xxxv-xxxvi.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁶⁷Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 172.

⁶⁸The Rule of 1223.

⁶⁹Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, 173.

⁷⁰The Rule of 1223.

they brought the Church home to the people, so that it made a stronger appeal, no longer cold and distant, nor far removed from their sympathies.⁷¹

⁷¹Monumenta Franciscana, op. cit., xxxviii.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

In the previous discussion the following aspects associated with the contributions of the Franciscans to England in the thirteenth century were gone into: first, civilized Europe of the thirteenth century was a period of momentous changes and unrest, an era of resolute emperors, ambitious kings, and popes determined to extend the powers of the office in the establishment of a great world organization. England, presenting a scene rife with political contests, ecclesiastical strife, and social and economic change of great consequence, was a part of the total European pattern. The opening years witnessed civil war between King John and important barons and the accession of Henry III, one about whom the dissentious barons could rally and whom they could support for a season. The political and ecclesiastical problems, together with social and economic disquietude, overlapped and proved to be a severe test to England's future. Britain was saved from catastrophic occurrence, and the veil of the future was lifted by vigorous reforms in which the Franciscans were conspicuous contributors.

Secondly, within the Order that traces its rise and progress to the devout genius of Francis of Assisi, there developed three distinct but related orders: the Friars Minor, the Nuns of St. Clare, and the Brothers and Sisters of Penance, also known, respectively, as the First, Second, and Third Orders of St. Francis. The rules originating with the Order were the Rule of 1210, the Rule of 1221, and the Rule of 1223, together with the Last Testament of St. Francis. The First Rule, though not

preserved for us, was brief and was truly the work of the founder. The directive following the First Rule was supposed to reflect the numerical growth and developments within the Order. The very heart of the organization is emphasized in the Franciscan Rules: Obedience, Poverty, and Preaching. The Order was officially established April 16, 1209 with the confirmation of Innocent III.

Thirdly, landing in England in 1224, the Franciscans came to the Isle upon the request of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, to assist in the efforts taken to reform the clergy of England. The Franciscans were kindly received by the Dominican Friars and numbers of others who were very charitable and favorably disposed toward them. However, they were most unwelcome to the established clergy, who were far removed from the people. The Minors located themselves among the most poor and needy, and moved among them extending their services freely.

Finally, the thirteenth century is believed by many to be the greatest century of the middle ages. If such assertion is applicable to the British Isle, much credit is due the Franciscans who labored without faltering and maintained cells of peace amid an area where ruin and chaos, under normal conditions, would have prevailed. The contributions that the Order was able to make to such a people at such time are traced back to the wisdom and vision of St. Francis, the founder of the Order, who gave to his followers, and to all who would adhere, the finest and best from the fold of the established Church: virtues like strength of character, purity of living, and the sense of the Divine Presence, even to the most humble.

Looking back over the period covered, recognition must be given to the Order as a most potent and beneficent organization that helped in

the lives of the people of England. Despite the defects found within the internal organization, defects inseparable from the age in which it was conceived, the Franciscans were, without question, at the very center of progress and uplift. From the time of their arrival in England they sought to help existing classes to find a common bond and mutual trust. At times the Order itself became such a bond and trust. In times of war the Franciscans sought to point out the path of peace, and during years of political unrest they gave themselves to supplying principles of order, discipline, and government. From within their ranks came some of the most able savants of the nation; in their houses were provided homes, peace, and religious devotion. The Order sent forth preachers of righteousness, and ministers to the needs of the poor and suffering. With them the devotional life left the cloister and came into the open, bringing radiance into the lives of people and speaking the language of common folk. They fostered art and scientific research, and revived the lost art of preaching. They were living sermons against avarice and proved to their generations that people can find genuine happiness apart from worldly riches.

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APPENDIX I

THE RULE OF 1221*

"By the holy love which is in God, I pray all the friars, ministers as well as others, to put aside every obstacle, every care, every anxiety, that they may be able to consecrate themselves entirely to serve, love, and honor the Lord God, with a pure heart and a sincere purpose, which is what he asks above all things. Let us have always in ourselves a tabernacle and a home for him who is the Lord God most mighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who says, 'Watch and pray always, that you may be found worthy to escape all the things which will come to pass, and to appear upright before the Son of man.'

