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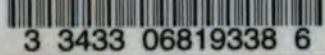
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Erasmus

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
ANCIENT AND MODERN,
FROM THE
BIRTH OF CHRIST, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY;
IN WHICH
The Rise, Progress and Variations of
CHURCH POWER,
ARE CONSIDERED IN THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE STATE OF
Learning and Philosophy,
AND THE
POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE, DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY THE LATE LEARNED
JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.

And Chancellor of the University of Gottingen.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, AND ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTES
AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, AN INDEX.

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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

FROM THE

BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION OF LUTHER

TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE order and method, that have been followed in the former part of this Work, cannot be continued, without the greatest inconveniences, in this, which relates to the modern history of the church. From the commencement of the sixteenth century, the face of religion was remarkably changed; the divisions, that had formerly perplexed the church, increased considerably; and the Christian societies, that relinquished the established forms of divine worship, and erected themselves into separate assemblies, upon principles different from those of the Roman hierarchy, multiplied from day to day. This circumstance renders it impossible to present in one connected series, or, as it were, in one continued tablature, the events, vicissitudes, and revolutions, that happened in the church, divided its members, and enfeebled the dominion of its tyrants. From the period on which we now enter, the bond of union among Christians, that had been formed by a blind obedience to the Roman pontiffs, was every where either dissolved, or at least relaxed; and consequently this period of our history must be divided into a multitude of branches, into as many parts as there were famous sects that arose in this century.

The method observed in the preceding part of this history changed.

II. It is, however, proper to observe here, that many of the events, which distinguish this century, had a manifest relation to the church in general, and not to any Christian society in particular. And as these events deserve to be mentioned separately, on account of their remarkable tendency to throw a light upon the state of Christianity in general, as well as upon the history of each particular Christian society, we shall therefore divide this into two main and principal parts, of which the one shall contain the *General*, and the other the *Particular History of the Christian Religion*.

The history of the church in this century may be divided into two general heads.

III. To the *General History* belong all those events which relate to the state of Christianity, considered in itself and in its utmost extent, to the Christian church viewed in the general, and abstracted from the miserable and multiplied divisions into which it was rent by the passions of men. Under this head we shall take notice of the advancement and progress of Christianity in general, without any regard to the particular sects that were thus instrumental in promoting its interests; nor shall we omit the consideration of certain doctrines, rights, and institutions, which appeared worthy of admission to all, or at least to the greatest part of the Christian sects, and which, consequently produced every where changes and improvements of more or less importance.

IV. In the *Particular History* of this century, we propose passing in review, in their proper order, the various sects into which the Christian church was divided. This part of our work, for the sake of method and precision, we shall subdivide into two. In the *first* we shall comprehend what relates to the more *ancient* Christian sects, both in the eastern and western hemispheres; while the *second* shall be confined to the history of those more *modern* societies, the date of whose origin is posterior to the Reformation in Germany. In the accounts that are here to be given of the circumstances, fate, and doctrines of each sect, the method laid down in the preface to this work shall be rigorously observed, as far as is possible; since it seems the most adapted to lead us to an accurate knowledge of the nature, progress, and tenets of every Christian society, that arose in these times of discord.

V. The most momentous event that distinguished the church after the fifteenth century, and we may add, the most glorious of all the revolutions that happened in the state of Christianity since the time of its divine and immortal Founder, was that happy change introduced into religion, which is known by the title of the *Blessed Reformation*. This grand revolution, which arose in Saxony from small beginnings, not only spread itself with the utmost rapidity through all the European provinces, but also extended its efficacy more or less to the most distant parts of the globe, and may be justly considered as the main and principal spring which has moved the nations from that illustrious period, and occasioned the greatest

part both of those civil and religious revolutions that fill the annals of history down to our times. The face of Europe was, in a more especial manner, changed by this great event. The present age feels yet, in a sensible manner, and ages to come will continue to perceive, the inestimable advantages it *produced*, and the inconveniences of which it has been the *innocent occasion*. The history therefore of such an important revolution, from whence so many others have derived their origin, and whose relations and connexions are so extensive and universal, demands undoubtedly a peculiar degree of attention, and has an unquestionable right to the principal place in such a work as this. We therefore now proceed to give a compendious view of the modern history of the Christian church, according to the plan and method already laid down.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I:

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

I. THE history of the reformation is too ample and extensive to be comprehended without a certain degree of confusion; in the uninterrupted narration of one section; we shall therefore divide it into four parts. The division of the first section.

The first will contain, "An account of the state of Christianity before the commencement of the reformation."

The second, "The history of the reformation, from its first beginnings until the date of the confession drawn up at Augsburg."

The third will exhibit, "A view of the same history, from this latter period to the commencement of the war of Smalcald." And,

The fourth will carry it down to "the peace that was entered into with the abettors of the reformation in the year 1555." This division is natural; it arises spontaneously from the events themselves.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

I. ABOUT the commencement of this century the Roman pontiffs lived in the utmost tranquillity; nor had they, as things appeared to be situated, the least reason to apprehend any opposition to their pretensions, or rebellion against their authority; since Things are in a quiet state at the beginning of this century.

a The writers of the History of the Reformation, of every rank and order, are enumerated by the very learned Philip. Frid. Hane, who himself deserves a most eminent rank in this class, in his *Historia Sacrorum a Luthero Emendatorum*, part i. cap. i. p. 1, and by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranicum*, part ii. cap. cxxxvii. p. 863. The greatest part, or at least the most eminent, of this list of authors must be consulted

those dreadful commotions which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Beghards, and lately by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty, in the valleys of Piedmont, and proposed to themselves no higher earthly felicity, than that of leaving to their descendants that wretched and obscure corner of Europe, which separates the Alps from the Pyrenean mountains; while the handful of Bohemians, that survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any new attempt, and therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

II. We must not however conclude from this apparent tranquillity and security of the pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or their chains worn without reluctance. This was far from being the case. Not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the pontiffs, the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their counsels, the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their legates, the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the clergy and monks of all denominations, the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Roman laws, and demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, *a reformation* of the church, in its head, and in its members, and a general council to accomplish that necessary and happy purpose.^b But these complaints and demands were not carried so far as to produce any good effect; since they came from per-

The complaints against the popes and clergy ineffectual.

by such as desire a farther confirmation or illustration of the matters which I propose to relate briefly in the course of this history. The illustrious names of Sleidan and Seckendorf, and others, who have distinguished themselves in this kind of erudition, are too well known to fender it necessary to recommend their works to the perusal of the curious reader.

^b These complaints and accusations have been largely enumerated by several writers. See, among many others, Val. Ern. Loescherus, in *Actis et documentis Reformationis*, tom. i. cap. v. p. 105; cap. ix. p. 181, and Ern. Salom. Cyprian. *Præfat. ad Wlk. Ern. Tenzelii Historiam Reformat.* published at Leipsic, in 8vo. in the year 1717. The grievances, complained of by the Germans in particular, are amply mentioned by J. F. Georgius, in his *Gravamina Imperator. et Nationis German. adversus sedem Roman.* cap. vii. p. 361. Nor do the wiser and more learned among the modern Romaniets pretend to deny that the church and clergy, before the time of Luther, were corrupted in a very high degree.

sons who never presumed to entertain the least doubt about the supreme authority of the pope in religious matters, and who, of consequence, instead of attempting themselves to bring about that reformation that was so ardently desired, remained entirely inactive, and looked for redress to the court of Rome, or to a general council. As long as the authority of the Roman pontiff was held sacred, and his jurisdiction supreme, there could be no reason to expect any considerable reformation either of the corruptions of the church or of the manners of the clergy.

III. If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, and to alarm the security of the lordly pontiffs, it was the restoration of ^{The restoration of learning.} learning in Europe, and the number of men of genius that arose of a sudden under the benign influence of that auspicious revolution. But even this new scene of things was insufficient to terrify the lords of the church, or to make them apprehend the decline of their power. It is true, indeed, this happy revolution in the republic of letters dispelled the gloom of ignorance, and kindled in the minds of many the love of truth and sacred liberty. Nay, it is also certain that many of these great men, such as Erasmus and others, pointed the delicacy of their wit, or levelled the fury of their indignation, at the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the priesthood, the abuses that reigned in the court of Rome, and the brutish manners of the monastic orders. But this was not sufficient, since none had the courage to strike at the root of the evil, to attack the papal jurisdiction and statutes, which were absurdly, yet artfully, sanctified by the title of *canon law*, or to call in question that ancient and most pernicious opinion, that Christ had established a vicegerent at Rome, clothed with his supreme and unlimited authority. Intrenched therefore within these strong holds, the pontiffs looked upon their own authority and the peace of the church as beyond the reach of danger, and treated with indifference the threats and invectives of their enemies. Armed moreover with power to punish, and abundantly furnished with the means of rewarding in the most alluring manner, they were ready, on every commotion, to crush the obstinate, and to gain over the mercenary to their cause; and this indeed could not but contribute considerably to the stability of their dominion.

iv. Hence it was, that the bishops of Rome lived in the utmost security and ease, and being entirely free from apprehensions and cares of every kind, followed without reluctance, and gratified without any limitation or restraint, the various demands of their lusts and passions. Alexander VI. whom humanity disowns, and who is rather to be considered as a monster than as a man, whose deeds excite horror, and whose enormities place him among the most execrable tyrants of ancient times, stained the commencement of this century by the most tremendous crimes. The world was delivered from this papal fiend in the year 1503, by the poisonous draught which he had prepared for others, as is generally believed; though there are historians that attribute his death to sickness and old age.^c He was succeeded in the pontificate by Pius III. who, in less than a month, was deprived by death of that high dignity. The vacant chair was obtained by fraud and bribery by Julian de la Rovere, who assumed the denomination of Julius II.

v. To the odious list of vices with which Julius II. dishonoured the pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war and bloodshed. He began his military enterprises by entering into a war with the Venetians, after having strengthened his cause by an alliance with the emperor and the king of France.^d He afterward laid siege to Ferrara; and at length turned his arms against his former ally, the French monarch, in conjunction with the Venetians, Spaniards, and Swiss, whom he had drawn into this war, and engaged in his cause by an offensive league. His whole pontificate, in short, was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he suffer Europe to enjoy a moment's tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the church under a *vicar* of Christ, who lived in camps, amidst

^c See the Life of Alexander VI. in two vols. 8vo. by Alex. Gordon, Esq. As also another life of the same pontiff, written with more moderation, and subjoined, along with that of Leo X. to the first volume of the learned and ingenious work, entitled *Histoire du Droit public Ecclésiastique François*, par M. D. B. published in 4to. at London, in 1752.

^d See du Bos, *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray*, published at the Hague, in two volumes, 8vo. in the year 1710.

the din of arms, and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities laid desolate. Under such a pontiff, all things must have gone to ruin; the laws must have been subverted, the discipline of the church destroyed, and the genuine lustre of true religion entirely effaced.

VI. Nevertheless, from this dreadful cloud that hung over Europe, some rays of light seemed to break forth, that promised a better state of things, and gave some reason to expect that reformation in the church that was so ardently and so universally desired. Lewis XII. king of France, provoked by the insults he had received from this arrogant pontiff, meditated revenge, and even caused a medal to be struck with a menacing inscription, expressing his resolution to overturn the power of Rome, which was represented by the title of *Babylon* on this coin.* Several cardinals also, encouraged by the protection of this monarch and the emperor Maximilian I. assembled, in the year 1511, a council at Pisa, with an intention to set bounds to the tyranny of this furious pontiff, and to correct and reform the errors and corruptions of a superstitious church. Julius, on the other hand, relying on his own strength, and on the power of his allies, beheld these threatening appearances without the least concern, nay, treated them with mockery and laughter. He did not however neglect the methods of rendering ineffectual the efforts of his enemies, that prudence dictated, and therefore gave orders for a council to meet in the palace of the Lateran, in the year 1512,† in which the decrees of the council of Pisa were condemned and annulled in the most injurious and insulting terms. This condemnation would, undoubtedly, have been followed with the most dire and formidable anathemas against Lewis and other princes, had not death snatched away this audacious pontiff, in the year 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

VII. He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by Leo X. of the family of Medicis, who, though of a milder disposition than his predecessor, was nevertheless equally indifferent about the interests of religion and the

* See B. Christ. Sigismund. Lieblii *Commentatio de nummis Ludovici XII. Epigraphæ, Perdam Babylonis nomen, insignibus*; Leipsic, 1717. See also *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crovianus*, tom. i. p. 238, 243. Colonia, *Histoire Liter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 442. The authenticity and occasion of this medal have been much disputed, and, as is well known, have afforded matter of keen debate.

† Hardini *Concilia*, tom. ix. p. 1559.

advancement of true piety. He was a protector of men of learning, and was himself learned as far as the darkness of the age would admit of. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters and pleasure; though it must be observed, that the greatest part of it was consecrated to the latter. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the greatest impatience under events of that nature. He was remarkable for his prodigality, luxury, and imprudence, and even has been charged with impiety, if not atheism. He did not however neglect the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, even the promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see. For he took the utmost care that nothing should be transacted in the council of the Lateran, which Julius had assembled and left sitting, that had the least tendency to favour the reformation of the church. He went still farther; and in a conference which he had with Francis I. king of France, at Bologna, he engaged that monarch to abrogate the *pragmatic sanction*,^a which had been so long odious to the popes of Rome, and to substitute in its place another body of laws, more advantageous to the papacy, which were imposed upon his subjects, under the title of the *Concordate*, and received with the utmost indignation and reluctance.^b

^a We have mentioned this pragmatic sanction, cent. xv. part ii. chap. ii. § xvi. note g, and given there some account of its nature and design. This important edict is published at large in the eighth volume of the *Concilia* Harduini, p. 1949, as is the concordate, that was substituted in its place, in the ninth volume of the same work, p. 1867, and in Leibnitz, his *Manitissa Codicis Diplomat.* part i. p. 158, part ii. p. 358. The history of these two pieces is given in an ample and accurate manner by bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3. See also on the same subject, De Boulay, *Historia Academ. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 61—109. Du Clos, *Histoire de Louis XI. Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique Francois*, tom. i. diss. ix. p. 415. *Menigiana*, tom. iii. p. 285.

^b The king went in person to the parliament to offer the concordate to be registered, and letters patent were made out requiring all the judges and courts of justice to observe this act, and see it executed. The parliament, after deliberating a month upon this important matter, concluded not to register the concordate, but to observe still the pragmatic, unless the former edict was received and established in as great an assembly as that was, which published the latter in the reign of Charles VII. And when by violence and force they were obliged to publish the concordate, they joined to this publication a solemn protest, and an appeal from the pope to the next general council, into both which measures the university and the clergy entered with the greatest alacrity and zeal. But royal and papal despotism at length prevailed.

The chancellor De Prat, who was principally concerned in promoting the concordate, has been generally regarded as an enemy to the liberties of the Gallican church. The illustrious and learned president Hainault has not, however, hesitated to defend his memory against this accusation, and to justify the concordate as an equitable contract, and as a measure attended with less inconveniences than the pragmatic sanction. He observes, that by the king's being invested, by the concordate, with the privilege of nominating to the bishoprics and vacant benefices of the first class, many corruptions and

VIII. The raging thirst of dominion that consumed these pontiffs, and their arrogant endeavours to crush and oppress all that came within the reach of their power, were accompanied with the most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of Europe were, in a manner, drained to enrich these ghostly tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after new accessions of wealth, in order to augment the number of their friends and the stability of their dominion. And, indeed, according to the notions commonly entertained, the rulers of the church seemed to have a fair enough pretext, from the nature of their character, to demand a sort of tribute from their flock; for none can deny to the supreme governors of any state, and such was the character assumed by the popes, the privilege of levying tribute from those over whom they bear rule. But as the name of *tribute* was every way proper to alarm the jealousy and excite the indignation of the civil magistrate, the pontiffs were too cunning to employ it, and had recourse to various stratagems and contrivances to rob the subject without shocking the sovereign, and to levy taxes under the specious mask and pretext of religion. Among these contrivances, the distribution of *indulgences*, which enabled the wealthy to purchase impunity for their crimes by certain sums applied to religious uses, held an eminent rank. This traffic of indulgences was constantly renewed whenever the coffers of the church were exhausted. On these occasions they were recommended warmly to the

abuses were prevented, which arose from the simoniacal practices that prevailed almost every where, while, according to the pragmatic sanction, every church chose its bishop, and every monastery its abbot. He observes moreover, that this nomination was the natural right of the crown, as the most considerable part of the great benefices had been created by the kings of France; and he insists particularly on this consideration, that the right which Christian communities have to choose their leaders, cannot be exercised by such large bodies without much confusion and many inconveniences; and that the subjects, by intrusting their sovereign with the government of the state, invest him *ipso facto*, with an authority over the church which is a part of the state, and its noblest branch. See Hainault, *Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, in the *Particular Remarks* that are placed at the end of the reign of Lewis XIV.

The most specious objection that was made to the concordate was this; that in return for the nomination to the vacant benefices, the king granted to the popes the *annates*, or *first fruits*, which had so long been complained of as an intolerable grievance. There is, however, no mention of this equivalent in the concordate. And it was by a papal bull that succeeded this compact, that the pontiffs claimed the payment of the first fruits, of which they had put themselves in possession in the year 1316, and which had been suspended by the pragmatic sanction. See the *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique François*. As this substitution of the concordate, in the place of the pragmatic sanction, was a most important transaction, and had a very great influence upon the minds of the English, the translator judged it necessary to give here some account of that matter.

ignorant multitude under some new, specious, yet fallacious pretext, and were greedily sought after, to the great detriment both of individuals and of the community.

ix. Notwithstanding the veneration and homage that were almost every where paid to the Roman pontiffs, they were far from being universally reputed infallible in their decisions, or unlimited in their authority. The pope's authority held inferior to that of a council. The wiser part of the German, French, Flemish, and British nations, considered them as liable to error, and bounded by law. The councils of Constance and Basil had contributed extremely to rectify the notions of the people in that respect; and from that period all Christians, except the superstitious monks and parasites of Rome, were persuaded that the pope was subordinate to a general council, that his decrees were not infallible, and that the council had a right to depose him, whenever he was convinced of gross errors or enormous crimes. Thus were the people, in some measure, prepared for the reformation of the church; and hence that ardent desire, that earnest expectation of a general council, which filled the minds of the wisest and best Christians in this century. Hence also those frequent appeals that were made to this approaching council, when the court of Rome issued out any new edict, or made any new attempt repugnant to the dictates of piety and justice.

x. The licentious examples of the pontiffs were zealously imitated in the lives and manners of the subordinate rulers, and ministers of the church. The corruption of the lower orders of the clergy. The greatest part of the bishops and canons passed their days in dissolute mirth and luxury, and squandered away, in the gratification of their lusts and passions, the wealth that had been set apart for religious and charitable purposes. Nor were they less tyrannical than voluptuous; for the most despotic princes never treated their vassals with more rigour and severity, than these ghostly rulers employed toward all such as were under their jurisdiction. The decline of virtue among the clergy was attended with the loss of the public esteem; and the most considerable part of that once respected body became, by their sloth and avarice, their voluptuousness and impurity, their ignorance and levity, contemptible and infamous, not only in the eye of the wise and good, but also in the universal

judgment of the multitude.¹ Nor could the case be otherwise as matters were now constituted; for as all the offices and dignities of the church were become *venal* every where, the way of preferment was inaccessible to merit, and the wicked and licentious were rendered capable of rising to the highest ecclesiastical honours.

XI. The prodigious swarms of monks that overspread Europe were universally considered as cumberers of the ground, and occasioned murmurs and complaints every where. And, nevertheless, such was the genius of the age, of an age that was but just emerging from the thickest gloom of ignorance, and was suspended, as it were, in a dubious situation between darkness and light, that these monastic drones would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the least pains to preserve any remains even of the external air of decency and religion, that used to distinguish them in former times. But the Benedictine and the other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues, broke through all restraint, made the worst possible use of their opulence, and, forgetful of the gravity of their character and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of vice in all its various kinds and degrees. On the other hand, the mendicant orders, and especially those who followed the rule of St. Dominic and St. Francis, though they were not carried away with the torrent of licentiousness that was overwhelming the church, yet they lost their credit in a different way; for their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstitions, their ignorance, cruelty, and brutish manners, alienated from them the minds of the people, and diminished their reputation from day to day. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed a like abhorrence of certain eminent and learned men, who endeavoured to open the paths of science to the pursuits of the studious youth, recommended the culture of the mind, and attacked the barbarism of the age in their writings and in their discourse. This is sufficiently evident from what happened to Reuclinus, Erasmus, and other learned men.

The state of
the monastic
orders.

¹ See Cornelli Aurelii Gaudani *Apocalypsis, seu Visio Mirabilis super miserabili Statu* *Multitudo Indulgentie*, in Caspar. Burmanni *Annot. Hist. de Hadriano VI.* p. 245, printed in 4to. at Utrecht, in 1737.

XII. Among all the monastic orders, none enjoyed a higher degree of power and authority than the Dominican friars, whose credit was great, and their influence universal. This will not appear at all surprising when we consider that they filled very eminent stations in the church, presided every where over the terrible tribunal of the inquisition, and had the care of souls, with the function of *confessors*, in all the courts of Europe; a circumstance this, which, in these times of ignorance and superstition, manifestly tended to put the most of the European princes in their power. But, notwithstanding all this credit and authority, the Dominicans had their enemies; and about this time their influence began to decline. Nay, several marks of perfidy, that appeared in the measures they employed to extend their authority, exposed them justly to the public indignation. Nothing more infamous than the frauds they practised to accomplish their purposes, as may be seen among other examples, by the tragedy they acted at Berne, in the year 1509.^k They were perpetually

The Dominicans.

^k This most impious fraud is recorded at length by Ruchat, at the end of the sixth volume of his *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*; and also by Hottinger, in his *Histoire Ecoles. Helvet.* tom. i. p. 334. There is also a compendious, but distinct narration of this infernal stratagem, in bishop Burnet's *Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland*, p. 31. The stratagem in question was the consequence of a rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and more especially of their controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The former maintained, that she was born without the blemish of original sin; the latter asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an age of darkness and superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans lost ground from day to day. To support the credit of their order, they resolved, at a chapter held at Vimpfen, in the year 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions and dreams, in which the people at that time had an easy faith; and they determined to make Berne the scene of their operations. A person named Jetzer, who was extremely simple, and much inclined to austerities, and who had taken their habit, as a lay brother, was chosen as the instrument of the delusions they were contriving. One of the four Dominicans, who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into Jetzer's cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a horrid figure, surrounded with howling dogs, and seeming to blow fire from his nostrils, by the means of a box of combustibles which he held near his mouth. In this frightful form he approached Jetzer's bed, told him that he was the ghost of a Dominican, who had been killed at Paris, as a judgment of heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for this crime; adding, at the same time, that by his means, he might be rescued from his misery, which was beyond expression. This story, accompanied with horrible cries and howling frightened poor Jetzer out of the little wits he had, and engaged him to promise to do all that was in his power to deliver the Dominican from his torment. Upon this, the impostor told him, that nothing but the most extraordinary mortifications, such as the *discipline of the whip*, performed during eight days by the whole monastery, and Jetzer's lying prostrate in the form of one crucified, in the chapel during mass, could contribute to his deliverance. He added, that the performance of these mortifications would draw down upon Jetzer the peculiar protection of the Blessed Virgin; and concluded by saying that he would appear to him again accompanied with two other spirits. Morning was no sooner come, than Jetzer gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent, who all unanimously advised him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined upon him; and every one consented to bear his share of the task imposed. The deluded simpleton obeyed, and

employed in stigmatizing, with the opprobrious mark of *heresy*, numbers of learned and pious men, in encroaching upon the rights and properties of others to augment their possessions, and in laying the most iniquitous snares and

was admired as a saint by the multitudes that crowded about the convent, while the four friars that managed the imposture, magnified in the most pompous manner, the miracle of this apparition, in their sermons and in their discourse. The night after, the apparition was renewed with the addition of two impostors, dressed like devils, and Jetzer's faith was augmented by hearing from the spectre all the secrets of his life and thoughts, which the impostors had learned from his confessor. In this and some subsequent scenes, the detail of whose enormities, for the sake of brevity, we shall here omit, the impostor talked much to Jetzer of the Dominican order, which he said was peculiarly dear to the Blessed Virgin; he added, that the Virgin knew herself to be conceived in original sin; that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory; that the Blessed Virgin abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal with her son; and that the town of Berne would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within her walls. In one of these apparitions, Jetzer imagined that the voice of the spectre resembled that of the prior of the convent, and he was not mistaken; but not suspecting a fraud, he gave little attention to this. The prior appeared in various forms, sometimes in that of St. Barbara, at others in that of St. Bernard; at length he assumed that of the Virgin Mary, and, for that purpose, clothed himself in the habits that were employed to adorn the statue of the Virgin in the great festivals; the little images, that on these days are set on the altars, were made use of for angels, which being tied to a cord that passed through a pulley over Jetzer's head, rose up and down, and danced about the pretended Virgin to increase the delusion. The Virgin, thus equipped, addressed a long discourse to Jetzer, in which, among other things, she told him that she was conceived in original sin, though she had remained but a short time under that blemish. She gave him as a miraculous proof of her presence, a *host*, or consecrated wafer, which turned from white to red in a moment; and after various visits, in which the greatest enormities were transacted, the virgin prior told Jetzer, that she would give him the most affecting and undoubted marks of her son's love, by imprinting on him the *five wounds* that pierced Jesus on the cross, as she had done before to St. Lucia and St. Catharine. Accordingly, she took his hand by force, and struck a large nail through it, which threw the poor dupe into the greatest torment. The next night this masculine virgin brought as she pretended, some of the linen in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound, and gave Jetzer a soporific draught, which had in it the blood of an unbaptized child, some grains of incense and of consecrated salt, some quicksilver, the hairs of the eyebrows of a child, all which, with some stupefying and poisonous ingredients, were mingled together by the prior with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil in hope of his succour. This draught threw the poor wretch into a sort of lethargy, during which the monks imprinted on his body the other four wounds of Christ in such a manner that he felt no pain. When he awakened, he found, to his unspeakable joy, these impressions on his body, and came at last to fancy himself a representative of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, exposed to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent, to the great mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions, which were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of Mary and another of the child Jesus; the former of which had tears painted upon its cheeks in a lively manner. The little Jesus asked his mother by means of this voice, which was that of the prior, why she wept; and she answered, that her tears were owing to the impious manner in which the Franciscans attributed to her the honour that was due to him, in saying that she was conceived and born without sin.

The apparitions, false prodigies, and abominable stratagems, of these Dominicans, were repeated every night; and the matter was at length so grossly overacted, that, as simple as Jetzer was, he at last discovered it, and had almost killed the prior, who appeared to him one night in the form of the Virgin with a crown on her head. The Dominicans, fearing by this discovery to lose the fruits of their imposture, thought the best method would be to own the whole matter to Jetzer, and to engage him, by the most seducing promises of opulence and glory, to carry on the cheat. Jetzer was persuaded, or at least appeared to be so. But the Dominicans, suspecting that he was not entirely gained over, resolved to poison him; but his constitution was so vigorous, that though

stratagems for the destruction of their adversaries.¹ And they were the principal counsellors, by whose instigation and advice Leo X. was determined to that most rash and imprudent measure, even the public condemnation of Luther.

XIII. The principal places in the public schools of learning were filled very frequently by monks of the mendicant orders. This unhappy circumstance prevented their emerging from that ignorance and darkness, which had so long enveloped them; and it also rendered them inaccessible to that auspicious light of improved science, whose salutary beams had already been felt in several of the European provinces. The instructors of youth, dignified with the *venerable* titles of artists, grammarians, physicians, and dialecticians, loaded the memories of their laborious pupils with a certain quantity of barbarous terms, arid and senseless distinctions, and scholastic precepts delivered in the most inelegant style; and all such as could repeat this jargon with a certain readiness and rapidity, were considered as men of uncommon eloquence and erudition. The whole body of the philosophers extolled Aristotle beyond all measure; while scarcely any studied him, and none understood him. For what was now exhibited, as the philosophy of that famous Grecian sage, was really nothing more than a confused and motley heap of obscure notions, sentences, and divisions, which even the public doctors and heads of schools were unable to comprehend. And if among these thorns of

they gave him poison five several times, he was not destroyed by it. One day they sent him a loaf prepared with some spices, which growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece of it to a wolf's whelps that were in the monastery, and it killed them immediately. At another time they poisoned the host, or consecrated wafer, but as he vomited it up soon after he swallowed it, he escaped once more. In short there were no means of securing him, which the most detestable impiety and barbarity could invent, that they did not put in practice, till, finding at last an opportunity of getting out of the convent, he threw himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he made a full discovery of this infernal plot. The affair being brought to Rome, commissaries were sent from thence to examine the matter; and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friars were solemnly degraded from their priesthood, and were burnt alive, on the last day of May, 1509. Jetzer died some time after at Constance, having poisoned himself, as was believed by some. Had his life been taken away before he had found an opportunity of making the discovery already mentioned, this execrable and horrid plot, which, in many of its circumstances was conducted with art, would have been handed down to posterity as a stupendous miracle. This is a very brief account of the matter; such as are desirous of a more circumstantial relation of this famous imposture may consult the authors mentioned in the beginning of this note.

¹ See Bilib. Pirkheimeri *Epistola ad Hadrianum Pontif. Maxim. de Dominicanorum flagitiis*, in opp. ejus, p. 379. This letter is also to be found in Gerdesii *Introd. ad Histor. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. i. p. 170. Append.

scholastic wisdom, there was any thing that had the appearance of fruit, it was crushed and blasted by the furious wranglings and disputes of the Scotists and Thomists, the Realists and Nominalists, whose clamours and contentions were unhappily heard in all the European academies.

xiv. The wretched and senseless manner of teaching theology in this century, may be learned from The state of theology. many books yet extant, which were wrote by the divines it produced, and which in reality have no other merit than their enormous bulk. The expositors of the holy Scriptures were very few in number, during this century; and there were scarcely any of the Christian doctors that had a critical knowledge of the sacred oracles. This kind of knowledge was so rare, that when Luther arose, there could not be found, even in the university of Paris, which was considered as the first and most famous of all the public schools of learning, a single person qualified to dispute with him, or oppose his doctrine, upon a Scripture foundation. Any commentators, that were at this time to be found, were such as, laying aside all attention to the true meaning and force of the words of Scripture, which their profound ignorance of the original languages and of the rules of criticism rendered them incapable of investigating, gave a loose to their vain and irregular fancies, in the pursuit of mysterious significations. The greatest part of the public teachers belonged to these classes of divines, which we have formerly mentioned under the titles of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, who were extremely fond, the former of loading their accounts, both of the truths and precepts of religion, with multiplied quotations and authorities from the writings of the ancient doctors; the latter of explaining the doctrines of the gospel by the rules of a subtle and intricate philosophy.

xv. It must at the same time be observed, that the divines of this century disputed with a good deal of freedom upon religious subjects, and even upon those that were looked upon as most essential to The liberty of debating religious subjects. salvation. There were several points of doctrine, which had not been as yet fixed and determined by the authority of the church; nor did the pontiffs, without some very urgent reason, restrain the rights of private judgment, or force the consciences of men, except in those cases where doctrines were adopted that seemed detrimental to the su-

premacý of the apostolic see, or to the temporal interests of the sacerdotal and monastic orders. Hence it is, that we could mention many Christian doctors before Luther, who inculcated not only with impunity, but even with applause, the very same tenets that afterward drew upon him such heavy accusations and such bitter reproaches. And it is beyond all doubt, that this great reformer might have propagated these opinions without any danger of molestation, had he not pointed his warm remonstrances against the opulence of Rome, the overgrown fortunes of the bishops, the majesty of the pontiffs, and the towering ambition of the Dominicans.

xvi. The public worship of the Deity was now no more than a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greatest part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes than to touch the heart. The number of those who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people, was not very considerable; and their discourses, which contained little else than fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived the multitude instead of instructing them. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without the highest indignation and contempt. Those who, on account of their gravity of manners, or their supposed superiority in point of wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank among these vain declaimers, had a commonplace set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were constantly exercising the force of their lungs, and the power of their eloquence. These subjects were, the authority of the holy mother church, and the obligations of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit in the court of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the Blessed Virgin; the efficacy of relics; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of good works, as that phrase was then understood, to salvation; the intolerable burnings of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences. Such were the subjects that employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors of this century; and they were indeed the only subjects that could tend to fill the coffers of the *good old mother church*, and advance her temporal interests. A ministry, who would have taken

The nature of religious worship as it was celebrated at this time.

it into their heads to inculcate the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, to exhibit the example of its divine author, and the efficacy of his mediation, as the most powerful motives to righteousness and virtue, and to represent the love of God and mankind as the great duties of the Christian life, such a ministry would have been very unprofitable servants to the church and to the papacy, however they might have promoted the cause of virtue, and the salvation of souls.

XVII. The state of things, that we have been now describing, exhibits to our view the true causes of that incredible ignorance in religious matters, which reigned universally in all countries, and among all ranks and orders of men; an ignorance accompanied with the vilest forms of superstition, and the greatest corruption of manners. The clergy, who presided over the rights and ceremonies of the church, were far from showing the least disposition to enlighten the ignorance, or to check the superstition of the times; nay, instead of opposing, they rather nourished and promoted them, as conducive to their safety, and favourable to their interests. Nor was there more zeal shown in stemming the torrent of immorality and licentiousness, than in dispelling the clouds of superstition and ignorance. For the prudence of the church had easily foreseen, that the traffic of indulgences could not but suffer from a diminution of the crimes and vices of mankind; and that, in proportion as virtue gained an ascendant upon the manners of the multitude, the profits arising from expiations, satisfactions, and such like ecclesiastical contrivances, must necessarily decrease.

XVIII. Such then was the dismal condition of the church. Its corruption was complete, and the abuses that it permitted were gone to the greatest height of enormity. But in proportion to the greatness of this corruption was the ardour and impatience with which all, who were endowed with any tolerable portion of solid learning, genuine piety, or even good sense, desired to see the church reformed and purged from these shocking abuses. And the number of those who were affected in this manner was very considerable in all parts of the western world. The greatest part of them indeed, were per-

The corrupt and miserable condition of the people in general.

A reformation in the church ardently desired.

haps over moderate in their demands. They did not extend their views so far as a change in the form of ecclesiastical government, a suppression of those doctrines, which, however absurd, had acquired a high degree of credit by their antiquity, nor even to the abrogation of those rights and ceremonies, which had been multiplied in such an extravagant manner, to the great detriment of true religion and rational piety. All they aimed at was, to set limits to the overgrown power of the pontiffs, to reform the corrupt manners of the clergy, and to prevent the frauds that were too commonly practised by that order of men ; to dispel the ignorance and correct the errors of the blinded multitude, and to deliver them from the heavy and unsupportable burdens that were imposed upon them under religious pretexts. But as it was impossible to obtain any of these salutary purposes without the suppression of various absurd and impious opinions, from whence the grievances complained of sprung, and indeed, without a general reformation of the religion that was publicly professed ; so was this reformation supposed to be ardently, though silently, wished for, by all those who publicly demanded the reformation of the church in its *head* and in its *members*.

XIX. If any sparks of real piety subsisted under this despotic empire of superstition, they were only to be found among the mystics. For this sect, renouncing the subtilty of the schools, the vain contentions of the learned, with all the acts and ceremonies of external worship, exhorted their followers to aim at nothing but internal sanctity of heart, and communion with God, the centre and source of holiness and perfection. Hence the mystics were loved and respected by many persons, who had a serious sense of religion, and were of a tender and devotional complexion. But as they were not entirely free from the reigning superstitions, but associated many vulgar errors with their practical precepts and directions ; and as their excessive passion for contemplation led them into many chimerical notions, and sometimes into a degree of fanaticism that approached to madness ; more effectual succours than theirs were necessary to combat the inveterate errors of the times, and to bring about the reformation that was expected with such impatience.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION FROM ITS FIRST BEGINNINGS TO THE
CONFESSION GIVEN IN AT AUGSBURG.

I. WHILE the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission; and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine Christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent; an obscure and inconsiderable person arose, on a sudden, in the year 1517, and laid the foundation of this long-expected change, by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was Martin Luther, a native of Aisleben in Saxony, a monk of the Augustinian Eremites, who were one of the mendicant orders, and, at the same time, professor of divinity in the academy that had been erected at Wittenberg, a few years before this period, by Frederic the *Wise*. The papal chair was at this time filled by Leo X. Maximilian I. a prince of the house of Austria, was king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany; and Frederic, already mentioned, elector of Saxony. The bold efforts of this new adversary of the pontiffs were honoured with the applauses of many, but few or none entertained hopes of their success. It seemed scarcely possible that this puny David could hurt a Goliath, whom so many heroes had opposed in vain.

The dawn of
a reformation
rises unex-
pectedly.

II. None of the qualities or talents that distinguished Luther were of a common or ordinary kind. His genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious; his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labour, incredible; his magnanimity invincible, and independent on the vicissitudes of human affairs; and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived. All this will be acknowledged even by his enemies, at least by such of them as are not totally blinded by a spirit of partiality and faction. He was deeply versed in the theology and philosophy that were in vogue in the schools during this century, and he taught them both

Luther.

with the greatest reputation and success in the academy of Wittemberg. As a philosopher he embraced the doctrine of the nominalists, which was the system adopted by his order; while in divinity he followed chiefly the sentiments of Augustin; but in both, he preferred the decisions of Scripture, and the dictates of right reason before the authority and opinions of fallible men. It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt from error, and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall perhaps find but a few things in his character that render him liable to reproach.^m

III. The first opportunity that this great man had of unfolding to the view of a blinded and deluded age, the truth, which had struck his astonished sight, was offered by a Dominican, whose name was John Tetzel.ⁿ This bold and enterprising monk had been chosen, on account of his uncommon impudence, by Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, to preach and proclaim in Germany those famous indulgences of Leo X. which administered the remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature, to those who were rich enough to purchase them. The frontless monk executed this iniquitous commission not only with matchless insolence, indecency,^o and fraud, but even carried his impiety so far as to derogate from the all-sufficient power and influence of the merits of Christ. At this, Luther, unable to smother his just indignation, raised his warning voice, and in ninety-five propositions, maintained publicly at Wittemberg, on the 30th of September, in the year 1517, censured the extravagant extortion of these questors, and plainly pointed out the Roman pontiff as a partaker of their guilt, since he suffered the people to be seduced, by

^m The writers who have given any circumstantial account of Luther and his transactions, are accurately enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Luthericum*; the first part of which was published at Hamburg, in the year 1722, and the second in 1730, in 8vo.

ⁿ The historians who have particularly mentioned Tetzel, and his odious methods of deluding the multitude, are enumerated in the work quoted into the preceding note, part i. p. 47, part ii. p. 530. What is said of this vile deceiver by Echard and Quetif, in the *Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 46, discovers the blindest zeal and the meanest partiality.

^o In describing the efficacy of these indulgences, Tetzel said, among other enormities, that "even had any one ravished the mother of God, he, Tetzel, had wherewithal to efface his guilt." He also boasted, that "he had saved more souls from hell by these indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching."

such delusions, from placing their principal confidence in Christ, the only proper object of their trust. This was the commencement and foundation of that memorable rupture and revolution in the church, which humbled the grandeur of the lordly pontiffs, and eclipsed so great a part of their glory.^p

¶ Dr. Mosheim has taken no notice of the calumnies invented and propagated by some late authors, in order to make Luther's zealous opposition to the publication of indulgences appear to be the effect of selfish and ignoble motives. It may not, therefore, be improper to set that in a true light; not that the cause of the reformation, which must stand by its own intrinsic dignity, and is in no way affected by the views or characters of its instruments, can derive any strength from this inquiry; but as it may tend to vindicate the personal character of a man, who has done eminent service to the cause of religion.

Mr. Hume, in his History of the Reign of Henry VIII. has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation, and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged Luther to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the "Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans;* that Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and, being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves."† It were to be wished, that Mr. Hume's candour had engaged him to examine this accusation better before he had ventured to repeat it. For, in the first place, it is not true, that the Austin friars had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences. It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the mendicants, whether Austin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally intrusted with the Dominicans,‡ and, in the records which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not one single act, by which it appears that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly, it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther, i. e. from 1450 to 1517, during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin friar employed in that service; if we except a monk, named Pelzins, who was no more than an underling of the papal questor Raymond Peraldus; so far is it from being true, that the Augustine order were exclusively, or even usually employed in that service.§ Mr. Hume has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of Paul Sarpi, which has been abundantly refuted by De Priero, Pallavicini, and Grawson, the mortal enemies of Luther. But it may be alleged, that, even supposing it was not usual to employ the Augustine friars alone in the propagation of indulgences, yet Luther might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To show the injustice of this allegation, I observe,

Secondly, That, in the time of Luther, the preaching of indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable, that Luther would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission, either for himself or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, toward the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings.¶ Nay more, the very commission which is supposed to have excited the envy of Luther, was offered by Leo to the general of the

* Hume's History of England, under the House of Tudor, vol. i. p. 119.

† Id. ib. 120.

‡ See Weismanni, *Memorabilia Historia Sacra N. T.* p. 1051, 1115.

§ See Happii *Diss. de Nonnullis Indulgentiarum*, Sæc. xiv. et xv. *Quæstoribus*, p. 394, 387.

¶ See Walch. *Opp. Luther*, tom. xv. p. 114, 288, 313, 319. Seeckendorf. *Hist. Lutheranismi* lib. i. sect. vi. p. 13.

¶ See Walch. *ib.* cit. p. 371.

iv. This debate between Luther and Tetzel was, at first, a matter of no great moment, and might have been terminated with the utmost facility, had Leo X. been disposed to follow the healing method which common prudence must have naturally pointed out on such an occasion. For, after all, this was no more than a private dispute between two monks, concerning the extent of the pope's power with respect to the remission of sin. Luther confessed that the Roman pontiff was clothed with the power of remitting the *human* punishments inflicted upon transgressors, i. e. the punishments denounced by the church and its visible head the bishop of Rome; but he strenuously denied that his power extended to the remission of the *divine* punishments allotted to offenders, either in this present, or in a future state; affirming, on the contrary, that these punishments could be removed by the merits of Christ, or by voluntary acts of mortification and penance undertaken and perform-

The true state of the debate between Luther and Tetzel.

Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his order, who gave it over entirely to Albert, bishop of Mentz and Magdebourg. Is it then to be imagined, that either Luther or the other Austin friars aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Beside, it is a mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the Dominicans in general; since it was given to Tetzel alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led Luther to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider, in the third place, that he was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of Luther are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1544, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach Luther with these ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. I speak not of Erasmus, Sleidan, De Thou, Guicciardini, and others, whose testimony might be perhaps suspected of partiality in his favour; but I speak of Cajetan, Hogstrat, De Priero, Emser, and even the infamous John Tetzel, whom Luther opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even Cochläus was silent on this head during the life of Luther; though, after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices,* that Pallavicini, Bossuet, and other enemies of Luther, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of Luther were better judges of his character, and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of Luther's contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us, who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. Bossuet, to Mr. Hume, and to other abettors of this ill-contrived and foolish story. Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. Hume's assertion is entirely groundless.

I might add many other considerations to show the unreasonableness of supposing that Luther exposed himself to the rage of the Roman pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated clergy, to the severity of such a potent and despotic prince as Charles V. to death itself, and that from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind.

* Sleidan *De Statu Rel. et Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Elector.*

ed by the transgressor. The doctrine of Tetzal was indeed directly opposite to the sentiments of Luther; for this senseless or designing monk asserted, that all punishments, present and future, human and divine, were submitted to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and came within the reach of his absolving power. This matter had often been debated before the present period; but the popes had always been prudent enough to leave it undecided. These debates however being sometimes treated with neglect, and at others carried on without wisdom, the seeds of discord gained imperceptibly new accessions of strength and vigour, and from small beginnings produced, at length, revolutions and events of the most momentous nature.

v. The sentiments of Luther were received with applause by the greatest part of Germany, which had long groaned under the avarice of the pontiffs, and the extortions of their tax gatherers, and had murmured grievously against the various stratagems that were daily put in practice, with the most frontless impudence, to fleece the rich, and to grind the faces of the poor. But the votaries of Rome were filled with horror, when they were informed of the opinions propagated by the Saxon reformer; more especially the Dominicans, who looked upon their order as insulted and attacked in the person of Tetzal. The alarm of controversy was therefore sounded, and Tetzal himself appeared immediately in the field against Luther, whose sentiments he pretended to refute in two academical discourses, which he pronounced on occasion of his promotion to the degree of doctor in divinity. In the year following, 1518, two famous Dominicans, Sylvester de Prierio and Hogstrat, the former a native of Italy, and the latter a German, rose up also against the adventurous reformer, and attacked him at Cologne with the utmost vehemence and ardour. Their example was soon followed by another formidable champion, named Eckius, a celebrated professor of divinity at Ingoldstadt, and one of the most zealous supporters of the Dominican order. Luther stood firm against these united adversaries, and was neither vanquished by their arguments, nor daunted by their talents and reputation; but answered their objections and refuted their reasonings with the greatest strength of evidence, and a becoming spirit of resolution and perseverance. At the same time, however, he addressed him-

The adversaries of Luther and the patrons of Tetzal.

self by letters, written in the most submissive and respectful terms to the Roman pontiff, and to several of the bishops, showing them the uprightness of his intentions, as well as the justice of his cause, and declaring his readiness to change his sentiments, as soon as he should see them fairly proved to be erroneous.