"Let us then keep in the true way, the life, the truth, and the holy Gospel of Him who has deigned for our sake to leave his Father that he may manifest his name to us, saying, 'Father, I have manifested thy name to those whom thou hast given me, and the words which thou has given me I have given also unto them. They have received them, and they have known that I am come from thee, and they believe that thou hast sent me. I pray for them; I pray not for the world, but for those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. I have said these things, being still in the world, that they may have joy in themselves. I have given them thy words, and the world hath hated them, because they are not of the world.

*As quoted in Paul Sabatier, Life of Saint Francis. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), 255 ff.

I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou wilt keep them from the evil. Sanctify them through the truth; thy word is truth. As thou hast sent me into the world I have also sent them into the world, and for their sake I sanctify myself that they may themselves be sanctified in the truth; and neither pray I for these alone, but for all those who shall believe on me through their words, that we all may be one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and that thou lovest them as thou hast loved me. I have made known unto them thy name, that the love where with thou hast loved me may be in them and I in them.'

PRAYER

"Almighty, most high and sovereign God, holy Father, righteous Lord, King of heaven and earth, we give thee thanks for thine own sake, in that by thy holy will, and by thine only Son and thy Holy Spirit thou hast created all things spiritual and corporeal, and that after having made us in thine image and after thy likeness, thou didst place us in that paradise which we lost by our sin. And we give thee thanks because after having created us by thy Son, by that love which is thine, and which thou hast had for us, thou hast made him to be born very God and very man of the glorious and blessed Mary, ever Virgin, and because of his cross, his blood, and his death thou hast willed to ransom us poor captives. And we give thee thanks that thy Son is to return in his glorious majesty to send to eternal fire the accursed ones, those who have not repented and have not known thee; and to say to those who have known and adored thee and served thee by repentance, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from before the foundation of the world.' And since we, wretched and sinful, are not worthy to name thee, we humbly ask our Lord Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son, in whom thou art well pleased,

that he may give thee thanks for everything; and also the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, as it may please thee and them; for this we supplicate him who has all power with thee, and by whom thou hast done such great things for us. Alleluia.

"And we pray the glorious Mother, the blessed Mary, ever Virgin, St. Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and all the choir of blessed Spirits, Seraphim, Cherubin, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities and Powers, Virtues and Angels, Archangels, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter, Paul, and the holy Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Holy Innocents, Apostles, Evangelists, Disciples, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, the blessed ones, Elijah and Enoch, and all the saints who have been, shall be, and are, we humbly pray them by thy love to give thee thanks for those things, as it pleases thee, sovereign, true, eternal and living God, and also to thy Son, our most holy Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, forever and ever. Amen. Alleluia.

"And we supplicate all those who desire to serve the Lord God, in the bosom of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, all priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes and exorcists, readers, porters, all clerks, all monks and nuns, all children and little ones, paupers and exiles, kings, and princes, workman and laborers, servants and masters, the virgins, youths, young men and old men, the sick and the well, the small and the great, the peoples of every tribe and tongue and nation, all men in every part of the world whatsoever, who are or who shall be, we pray and beseech them, all we Brothers Minor, unprofitable servants, that all together, with one accord we persevere in the true faith and in penitence, for outside of these no person can be saved.

"Let us all, with all our hearts and all our thought, and all our

strength, and all our mind, with all our vigor, with all our effort, with all our affection, with all our inward powers, our desires, and our wills, love the Lord God, who has given to us all his body, all his soul, all his life, and still gives them every day to each one of us. He created us, he saved us, wicked and worthless, corrupt and offensive, ungrateful, ignorant, bad. We desire nothing else, we wish for nothing else; may nothing else please us, or have any attraction for us, except the Creator, the Redeemer, the Saviour, sole and true God, who is full of goodness, who is all goodness, who is the true and supreme good, who alone is kind, pious, and merciful, gracious, sweet, and gentle, who alone is holy, righteous, true upright, who alone has benignity, innocence, and purity; of whom, by whom, and in whom is all the pardon, all the grace, all the glory of all penitents, of all the righteous and all the saints who are rejoicing in heaven.

"Then let nothing again hinder, let nothing again separate, nothing again retard us, and may we all, so long as we live, in every place, at every hour, at every time, every day and unceasingly, truly and humbly believe. Let us have in our hearts, let us love, adore, serve, praise, bless, glorify, exalt, magnify, thank the most high sovereign, eternal God, Trinity and Unity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Creator of all men, both of those who believe and hope in him and of those who love him. He is without beginning and without end, immutable and invisible, ineffable, incomprehensible, indiscernible, blessed, lauded, glorious, exalted, sublime, most high, sweet, lovely, delectable, and always worthy of being desired above all things, in all the ages of ages. Amen."

APPENDIX II

THE RULE OF 1223*

1. This is the Rule and way life of the brothers minor; to observe the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, living in obedience, without personal possessions, and in chastity. Brother Francis promises obedience and reverence to our Lord Pope Honorius, and to his canonical successors, and to the Roman Church. And the other brothers shall be bound to obey brother Francis and his successors.

2. If any wish to adopt this way of life, and shall come to our brothers, they shall send them to their provincial ministers; to whom alone, and to others, permission is given to receive brothers. And the ministers shall carefully examine them in the Catholic faith and the sacraments of the Church. And if they believe all these, and will confess them faithfully and observe them steadfastly to the end; and if they have no wives, or if they have them and the wives have already entered a convent, or if with permission of the diocesan bishop they shall have given them permission to do so -- they themselves having already taken a vow of continence, and their wives being of such age that no suspicion can arise in connection with them: the ministers shall tell them, in the words of the holy Gospel, to go and sell all that they have and carefully give it to the poor. But if they shall not be able to do this, their good will is enough. And the brothers and their ministers shall be careful not to

*As quoted in Henry Bettenson, (ed.) Documents of the Christian Church. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 183 ff.

concern themselves about their temporal goods; so that they may freely do with those goods exactly as God inspires them. But if advice is required, the ministers shall be allowed to send them to some God-fearing men by whose counsel they shall dispense their goods to the poor. After that they shall be given the garments of probation: namely two gowns without cowls and a belt, and hose and a cape down to the belt; unless to these same ministers something else may at some time seem to be preferable in the sight of God. And, when the year of probation is over they shall be received into obedience; promising always to observe this way of life and Rule. And, according to the mandate of the lord pope, they shall never be allowed to break these bonds. For according to the holy Gospel, no one putting his hand to the plow and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God. And those who have now promised obedience shall have one gown with a cowl, and another, if they wish it, without a cowl. And those who really need them may wear shoes. And all the brothers shall wear humble garments, and may repair them with sack cloth and other remnants, with God's blessing. And I warn and exhort them lest they despise or judge men whom they shall see clad in soft garments and in colors, enjoying delicate food and drink; but each one shall rather judge and despise himself.

3. The clerical brothers shall perform, the divine service according to the order of the Holy Roman Church; excepting the psalter, of which they may have extracts. But the lay brothers shall say twenty-four Paternosters at matins, five at lauds, seven each at Prime, Terce, Sext and None, twelve at Vespers, seven at the Completorium; and they shall pray for the dead. And they shall fast from the feast of All Saints to the Nativity of the Lord; but as to the holy season of Lent, which begins after the Epiphany of the Lord and continues forty days, a season the Lord

consecrated by his holy fast --those who fast during this time shall fast until the Resurrection of the Lord. At other times the brothers shall not be bound to fast save on the sixth day (Friday); but when there is a compelling reason the brothers shall not be bound to observe a physical fast. But I advise, warn and exhort my brothers in the Lord Jesus Christ, that, when they go into the world, they shall not quarrel, nor contend with words, nor judge others. But let them be gentle, peaceable, modest, merciful and humble, with honorable conversation towards all, as is fitting. They ought not to ride, save when necessity or infirmity clearly compels them so to do. Into whatsoever house they enter let them first say, 'Peace be to this house.' And according to the holy Gospel it is lawful for them to partake of all dishes placed before them.