VI. At first, Leo X. beheld this controversy with indifference and contempt; but being informed by the emperor Maximilian I. not only of its importance, but also of the fatal divisions it was likely to produce in Germany, he summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome, and there to plead the cause which he had undertaken to maintain. This papal summons was superseded by Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, who pretended, that the cause of Luther belonged to the jurisdiction of a German tribunal, and that it was to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. The pontiff yielded to the remonstrances of this prudent and magnanimous prince, and ordered Luther to justify his intentions and doctrines before cardinal Cajetan, who was, at this time, legate at the diet of Augsburg. In this first step, the court of Rome gave a specimen of that temerity and imprudence with which all its negotiations, in this weighty affair, were afterward conducted. For instead of reconciling, nothing could tend more to inflame matters than the choice of Cajetan, a Dominican, and consequently, the declared enemy of Luther, and friend of Tetzels, as judge and arbitrator in this nice and perilous controversy.

VII. Luther however repaired to Augsburg, in the month of October, 1518, and conferred, at three different meetings with Cajetan himself, concerning the points in debate. But had he even been disposed to yield to the court of Rome, this imperious legate was, of all others, the most improper to encourage him in the execution of such a purpose. The high spirit of Luther was not to be tamed by the arrogant dictates of mere authority; such, however, were the only methods of persuasion employed by the haughty cardinal. He, in an overbearing tone, desired Luther to renounce his opinions, without even attempting to prove them erroneous, and insisted, with importunity, on his confessing humbly his

A conference
is held be-
tween Luther
and Cajetan
at Augsburg.

The issue of
this confer-
ence.

q There is a large account of this cardinal given by Quetif and Echard, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 14.

fault, and submitting respectfully to the judgment of the Roman pontiff. The Saxon reformer could not think of yielding to terms so unreasonable in themselves, and so despotically proposed; so that the conferences were absolutely without effect. For Luther, finding his adversary and judge inaccessible to reason and argument, left Augsburg all of a sudden, after having appealed from the present decisions of the pontiff to those which he should pronounce, when better informed; and in this step he seemed yet to respect the dignity and authority of the bishop of Rome. But Leo X. on the other hand, let loose the reins to ambition and despotism, and carried things to the utmost extremity; for, in the month of November, this same year, he published a special edict, *commanding* his spiritual subjects to acknowledge his *power of delivering from all the punishments due to sin and transgression of every kind*. As soon as Luther received information of this inconsiderate and violent measure, he perceived, plainly, that it would be impossible for him to bring the court of Rome to any reasonable terms: he therefore repaired to Wittemberg, and on the 28th of November, appealed from the pontiff to a general council.

VIII. In the mean time, the Roman pontiff became sensible of the imprudence he had been guilty of in intrusting Cajetan with such a commission, and endeavoured to mend the matter by employing a man of more candour and impartiality, and better acquainted with business, in order to suppress the rebellion of Luther, and to engage that reformer to submission and obedience. This new legate was Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight, who belonged to the court of Leo X. and whose lay character exposed him less to the prejudices that arise from a spirit of party, than if he had been clothed with the splendid purple, or

The transactions of Miltitz.

All the projects of reconciliation concerted in 1519.

r The imperious and imprudent manner in which Cajetan behaved towards Luther was highly disapproved of even at the court of Rome, as appears, among other testimonies, from Paulo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, book i. p. 22. The conduct of Cajetan is defended by Echard, in his *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. ii. p. 15, but with little prudence and less argument. The truth of the matter is, that the court of Rome, and its unthinking sovereign were not less culpable than Cajetan in the whole of this transaction. Since they might easily foresee, that a Dominican legate was of all others the most unlikely to treat Luther with moderation and impartiality, and consequently the most improper to reconcile matters.

s See B. Christ. Frid. Borneri *Diss. de Colloquio Lutheri cum Cajetano.* Leips. 1792, in 4to. Val. Ern. Loschuri *Acta et Documenta Reformat.* tom. ii. cap. xi. p. 435, opp. *Lutheri*, tom. xxiv. p. 409.

the monastic frock. He was also a person of great prudence, penetration, and dexterity, and every way qualified for the execution of such a nice and critical commission as this was. Leo therefore sent him into Saxony to present to Frederic the golden consecrated *rose*, which the pontiffs are used to bestow, as a peculiar mark of distinction, on those princes, for whom they have, or think proper to profess, an uncommon friendship and esteem, and to treat with Luther, not only about finishing his controversy with Tetzels, but also concerning the methods of bringing about a reconciliation between him and the court of Rome. Nor indeed were the negotiations of this prudent minister entirely unsuccessful; for, in his first conference with Luther, at Altenburg, in the year 1519, he carried matters so far as to persuade him to write a submissive letter to Leo X. promising to observe a profound silence upon the matters in debate, provided that the same obligation should be imposed upon his adversaries. This same year, in the month of October, Miltitz had a second conference with Luther in the castle of Leibenwerd, and a third the year following at Lichtenberg. These meetings, which were reciprocally conducted with moderation and decency, gave great hopes of an approaching reconciliation; nor were these hopes ill founded." But the violent proceedings of the enemies of Luther, and the arrogant spirit, as well as unaccountable imprudence of the court of Rome, blasted these fair expectations, and kindled anew the flames of discord.

¶ IX. It was sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by Cajetan to draw Luther anew under the papal yoke; because these measures were, indeed, nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed with the most frontless impudence. A man, who began by commanding the reformer to renounce his

The nature of the conferences between Miltitz and Luther.

† See B. Christ. Frid. B. The records relating to the embassy of Miltitz, were first published by Ern. Salomon Cyprianus, in *Addit. ad Wilh. Ern. Tenzelii Histor. Reformat.* tom. i. ii. As also by Val. Ern. Loscherus, in his *Acta Reformat.* tom. ii. c. xvi. and tom. iii. cap. ii.

u In the year 1519, Leo X. wrote to Luther in the softest and most pacific terms. From this remarkable letter, which was published in the year 1749, by Loscherus, in a German work, entitled *Unschuld Nachricht*, it appears, that at the court of Rome, they looked upon a reconciliation between Luther and the pontiff as certain and near at hand.

¶ w This whole ninth section is added to Dr. Mosheim's work by the translator, who thought that this part of Luther's history deserved to be related in a more circumstantial manner than it is in the original.

errors, to believe, and that upon the dictates of mere authority, that "one drop of Christ's blood, being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining quantity, that was shed in the garden and on the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure from whence indulgences were to be drawn and administered by the Roman pontiffs;"^x such a man was not to be reasoned with. But Miltitz proceeded in quite another manner, and his conferences with the Saxon reformer are worthy of attention. He was ordered indeed to demand of the elector, that he would either oblige Luther to renounce the doctrines he had hitherto maintained, or, that he would withdraw from him his protection and favour. But, perceiving that he was received by the elector with a degree of coldness that bordered upon contempt, and that Luther's credit and cause were too far advanced to be destroyed by the efforts of mere authority, he had recourse to gentler methods. He loaded Tetzel with the bitterest reproaches, on account of the irregular and superstitious means he had employed for promoting the sale of indulgences, and attributed to this miserable wretch all the abuses that Luther had complained of. Tetzel, on the other hand, burdened with the iniquities of Rome, tormented with a consciousness of his own injustice and extortions, stung with the opprobrious censures of the new legate, and seeing himself equally despised and abhorred by both parties, died of grief and despair.^y This incendiary being sacrificed as a victim to cover the Roman pontiff from reproach, Miltitz entered into a particular conversation with Luther, at Altenburg, and without pretending to justify the scandalous traffic in question, required only, that he would acknowledge the four following things: 1st, That the people had been seduced by false notions of indulgences, 2dly, that he, Luther, had been the cause of that seduction, by representing indulgences as much more heinous than they really were; 3dly, that the odious conduct of Tetzel alone had given occasion to these repre-

[^x] Such, among others still more absurd, were the expressions of Cajetan, which he borrowed from one of the decretals of Clement VI. called, and that justly, for more than one reason, *extraneus*.

[^y] Luther was so affected by the agonies of despair under which Tetzel laboured, that he wrote him a pathetic letter of consolation, which however produced no effect. His infamy was perpetuated by a picture, placed in the church of Piana, in which he is represented sitting on an ass, and selling indulgences.

sentations ; and 4thly, that though the avarice of Albert, archbishop of Mentz, had set on Tetzell, yet that this rapacious tax gatherer had exceeded by far the bounds of his commission." These proposals were accompanied with many soothing words, with pompous encomiums on Luther's character, capacity, and talents, and with the softest and most pathetic expostulations in favour of union and concord in an afflicted and divided church ; all which Miltitz joined together with the greatest dexterity and address, in order to touch and disarm the Saxon reformer. Nor were his mild and insinuating methods of negotiating without effect ; and it was upon this occasion that Luther made submissions which showed that his views were not, as yet, very extensive, his former prejudices entirely expelled, or his reforming principles steadily fixed. For he not only offered to observe a profound silence for the future with respect to indulgences, provided the same condition were imposed on his adversaries ; he went much farther ; he proposed writing an humble and submissive letter to the pope, acknowledging that he had carried his zeal and animosity too far ; and such a letter he wrote some time after the conference at Altenburg.* He even consented to publish a circular letter, exhorting all his disciples and followers to reverence and obey the dictates of the Holy Roman church. He declared, that his only intention, in the writings he had composed, was to brand with infamy those emissaries who abused its authority, and employed its protection as a mask to cover their abominable and impious frauds. It is true, indeed, that amidst those weak submissions which the impartial demands of historical truth oblige us to relate, there was, properly speaking, no retraction of his former tenets, nor the smallest degree of respect shown to the infamous traffic of indulgences. Nevertheless, the pretended majesty of the Roman church, and the authority of the Roman pontiff, were treated by Luther in this transaction, and in his letter to Leo, in a manner that could not naturally have been expected from a man who had already appealed from the pope to a general council.

Had the court of Rome been prudent enough to have accepted of the submission made by Luther, they would

* This letter was dated the 13th of March, 1519, about two months after the conference of Altenburg.

have almost nipped in the bud the cause of the reformation, or would, at least, have considerably retarded its growth and progress. Having gained over the head, the members would, with greater facility, have been reduced to obedience. But the flaming and excessive zeal of some inconsiderate bigots renewed, happily for the truth, the divisions, which were so near being healed, and by animating both Luther and his followers to look deeper into the enormities that prevailed in the papal hierarchy, promoted the principles, and augmented the spirit, which produced, at length, the blessed^a reformation.

x. One of the circumstances that contributed principally, at least, by its consequences, to render the embassy of Miltitz ineffectual for the restoration of peace, was a famous controversy of an incidental nature that was carried on at Leipsic, some weeks successively, in the year 1519.^b A doctor named Eckius, who was one of the most eminent and zealous champions in the papal cause, happened to differ widely from Carlostadt, the colleague and companion of Luther, in his sentiments concerning *free will*. The result of this variety in opinion was easy to be foreseen. The military genius of our ancestors had so far infected the schools of learning, that differences in points of religion or literature, when they grew to a certain degree of warmth and animosity, were decided, like the quarrels of valiant knights, by single combat. Some famous university was pitched upon as the field of battle, while the rector and professors beheld the contest and proclaimed the victory. Eckius therefore, in compliance with the spirit of this fighting age, challenged Carlostadt, and even Luther himself, against whom he had already drawn his pen, to try the force of his theological arms. The challenge was accepted, the

The disputes at Leipsic in the year 1519, between Eckius and Carlostadt.

† a See, for an ample account of Luther's conferences with Miltitz, the incomparable work of Seckendorf, entitled *Commentar. Histor. Apologet de Lutheranism, sive de Reformatione Religionis, &c.* in which the facts relating to Luther and the reformation are deduced from the most precious and authentic manuscripts and records, contained in the library of Saxe Gotha, and in other learned and princely collections, and in which the frauds and falsehoods of Maimbourg's *History of Lutheranism* are fully detected and refuted. As to Miltitz, his fate was unhappy. His moderation, which nothing but the blind zeal of some furious monks could have hindered from being eminently serviceable to the cause of Rome, was represented by Eckius, and something worse than indifference about the success of his commission; and after several marks of neglect received from the pontiff, he had the misfortune to lose his life in passing the Rhine at Mentz.

b These disputes commenced on the 25th of June, and ended on the 15th of July following.

day appointed, and the three champions appeared in the field. The first conflict was between Carlostadt and Eckius concerning the powers and freedom of the human will;° it was carried on in the castle of Pleissenburg, in presence of a numerous and splendid audience, and was followed by a dispute between Luther and Eckius concerning the authority and supremacy of the Roman pontiff. This latter controversy, which the present situation of affairs rendered singularly nice and critical, was left undecided. Hoffman, at that time rector of the university of Leipsic, and who had been also appointed judge of the arguments alleged on both sides, refused to declare to whom the victory belonged; so that the decision of this matter was referred to the universities of Paris and Erfurt.^d In the mean time, one of the immediate effects of this dispute was a visible increase of the bitterness and enmity which Eckius had conceived against Luther; for from this very period he breathed nothing but fury against the Saxon reformer,^e whom he marked out as a victim to his vengeance, without considering, that the measures he took for the destruction of Luther, must have a most pernicious influence upon the cause of the Roman pontiff, by fomenting the present divisions, and thus contributing to the progress of the reformation, as was really the case.^f

¶ c This controversy turned upon *liberty*, considered not in a philosophical, but in a theological sense. It was rather a dispute concerning *power* than concerning *liberty*. Carlostadt maintained, that, since the fall of man, our natural liberty is not strong enough to conduct us to what is good, without the intervention of divine grace. Eckius asserted, on the contrary, that our natural liberty co-operated with divine grace, and that it was in the power of man to consent to the divine impulse, or to resist it. The former attributed all to God; the latter divided the merit of virtue between God and the creature. The modern Lutherans have almost universally abandoned the sentiments of Carlostadt.

d There is an ample account of this dispute at Leipsic given by Val. Ern. Locherus, in his *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. c. vii. p. 203.

¶ e This was one proof that the issue of the controversy was not in his favour. The victor, in any combat, is generally too full of satisfaction and self-complacency, to feel the emotions of fury and vengeance, which seldom arise but from disappointment and defeat. There is even an insolent kind of clemency that arises from an eminent and palpable superiority. This indeed Eckius had no opportunity of exercising. Luther demonstrated, in this conference, that the church of Rome, in the earlier ages, had never been acknowledged as superior to other churches, and combated the pretensions of that church and its bishops, from the testimony of Scripture, the authority of the fathers, and the best ecclesiastical historians, and even from the decrees of the council of Nice; while all the arguments of Eckius were derived from the spurious and insipid decretals, which were scarcely of four hundred years standing. See Secken-dorff's *Hist. of Lutheranism*.

¶ f It may be observed here, that before Luther's attack upon the store-house of indulgences, Eckius was his intimate friend. Eckius must certainly have been uncommonly unworthy, since even the mild and gentle Melancthon represents him

XI. Among the spectators of this ecclesiastical combat was Philip Melancthon, at that time professor of Greek at Wittemberg, who had not as yet been Philip Melancthon. involved in these divisions, as indeed the mildness of his temper, and his elegant taste for polite literature, rendered him averse from disputes of this nature, though he was the intimate friend of Luther, and approved his design of delivering the pure and primitive science of theology from the darkness and subtilty of scholastic jargon.^f As this eminent man was one of those, whom this dispute with Eckius convinced of the excellence of Luther's cause: as he was, moreover, one of the illustrious and respectable instruments of the reformation; it may not be improper to give some account here of the talents and virtues that have rendered his name immortal. His greatest enemies have borne testimony to his merit. They have been forced to acknowledge that the annals of antiquity exhibit very few worthies that may be compared with him; whether we consider the extent of his knowledge in things human and divine, the fertility and elegance of his genius, the facility and quickness of his comprehension, or the uninterrupted industry that attended his learned and theological labours. He rendered to philosophy and the liberal arts the same eminent service that Luther had done to religion, by purging them from the dross with which they had been corrupted, and by recommending them, in a powerful and persuasive manner, to the study of the Germans. He had the rare talent of discerning truth in all its most intricate connexions and combinations, of comprehending at once the most abstract notions, and expressing them with the utmost perspicuity and ease. And he applied this happy talent in religious disquisitions with such unparalleled success, that it may safely be affirmed, that the cause of true Christianity derived from the learning and genius of Melancthon more signal advantages, and a more effectual support than it received from any of the other doctors of the age. His love of peace and concord, which was partly

as an *inhuman persecutor*, a *sophist*, and *knave*, who maintained doctrines contrary to his belief and against his conscience. See the learned Dr. Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 713; see also Vitus's account of the death of Eckius, in Seckendorff, lib. iii. p. 468. and in the *Scholia ad indicem* 1 Hist. of the same book, No. xxiii.

^f See Melancthon's letter concerning the conference of Leipsic, in Loscher's *Acta et Documenta Reformationis*, tom. iii. cap. viii. p. 215; as also in the Wittemberg edition of Luther's Works, vol. i. p. 336.

owing to the sweetness of his natural temper, made him desire with ardour that a reformation might be effected without producing a schism in the church, and that the external communion of the contending parties might be preserved uninterrupted and entire. This spirit of mildness and charity, carried perhaps too far, led him sometimes to make concessions that were neither consistent with prudence, nor advantageous to the cause in which he was engaged. It is, however, certain, that he gave no quarter to those more dangerous and momentous errors that reigned in the church of Rome; but maintained, on the contrary, that their extirpation was essentially necessary in order to the restoration of true religion. In the natural complexion of this great man there was something soft, timorous, and yielding. Hence arose a certain diffidence of himself, that not only made him examine things with the greatest attention and care, before he resolved upon any measure, but also filled him with uneasy apprehensions where there was no danger, and made him fear even things, that, in reality, could never happen. And yet, on the other hand, when the hour of real danger approached, when things bore a formidable aspect, and the cause of religion was in imminent peril, then this timorous man was converted, all at once, into an intrepid hero, looked danger in the face with unshaken constancy, and opposed his adversaries with invincible fortitude. All this shows, that the force of truth and the power of principle had diminished the weaknesses and defects of Melancthon's natural character without entirely removing them. Had his fortitude been more uniform and steady, his desire of reconciling all interests and pleasing all parties less vehement and excessive, his triumph over the superstitions imbibed in his infancy more complete,^a he must deservedly have been considered as one of the greatest among men.^b

XII. While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus upon the decline in Germany, they received a mortal wound in Switzerland from Ulrich Zuingli, a canon of Zurich, whose extensive

^a The origin of the reformation in Switzerland.

[^g] By this, no doubt, Dr. Mosheim means the credulity this great man discovered, with respect to prodigies and dreams, and his having been somewhat addicted to the pretended science of astrology. See Schelhornii *Amanit. Hist. Eccles. et Lit.* vol. ii. p. 609.

^b We have a life of Melancthon, written by Joachim Camerius, which has already gone through several editions. But a more accurate account of this illustrious reformer,

learning and uncommon sagacity were accompanied with the most heroic intrepidity and resolution.¹ It must even be acknowledged,² that this eminent man had perceived some rays of the truth before Luther came to an open rupture with the church of Rome. He was however afterward still farther animated by the example, and instructed by the writings of the Saxon reformer; and thus his zeal for the good cause acquired new strength and vigour. For he not only explained the sacred writings in his public discourses to the people,³ but also gave, in the year 1519, a signal proof of his courage, by opposing, with the greatest resolution and success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, whose name was Samson, and who was carrying on, in Switzerland, the impious traffic of indulgences with the same impudence that Tetzel had done in Germany.⁴ This was the first remarkable event that prepared the way for the reformation among the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, Zuingle pursued with steadiness and resolution the design that he had begun with such courage and success. His noble efforts were seconded by some other learned men, educated in Germany, who became his col-

composed by a prudent, impartial, and well-informed biographer, as also a complete collection of his Works, would be an inestimable present to the republic of letters.

¶ i The translator has added to the portrait of Zuingle, the quality of heroic intrepidity, because it was a predominant and remarkable part of the character of this illustrious reformer, whose learning and fortitude, tempered by the greatest moderation, rendered him perhaps beyond comparison the brightest ornament of the Protestant cause.

¶ k Our learned historian does not seem to acknowledge this with pleasure, as the Germans and Swiss contend about the honour of having given the first overtures toward the reformation. If however truth has obliged him to make this acknowledgment, he has accompanied it with some modifications, that are more artful than accurate. He says, "that Zuingle had perceived some rays of the truth before Luther had come to an open rupture," &c. to make us imagine that Luther might have seen the truth long before that rupture happened, and consequently as soon as Zuingle. But it was well known, that the latter, from his early years had been shocked at several of the superstitious practices of the church of Rome; that so early as the year 1516,⁵ he had begun to explain the Scriptures to the people, and to censure, though with great prudence and moderation, the errors of a corrupt church; and that he had very noble and extensive ideas of a general reformation, at the very time that Luther retained almost the whole system of popery, indulgences excepted. Luther proceeded very slowly to that exemption from the prejudices of education, which Zuingle, by the force of an adventurous genius, and an uncommon degree of knowledge and penetration, easily got rid of.

¶ l This again is inaccurate. It appears from the preceding note, and from the most authentic records of history, that Zuingle had explained the Scriptures to the people, and called in question the authority and supremacy of the pope, before the name of Luther was known in Switzerland. Beside, instead of receiving instruction from the German reformer, he was much his superior in learning, capacity, and judgment, and was much fitter to be his master than his disciple, as the four volumes, in folio, we have of his works, abundantly testify.

m See Jo. Henr. Hottingeri *Hist. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 26. Ruchat. *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 4—66. Gerdes, *Histor. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 228.

* Ruchat, *Hist. de la Reformation en Suisse*. Zuinglii opp. tom. i. p. 7. *Novensium Diction.* vol. iv. p. 868. Durand, *Hist. du xvi. Siècle*, tom. ii. p. 8, &c. Jurien, *Apologie pour les Reformateurs*, &c. partie I. p. 119.

leagues and the companions of his labours, and who jointly with him succeeded so far in removing the credulity of a deluded people, that the pope's supremacy was rejected and denied in the greatest part of Switzerland. It is indeed to be observed, that Zuingle did not always use the same methods of conversion that were employed by Luther; nor, upon particular occasions, did he discountenance the use of violent measures against such as adhered with obstinacy to the superstitions of their ancestors. He is also said to have attributed to the civil magistrate, such an extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs, as is quite inconsistent with the essence and genius of religion. But upon the whole even envy itself must acknowledge, that his intentions were upright, and his designs worthy of the highest approbation.

XIII. In the mean time, the religious dissensions in Germany increased, instead of diminishing. For while Miltitz was treating with Luther in Saxony, in such a mild and prudent manner as offered the fairest prospect of an approaching accommodation, Eckius, inflamed with resentment and fury on account of his defeat at Leipsic, repaired with the utmost precipitation to Rome, to accomplish, as he imagined, the ruin of Luther. There, entering into a league with the Dominicans, who were in high credit at the papal court, and more especially with their two zealous patrons, De Prierio and Cajetan, he earnestly entreated Leo X. to level the thunder of his *anathemas* at the head of Luther, and to exclude him from the communion of the church. The Dominicans, desirous of revenging the affront that, in their opinion, their whole order had received by Luther's treatment of their brother Tetzal, and their patron Cajetan, seconded the furious efforts of Eckius against the Saxon reformer, and used their utmost endeavours to have his request granted. The pontiff, overcome by the importunity of these pernicious counsellors, imprudently issued^a out a bull against Luther,

^a The wisest and best part of the Roman catholics acknowledge, that Leo X. was chargeable with the most culpable imprudence in this rash and violent method of proceeding. See a dissertation of the learned John Frederic Mayer, *De Pontificis Leonis X. processum adversus Lutherum improbantibus*, which is part of a work he published at Hamburg, in 4to. in the year 1698, under this singular title; *Ecclesie Romane Reformationis Lutheranae patroni et ceteri*. There were several wise and thinking persons at this time about the Roman pontiff, who declared openly, without the least ceremony, their disapprobation of the violent counsels of Eckius and the Dominicans; and gave it as their opinion, that it was both prudent and just to wait for the issue of the conference of - - - - - such forcible measures were employed.

dated the 15th of June, 1520, in which forty-one pretended heresies, extracted from his writings, were solemnly condemned, his writings ordered to be publicly burnt, and in which he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his pretended errors within the space of sixty days, and to cast himself upon the clemency and mercy of the pontiff.

XIV. As soon as the account of this rash sentence, pronounced from the papal chair; was brought to Luther, he thought it was high time, to consult both his present defence and his future security; and the first step he took for this purpose, was the renewal of his appeal from the sentence of the Roman pontiff, to the more respectable decision of a general council. But as he foresaw that this appeal would be treated with contempt at the court of Rome, and that when the time prescribed for his recantation was elapsed, the thunder of excommunication would be levelled at his devoted head, he judged it prudent to withdraw himself voluntarily from the communion of the church of Rome, before he was obliged to leave it by force; and thus to render this new bull of ejection a blow in the air, an exercise of authority without any object to act upon. At the same time he was resolved to execute this wise resolution in a public manner, that his voluntary retreat from the communion of a corrupt and superstitious church might be universally known, before the lordly pontiff had prepared his ghostly thunder. With this view, on the 10th of December, in the year 1520, he had a pile of wood erected without the walls of the city,^o and there, in presence of a prodigious number of people of all ranks and orders, he committed to the flames both the *bull* that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. By this he declared to the world, that he was no longer a subject of the Roman pontiff; and that, of consequence, the sentence of excommunication against him, which was daily expected from Rome, was entirely superfluous and insignificant. For the man that publicly commits to the flames the *code* that contains the laws of his sovereign, shows thereby that he has no longer any respect for his government, nor any design

Luther withdraws himself from the communion of the church of Rome.

^o Of Wittemberg

to submit to his authority; and the man who voluntarily withdraws himself from any society, cannot, with any appearance of reason or common sense, be afterward forcibly and authoritatively excluded from it. It is not improbable, that Luther was directed, in this critical measure, by persons well skilled in the law, who are generally dexterous in furnishing a perplexed client with nice distinctions and plausible evasions. Be that as it may, he separated himself only from the church of Rome, which considers the pope as infallible, and not from the church, considered in a more extensive sense: for he submitted to the decision of the universal church, when that decision should be given in a general council lawfully assembled. When this judicious distinction is considered, it will not appear at all surprising, that many, even of the Roman catholics, who weighed matters with a certain degree of impartiality and wisdom, and were zealous for the maintenance of the liberties of Germany, justified this bold resolution of Luther.* In less than a month after this noble and important step had been taken by the Saxon reformer, a second bull was issued out against him, on the 6th of January, 1521, by which he was expelled from the communion of the church, for having insulted the majesty, and disowned the supremacy of the Roman pontiff.†

xv. Such iniquitous laws, enacted against the person and doctrine of Luther, produced an effect different from what was expected by the imperious pontiff. Instead of intimidating this bold reformer, they led him to form the project of founding a church upon principles entirely opposite to those of Rome, and to establish in it a system of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, agreeable to the spirit and precepts of the gospel of truth. This indeed was the only resource Luther had left him; for to submit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, would have been the greatest degree of impru-

The rise of
the Lutheran
church.

☞ This judicious distinction has not been sufficiently attended to, and the Romanists, some through artifice, others through ignorance, have confounded the papacy with the catholic church; though they be, in reality, two different things. The papacy indeed, by the ambitious dexterity of the Roman pontiff, incorporated itself by degrees into the church; but it was a preposterous supplement, and was really as foreign to its genuine constitution, as a new *citadel erected*, by a successful usurper, would be to an ancient city. Luther set out and acted upon this distinction; he went out of the *citadel*, but he meant to remain in the city, and, like a good patriot, designed to reform its corrupted government.

† Both these bulls are to be found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, and also in the learned Pfaff's *Histor. Theol. Literar.* tom. ii. p. 42:

dence imaginable; and to embrace anew errors that he had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a want of integrity and principle worthy only of the most abandoned profligate. From this time therefore, he applied himself to the pursuit of the truth with still more assiduity and fervour than he had formerly done; nor did he only review with attention, and confirm by new arguments, what he had hitherto taught, but went much beyond it, and made vigorous attacks upon the main strong hold of popery, the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, which he overturned from its very foundation. In this noble undertaking he was seconded by many learned and pious men in various parts of Europe; by those of the professors of the academy of Wittenberg, who had adopted his principles; and in a more especial manner by the celebrated Melancthon. And as the fame of Luther's wisdom and Melancthon's learning had filled that academy with an incredible number of students, who flocked to it from all parts, this happy circumstance propagated the principles of the reformation with an amazing rapidity through all the countries of Europe.^q

XVI. Not long after the commencement of these divisions, Maximilian I. had departed this life, and his grandson, Charles V. king of Spain, had succeeded him in the empire, in the year 1519, Leo X. seized this new occasion of venting and executing his vengeance, by putting the new emperor in mind of his character as *advocate and defender of the church*, and demanding the exemplary punishment of Luther, who had rebelled against its sacred laws and institutions. On the other hand, Frederic the *Wise* employed his credit with Charles to prevent the publication of any unjust edict against this reformer, and to have his cause tried by the canons of the Germanic church, and the laws of the empire. This request was so much the more likely to be granted, that Charles was under much greater obligations to Frederic, than to any other of the German princes, as it was chiefly by his zealous and important services that he had been raised to the empire, in opposition to the pre-

A list assembled at Worms in 1621.

^q There is a particular account of the rapid progress of the reformation in Germany given by the learned M. Daniel Gerdes, professor at Groningen, in his *Historia renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii.

tensions of such a formidable rival as Francis I. king of France. The emperor was sensible of his obligations to the worthy elector, and was entirely disposed to satisfy his demands. That however he might do this without displeasing the Roman pontiff, he resolved that Luther should be called before the council that was to be assembled at Worms, in the year 1521, and that his cause should be there publicly heard, before any final sentence should be pronounced against him. It may perhaps appear strange, and even inconsistent with the laws of the church, that a cause of a religious nature should be examined and decided in the public diet. But it must be considered, that these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and even certain abbots, had their places, as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for Germany, to whose jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of Luther properly belonged.

XVII. Luther therefore appeared at Worms, secured against the violence of his enemies by a safe conduct from the emperor, and on the 17th of April, and the day following, pleaded his cause before that grand assembly with the utmost resolution and presence of mind. The united power of threatenings and entreaties were employed to conquer the firmness of his purpose, to engage him to renounce the propositions he had hitherto maintained, and to bend him to a submission to the Roman pontiff. But he refused all this with a noble obstinacy, and declared solemnly, that he would neither abandon his opinions, nor change his conduct, until he was previously convinced by the word of God, or the dictates of right reason, that his opinions were erroneous, and his conduct unlawful. When therefore neither promises nor threatenings could shake the constancy of this magnanimous reformer, he obtained indeed from the emperor the liberty of returning unmolested to his home; but after his departure from the diet, he was condemned by the unanimous suffrages both of the emperor and the princes, and was declared an enemy to the holy Roman empire.

The result of this diet. Luther's banishment.
 [P] r This sentence, which was dated the 8th of May, 1521, was excessively severe; and Charles V. whether through sincere zeal or political cunning, showed himself in this affair an ardent abettor of the papal authority. For in this edict the pope is declared the only true judge of the controversy, in which he was evidently the party concerned; Luther is declared a member cut off from the church, a schismatic, a

Frederic; who saw the storm rising against Luther, used the best precautions to secure him from its violence. For this purpose he sent three or four persons, in whom he could confide, to meet him on his return from the diet, in order to conduct him to a place of safety. These emissaries, disguised by masks, executed their commission with the utmost secrecy and success. Meeting with Luther, near Eysenac, they seized him, and carried him into the castle of Wartenberg, nor, as some have imagined upon probable grounds, was this done without the knowledge of his imperial majesty. In this retreat, which he called his *Patmos*, the Saxon reformer lay concealed during the space of ten months, and employed this involuntary leisure in compositions that were afterward useful to the world.*

notorious and obstinate heretic; the severest punishments are denounced against those who shall receive, entertain, maintain, or countenance him, either by acts of hospitality, by conversation, or writing; and all his disciples, adherents, and followers, are involved in the same condemnation. This edict was, however, received with the highest disapprobation by all wise and thinking persons, 1st, because Luther had been condemned without being heard, at Rome, by the college of cardinals, and afterward at Worms, where, without either examining or refuting his doctrine, he was only despotically ordered to abandon and renounce it; 2dly, because Charles V. as emperor, had not a right to give an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of Luther, nor to take for granted the *infallibility* of the Roman pontiff, before these matters were discussed and decided by a general council; and 3dly, because a considerable number of the German princes, who were immediately interested in this affair, such as the electors of Cologne, Saxony, and the palatinate, and other sovereign princes, had neither been present at the diet, nor examined and approved the edict; and that therefore at best it could only have force in the territories belonging to the house of Austria, and to such of the princes as had given their consent to its publication. But after all, the edict of Worms produced almost no effect, not only for the reasons now mentioned, but also because Charles V. whose presence, authority, and seal, were necessary to render it respectable, was involved in other affairs of a civil nature, which he had more at heart. Obligated to pass successively into Flanders, England and Spain, to quell the seditions of his subjects, and to form new alliances against his great enemy and rival Francis I. he lost sight of the edict of Worms, while all who had any regard to the liberties of the empire and the rights of the Germanic church treated this edict with the highest indignation, or the utmost contempt.

☞ This precaution of the humane and excellent elector, being put in execution the 3d of May, five days before the solemn publication of the edict of Worms, the pope missed his blow; and the adversaries of Luther became doubly odious to the people in Germany, who, unacquainted with the scheme of Frederic, and not knowing what was become of their favourite reformer, imagined he was imprisoned, or perhaps destroyed, by the emissaries of Rome. In the mean time, Luther lived in peace and quiet in the castle of Wartenberg, where he translated a great part of the *New Testament* into the German language, and wrote frequent letters to his trusty friends and intimates to comfort them under his absence. Nor was his confinement here inconsistent with amusement and relaxation; for he enjoyed frequently the pleasure of hunting in company with his keepers, passing for a country gentleman, under the name of Yonker George.

☞ If we cast an eye upon the conduct of Luther, in this first scene of his trials, we shall find a true spirit of rational zeal, generous probity, and Christian fortitude, animating this reformer. In his behaviour, before and at the diet of Worms, we observe these qualities shine with a peculiar lustre, and tempered, notwithstanding Luther's warm complexion, with an unexpected degree of moderation and decent respect both for his civil and ecclesiastical superiors. When some of his friends, informed of the violent designs of the Roman court, and alarmed by the bull that had been published

XVIII. The active spirit of Luther could not however long bear this confinement; he therefore left his The conduct of Luther after his leaving the castle of Wartensberg. Patmos in the month of March, of the year 1522, without the consent, or even the knowledge of his patron and protector Frederic, and repaired to Wittemberg. One of the principal motives that engaged him to take this bold step, was the information he had received of the inconsiderate conduct of Carlstadt, and some other friends of the reformation, who had already excited tumults in Saxony, and were acting in a manner equally prejudicial to the tranquillity of the state, and the true interests of the church. Carlstadt, professor at Wittemberg, was a man of considerable learning, who had pierced the veil, with which papal artifice and superstition had covered the truth, and, at the instigation of Eckius, had been excluded with Luther from the communion of the church. His zeal however was intemperate; his plans laid with temerity, and executed without moderation. During Luther's absence, he threw down and broke the images of the saints that were placed in the churches, and instead of restraining the vehemence of a fanatical multitude, who had already begun in some places to abuse the precious liberty that was dawning upon them, he encouraged their ill-timed violence, and led them on to sedition and mutiny. Luther opposed the impetuosity of this imprudent reformer, with the utmost fortitude and dignity, and wisely exhorted him and his adherents first to eradicate error from the minds of the people, before

against him by the rash pontiff, advised him not to expose his person at the diet of Worms, notwithstanding the imperial safe conduct, which, in a similar case, had not been sufficient to protect John Huss and Jerome of Prague from the perfidy and cruelty of their enemies, he answered with his usual intrepidity, that "were he obliged to encounter at Worms as many devils as there were tiles upon the houses of that city, this would not deter him from his fixed purpose of appearing there;" that "fear, in his case, could be only a suggestion of Satan, who apprehended the approaching ruin of his kingdom, and who was willing to avoid a public defeat before such a grand assembly as the diet of Worms." The fire and obstinacy that appeared in this answer seemed so prognosticate much warmth and vehemence in Luther's conduct at the assembly before which he was going to appear. But it was quite otherwise. He exposed with decency and dignity the superstitious doctrines and practices of the church of Rome, and the grievances that arose from the overgrown power of its pontiff, and the abuse that made of it. He acknowledged the writings with which he was charged, and offered, both with moderation and humility, to defend their contents. He desired the pope's legates and their adherents to hear him, to inform him, to reason with him: and solemnly offered, in presence of the assembled princes and bishops, to renounce his doctrines, if they were shown to be erroneous. But to all these expostulations he received no other answer, than the despotic dictates of mere authority, attended with injurious and provoking language.

they made war upon its external ensigns in the churches and public places; since, the former being once removed, the latter must fall of course, and since the destruction of the latter alone could be attended with no lasting fruits. To these prudent admonitions this excellent reformer added the influence of example, by applying himself with redoubled industry and zeal, to his German translation of the holy Scriptures, which he carried on with expedition and success, with the assistance of some learned and pious men, whom he consulted in this great and important undertaking. The event abundantly showed the wisdom of Luther's advice. For the different parts of this translation, being successively and gradually spread abroad among the people, produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and extirpated, root and branch, the erroneous principles and superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome from the minds of a prodigious number of persons.

XIX. While these things were transacting, Leo X. departed this life, and was succeeded in the pontificate by Adrian VI. a native of Utrecht. This pope, who had formerly been preceptor to Charles V. and who owed his new dignity to the good offices of that prince, was a man of probity and candour, who acknowledged ingenuously that the church laboured under the most fatal disorders, and declared his willingness to apply the remedies that should be judged the most adapted to heal them." He began his pontificate by

Leo X. succeeded by Adrian VI. in the year 1522. Diet of Nuremberg.

† Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter is perhaps more advantageous to Luther than the rigorous demands of historical impartiality will admit of, the defects at least of the great reformer are here shaded with art. It is evident from several passages in the writings of Luther, that he was by no means averse to the use of images, but that, on the contrary, he looked upon them as adapted to excite and animate the devotion of the people. But perhaps the true reason of Luther's displeasure at the proceedings of Carlostadt was, that he could not bear to see another crowned with the glory of executing a plan which he had laid, and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the only, conductor of this great work. This is not a mere conjecture. Luther himself has not taken the least pains to conceal this instance of his ambition; and it appears evidently in several of his letters. On the other hand, it must be owned, that Carlostadt was rash, violent, and prone to enthusiasm, as appears by the connexions he formed afterward with the fanatical anabaptists, headed by Munzer. His contests with Luther about the eucharist, in which he manifestly maintained the truth, shall be mentioned in their proper place.

u On this German translation of the Bible, which contributed more than all other causes taken together, to strengthen the foundations of the Lutheran church, we have an interesting history composed by Jo. Frid. Mayer, and published in 4to. at Hamburg in the year 1701. A more ample one, however, was executed from the labours of the learned J. Melchior Kraff, but his death has disappointed our hopes. See Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Centisimum Lutherum*. part i. p. 147, and part ii. p. 617.

w See Caspar. Burmannii *Adrianus VI. sive annecta Historica de Adriano VI. Pape Romano*, published at Utrecht in 4to. in the year 1737.

sending a legate to the diet, which was assembled at Nuremberg in 1522. Francis Cheregato, the person who was intrusted with this commission, had positive orders to demand the speedy and vigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced against Luther and his followers at the diet of Worms; but at the same time, he was authorized to declare that the pontiff was ready to remove the abuses and grievances that had armed such a formidable enemy against the see of Rome. The princes of the empire, encouraged by this declaration on the one hand, and by the absence of the emperor, who at this time resided in Spain, on the other, seized this opportunity of proposing the summoning a general council in Germany, in order to deliberate upon the proper methods of bringing about a universal reformation of the church. They exhibited, at the same time, an hundred articles, containing the heaviest complaints of the injurious treatment the Germans had hitherto received from the court of Rome, and, by a public law, prohibited all innovation in religious matters, until a general council should decide what was to be done in an affair of such high moment and importance.* As long as the German princes were unacquainted with, or inattentive to, the measures that were taken in Saxony for founding a new church in direct opposition to that of Rome, they were zealously unanimous in their endeavours to set bounds to the papal authority and jurisdiction, which they all looked upon as overgrown and enormous; nor were they at all offended at Luther's contest with the Roman pontiff, which they considered as a dispute of a private and personal nature.

xx. The good pope Adrian did not long enjoy the pleasure of sitting at the head of the church. He died in the year 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII. a man of a reserved character, and prone to artifice.† This pontiff sent to the imperial diet at Nuremberg, in the year 1524, a cardinal legate, named Campegius, whose orders, with respect to the affairs of Luther, breathed nothing but severity and violence, and who in-

Clement VII.
elected pope
in the year
1524.

* See Jac. Frid. Georgii *Gravamina Germanorum adversus Sedem Romanam*, lib. ii. p. 327.

† See Jac. Ziegleri *Historia Clementis VII.* in Jo. Georgii Schelhornii *Amanitates Histor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 210.

veighed against the lenity of the German princes in delaying the execution of the decree of Worms, while he carefully avoided the smallest mention of the promise Adrian had made to reform the corruptions of a superstitious church. The emperor seconded the demands of Campegius, by the orders he sent to his minister to insist upon the execution of the sentence which had been pronounced against Luther and his adherents at the diet of Worms. The princes of the empire, tired out by these importunities and remonstrances, changed in appearance the law they had passed, but confirmed it in reality. For while they promised to observe, as far as was possible, the edict of Worms, they at the same time renewed their demands of a general council, and left all other matters in dispute to be examined and decided at the diet that was soon to be assembled at Spire. The pope's legate, on the other hand, perceiving by these proceedings, that the German princes in general were no enemies to the reformation, retired to Ratisbon, with the bishops and those of the princes that adhered to the cause of Rome, and there drew from them a new declaration, by which they engaged themselves to execute rigorously the edict of Worms in their respective dominions.

XXI. While the efforts of Luther toward the reformation of the church were daily crowned with growing success, and almost all the nations seemed disposed to open their eyes upon the light, two unhappy occurrences, one of a foreign, and the other of a domestic nature, contributed greatly to retard the progress of this salutary and glorious work. The domestic, or internal incident, was a controversy concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, that arose among those whom the Roman pontiff had publicly excluded from the communion of the church, and unhappily produced among the friends of the good cause the most deplorable animosities and divisions. Luther and his followers, though they had rejected the monstrous doctrine of the church of Rome with respect to the transubstantiation, or change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, were nevertheless of opinion, that the partakers of the Lord's supper received, along with the bread and wine, the real body and blood of Christ. This, in their judgment, was a mystery which they did not pre-

tend to explain.* Carlostadt, who was Luther's colleague, understood the matter quite otherwise, and his doctrine, which was afterward illustrated and confirmed by Zuingle with much more ingenuity than he had proposed it, amounted to this; "That the body and blood of Christ were not *really* present in the eucharist; and that the bread and wine were no more than external *signs* or *symbols*, designed to excite in the minds of Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of the divine Saviour, and of the benefits which arise from it."† This opinion was embraced by all the friends of the reformation in Switzerland, and by a considerable number of its votaries in Germany. On the other hand, Luther maintained his doctrine, in relation to this point, with the utmost obstinacy; and hence arose, in the year 1524, a tedious and vehement controversy, which, notwithstanding the zealous endeavours that were used to reconcile the contending parties, terminated, at length, in a fatal division between those who had embarked together in the sacred cause of religion and liberty.