4. I strictly command all the brothers never to receive coin or money either directly or through an intermediary. The ministers and guardians alone shall make provision, through spiritual friends, for the needs of the infirm and for other brothers who need clothing, according to the locality, season or cold climate, at their discretion....

5. Those brothers, to whom God has given the ability to work, shall work faithfully and devotedly and in such a way that, avoiding idleness, the enemy of the soul, they do not quench the spirit of holy prayer and devotion, to which other and temporal activities should be subordinate. As the wages of their labor they may receive corporeal necessities for themselves and their brothers but not coin nor money, and this with humility, as is fitting for servants of God, and followers of holy poverty.

6. The brothers shall possess nothing, neither a house, nor a place, nor anything. But, as pilgrims and strangers in this world, serving God in poverty and humility, they shall confidently seek alms, and not be

ashamed, for the Lord made Himself poor in this world for us. This is the highest degree of that sublime poverty, which has made you, by Heaven; which has made you poor in goods but exalted in virtues. Let this be 'your portion,' which leads you to 'the land of the living' Ps. cxlii. 5. If you cleave wholly to this, save the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherever the brethren are, and shall meet together, they shall show themselves as members of one family; each shall with confidence unfold his needs to his brother. A mother loves and cherishes her son in the flesh; how much more eagerly should a man love and cherish his brother in the Spirit? And if any of them fall sick the other brothers are bound to minister to him as they themselves would wish to be ministered to.

7. But if any of the brethren shall commit mortal sin at the prompting of the adversary: in the case of those sins concerning which it has been laid down that recourse must be had to the provincial ministers, the aforesaid brethren must have recourse to them without delay. Those ministers, if they are priests, shall cause it to be enjoined through others, who are priests of the order, as it seems to them most expedient in the sight of God. They must beware lest they become angry and disturbed on account of the sin of any brother; for anger and indignation hinder love in ourselves and others.

8. All the brothers shall be bound always to have one of the brothers of the order as minister general and servant of the whole brotherhood, and shall be strictly bound to obey him. On his death the election of a successor shall be made by the provincial ministers and guardians in the chapter at Pentecost, at which the provincial ministers shall always be bound to assemble, wherever the minister general provides; and this once in three years or at a greater or less interval, according as is ordered by

the aforesaid minister. And if at any time it shall be clear to the whole body of provincial ministers and guardians that the said brethren who have the right of election to elect another as their guardian, in the name of God. But after the chapter held at Pentecost the ministers and guardians may (if they so wish and it seem expedient) call together their brethren, in their several districts, to a chapter, once in that same year.

9. The brothers shall not preach in the dioceses of any bishop who has forbidden them to do so. And none of the brothers shall dare to preach at all to the people unless he has been examined and approved by the minister general of this brotherhood and the privilege of preaching has been granted him. I also exhort these same brothers that in all their preaching their language shall be pure and careful, to the advantage and edification of the people; preaching to them of vices and virtues, punishment and glory; and let their discourse be brief; for the words which the Lord spoke upon earth were brief.

10. The brothers who are the ministers and servants of the other brothers shall visit and admonish their brothers and humbly and lovingly correct them; not teaching them anything which is against their conscience and our Rule. But the brothers who are subjected to them shall remember that, before God, they have discarded their own wills. Wherefore I strictly charge them that they obey their ministers in all things which they have promised God to observe, and which are not contrary to their conscience and to our Rule. And wherever there are brothers who are conscious of their inability to observe the Rule in the spirit, they may and should have recourse to their ministers. But the ministers shall receive them lovingly and kindly, and shall exercise such familiarity towards them, that they may speak and act towards them as masters to their servants; for

so it ought to be, that the ministers should be the servants of all the brothers. I warn and exhort, moreover, in Christ Jesus the Lord, that the brothers be on their guard against all pride, vainglory, envy, avarice, care and worldly anxiety, detraction and murmuring. And they shall not be concerned to teach those who are ignorant of letters, but shall take care that they desire to have the spirit of God and its holy workings; that they pray always to God with a pure heart; that they have humility, patience, in persecution and infirmity; and that they love those who persecute, revile and attack us. For the Lord saith: 'Love your enemies, and pray for those that persecute you and speak evil against you; Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven; He that is steadfast unto the end shall be saved.'