XXII. To these intestine divisions were added the horrors of a civil war, which was the fatal effects of oppression on the one hand, and of enthusiasm on the other; and, by its unhappy consequences, was prejudicial to the cause and progress of the reformation. In the year 1525, a prodigious multitude of seditious fanatics arose like a whirlwind, all of a sudden, in different parts of Germany, took arms, united their forces, waged war against the laws, the magistrates, and the empire in general, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and exhibited daily the most horrid spectacles of unrelenting barbarity. The greatest part of this furious and formidable mob was composed of peasants

✂ z Luther was not so modest as Dr. Mosheim here represents him. He pretended to explain his doctrine of the *real presence*, absurd and contradictory as it was, and uttered much senseless jargon on this subject. As in a red hot iron, said he, two distinct substances, viz. iron and fire, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the eucharist. I mention this miserable comparison to show into what absurdities the towering pride of system will often betray men of deep sense and true genius.

a See Val. Ern. Loscheri *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, part i. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 55. See also, on the other side of the question, Scultet's *Annales Evangelii*, published by Von der Hart, in his *Historia Liter. Reformat.* p. 74. Rud. Hospinianus, and other reformed writers, who have treated of the origin and progress of this dispute. ✂ It appears from this representation, which is a just one, of the sentiments of Zuingle concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, that they were the same with † maintained by bishop Hoadley, in his Plain Account of the Nature and Design of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

and vassals, who groaned under heavy burdens, and declared they were no longer able to bear the despotic severity of their chiefs; and hence this sedition was called the *rustic war*, or the war of the peasants.^b But it is also certain, that this motley crowd was intermixed with numbers, who joined in this sedition from different motives, some impelled by the suggestions of enthusiasm, and others by the profligate and odious view of rapine and plunder, of mending fortunes ruined by extravagant and dissolute living. At the first breaking out of this war, it seemed to have been kindled only by civil and political views; and agreeable to this is the general tenor of the declarations and manifestoes that were published by these rioters. The claims they made in these papers related to nothing farther than the diminution of the tasks imposed upon the peasants, and to their obtaining a greater measure of liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed. Religion seemed to be out of the question; at least, it was not the object of deliberation or debate. But no sooner had the enthusiast Munzer^c put himself at the head of this outrageous rabble, than the face of things changed entirely, and by the instigation of this man, who had deceived numbers before this time by his pretended visions and inspirations, the civil commotions in Saxony and Thuringia were soon directed toward a new object, and were turned into a religious war. The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government; another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to a diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burdens under which they groaned;^d another insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government, and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted church, and, to add weight to

^b These kinds of wars and commotions, arising from the impatience of the peasants, under the heavy burdens that were laid on them, were very common long before the time of Luther. Hence the author of the *Danish Chronicle*, published by the learned Ledwig, in the ninth volume of his *Reliq. M. Storun*, p. 59, calls these insurrections a *common evil*. This will not appear surprising to such as consider, that in most places, the condition of the peasants was much more intolerable and grievous before the reformation, than it is in our times; and that the tyranny and cruelty of the nobility, before that happy period, were excessive and insupportable.

^c Or Munster, as some call him.

^d These burdens were the duties of vassalage or feudal services, which, in many respects, were truly grievous.

this demand, pretended that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view or any fixed purpose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong, without reflection or foresight, into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrine of Luther concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that arose only from the manifest abuse of it. Luther himself has indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect, and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated and destroyed, in a pitched battle fought at Mulhausen; and Munzer, their ringleader, taken and put to death.*

XXIII. While this fanatical insurrection raged in Germany, Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, departed this life. This excellent prince, whose character was distinguished by an uncommon degree of prudence and moderation, had, during his life, been a sort of a mediator between the Roman pontiff and the reformer of Wittemberg, and had always entertained the pleasing hope of restoring peace in the church, and of so reconciling the contending parties as to prevent a separation either in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or religious communion. Hence it was, that while on the one hand he made no opposition to Luther's design of reforming a corrupt and superstitious church, but rather encouraged him in the execution of this pious purpose; yet on the other it is remarkable, that he was at no pains to introduce any change into the churches that were established

Frederic the Wise died, and is succeeded by John, 1525—1557.

* Petri Gnodalii *Historia de Seditione repentina Fulgi, principis Rusticorum*, A. 1525, *aperte verba per universam fere Germaniam curata*, Basil. 1570, in 8vo. See also B. *velli Histor. Reform.* tom. ii. p. 331.

in his own dominions, nor to subject them to his jurisdiction. The elector John, his brother and successor, acted in a quite different manner. Convinced of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and persuaded that it must lose ground and be soon suppressed, if the despotic authority of the Roman pontiff remained undisputed and entire, he, without hesitation or delay, assumed to himself that supremacy in ecclesiastical matters that is the natural right of every lawful sovereign, and founded and established a church in his dominions, totally different from the church of Rome, in doctrine, discipline, and government. To bring this new and happy establishment to as great a degree of perfection as was possible, this resolute and active prince ordered a body of laws, relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, the rank, offices, and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions in the year 1527. He also took care that the churches should every where be supplied with pious and learned doctors, and that such of the clergy as dishonoured religion by their bad morals, or were incapable of promoting its influence by their want of talents, should be removed from the sacred functions. The illustrious example of this elector was followed by all the princes and states of Germany, who renounced the papal supremacy and jurisdiction, and a like form of worship, discipline, and government was thus introduced into all the churches, which dissented from that of Rome. Thus may the elector John be considered as the second parent and founder of the Lutheran church, which he alone rendered a complete and independent body, distinct from the superstitious church of Rome; and fenced about with salutary laws, with a wise and well-balanced constitution of government. But as the best blessings may, through the influence of human corruption, become the innocent occasions of great inconveniences, such particularly was the fate of those wise and vigorous measures which his elector took for the reformation of the church; for, from that time the religious differences between the German princes which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of moderation, broke out into a violent and lasting flame. The prudence, or rather timorousness, of Frederic the Wise, who avoided every resolute

measure that might be adapted to kindle the fire of discord, had preserved a sort of an external union and concord among these princes, notwithstanding their difference in opinion. But as soon as his successor, by the open and undisguised steps he took, made it glaringly evident, that he designed to withdraw the churches in his dominions from the jurisdiction of Rome, and to reform the doctrine, discipline, and worship that had been hitherto established, then indeed the scene changed. The union which was more specious than solid, and which was far from being well cemented, was dissolved of a sudden, the spirits heated and divided, and an open rupture formed between the German princes, of whom one party embraced the reformation, and the other adhered to the superstitions of their forefathers.

xxiv. Things being reduced to this violent and troubled state, the patrons of popery gave intimations that were far from being ambiguous, of their intention to make war upon the Lutheran party, and to suppress by *force* a doctrine which they were incapable of overturning by *argument*; and this design would certainly have been put in execution, had not the troubles of Europe disconcerted their measures. The Lutherans, on the other hand, informed of these hostile intentions, began also to deliberate upon the most effectual methods of defending themselves against superstition armed with violence, and formed the plan of a confederacy that might answer this prudent purpose. In the mean time the diet assembled at Spire, in the year 1526, at which Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, presided, ended in a manner more favourable to the friends of the reformation, than they could naturally expect. The emperor's ambassadors at this diet were ordered to use their most earnest endeavours for the suppression of all farther disputes concerning religion, and to insist upon the rigorous execution of the sentence that had been pronounced at Worms against Luther and his followers. The greatest part of the German princes opposed this motion with the utmost resolution, declaring that they could not execute that sentence, nor come to any determination with respect to the doctrines by which it had been occasioned, before the whole matter was submitted to the cognizance of a general council, lawfully assembled; alleging farther, that the decision of controversies of this nature belonged properly to such a council, and to it alone,

The diet of
Spire in 1526.

This opinion, after long and warm debates, was adopted by a great majority, and at length consented to by the whole assembly; for it was unanimously agreed to present a solemn address to the emperor, beseeching him to assemble, without delay, a free and a general council; and it was also agreed that, in the mean time, the princes and states of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in the manner they should think the most expedient; yet so as to be able to give to God and to the emperor an account of their administration, when it should be demanded of them.

xxv. Nothing could be more favourable to those who had the cause of pure and genuine Christianity at heart, than a resolution of this nature. For the emperor was at this time so entirely taken up in regulating the troubled state of his dominions in France, Spain, and Italy, which exhibited, from day to day, new scenes of perplexity, that for some years, it was not in his power to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany in general, and still less to the state of religion in particular, which was beset with difficulties, that, to a political prince like Charles, must have appeared peculiarly critical and dangerous. Besides, had the emperor really been possessed of leisure to form, or of power to execute, a plan that might terminate in favour of the Roman pontiff, the religious disputes which reigned in Germany, it is evident that the inclination was wanting, and that Clement VII. who now sat in the papal chair, had nothing to expect from the good offices of Charles V. For this pontiff, after the defeat of Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, filled with uneasy apprehensions of the growing power of the emperor in Italy, entered into a confederacy with the French and the Venetians against that prince. And this measure inflamed the resentment and indignation of Charles to such a degree, that he abolished the papal authority in his Spanish dominions, made war upon the pope in Italy, laid siege to Rome in the year 1527, blocked up Clement in the castle of St. Angelo, and exposed him to the most severe and contumelious treatment. These critical events, together with the liberty granted by the diet of Spire, were prudently and industriously improved, by the friends of the reformation, to the advantage of their cause, and to the augmentation of their number. Several princes, whom the fear

The progress
of the reformation
after
the diet at
Spire in 1537.

of persecution and punishment had hitherto prevented from lending a hand to the good work, being delivered now from their restraint, renounced publicly the superstition of Rome, and introduced among their subjects the same forms of religious worship, and the same system of doctrine, that had been received in Saxony. Others, though placed in such circumstances as discouraged them from acting in an open manner against the interests of the Roman pontiff, were however far from discovering the smallest opposition to those who withdrew the people from his despotic yoke; nor did they molest the private assemblies of those who had separated themselves from the church of Rome. And in general, all the Germans, who, before these resolutions of the diet of Spire, had rejected the papal discipline and doctrine, were now, in consequence of the liberty they enjoyed by these resolutions, wholly employed in bringing their schemes and plans to a certain degree of consistence, and in adding vigour and firmness to the glorious cause in which they were engaged. In the mean time, Luther and his fellow-labourers, particularly those that were with him at Wittemberg, by their writings, their instructions, their admonitions and counsels, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolution of the floating and inconstant, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit suitable to the grandeur of their undertaking.

xxvi. But the tranquillity and liberty they enjoyed, in consequence of the resolutions taken in the first diet of Spire, were not of a long duration. They were interrupted by a new diet, assembled in the year 1529, in the same place, by the emperor, after he had appeased the commotions and troubles which had employed his attention in several parts of Europe, and concluded a treaty of peace with Clement VII. This prince, having now got rid of the burden that had for some time overwhelmed him, had leisure to direct the affairs of the church; and this the reformers soon felt, by a disagreeable experience. For the power, which had been granted by the former diet to every prince, of managing ecclesiastical matters as he thought proper, until the meeting of a general council, was now revoked by a majority of votes; and not only so, but every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, disci-

Another diet held at Spire, in the year 1529. Origin of the denomination of protestants.

pline, or worship of the established religion, before the determination of the approaching council was known.^f This decree was justly considered as iniquitous and intolerable by the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the other members of the diet, who were persuaded of the necessity of a reformation in the church. Nor were any of them so simple, or so little acquainted with the politics of Rome, as to look upon the promises of assembling speedily a general council, in any other light, than as an artifice to quiet the minds of the people: since it was easy to perceive, that a lawful council, free from the despotic influence of Rome, was the very last thing that a pope would grant in such a critical situation of affairs. Therefore, when the princes and members now mentioned found that all their arguments and remonstrances against this unjust decree made no impression upon Ferdinand,^g nor upon the abettors of the ancient superstitions whom the pope's legate animated by his presence and exhortations, they entered a solemn protest against this decree on the 19th of April, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council.^h Hence arose the denomination of *Protestants*, which from this period has been given to those who renounce the superstitious communion of the church of Rome.

XXVII. The dissenting princes, who were the protectors and heads of the reformed churches, had no sooner entered their *protest* than they sent proper persons to the emperor, who was then upon his passage from Spain to Italy, to acquaint him with their proceedings in this matter. The ministers, employed in this commission, executed the orders they had received with the greatest resolution and presence of mind, and behaved with the spirit and firmness of the princes whose sentiments and conduct they were sent to justify and explain.

Leagues formed between the protestants.

^f The resolution of the first diet of Spire, which had been taken *unanimously*, was revoked in the second, and another substituted in its place by a *plurality of voices*, which, as several of the princes then present observed, could not give to any decree the force of a law throughout the empire.

^g The emperor was at Barcelona, while this diet was held at Spire; so that his brother Ferdinand was president in his place.

^h The princes of the empire, who entered this protest, and are consequently to be considered as the first Protestant princes, were John, elector of Saxony, George, elector of Brandenburg, for Franconia, Ernest, and Francis, dukes of Lunenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt. These princes were seconded by thirteen imperial towns, viz. Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Rottingen, Windseim, Memmingen, Northingen, Lindaw, Kempten, Heilbron, Wissemburg, and St. Gall.

The emperor, whose pride was wounded by this fortitude in persons that dared to oppose his designs, ordered these ambassadors to be apprehended and put under arrest during several days. The news of this violent step was soon brought to the protestant princes, and made them conclude that their personal safety, and the success of their cause, depended entirely upon their courage and concord, the one animated, and the other cemented by a solemn confederacy. They therefore held several meetings at Rot, Nuremberg, Smalcald, and other places, in order to deliberate upon the means of forming such a powerful league as might enable them to repel the violence of their enemies.¹ But so different were their opinions and views of things, that they could come to no satisfactory conclusion.

XXVIII. Among the incidents that promoted animosity

The conference at Marburg, in the year 1529.

and discord between the friends of the reformation, and prevented that union that was so much to be desired between persons embarked in the same good cause, the principal one was the dispute that had arisen between the divines of Saxony and Switzerland, concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist. To terminate this controversy, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, invited, in the year 1529, to a conference at Marburg, Luther and Zuingle, together with some of the more eminent doctors, who adhered to the respective parties of these contending chiefs. This expedient, which was designed by that truly *magnanimous* prince, not so much to end the matter by keen debate, as to accommodate differences by the reconciling spirit of charity and prudence, was not attended with the salutary fruits that were expected from it. The divines that were assembled for this pacific purpose disputed, during four days, in presence of the landgrave. The principal champions in these debates were Luther, who attacked Oecolampadius, and Melancthon, who disputed against Zuingle; and the controversy turned upon several points of theology, in relation to which the Swiss doctors were supposed to entertain erroneous sentiments. For Zuingle was accused of heresy, not only on account of his explication of the nature and design

¹ See the history of the confession of Augsburg, wrote in German by the learned Christ. Aug. Salig. tom. i. book ii. chap. i. p. 128, and more especially another German work of Dr. Joachim Muller, entitled, *Historie von der Evangelischen Stände Protestation gegen den Speyerschen Reichsabscheld von 1529, Appellation, &c.* published at Jena in 4to. in the year 1703.

of the Lord's supper, but also in consequence of the false notions he was supposed to have adopted, relating to the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the divine word, original sin, and some other parts of the Christian doctrine. This illustrious reformer cleared himself, however, from the greatest part of these accusations, with the most triumphant evidence, and in such a manner as appeared entirely satisfactory, even to Luther himself. Their dissension concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist still remained; nor could either of the contending parties be persuaded to abandon, or even to modify their opinion of that matter.^k The only advantage, therefore, that resulted from this conference, was, that the jarring doctors formed a sort of truce, by agreeing to a mutual toleration of their respective sentiments, and leaving to the disposal of Providence, and the effects of time, which sometimes cools the rage of party, the cure of their divisions.

XXIX. The ministers of the churches, which had embraced the sentiments of Luther, were preparing a new embassy to the emperor, when an account The diet of Augsburg. was received of a design formed by that prince to come into Germany, with a view to terminate, in the approaching diet at Augsburg, the religious disputes that had produced such animosities and divisions in the empire. Charles, though long absent from Germany, and engaged in affairs that left him little leisure for theological disquisitions, was nevertheless attentive to these disputes, and foresaw their consequences. He had also, to his own deliberate reflections upon these disputes, added the councils of men of wisdom, sagacity, and experience, and was thus, at certain seasons, rendered more cool in his proceedings, and more moderate and impartial in his opinion both of the contending parties and of the merits of the cause. He therefore, in an interview with the pope at Bologna, insisted, in the most serious and urgent manner, upon the necessity of assembling a general council. His remonstrances and expostulations could not, however, move Clement VII. who maintained with zeal the papal

^k Val. Ern. Loeschori *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformatos*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 143. Henr. Bullingeri *Historia Colloquii Marpurgensis*, in Jo. Conr. Fueslin's compilation, entitled *Beiträgen zur Schweizer Reformat. Geschichte*, tom. iii. p. 166. See also the *preface*, p. 80. Abr. Sculteti. *Annal. Reformat. ad. A. 1529*. Rudolph: Hospiniani *Histor. Sacramentar.* part ii. p. 72, &c.

prerogatives, reproached the emperor with an ill-judged clemency, and alleged that it was the duty of that prince to support the church, and to execute speedy vengeance upon the obstinate heretical faction, who dared to call in question the authority of Rome and its pontiff. The emperor was as little affected by this haughty discourse, as the pope had been by his wise remonstrances, and looked upon it as a most iniquitous thing, a measure also in direct opposition to the laws of the empire, to condemn unheard, and to destroy, without any evidence of their demerit, a set of men, who had always approved themselves good citizens, and had deserved well of their country in several respects. Hitherto, indeed, it was not easy for the emperor to form a clear idea of the matters in debate, since there was no regular system as yet composed, of the doctrines embraced by Luther and his followers, by which their real opinions, and the true causes of their opposition to the Roman pontiff might be known with certainty. As therefore it was impossible, without some declaration of this nature, to examine with accuracy, or decide with equity, a matter of such high importance as that which gave rise to the divisions between the votaries of Rome and the friends of the reformation, the elector of Saxony ordered Luther, and other eminent divines, to commit to writing the chief articles of their religious system, and the principal points in which they differed from the church of Rome. Luther, in compliance with this order, delivered to the elector, at Torgaw, the seventeen articles, which had been drawn up and agreed on in the conference at Salzbach in the year 1529, and hence they were called the *articles of Torgaw*.¹ Though these articles were deemed by Luther a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the reformers, yet it was judged proper to enlarge them; and, by a judicious detail, to give perspicuity to their arguments, and thereby strength to their cause. It was this consideration that engaged the protestant princes, assembled at Coburg and Augsburg, to employ Melancthon in extending these articles, in which important work he showed a due regard to the counsels

¹ See Chr. Aug. Heumann's *Diss. de lenitate Augustanæ Confess. in Sylloge Dissert. Theologicar.* tom. i. p. 14. Jo. Joach. Muller's *Historia Protestationis*; and the other writers who have treated either of the Reformation in general, or of the confession of Augsburg in particular.

of Luther, and expressed his sentiments and doctrine with the greatest elegance and perspicuity. And thus came forth to public view the famous Confession of Augsburg, which did such honour to the acute judgment and the eloquent pen of Melancthon.

xxx. During these transactions in Germany, the dawn of truth arose upon other nations. The light of the reformation spread itself far and wide; and almost all the European states welcomed its salutary beams, and exulted in the prospect of an approaching deliverance from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism. Some of the most considerable provinces of Europe had already broke their chains, and openly withdrawn themselves from the discipline of Rome and the jurisdiction of its pontiff. And thus it appears that Clement VII. was not impelled by a false alarm to demand of the emperor the speedy extirpation of the reformers, since he had the justest reasons to apprehend the destruction of his ghostly empire. The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, by one of his disciples, whose name was Olaus Petri, and who was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public-spirited prince, Gustavus Vasa Ericson, whom the Swedes had raised to the throne in the place of Christiern, king of Denmark, whose horrid barbarity, lost him the sceptre that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero had been in exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper, now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery; but having escaped from his confinement and taken refuge at Lubec, he was there instructed in the principles of the reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of Luther, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions. The prudence however of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always. And, as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions, recommended by custom, and the doctrine of Luther, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence

The progress of the reformation in Sweden, about the year 1550.

and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the reformation, which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence.^m Accordingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible, that had been made by Olaus Petri.ⁿ Some time after this, in the year 1526, he appointed a conference, at Upsal, between this eminent reformer and Peter Gallius, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions, that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. The dispute, in which Olaus obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm Gustavus in his persuasion of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and to promote the progress of that doctrine in Sweden. In the year following, another event gave the finishing stroke to its propagation and success, and this was the assembly of the states at Westeraas, where Gustavus recommended the doctrine of the reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops in particular, it was unanimously resolved, that the plan of reformation proposed by Luther should have free admittance among the Swedes.^o This resolution was princi-

¶ m This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once, while he was absent from Stockholm, a great number of German Anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of Munzer, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to the highest extremities, pulled down with fury the images and other ornaments of the churches, while the Lutherans dissembled their sentiments of this riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But Gustavus no sooner returned to Stockholm, than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seized and punished, and covered the Lutherans with bitter reproaches for not having opposed these fanatics in time.

¶ n It is very remarkable, and shows the equity and candour of Gustavus in the most striking point of light, that while he ordered Olaus to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, he gave permission at the same time to the archbishop of Upsal, to prepare another version suited to the doctrine of the church of Rome; that, by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth. The bishops at first opposed this order, but were at length obliged to submit.

¶ o It was no wonder indeed that the bishops opposed warmly the proposal of Gustavus, since there was no country in Europe where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times than in Sweden and Denmark. The most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of

pally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch.^p From this time the papal empire in Sweden was entirely overturned, and Gustavus declared head of the church.

xxxI. The light of the reformation was also received in Denmark, and that so early as the year 1521, in consequence of the ardent desire discovered by ^{In Denmark.} Christian, or Christiern II. of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of Luther. This monarch, whose savage and infernal cruelty, whether it was the effect of natural temper, or of bad councils, rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition and tyranny of Rome. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for Martin Reinard, one of the disciples of Carlostadt out of Saxony, and appointed him professor of divinity at Hafnia; and after his death, which happened the year following, he invited Carlostadt himself to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but nevertheless, after a short residence in Denmark, returned into Germany. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, who used his utmost endeavours, though in vain, to engage Luther to visit his dominions, and took several steps that tended to the diminution, and indeed to the suppression of the jurisdiction exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontiff. It is however proper to observe, that in all

the sovereign, they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent of the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the state. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while the nobility of the kingdom were in misery and want. The resolution formed by the states, assembled at Westerana, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine as to reform the discipline of the church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions, that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was, however, resolved at the same time, that the church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferments should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the reformation.

^p *Basil Inventionum Eccles. Succo Gothor.* published in 4to. at Lincoping, in 1642. *Scultati Annales Evangelii Renovati*, in *Von der Hart Histor. Liter. Reformat.* part v. p. 84 et 110. *Raynal, Anecdotes Hist. Politiques et Militaires*, tom. i. part ii. p. 1, &c.

these proceedings Christiern II. was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigour to his reforming projects. His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his known character, evidently show that he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy, both in church and state; and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped,^q and of appropriating them to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprise. The states of the kingdom exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of Denmark, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of their ancestors,^r and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year 1523, by which he was deposed and banished from his dominions, and his uncle Frederic, duke of Holstein and Sleswick, placed on the throne of Denmark.

XXXII. This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation, than his predecessor had done. He permitted the protestant doctors to preach publicly the opinions of Luther,^s but did not venture so far as to change the established government and discipline of the church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progress of the reformation, by his successful attempts in favour of religious liberty, at the assembly of the states that was held at Odensee in the year 1527. For it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every subject of Denmark free, either to adhere to the tenets of

The progress of the reformation under the reigns of Frederic and Christiern III.

^q See Jo. Grammii *Diss. de Reformatione Daniæ a Christierno tentata*, in the third volume of the *Scriptores Societ. Scientiar. Hafniens.* p. 1—90.

^r See for a confirmation of this part of the accusation, a curious piece, containing the reasons that induced the states of Denmark to renounce their allegiance to Christiern II. This piece is to be found in the fifth volume of Ludewig's compilation, entitled *Reliquiæ M. Storam*, p. 515, in which, p. 321, the states of Denmark express their displeasure at the royal favour shown to the Lutherans, in the following terms; "Lutheranæ hæresis pullatores, contra jus pietatemque, in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit, doctorem Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri athletam, enutrivit."

^s See Jo. Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. ii. p. 886. Carist. Olivarii *Vita Pauli ENÆ.* p. 108. Erici Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesiæ Daniæ*, tom. iii. p. 139.

the church of Rome, or to embrace the doctrine of Luther.' Encouraged by this resolution, the protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success, that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the church of Rome. But the honour of finishing this glorious work, of destroying entirely the reign of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for Christiern III. a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and by restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by Bugenhagius, whom the king had sent for from Wittemberg to perform that arduous task, for which his eminent piety, learning, and moderation rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the states at Odensee in the year 1539, gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions; and thus the work of the reformation was brought to perfection in Denmark."

XXXIII. It is, however, to be observed, that, in the history of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions, and the reformation of the episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet in reality they are so far distinct, that either of the two might have been completely transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been effected without dimi-

A distinction to be observed when we speak of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark.

It was farther added to this edict, that no person should be molested on account of his religion, that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the insults and malignity of their enemies; and that ecclesiastics, of whatever rank or order, should be permitted to enter into the married state, and to fix their residence wherever they thought proper, without any regard to monasteries, or other religious societies.

u Eriici Pontoppidani, see a German work of the learned Pontoppidan, entitled *A Compendious View of the History of the Reformation in Denmark*, published at Lubec in 8vo. in 1734; as also the *Annales Ecclesie Danicæ*, of the same author, tom. ii. p. 790, tom. iii. p. 1. Henr. Muhlius *de Reformat. religionis in vicinis Danicæ regionibus et potissimum in Cimbrica*, in ejus *Dissertationibus Historico Theologicis*, p. 24. Kilia, 1716, in 4to.

nishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and that was generally received." In the measures taken in these northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing that deserved the smallest censure; neither fraud nor violence were employed for this purpose; on the contrary, all things were conducted with wisdom and moderation, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity and the spirit of Christianity. The same judgment cannot easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of proceeding in the reformation of the clergy, and more especially of the episcopal order. For here certainly violence was used, and the bishops were deprived of their honours, privileges, and possessions, without their consent; and indeed notwithstanding the greatest struggles and the warmest opposition.* The truth is, that so far as the reformation in Sweden and Denmark regarded the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; nay, a change here was become so necessary, that

¶ w This observation is not worthy of Dr. Mosheim's sagacity. The strong connexion that there naturally is between superstitious ignorance among the people, and influence and power among their spiritual rulers, is too evident to stand in need of any proof. A good clergy will or ought to have an influence, in consequence of a respectable office, adorned with learning, piety, and morals; but the power of a licentious and despotic clergy can be only supported by the blind and superstitious credulity of their flock.

¶ x What does Dr. Mosheim mean here? did ever a usurper give up his unjust possessions without reluctance? does rapine constitute a right, when it is maintained by force? is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners? The question here is, whether or no the bishops deserved the severe treatment they received from Christiern III. and our author seems to answer the question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and necessary, in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on account of their resistance; all the church lands, towns, and fortresses, annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy abolished. It is also certain, that Luther himself looked upon these measures as violent and excessive, and even wrote a letter to Christiern, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide, with moderation on this subject, and to grant, that if the insolence and licentiousness of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may have been excessive: Nor indeed was his political prudence here so great as Dr. Mosheim seems to represent it; for the equipoise of government was hurt, by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility acquired by this a prodigious degree of influence, and the crown lost an order, which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest supports of its prerogative. But disqualifications of this nature are foreign to our purpose. It is only proper to observe, that in the room of the bishops, Christiern created an order of men, with the denomination of *superintendents*, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office, without sharing the least shadow of temporal authority.

had Luther and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator. For the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had got into their hands such enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper; and, in effect, already abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such therefore was the critical state of these northern kingdoms, in the time of Luther, that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonoured, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see tamely royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succouring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin.

xxxiv. The kingdom of France was not inaccessible to the light of the reformation. Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I. the implacable enemy and perpetual rival of Charles V. was extremely favourable to the new doctrine, which delivered pure and genuine Christianity from a great part of the superstitions under which it had so long lain disguised. The auspicious patronage of this illustrious princess encouraged several pious and learned men, whose religious sentiments were the same with hers, to propagate the principles of the reformation in France, and even to erect several protestant churches in that kingdom. It is manifest from the most authentic records, that so early as the year 1523, there were, in several of the provinces of that country, multitudes of persons, who had conceived the utmost aversion both against the doctrine and tyranny of Rome, and among these, many persons of rank and dignity, and even some of the episcopal order. As their numbers increased from day to day, and troubles and commotions were excited in several places on account of religious differences, the authority of the monarch and the cruelty of his officers intervened, to support the doctrine of Rome

The rise and progress of the reformation in France.

by the edge of the sword and the terrors of the gibbet ; and on this occasion many persons, eminent for their piety and virtue, were put to death with the most unrelenting barbarity.' This cruelty, instead of retarding, accelerated rather the progress of the reformation. It is nevertheless true, that under the reign of Francis I. the restorers of genuine Christianity were not always equally successful and happy. Their situation was extremely uncertain, and it was perpetually changing. Sometimes they seemed to enjoy the auspicious shade of royal protection ; at others they groaned under the weight of persecution, and at certain seasons they were forgot, which oblivion rendered their condition tolerable. Francis, who had either no religion at all, or at best no fixed and consistent system of religious principles, conducted himself towards the protestants in such a manner as answered his private and personal views, or as reasons of policy and a public interest seemed to require. When it became necessary to engage in his cause the German protestants, in order to foment sedition and rebellion against his mortal enemy Charles V. then did he treat the protestants in France with the utmost equity, humanity, and gentleness ; but so soon as he had gained his point, and had no more occasion for their services, then he threw off the mask, and appeared to them in the aspect of an implacable and persecuting tyrant.'

About this time the famous Calvin, whose character, talents, and religious exploits, we shall have occasion to dwell upon more amply in the course of this history, began to draw the attention of the public, but more especially of the queen of Navarre. He was born at Noyon in Picardy, on the 10th of July, 1509, and was bred up to the law," in

y See Beze, *Histoire des Eglises Reformees de France*, tom. i. livr. i. p. 5: Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, livr. p. 6. Christ. Aug. Salig. *Histor. August. Confession*, vol. ii. p. 190.

z The inconsistency and contradiction that were visible in the conduct of Francis I. may be attributed to various reasons. At one time, we see him resolved to invite Melancthon into France, probably with a view to please his sister the queen of Navarre, whom he loved tenderly, and who had strongly imbibed the principles of the Protestants. At another time we behold him exercising the most infernal cruelty towards the friends of the reformation, and hear him making that mad declaration, "that if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would have it cut off ; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the catholic church." See Flor. de Remond, *Hist. de la Naissance et du Progres de l'Herésie*, livr. vii.

a He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice ; but the light that broke in upon his religious sentiments, as well as the preference

which, as well as in all the other branches of literature, then known, his studies were attended with the most rapid and amazing success. Having acquired the knowledge of religion, by a diligent perusal of the Holy Scriptures, he began early to perceive the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. His zeal exposed him to various perils, and the connexions he had formed with the friends of the reformation, whom Francis I. was daily committing to the flames, placed him more than once in imminent danger, from which he was delivered by the good offices of the excellent queen of Navarre. To escape the impending storm, he retired to Basil, where he published his Christian Institutions; and prefixed to them that famous dedication to Francis I. which has attracted universally the admiration of succeeding ages, and which was designed to soften the unrelenting fury of that prince, against the protestants.^b

XXXV. The instances of an opposition to the doctrine and discipline of Rome in the other European states, were few in number, before the diet of And in the other states of Europe. Augsburg, and were too faint, imperfect, and ambiguous to make much noise in the world. It however appears, from the most authentic testimonies, that even before that period, the doctrine of Luther had made a considerable, though perhaps a secret progress in Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Britain, Poland, and the Netherlands, and had in all these countries many friends, of whom several repaired to Wittemberg, to improve their knowledge and enlarge their views under such an eminent master. Some of these countries openly broke asunder the chains of superstition, and withdrew themselves, in a public and constitutional manner, from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. In others, a prodigious number of families received the light of the blessed reformation, rejected the doctrines and authority of Rome; and, notwithstanding, the calamities and persecutions they have suffered

given by his father to the profession of the law, induced him to give up his ecclesiastic vocation, which he afterward resumed in a purer church.

^b This paragraph, relating to Calvin, is added to Dr. Mosheim's text by the translator, who was surprised to find, in a history of the reformation, such late mention made of one of its most distinguished and remarkable instruments; a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the reformers; all of whom he surpassed, at least, in learning and parts, as he also did the most of them, in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence.

on account of their sentiments, under the sceptre of bigotry and superstition, continue still in the profession of the pure doctrine of Christianity: while in other still more unhappy lands, the most barbarous tortures, the most infernal spirit of cruelty, together with penal laws adapted to strike terror into the firmest minds, have extinguished, almost totally, the light of religious truth. It is indeed certain, and the Roman catholics themselves acknowledge it without hesitation, that the papal doctrines, jurisdiction, and authority, would have fallen into ruin in all parts of the world, had not the force of the secular arm been employed to support this tottering edifice, and fire and sword been let loose upon those who were assailing it only with reason and argument.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE TIME THAT THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG WAS PRESENTED TO THE EMPEROR, UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR WHICH SUCCEEDED THE LEAGUE OF SMALCALD.

I. CHARLES V. arrived at Augsburg the 15th of June, 1530, and on the 20th day of the same month the diet was opened. As it was unanimously agreed that the affairs of religion should be brought upon the carpet before the deliberations relating to the intended war with the Turks, the protestant members of this great assembly received from the emperor a formal permission to present to the diet, on the 25th of June, an account of their religious principles and tenets. In consequence of this, Christian Bayer, chancellor of Saxony, read in the German language, in presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, the famous confession, which has been since distinguished by the denomination of the Confession of Augsburg. The princes heard it with the deepest attention and recollection of mind; it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced, surprised others, and many, who before this time had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of Luther, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but were moreover delighted with their purity and simplicity. The copies of this Confession, which after being read were delivered to the em-

The confession of Augsburg presented to Charles V.

peror, were signed and subscribed by John, elector of Saxony, by four princes of the empire, George, marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest, duke of Lunenburg, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, and by the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, who all thereby solemnly declared their assent to the doctrines contained in it.*

II. The tenor and contents of the confession of Augsburg are well known; at least by all who have the smallest acquaintance with ecclesiastical history; since that confession was adopted by the whole body of the protestants as the rule of their faith. The style that reigns in it is plain, elegant, grave, and perspicuous, such as becomes the nature of the subject, and such as might be expected from the admirable pen of Melancthon. The *matter* was undoubtedly supplied by Luther, who, during the diet, resided at Coburg, a town in the neighbourhood of Augsburg; and even the *form* it received from the eloquent pen of his colleague, was authorized in consequence of his approbation and advice. This confession contains twenty-eight chapters, of which the greatest part^d are employed in representing, with perspicuity and truth, the religious opinions of the protestants, and the rest in pointing out the errors and abuses that occasioned their separation from the church of Rome.*

The nature and contents of the confession of Augsburg.

III. The creatures of the Roman pontiff, who were present at this diet, employed John Faber, afterward bishop of Vienna, together with Eckius and another doctor, named Cochläus, to draw up a refutation of this famous confession. This pretended refutation having been read publicly in the

The Roman catholics attempt a refutation of the confession of Augsburg.

* There is a very voluminous history of this diet, which was published in the year 1577, in folio, at Frankfort on Oder, by the laborious George Celestine. The history of the Confession of Augsburg was composed in Latin, by David Chytræus, and more recently in German, by Ern. Solom. Cyprian and Christopher Aug. Saig. The performance of the latter is rather indeed a history of the Reformation in general than of the Confession of Augsburg in particular. That of Cyprian is more concise and elegant, and is confirmed by original pieces, which are equally authentic and curious.

^d Twenty-one chapters were so employed; the other seven contained a detail of the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome.

¶ It is proper to observe here, that while the Lutherans presented their confession to the diet, another excellent remonstrance of the same nature was addressed to this august assembly by the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memingen, and Lindaw, which had rejected the errors and jurisdiction of Rome, but did not enter into the Lutheran league, because they adopted the opinions of Zuingle in relation to the eucharist. The declaration of these four towns, which was called the *tetrapolitan confession*, on account of their number, was drawn up by the excellent Martin Bucer, and was considered as a masterpiece of reasoning and eloquence, not only by the Protestants, but even by

assembly, the emperor demanded of the protestant members that they would acquiesce in it, and put an end to their religious debates by an unlimited submission to the doctrines and opinions contained in this answer. But this demand was far from being complied with. The protestants declared, on the contrary, that they were by no means satisfied with the reply of their adversaries, and earnestly desired a copy of it, that they might demonstrate more fully its extreme insufficiency and weakness. This reasonable request was refused by the emperor, who on this occasion, as well as on several others, showed more regard to the importunity of the pope's legate and his party, than to the demands of equity, candour, and justice. He even interposed his supreme authority to suspend any further proceeding in this matter, and solemnly prohibited the publication of any new writings or declarations that might contribute to lengthen out these religious debates. This however did not reduce the protestants to silence. The divines of that communion, who had been present at the diet, endeavoured to recollect the arguments and objections employed by Faber, and had again recourse to the pen of Melancthon, who refuted them, in an ample and satisfactory manner, in a learned piece that was presented to the emperor on the 22d of September, but which that prince refused to receive. This answer was afterward enlarged by Melancthon, when he had obtained a copy of Faber's reply, and was published in the year 1531, with the other pieces that related to the doctrine and discipline of the Lutheran church, under the title of *A defence of the confession of Augsburg*.

iv. There were only three ways left of bringing to a conclusion these religious differences, which it was in reality most difficult to reconcile. The first and the most rational method was, to grant to those who refused to submit to the doctrine and jurisdiction of Rome, the liberty of following their private judgment in matters of a religious nature, the privilege of serving God according to the dictates of their conscience, and all this in such a manner that the public tran-

Deliberations concerning the method to be used in terminating these religious discussions.

several of the Roman catholics; and among others by Mr. Dupin. Zuingle also sent to this diet a private confession of his religious opinions. It is however remarkable, that though Bucer composed a separate remonstrance, yet his name appears among the subscribers at Smalcaid, in the year 1537, to the confession of Augsburg, and to Melancthon's defence of it.

quillity should not be disturbed. The second, and at the same time the shortest and most iniquitous expedient, was to end these dissensions by military apostles, who, sword in hand, should force the protestants to return to the bosom of the church, and to court the papal yoke, which they had magnanimously thrown off their necks. Some thought of a middle way, which lay equally remote from the difficulties that attended the two methods now mentioned, and proposed that a reconciliation should be made upon fair, candid, and equitable terms, by engaging each of the contending parties to temper their zeal with moderation, to abate reciprocally the rigour of their pretensions, and remit some of their respective claims. This method, which seemed agreeable to the dictates of reason, charity, and justice, was highly approved of by several wise and good men on both sides; but it was ill suited to the arrogant ambition of the Roman pontiff, and the superstitious ignorance of the times, which beheld with horror whatever tended to introduce the sweets of religious liberty, or the exercise of private judgment. The second method, even the use of violence, and the terrors of the sword, was more agreeable to the spirit and sentiments of the age, and was peculiarly suited to the despotic genius and sanguine counsels of the court of Rome; but the emperor had prudence and equity enough to make him reject it, and it appeared shocking to those who were not lost to all sentiments of justice or moderation. The third expedient was therefore most generally approved of; it was peculiarly agreeable to all who were zealous for the interests and tranquillity of the empire, nor did the Roman pontiff seem to look on it either with aversion or contempt. Hence various conferences were held between persons of eminence, piety, and learning, who were chosen for that purpose from both sides, and nothing was omitted that might have the least tendency to calm the animosity, heal the divisions, and unite the hearts of the contending parties;†

† As in the confession of Augsburg, there were three sorts of articles, one sort orthodox, and adopted by both sides; another that consisted of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure; and a third, in which the doctrine of Luther was entirely opposite to that of Rome; this gave some reason to hope that, by the means of certain concessions and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candour and charity, matters might be accommodated at last. For this purpose, select persons were appointed to carry on this salutary work; at first seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines, which number was afterward reduced to three. Luther's obstinate, stubborn, and violent temper, rendering him unfit

but all to no purpose, since the difference between their opinions was too considerable, and of too much importance to admit of a reconciliation. It was in these conferences that the spirit and character of Melancthon appeared in their true and genuine colours; and it was here that the votaries of Rome exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and in some measure to comply with their demands; but when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did Melancthon appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardour, and independence animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the frowns of fortune, and the fear of death. The truth is, that in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth.

v. This reconciling method of terminating the religious debates between the friends of liberty and the votaries of Rome, proving ineffectual, the latter had recourse to other measures, which were suited to the iniquity of the times, though they were equally disavowed by the dictates of reason and the precepts of the gospel. These measures were, the force of the secular arm, and the authority of imperial edicts. On the 19th of November, a severe decree was issued out, by the express order of the emperor, during the absence of the Hessian and Saxon princes, who were the chief supporters of the protestant cause; and in this decree every thing was manifestly adapted to deject the friends of religious liberty, if we except a faint and dubious promise of engaging the pope to assemble, in about six months after the separation of the diet, a general council. The dignity and excellence of the papal religion are extolled beyond mea-

The result of these conferences.
for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences, but he was constantly consulted by the Protestant party; and it was with a view to this that he resided at Osnaburg.

sure in this partial decree ; a new decree of severity and force added to that which had been published at Worms against Luther and his adherents ; the changes that had been introduced into the doctrine and discipline of the protestant churches, severely censured ; and a solemn order addressed to the princes, states, and cities, that had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty and their allegiance to Rome, on pain of incurring the indignation and vengeance of the emperor, as the patron and protector of the church.^f

VI. No sooner were the elector of Saxony and the confederate princes informed of this deplorable issue of the diet of Augsburg, than they assembled in order to deliberate upon the measures that were proper to be taken on this critical occasion. In the year 1530, and the year following, they met, first at Smalcald, afterward at Francfort, and formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were menaced by the edict of Augsburg, without attempting however any thing, properly speaking, offensive against the votaries of Rome. Into this confederacy they invited the kings of England, France, and Denmark, with several other republics and states, and left no means unemployed that might tend to corroborate and cement this important alliance.^h Amidst these emotions and

The league of Smalcald.

¶ To give the greater degree of weight to this edict, it was resolved that no judge who refused to approve and subscribe its contents, should be admitted into the imperial chamber of Spire, which is the supreme court in Germany. The emperor also, and the popish princes, engaged themselves to employ their united forces in order to maintain its authority, and to promote its execution.

¶ Luther, who at first seemed averse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamities and troubles it might produce, perceiving at length its necessity, consented to it ; but, uncharitably as well as imprudently, refused comprehending in it the followers of Zuingle among the Swiss, together with the German states or cities, which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer. And yet we find that the cities of Ulm and Augsburg, had embraced the reformation on the principles of Zuingle. In the invitation addressed to Henry VIII. king of England, whom the confederate princes were willing to declare the head and protector of their league, the following things were expressly stipulated among several others ; viz. that the king should encourage, promote, and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, as it was contained in the confession of Augsburg, and defend the same at the next general council ; that he should not agree to any council summoned by the bishop of Rome, but protest against it, and neither submit to its decrees, nor suffer them to be respected in his dominions ; that he should never allow the Roman pontiff to have any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in his dominions ; that he should advance one hundred thousand crowns for the use of the confederacy, and double that sum if it became necessary ; all which articles the confederate princes were obliged equally to observe on their part. To these demands the

preparations, which portended an approaching rupture, the elector palatine, and the elector of Mentz, offered their mediation, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending princes. With respect to the emperor, various reasons united to turn his views toward peace. For on the one hand, he stood in need of succours against the Turk, which the protestant princes refused to grant as long as the edicts of Worms and Augsburg remained in force; and on the other, the election of his brother Ferdinand to the dignity of king of the Romans, which had been concluded by a majority of votes, at the diet of Cologne, in the year 1531, was contested by the same princes as contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire.