11. I strictly charge all the brethren not to hold conversation with women so as to arouse suspicion, nor to take counsel with them. And, with the exception of those to whom special permission has been given by the Apostolic Chair, let them not enter nunneries. Neither may they become fellow god-parents with men or women, lest from this cause a scandal may arise among the brethren or concerning brethren.

12. Whoever of the brothers by divine inspiration may wish to go among the Saracens and other infidels, shall seek permission to do so from their provincial ministers. But to none shall the ministers give permission to go, save to those whom they shall see to be fit for the mission.

Furthermore, I charge the ministers on their obedience that they demand from the lord pope one of the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, who shall be the governor, corrector and protector of the fraternity, so that, always submissive and lying at the feet of that same Holy Church, steadfast in the Catholic faith, we may observe poverty and humility, and the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; as we have firmly promised.

APPENDIX III

THE WILL OF ST. FRANCIS, 1226*

God gave it to me, Brother Francis, to begin to do penance in the following manner: when I was yet in my sins it seemed to me too painful to look upon the lepers, but the Lord Himself led me among them, and I had compassion upon them. When I left them, that which had seemed to me bitter had become sweet and easy. A little while after, I left the world, and God gave me such faith that I would kneel down with simplicity in any of his churches, and I would say, "We adore Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, here and in all Thy churches which are in the world, and we bless Thee that by Thy holy cross Thou hast ransomed the world."

Afterward the Lord gave me, and still gives me, so great a faith in priests who live according to the form of the holy Roman Church, because at their sacerdotal character, that even if they persecuted me I would have recourse to them, and even though I had all the wisdom of Solomon, if I should find poor secular priests, I would not preach in their parishes against their will. I desire to respect them like all the others, to love them and honor them as my lords, I will not consider their sins, for in them I see the Son of God, and they are my lords. I do this because here below I see nothing, I perceive nothing physically of the most high Son of God, except His most holy body and blood, which the priests receive and alone distribute to others.

*As quoted in Thomas C. Mendenhall, Basil D. Henning and A. S. Ford, Ideas and Institutions in European History, 800-1715. (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1948), 42.

Those who volunteered to follow this kind of life distributed all they had to the poor. They contented themselves with one tunic, patched within and without, with the cord and breeches, and we desire to have nothing more...We love to live in poor and abandoned churches, and we were ignorant and were submissive to all. I worked with my hands and would still do so, and I firmly desire also that all the other brothers work, for this makes for goodness. Let those who know no trade learn one, not for the purpose of receiving wages for their toil, but for their good example and to escape idleness. And when we are not given the price of our work, let us resort to the table of the Lord, begging our bread from door to door. The Lord revealed to me the salutation which we ought to give: "God give you peace!"

Let the brothers take great care not to accept churches, dwellings, or any buildings erected for them, except as all is in accordance with the holy poverty which we have vowed in the Rule; and let them not live in them except as strangers, and pilgrims. I absolutely forbid all the brothers, in whatsoever place they may be found, to ask any bull from the court of Rome, whether directly or indirectly, in the interest of church or convent, or under pretext of preaching, or even for the protection of their bodies. If they are not received anywhere, let them go of themselves elsewhere, thus doing penance with the benediction of God...

And let the brothers not say, "This is a new Rule"; for this is only a reminder, a warning, an exhortation. It is my last will and testament, that I, little Brother Francis, make for you, my blessed brothers, in order that we may observe in a more Catholic way the Rule which we promised the Lord to keep.

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