VII. In this troubled state of affairs many projects of reconciliation were proposed; and after various negotiations, a treaty of peace was concluded at Nuremberg, in the year 1532, between the emperor and the protestant princes, on the following conditions: that the latter should furnish a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turk, and acknowledge Ferdinand lawful king of the Romans; and that the emperor, on his part, should abrogate and annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and allow the Lutherans the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until a rule of faith was fixed either in the free general council that was to be assembled in the space of six months, or in a diet of the empire. The apprehension of an approaching rupture was scarcely removed by this agreement, when John, elector of Saxony, died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederic, a prince of invincible fortitude and magnanimity, whose reign was little better than a continued scene of disappointments and calamities.

king answered immediately, in a manner that was not satisfactory. He declared, that he would promote and maintain the true doctrine of Christ; but at the same time, as the true ground of that doctrine lay only in the Holy Scriptures, he would not accept, at any one's hand, what should be his faith, or that of his kingdom, and therefore desired they would send over learned men to confer with him, in order to promote a religious union between him and the confederates. He moreover declared himself of their opinion with respect to the meeting of a free general council, promised to join with them in all such councils, for the defence of the true doctrine; but thought the regulation of the ceremonial part of religion, being a matter of indifference, ought to be left to the choice of each sovereign for his own dominions. After this, the king gave them a second answer, more full and satisfactory: but upon the fall of queen Anne, this negotiation came to nothing. On the one hand, the king grew cold, when he perceived that the confederates could be of no longer service to him in supporting the validity of his marriage; and on the other, the German princes were sensible that they could never succeed with Henry, unless they would allow him an absolute dictatorship in matters of religion.

VIII. The religious truce, concluded at Nuremberg, inspired with new vigour and resolution all the friends of the reformation. It gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those who had been hitherto only secret enemies to the Roman pontiff, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in Germany, which about this time boldly enlisted themselves under the religious standards of Luther. On the other hand, as all hope of terminating the religious debates that divided Europe was founded in the meeting of the general council, which had been so solemnly promised, the emperor renewed his earnest requests to Clement VII. that he would hasten an event that was expected and desired with so much impatience. The pontiff, whom the history of past councils filled with the most uneasy and discouraging apprehensions, endeavoured to retard, what he could not with any decency absolutely refuse.¹ He formed innumerable pretexts to put off the evil day; and his whole conduct evidently showed, that he was more desirous of having these religious differences decided by the force of arms, than by the power of argument. He indeed, in the year 1533, made a proposal, by his legate, to assemble a council at Mantua, Placentia, or Bologna; but the protestants refused their consent to the nomination of an Italian council, and insisted that a controversy, which had its rise in the heart of Germany, should be decided within the limits of the empire. The pope, by his usual artifices, deluded his own promise, disappointed their expectations, and was cut off by death, in the year 1534, in the midst of his stratagems.²

IX. His successor, Paul III. seemed to show less reluctance to the assembling a general council, and appeared even disposed to comply with the desires of the emperor in that respect. Accordingly, in the year 1535, he expressed his inclination to convoke one at Mantua; and, the year

¹ Beside the fear of seeing his authority diminished by a general council, and another reason engaged Clement VII. to avoid an assembly of that nature; for being conscious of the illegitimacy of his birth, as Frao Paulo observes, he had ground to fear that the Colonnas, or his other enemies, might plead this circumstance before the council, as a reason for his exclusion from the pontificate; since it might be well questioned, whether a *bastard* could be a pope, though it is known, from many instances, that a *profligate* may.

² See an ample account of every thing relative to this council, in Frao Paulo's *History of the Council of Trent*, book i.

following, actually sent circular letters for that purpose through all the kingdoms and states under his jurisdiction.¹ The protestants, on the other hand, fully persuaded that, in such a council,² all things would be carried by the votaries of Rome, and nothing concluded but what should be agreeable to the sentiments and ambition of the pontiff, assembled at Smalcald in the year 1537. And there they protested solemnly against such a partial and corrupt council as that which was convoked by Paul III. but, at the same time, had a new summary of their doctrine drawn up by Luther, in order to present it to the assembled bishops, if it was required of them. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the Articles of Smalcald, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church.

x. During these transactions, two remarkable events happened, of which the one was most detrimental to the cause of religion in general, to that of the reformation in particular, and produced in Germany, civil tumults and commotions of a most horrid kind; while the other was more salutary in its consequences and effects, and struck at the very root of the papal authority and dominion. The former of these events was a new sedition, kindled by a fanatical and outrageous mob of the *anabaptists*; and the latter, the rupture between Henry VIII. king of England, and the Roman pontiff, whose jurisdiction and spiritual supremacy were publicly renounced by that rough and resolute monarch. In the year 1533, there came to Munster, a city in Westphalia, a certain number of Anabaptists, who surpassed the rest of that fanatical tribe in the extravagance of their proceedings, the phrensy of their disordered brains, and the madness of their pretensions and projects. They gave themselves out for the messengers of heaven, invested with a

New outrages committed by the anabaptists.

¹ This council was summoned, by Paul III. to assemble at Mantua; on the 23d of May, 1537, by a bull issued out the 2d of June of the preceding year. Several obstacles prevented its meeting. Frederic, duke of Mantua, was not much inclined to receive at once so many guests, and some of them turbulent ones, into the place of his residence.

² That is, in a council assembled by the authority of the pope alone, and that also in Italy; two circumstances that must have greatly contributed to give Paul III. an undue influence in that assembly. The Protestants maintained, that the emperor and the other Christian princes of Europe, had a right to be *authoritatively* concerned in calling a general council: and that so much the more, as the Roman pontiff was evidently one of the parties in the present debate.

divine commission to lay the foundations of a new government, a holy and spiritual empire, and to destroy and overturn all temporal rule and authority, all human and political institutions. Having turned all things into confusion and uproar in the city of Munster by this seditious and extravagant declaration, they began to erect a new republic,^o conformable to their absurd and chimerical notions of religion, and committed the administration of it to John Bockholt, a tailor by profession, and a native of Leyden. Their reign however was of a short duration; for in the year 1535, the city was besieged and taken by the bishop of Munster, assisted by other German princes; this fanatical king and his wrong-headed associates were put to death in the most terrible and ignominious manner, and the new hierarchy destroyed with its furious and extravagant founders. This disorderly and outrageous conduct of a handful of anabaptists, drew upon the whole body heavy marks of displeasure from the greatest part of the European princes. The severest laws were enacted against them for the second time, in consequence of which the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same terrible fate, and prodigious numbers devoted to death in the most dreadful forms.^o

xi. The pillars of papal despotism were at this time shaken in England, by an event, which at first did not seem to promise such important consequences. Henry VIII. a prince who in vices and in abilities was surpassed by none who swayed the sceptre in this age, and who, in the beginning of these religious troubles, had opposed the doctrine and views of Luther with the utmost vehemence, was the principal agent in this great revolution.^p Bound in the chains of matrimony to Catharine of Arragon, aunt

Great Britain renounces the spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

ⁿ This fanatical establishment they distinguished by the title of the New Jerusalem.

^o Hermannii Hammelmanni *Historia Eccles. renati Evangelii per inferiorem Saxoniam et Westphal.* part ii. p. 1196, opp. De Prinz *Specimen Historiæ Anabapt.* c. x. xi. xii. p. 24.

^p This sect was, in process of time, considerably reformed by the ministry of two Frieslanders, Ubbo and Mennon, who purified it from the enthusiastic, seditious, and atrocious principles of its first founders, as will be seen in the progress of this history.

^q Among the various portraits that have been given by historians of Henry VIII. there is none that equals the masterly one drawn by Mr. Hume, in his *History of England*, under the house of Tudor. This great painter, whose colouring, in other subjects, is sometimes more artful than accurate, has caught from nature the striking lines of Henry's motley character, and thrown them into a composition, in which they appear with the greatest truth, set out with all the powers of expression.

to Charles V. but, at the same time, captivated by the charms of an illustrious virgin, whose name was Anne Boleyn, he ardently desired to be divorced from the former, that he might render lawful his passion for the latter.⁴ For this purpose he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, Clement VII. in order to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine, alleging, that a principle of religion restrained him from enjoying any longer the sweets of connubial love with that princess, as she had been previously married to his elder brother Arthur, and as it was repugnant to the divine law to contract wedlock with a brother's widow. Clement was greatly perplexed upon this occasion, by the apprehension of incurring the indignation of the emperor, in case his decision was favourable to Henry; and therefore he contrived various pretexts to evade a positive answer, and exhausted all his policy and artifice to cajole and deceive the English monarch. Tired with the pretexts, apologies, vain promises, and tardy proceedings of the Roman pontiff, Henry had recourse, for the accomplishment of his purposes, to an expedient which was suggested by the famous Thomas Cranmer, who was a secret friend to Luther and his cause, and who was afterward raised to the see of Canterbury. This expedient was, to demand the opinions of the most learned European universities concerning the subject of his scruples. The result of this measure was favourable to his views. The greatest part of the universities declared the marriage with a brother's widow unlawful. Catharine was consequently divorced; Anne conducted by a formal marriage into the royal bed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Clement; and the English nation delivered from the tyranny of

⁴ From Dr. Mosheim's manner of expressing himself, an uninformed reader might be led to conclude, that the charms of Anne Boleyn were the *only* motive that engaged Henry to dissolve his marriage with Catharine. But this representation of the matter is not accurate. The king had entertained scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage, before his acquaintance with the beautiful and unfortunate Anne. Conversant in the writings of Thomas Aquinas and other schoolmen, who looked upon the Levitical law as of moral and permanent obligation, and attentive to the remonstrances of the bishops, who declared his marriage unlawful, the king was filled with anxious doubts that had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen, before his affections had been engaged by any other. This appears by cardinal Wolsey's proposing a marriage between his majesty and the sister of Francis I. which that pliant courtier would never have done, had he known that the king's affections were otherwise engaged. After all it is very possible that the age and infirmities of Catharine, together with the blooming charms of Anne Boleyn, tended much to animate Henry's remorse, and to render his conscience more scrupulous. See Burnet's History of the Reformation. Hume's History of the House of Tudor, p. 150.

Rome, by Henry's renouncing the jurisdiction and supremacy of its imperious pontiff. Soon after this, Henry was declared by the parliament and the people, supreme head on earth of the church of England, the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes; and the power and authority of the pope were abrogated and entirely overturned.'

XII. It is however carefully to be observed here, that this downfall of the papal authority in England was not productive of much benefit, either to the friends or to the cause of the reformation. For the same monarch, who had so resolutely withdrawn himself from the dominion of Rome, yet superstitiously retained the greatest part of its errors, along with its imperious and persecuting spirit. He still adhered to several of the most monstrous doctrines of popery, and frequently presented the terrors of death to those who differed from him in their religious sentiments. Beside, he considered the title of head of the English Church, as if it transferred to him the enormous power which had been claimed, and indeed usurped, by the Roman pontiffs; and in consequence of this interpretation of his title, he looked upon himself as master of the religious sentiments of his subjects, and as authorized to prescribe modes of faith according to his fancy. Hence it came to pass, that during the life and reign of this prince, the face of religion was constantly changing, and thus resembled the capricious and unsteady character of its new chief. The prudence, learning, and activity of Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, who was the favourite of the king, and the friend of the reformation, counteracted however in many instances, the humour and vehemence of this inconstant and turbulent monarch. The pious productions and wise counsels of that venerable prelate diminished daily the influence of the ancient superstitions, dispelled by degrees the mists of ignorance that blinded the people in favour of popery, and increased considerably the number of those who wished well to the reformation.'

The nature and effects of this first step toward the reformation in England.

r Beside the full and accurate account of this and other important events that is to be found in bishop Burnet's excellent History of the Reformation of the Church of England, the curious reader will do well to consult the records of this memorable revolution in Wilkins's *Concil. Magna Britannia et Hibernia*, tom. iii. p. 424. Raynal, *Anecdotes Historiques, Politiques, Militaires*, tom. i. part ii. p. 90. *Gen. Dictionary*, at the article Boleyn.

s Besides Burnet's History of the Reformation, See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. chap i. p. 11.

XIII. After the meeting of the council of Mantua was prevented, various measures were taken, and many schemes proposed, by the emperor on the one hand, and the protestant princes on the other, for the restoration of concord and union, both civil and religious. But these measures and projects were unattended with any solid or salutary fruit, and were generally disconcerted by the intrigues and artifice of Rome, whose legates and creatures were always lying in wait to blow the flame of discord in all those councils that seemed unfavourable to the ambition of its pontiffs. In the year 1541, the emperor, regardless of the bishop of Rome, appointed a conference at Worms on the subject of religion, between persons of piety and learning chosen out of each of the contending parties. It was here that Melancthon and Eckius disputed during the space of three days. This conference was, for certain reasons, removed to the diet which was held at Ratisbon that same year, and in which the principal subject of deliberation was a memorial, presented by a person unknown, containing a project of peace, with the terms of accommodation that were proper to terminate these religious differences." This conference however produced no other effect, than a mutual agreement of the contending parties to refer the decision of their pretensions and debates to a general council; or if the meeting of such a council should be prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, to the next German diet.

XIV. This resolution was rendered ineffectual by the period of perplexity and trouble that succeeded the diet of Ratisbon; and by various incidents that widened the breach, and put off to a farther day the deliberations that were designed to heal it. It is true, the Roman pontiff ordered his legate to declare in the diet which was assembled at Spire, in the year 1542, that he would, according to the promise he had already made, assemble a general council, and that Trent should be the place of its meeting, if the diet had no objection to that city. Ferdinand king of the Romans, and the princes who adhered to the papal cause, gave their consent to this proposal; while the protestant members of the diet objected both against a council summoned by the pa-

A new project of purification.

Conf. rance at Worms.

Diet of Ratisbon.

All things tend to an open rupture.

t See Jo. Andr. Roederi *Libellus de Colloquio Wormatiensi Norimb.* 1744, in 4to.
n See Jo. Erdmanni Bieckii *Triplex Interim*, cap. i. p. 1.

pal authority alone, and also against the place appointed for its meeting, and demanded a free and lawful council, which should not be biassed by the dictates, nor awed by the proximity of the Roman pontiff. This protestation produced no effect; Paul III. persisted in his purpose, and issued out his circular letters for the convocation of the council,* with the approbation of the emperor; while this prince endeavoured, at the diet of Worms, in the year 1545, to persuade the protestants to consent to the meeting of this council at Trent. But the protestants were fixed in their resolution, and the efforts of Charles were vain. Upon which the emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the violent measures which were incessantly suggested by the court of Rome, departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and listening to the sanguine counsels of Paul, formed, in conjunction with that subtle pontiff, the design of terminating the debates about religion by the force of arms. The landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who were the chief protectors of the protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took the proper measures to prevent their being surprised and over-

It is proper to observe here, that having summoned successively a council at Mantua, Vicenza, and Venice, without any effect,† this pontiff thought it necessary to show the protestants that he was not averse to every kind of reformation, and therefore appointed four cardinals, and five other persons eminent for their learning, to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church, in general, and of the church of Rome in particular, knowing full well, by the spirit which reigned in the conclave, that this project would come to nothing. A plan, however, was drawn up by the persons appointed for that purpose. The reformation proposed in this plan was indeed extremely superficial and partial; yet it contains some particulars, which scarcely could have been expected from the pens of those that composed it. They complained, for instance, of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men; and that therefore care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, nonresidence, and pluralities.—They proposed that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that the colloquies of Erasmus should be suppressed; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; that the questors of St. Anthony, and several other saluts, should be abolished; and, which was the best of all their proposals, that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented St. Peter's church; and declared, that it was a great scandal to see the whores lodged so magnificently at Rome, and riding through the streets on fine mules, while the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in a most courteous and familiar manner. The several articles of this plan of reformation, which Luther and Sturmius of Strasburg turned into ridicule, and which indeed left unredressed the most intolerable grievances of which the protestants complained, were published at Antwerp in or about the year 1539, with the answer of Cochleus to the objections of Sturmius. They are likewise prefixed to the History of the Council of Trent, by Crabre, and were afterward published at Paris in 1612.†

* This council was never assembled.

† See Panlin, in Paul III. Sleid. i. xii. Univers. Mod. Hist. vol. xxvi. p. 30.

whelmed unawares by a superior force, and accordingly raised an army for their defence. While this terrible storm was rising, Luther, whose aversion to all methods of violence and force in matters of religion was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by providence from this scene of tumult, and the approaching calamities that threatened his country. He died in peace, on the 18th of February, in the year 1546, at Aysleben, the place of his birth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR OF SMALCALD TO THE FAMOUS PACIFICATION, COMMONLY CALLED THE PEACE OF RELIGION, CONCLUDED AT AUGSBURG.

I. THE emperor and the pope had mutually resolved the destruction of all who should dare to oppose the council of Trent. The meeting of that assembly was to serve as a signal for their taking arms; and accordingly, its deliberations were scarcely begun, in the year 1546, when the protestants perceived undoubted marks of the approaching storm, and of a formidable union between the emperor and the pontiff to overwhelm and crush them by a sudden blow. There had been, it is true, a new conference this very year, at the diet of Ratisbon, between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences; but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner it was carried on, and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would, sooner or later, be decided in the field of battle. In the mean time, the fathers, assembled in the council of Trent, promulgated their decrees; whilst the protestant princes in the diet of Ratisbon, protested against their authority, and were, in consequence of this, proscribed by the emperor, who raised an army to reduce them to obedience.

II. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse led their forces into Bavaria against the emperor, and cannonaded his camp at Ingolstadt with great

The commencement of the war of Smalcald.
The affairs of the protest.

spirit. It was supposed that this would bring the two armies to a general action; but several circumstances prevented a battle, which was expected by the most of the confederates, and probably, would have been advantageous to their cause. Among these we may reckon principally, the perfidy of Maurice, duke of Saxony, who, seduced by the promises of the emperor on the one hand, and by his own ambition and avarice on the other, invaded the electoral dominions of his uncle, John Frederic, while that worthy prince was maintaining against the emperor the sacred cause of religion and liberty. Add to this the divisions that were fomented by the dissimulation of the emperor among the confederate princes; the failure of France in furnishing the subsidy that had been promised by its monarch; and other incidents of less moment. All these things so discouraged the heads of the protestant party, that their army was soon dispersed, and the elector of Saxony directed his march homeward. But he was pursued by the emperor, who made several forced marches, with a view to destroy his enemy, before he should have time to recover his vigour; in which design he was assisted by the ill-grounded security of the elector, and; as there is too much reason to think, by the treachery of his officers. The two armies drew up in order of battle near Muhlberg on the Elbe, on the 24th of April, 1547; and after a bloody action, that of the elector being inferior in numbers, was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner. Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the other chief of the protestants, was persuaded by the entreaties of his son-in-law Maurice, now declared elector of Saxony, to throw himself upon the mercy of the emperor, and to implore his pardon. To this he consented, relying on the promise of Charles for obtaining forgiveness, and being restored to liberty; but notwithstanding these expectations, he was unjustly detained prisoner by a scandalous violation of the most solemn convention. It is said that the emperor retracted his promise, and deluded this unhappy prince by the ambiguity of two German words, which resemble each other; but this point

ents take an unfavourable turn.

Ix In the room of John Frederic, whom he had so basely betrayed.

Iy There is scarcely in history any instance of such a mean, perfidious, and despotic behaviour as that of the emperor to the landgrave in the case now before us. After having received in public the humble submissions of that unhappy prince, made upon his knees, and that in the most respectful and affecting terms, and after having set him at liberty by a solemn treaty, he had him arrested anew, without alleging any

of history has not been hitherto so far cleared up, as to enable us to judge with certainty concerning the confinement of this prince, and the real causes to which it was owing.*

III. This revolution seemed every way adapted to complete the ruin of the protestant cause, and to crown the efforts of the Roman pontiff with the most triumphant success. In the diet of Augsburg, which was assembled soon after, with an imperial army at hand to promote union and despatch, the emperor required of the protestants, that they would leave the decision of these religious contests to the wisdom of the council that was to meet at Trent. The greatest part of the members consented to this proposal; and among others, Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, who owed both his electorate and his dominions to the emperor, and who was ardently desirous of obtaining the liberty of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse. This general submission to the will of the emperor did not, however, produce the fruits that were expected from such a solemn, and almost universal approbation of the council of Trent. A plague, which manifested itself, or was said so to do, in that city, engaged the greatest part of the assembled fathers to retire to Bologna, and thereby the council was, in effect, dissolved; nor could all the entreaties and remonstrances of the emperor prevail upon the pope to reassemble it again without delay. While things were in this situation, and the prospect of seeing a council assembled was cast at a distance, the emperor judged it necessary, during this interval, to fall upon some method of maintaining peace in religious matters, until the decision, so long expected, should be finally obtained. It was with this view that he ordered Julius Pflugius, bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, a creature of the pontiff, and John Agricola, a native of Aysleben, to draw up a *Formulary*, which might serve as a rule of faith and worship to both of the contending parties, until a council

The famous temporary edict called the Interim.

reason, nay, any pretext, and kept him for several years in a close and severe confinement. When Maurice remonstrated to the emperor against this new imprisonment, the emperor answered, that he had never promised that the landgrave should not be imprisoned anew, but only that he should be exempted from *perpetual imprisonment*; and to support this assertion, he produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously foisted in *ewiger gefangnis*, which signifies a *perpetual prison*, instead of *einiger gefangnis*, which means any prison. This matter is however contested by some historians.

* See a German work, entitled *Beni Grosch Vertheidigung der Evangelischen Kirchen gegen Gottfr. Arnold*. p. 29.

should be summoned. As this was only a temporary appointment, and had not the force of a permanent or perpetual institution, the rule in question was called the *Interim*.^a

IV. This temporary rule of faith and discipline, though it was extremely favourable to the interests and pretensions of the court of Rome, had yet the fate to which schemes of reconciliation are often exposed : it pleased neither of the contending parties, but was equally offensive to the followers of Luther, and to the Roman pontiff. It was however promulgated with solemnity by the emperor, at the diet of Augsburg ; and the elector of Mentz, without even deigning to ask the opinions of the assembled princes and states, rose with an air of authority, and, as if he had been commissioned to represent the whole diet, gave a formal and public approbation to this famous *Interim*.^a Thus were many princes of the empire, whose silence, though it proceeded from want of courage, was interpreted as the mark of a tacit consent, engaged against their will to receive this *book*, as a body of ecclesiastical law. The greatest part of those, who had the resolution to dispute the authority of this imperial creed, were obliged to submit to it by the force of arms ; and, hence arose deplorable scenes of violence and bloodshed, which involved the empire in the greatest calamities.

The troubles
to which this
edict gave
rise.

^a This project of Charles was formed partly to vent his resentment against the pope, and partly to answer other purposes of a more political kind. Be that as it may, the *Formula ad Interim*, or Temporary rule of faith and worship, here mentioned, contained all the essential doctrines of the church of Rome, though considerably softened and mitigated by the moderate, prudent, and artful terms in which they were expressed ; terms quite different from those that were employed, before and after this period, by the council of Trent. There was even an affected ambiguity in many expressions, which rendered them susceptible of different senses, applicable to the sentiments of both communions, and therefore disagreeable to both. The *Interim* was composed with that fraudulent, specious, and seducing dexterity, that in aftertimes appeared in the deceitful Exposition of the Catholic Faith, by M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, and it was almost equally rejected by the protestants and Roman catholics. The cup was allowed, by this imperial creed, to the protestants in the administration of the Lord's supper, and priests and clerks were permitted by it to enter into the married state. These grants were, however, accompanied with the two following conditions ; " 1. That every one should be at liberty to use the cup, or to abstain from it, and to choose a state of marriage, or a state of celibacy, as he should judge most fitting. 2. That these grants should remain in force no longer than the happy period when a general council should terminate all religious differences." This second condition was adapted to produce the greatest disorder and confusion, in case the future council should think proper to enjoin celibacy on the clergy, and declare, as it did in effect, their marriage unchristian and unlawful.

^a See Jo. Erdm. Bleckii *Triplex Interim*, published in 8vo. at Leipsic, in the year 1721. Luc. Osiander *Centuria XVI. Histor. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. lxxviii. p. 425. For an account of the authors and editions of the book called *Interim*, see *Die Danische Bibliothek*, part v. p. 1, and part vi. p. 185.

Maurice, elector of Saxony, who for some time had held a neutral conduct, and neither declared himself for those who rejected, nor for those who had adopted the rule in question assembled, in the year 1548, the Saxon nobility and clergy, with Melancthon at the head of the latter, and in several conferences held at Leipsic and other places, took counsel concerning what was to be done in this critical affair. The deliberations, on this occasion, were long and tedious, and their result was ambiguous ; for Melancthon, whose opinion was respected as a law by the reformed doctors, fearing the emperor on the one hand, and attentive to the sentiments of his sovereign on the other, pronounced a sort of a reconciling sentence, which he hoped would be offensive to no party. He gave it as his opinion, that the whole of the book called *Interim* could not, by any means, be adopted by the friends of the reformation ; but he declared, at the same time, that he saw no reason why this book might not be approved, adopted, and received, as an authoritative rule, in things that did not relate to the essential points of religion, in things that might be considered as accessory or indifferent.* This decision, instead of pacifying matters, produced, on the contrary, new divisions, and formed a schism among the followers of Luther, of which farther mention shall be made hereafter, in the History of the Church established by that reformer. I shall only observe, that this schism placed the cause of the reformation in the most perilous and critical circumstances, and might have contributed either to ruin it entirely, or to retard considerably its progress, had the pope and the emperor been dexterous enough to make the proper use of these divisions, and to seize the favourable occasion that was presented to them, of turning the force of the protestants against themselves.

v. Amidst these contests Paul III. departed this life in the year 1549, and was succeeded, the year following, by Julius III. who, yielding to the repeated and importunate solicitations of the emperor, consented to the assembling a council at Trent. Accordingly, in the diet of Augsburg, which was again held under

The project of a council at Trent renewed.

* By things *indifferent*, Melancthon understood particularly the rites and ceremonies of the popish worship, which, superstitious as they were, that reformer, yielding to the softness and flexibility of his natural temper, treated with a singular and excessive indulgence upon this occasion.

the cannon of an imperial army, Charles laid this matter before the states and princes of the empire. The greatest part of the princes gave their consent to the convocation of this council, to which also Maurice, elector of Saxony, submitted upon certain conditions.^c The emperor then concluded the diet, in the year 1551, desiring the assembled princes and states to prepare all things for the approaching council, and promising that he would use his most zealous endeavours toward the promoting moderation and harmony, impartiality and charity, in the deliberations and transactions of that assembly. Upon the breaking up of the diet, the protestants took the steps they judged most prudent to prepare themselves for what was to happen. The Saxons employed the pen of Melancthon, and the Wurtemberghers that of Bredtius, to draw up confessions of their faith, that were to be laid before the new council. Beside the ambassadors of the duke of Wurtemberg, several doctors of that city repaired to Trent. The Saxon divines, with Melancthon at their head, set out also for that place, but proceeded in their journey no further than Nuremberg. They had received secret orders to stop there; for Maurice had no intention of submitting to the emperor's views; on the contrary, he hoped to reduce that prince to a compliance with his own projects. He therefore yielded in appearance, that he might carry his point, and thus command in reality.

VI. The real views of Charles V. amidst the divisions and troubles of Germany, which he fomented by negotiations that carried the outward aspect of a reconciling spirit, will appear evidently to such as consider attentively the nature of the times, and compare the transactions of this prince, the one with the other. Relying on the extent of his power, and the success that frequently accompanied his enterprises, with a degree of confidence that was highly imprudent, Charles proposed

Maurice disconcerts the schemes of the emperor.

^c Maurice, who was desirous of regaining the esteem of the protestants of Saxony, which he had lost by his perfidious behaviour to the late elector, John Frederic, his benefactor and friend, gave his consent to the re-establishing the council of Trent, upon the following conditions; 1st, that the points of doctrine, which had been already decided there, should be re-examined, and discussed anew; 2dly, that this examination should be made in presence of the protestant divines, or their deputies. 3dly, That the Saxon protestants should have a liberty of voting, as well as of deliberating, in the council; and 4thly, that the pope should not pretend to preside in that assembly, either in person or by his legates. This declaration of Maurice was read in the diet, and his deputies insisted upon its being entered into the registers, which the archbishop of Mentz, however, obstinately refused.

however at Augsburg, in the year 1555, was opened by Ferdinand in the name of the emperor, and terminated those deplorable scenes of bloodshed, desolation, and discord, that had so long afflicted both church and state, by that *religious peace*, as it is commonly called, which secured to the protestants the free exercise of their religion and established this inestimable liberty upon the firmest foundations. For after various debates the following memorable acts were passed on the 25th of September; that the protestants who followed the confession of Augsburg, should be for the future considered as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and from the authority and superintendence of the bishops; that they were left at perfect liberty to enact laws for themselves relating to their religious sentiments, discipline, and worship; that all the inhabitants of the German empire should be allowed to judge for themselves in religious matters, and to join themselves to that church whose doctrine and worship they thought the purest and the most consonant to the spirit of true Christianity; and that all those who should injure or persecute any person under religious pretexs, and on account of their opinions, should be declared and proceeded against, as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace. The difficulties that were to be surmounted before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations, the warm debates, the violent animosities and bloody wars, that were necessary to engage the greatest part of the German states to consent to conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the gospel, show us in a shocking and glaring point of light, the ignorance and superstition of these miserable times, and stand upon record as one of the most evident proofs of the necessity of the reformation.

ix. While these things were transacting in Germany, the friends of genuine Christianity in England deplored the gloomy reign of superstition, and the almost total extinction of true religion: and seeing before their eyes the cause of popery maintained by the terror of bloody persecution, and daily victims brought to the stake, to expiate the pretended crime of preferring


The reformation gains ground in England.


f See Jo. Schilteri *Liber de Pace Religiosa*, published in 4to. in the year 1700, Christ. Lehmanni *Acta publica et originalia de Pace Religiosa*. Francf. 1707.

the dictates of the gospel to the despotic laws of Rome, they esteemed the Germans happy, in having thrown off the yoke of an imperious and superstitious church. Henry VIII. whose personal vices, as well as his arbitrary and capricious conduct, had greatly retarded the progress of the reformation, was now no more. He departed this life in the year 1547, and was succeeded by his only son Edward VI. This amiable prince, whose early youth was crowned with that wisdom, sagacity, and virtue, that would have done honour to advanced years, gave new spirit and vigour to the protestant cause, and was its brightest ornament, as well as its most effectual support. He encouraged learned and pious men of foreign countries to settle in England, and addressed a particular invitation to Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, whose moderation added a lustre to their other virtues, that, by the ministry and labours of these eminent men, in concert with those of the friends of the reformation in England, he might purge his dominions from the sordid fictions of popery, and establish the pure doctrines of Christianity in their place. For this purpose he issued out the wisest orders for the restoration of true religion; but his reign was too short to accomplish fully such a glorious purpose. In the year 1553, he was taken from his loving and afflicted subjects, whose sorrow was inexpressible, and suited to their loss. His sister Mary, the daughter of Catharine of Arragon, from whom Henry had been separated by the famous divorce, a furious bigot to the Church of Rome, and a princess whose natural character, like the spirit of her religion, was despotic and cruel, succeeded him on the British throne, and imposed anew the arbitrary laws, and the tyrannical yoke of Rome, upon the people of England. Nor were the methods she employed, in the cause of superstition, better than the cause itself, or tempered by any sentiments of equity or compassion. Barbarous tortures, and death in the most shocking forms, awaited those who opposed her will, or made the least stand against the restoration of popery. And among many other victims, the learned and pious Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been one of the most illustrious instruments of the reformation in England, fell a sacrifice to her fury. This odious scene of persecution was happily concluded, in the year 1558, by the death of the queen, who left no issue; and as soon as her successor the lady Elizabeth ascended the throne, all things

assumed a new and a pleasing aspect. This illustrious princess, whose sentiments, councils, and projects breathed a spirit superior to the natural softness and delicacy of her sex, exerted this vigorous and manly spirit in the defence of oppressed conscience and expiring liberty, broke anew the despotic yoke of papal authority and superstition, and, delivering her people from the bondage of Rome, established that form of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical government which still subsists in England. This religious establishment differs, in some respects, from the plan that had been formed by those whom Edward VI. had employed for promoting the cause of the reformation, and approaches nearer to the rites and discipline of former times; though it is widely different, and in the most important points entirely opposite to the principles of the Roman hierarchy.

x. The seeds of the reformation were very early sown in Scotland, by several noblemen of that nation, who had resided in Germany during the religious ^{in Scotland.} disputes that divided the empire. But the power of the Roman pontiff, supported and seconded by inhuman laws and barbarous executions, choked, for many years, these tender seeds, and prevented their taking root. The first and most eminent opposer of the papal jurisdiction, was John Knox,^a a disciple of Calvin, whose eloquence was persuasive, and whose fortitude was invincible.^b This resolute

 g It will not be improper to insert here the character of this famous Scottish reformer, as it was drawn by the elegant, spirited, accurate, and impartial pen of Dr. Robertson, in his History of Scotland, book vi. "Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness," says that incomparable writer, "were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncompromising himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the queen's person and conduct. Those very qualities, however, which now rendered his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back. By an unwearied application to study and to business, as well as by the frequency and fervour of his public discourses, he had worn out a constitution naturally strong. During a lingering illness, he discovered the utmost fortitude, and met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inseparable from his character. He was constantly employed in acts of devotion, and comforted himself with those prospects of immortality, which not only preserve good men from desponding, but fill them with exultation in their last moments."

 h The earl of Morton, who was present at his funeral, pronounced his eulogium in a few words, the more honourable for Knox, as they came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity; "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

reformer set out from Geneva for Scotland, in the year 1559, and, in a very short space of time, inspired the people, by his private exhortations and his public discourses, with such a violent aversion to the superstitions of Rome, that the greatest part of the Scotch nation abandoned them entirely, and aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of popery.¹ From this period to the present times, the form of doctrine, worship, and discipline, that had been established at Geneva by the ministry of Calvin, has been maintained in Scotland with invincible obstinacy and zeal, and every attempt to introduce into that kingdom the rites and government of the church of England has proved impotent and unsuccessful.⁴

ⁱ See Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 165, 232, 234, 569. Calderwood's *History of Scotland's Reformation*, published in folio at London, in the year 1680. Georg. Buchanani *Rerum Scoticar. Hist.* lib. xvi. p. 313, edit. *Ruddiman*. folio. Melville's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 73.

¶ The indignation of the people, which had been excited by the vices of the clergy, was soon transferred to their persons, and settled at last, by a transition not unusual, upon the offices they enjoyed; and thus the effects of the reformation extended not only to the doctrine, but also to the government of the popish church. But in Germany, England, and the northern kingdoms, its operations were checked by the power and policy of their princes, and the episcopal hierarchy, which appears to be the most conformable to the practice of the church, since Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire, was still continued, in these countries, under certain limitations. The ecclesiastical government was copied after the civil; and the diocesses and jurisdictions of patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, corresponded with the division and constitution of the empire. In Switzerland and the Low Countries, the nature and spirit of a republican policy gave fuller scope to the reformers; and thus all pre-eminence of order in the church was destroyed, and that form of ecclesiastical government established, which has been since called Presbyterian. The situation of the primitive church, oppressed by continual persecutions, and obliged by their sufferings to be contented with a form of government extremely simple, and with a parity of rank, for want of ambition to propose or power to support a subordination, suggested without doubt the idea of this latter system; though it would be unfair to allege this consideration, as a victorious argument in favour of Presbyterianism; because a change of circumstances will sometimes justify a change in the methods and plans of government. Be that as it may, the church of Geneva, which received the decisions of Calvin with an amazing docility, restored this Presbyterian, or republican form of ecclesiastical policy; Knox studied, admired, and recommended it to his countrymen, and he was seconded by many of the Scotch nobles, of whom some hated the persons, while others coveted the wealth of the dignified clergy. But in introducing this system, the Scottish reformer did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form; but instead of bishops, proposed the establishment of ten superintendents, to inspect the life and doctrine of the other clergy, to preside in the inferior judicatories of the church, without pretending to claim either a seat in parliament, or the revenues and dignity of the former bishops. This proposal was drawn up and presented to a convention of estates, which was held in the year 1561; and what it contained, in relation to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline, would have easily obtained the sanction of that assembly, had not a design to recover the patrimony of the church, in order to apply it to the advancement of religion and learning, been insisted in it. After this, at certain periods, the name of bishops was revived, but without the prerogatives, jurisdiction, or revenues that were formerly appropriated to that order. They were made subject to the general assemblies of the clergy, and their power was diminished from day to day, until their name as well as their order was abolished, at the revolution in 1688, and Presbyterianism established in Scotland by the laws of the late. See Robertson's *History of Scotland*, *passim*.

· XI. The cause of the reformation underwent, in Ireland, the same vicissitudes and revolutions that had attended it in England. When Henry VIII. after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared supreme head, upon earth, of the church of England, George Brown, a native of England, and a monk of the Augustine order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of Dublin, began to act with the utmost vigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocess from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and by the influence as well as authority he had in Ireland, caused the king's supremacy to be acknowledged in that nation.¹ Henry showed soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. still farther progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of bishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in Ireland, as it had done in England.^m Mary pursued with fire

¶ ¹ The learned and pious primate Usher, in his Memoirs of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, speaks of bishop Brown in the following manner; "George Brown was a man of a cheerful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright, to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them, when he was provincial of the Augustine order in England, to make their application solely to Christ; which advice coming to the ears of Henry VIII. he became a favourite, and was made archbishop of Dublin. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of all the churches in his diocess; and caused the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the creed to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in Ireland, to embrace the reformation of the church of England." See a very curious pamphlet in the fifth volume of the Harleian Miscellany, p. 558, entitled, Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland, &c.

¶ ^m Here Dr. Mosheim has fallen into a mistake, by not distinguishing between the *designs* of the queen, which were indeed cruel, and their *execution*, which was happily and providentially prevented. This appears from a very singular and comical adventure, of which the account, as it has been copied from the papers of Richard, earl of Cork, and is to be found among the manuscripts of Sir James Ware, is as follows; "Queen Mary, having dealt severely with the protestant in England, about the latter end of her reign, signed a commission to take the same course with them in Ireland; and to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. Cole one of the commissioners. This doctor coming with the commission to Chester on his journey, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who, in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a clokebag a leather box, saying unto him, 'Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland,' calling the protestants by that title. The good woman of the house being well affected to the protestant religion, and also having a brother named John Ed-

and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived Brown and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of Elizabeth gave a new and a deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force, and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in England.^a

XII. The reformation had not been long established in Britain, when the Belgic provinces, united by a respectable confederacy, which still subsists, withdrew from their spiritual allegiance to the Roman pontiff. Philip II. king of Spain, apprehending the danger to which the religion of Rome was exposed from that spirit of liberty and independence which reigned in the inhabitants of the low countries, took the most violent measures to dispel it. For this purpose he augmented the number of the bishops, enacted the most severe and barbarous laws against all innovators in matters of religion, and erected that unjust and inhuman tribunal of the inquisition, which would intimidate and tame, as he thought, the manly spirit of an oppressed and persecuted people. But his measures, in this respect, were as unsuccessful as they were absurd; his furious and intemperate zeal for the super-

The reformation takes place in the united provinces.

monds of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time, while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the commission out, and places in lieu thereof a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards wrapt up therein, the knave of clubs being faced uppermost. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day going to the water side, wind and weather serving him, he sails toward Ireland, and landed on the 7th of October, 1558, at Dublin. Then coming to the castle, the lord Fitz Walter, being lord deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy council; who coming in after he had made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the lord deputy, who, causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone; then the lord deputy made answer, "Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while. The doctor, being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into England; and, coming to the court, obtained another commission; but staying for a wind on the water side, news came to him that the queen was dead; and thus God preserved the protestants of Ireland."

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by lord Fitz Walter on his return to England, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, whose husband's name was Mattershad, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life. See Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, or History of Ireland, &c. vol. ii. p. 308. Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 568.

^a See The Life of Dr. George Brown, archbishop of Dublin, published at London in 4to. in the year 1681, and which has been reprinted in the fifth volume of the Harleian Miscellany, No. lxxix.

stitutions of Rome accelerated their destruction, and the papal authority, which had only been in a critical state, was reduced to a desperate one, by the very steps that were designed to support it. The nobility formed themselves into an *association*, in the year 1566, with a view to procure the repeal of these tyrannical and barbarous edicts; but their solicitations and requests being treated with contempt, they resolved to obtain by force, what they hoped to have gained from clemency and justice. They addressed themselves to a free and an abused people, spurned the authority of a cruel yoke, and with an impetuosity and vehemence that were perhaps excessive, trampled upon whatever was held sacred or respectable by the church of Rome.^o To quell these tumults, a powerful army was sent from Spain, under the command of the duke of Alva, whose horrid barbarity and sanguinary proceedings kindled that long and bloody war from which the powerful republic of the United Provinces derived its origin, consistence, and grandeur. It was the heroic conduct of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, seconded by the succours of England and France, that delivered this state from the Spanish yoke. And no sooner was this deliverance obtained, than the reformed religion as it was professed in Switzerland, was established in the United Provinces; and, at the same time, a universal toleration granted to those whose religious sentiments were of a different nature, whether they retained the faith of Rome, or embraced the reformation in another form,^a provided still that they made no attempts against

^o Dr. Mosheim seems here to distinguish too little between the spirit of the nobility and that of the multitude. Nothing was more *temperate* and *decent* than the conduct of the former; and nothing could be more *tumultuous* and *irregular* than the behaviour of the latter. While the multitude destroyed churches, pulled down monasteries, broke the images used in public worship, abused the officers of the inquisition, and committed a thousand enormities, the effects of furious resentment and brutish rage; the nobility and more opulent citizens kept within the bounds of moderation and prudence. Though justly exasperated against a despotic and cruel government, they dreaded the consequences of popular tumults as the greatest of misfortunes. Nay, many of them united their counsels and forces with those of the governors, the dutchess of Parma, to restrain the seditious and turbulent spirit of the people. The prince of Orange and count Egmont, whose memories will live for ever in the grateful remembrance of the Dutch nation, and be dear to all the lovers of heroic patriotism and sacred liberty throughout the world, signalized their moderation upon this occasion, and were the chief instruments of the repose that ensued. Their opposition to the government proceeded from the dictates of humanity and justice, and not from a spirit of licentiousness and rebellion; and such was their influence and authority among the people, that had the imperious court of Spain condescended to make any reasonable concessions, the public tranquillity might have been again restored, and the affections of the people entirely regained. See *Le Clerc, Histoire des Provs. Un.* livr. i. p. 18.

^p In the year 1573.

^q It is necessary to distinguish between the toleration that was granted to the Roman catholics, and that which the *Anabaptists, Lutherans,* and other protestant sects

the authority of the government or the tranquillity of the public.'

XIII. The reformation made a considerable progress in Spain and Italy soon after the rupture between Luther and the Roman pontiff. In all the provinces of Italy, but more especially in the territories of Venice, Tuscany, and Naples, the religion of Rome lost ground, and great numbers of persons, of all ranks and orders, expressed an aversion to the papal yoke. This gave rise to violent and dangerous commotions in the kingdom of Naples in the year 1546, of which the principal authors were Bernard Ochino and Peter Martyr, who, in their public discourses from the pulpit, exhausted all the force of their irresistible eloquence in exposing the enormity of the reigning superstition. These tumults were appeased with much difficulty by the united efforts of Charles V. and his viceroy Don Pedro di Toledo.' In several places the popes put a stop to the progress of the reformation, by letting loose, upon the pretended heretics, their bloody *inquisitors*, who spread the marks of their usual barbarity through the greatest part of Italy. These formidable ministers of superstition put so many to death, and perpetrated, on the friends of religious liberty, such horrid acts of cruelty and oppression, that most of the reformists consulted their safety by a voluntary exile, while others returned to the religion of Rome, at least in external appearance. But the terrors of the inquisition, which frightened back into the profession of popery several protestants in other parts of Italy, could not penetrate into the kingdom of Naples, nor could either the authority or entreaties of the Roman pontiffs engage the Neapolitans to admit within their territories either a court of inquisition, or even visiting inquisitors.'

The progress of the reformation in Spain and Italy.

enjoyed. They were all indiscriminately excluded from the civil employments of the states; but though they were equally allowed the exercise of their religion, the latter were permitted to enjoy their religious worship in a more open and public manner than the former, from whom the churches were taken, and whose religious assemblies were confined to private conventicles, which had no external resemblance of the edifices usually set apart for divine worship.

r See a further account of this matter in Gerard Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, of which there was a French abridgment published at Amsterdam, in three volumes 12mo. in the year 1730. The original work was published in Dutch, in four volumes 4to.

s See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 108. Vita Galeoni in *Museo Helvetic*, tom. ii. p. 524.

† It was an attempt to introduce a Roman inquisitor into the city of Naples, that, properly speaking, produced the tumult and sedition which Dr. Mosheim attri-

The eyes of several persons in Spain were opened upon the truth, not only by the spirit of inquiry, which the controversies between Luther and Rome had excited in Europe, but even by those very divines, which Charles V. had brought with him into Germany to combat the pretended *heresy* of the reformers. For these Spanish doctors imbibed this heresy instead of refuting it, and propagated it more or less, on their return home, as appears evidently from several circumstances." But the *inquisition*, which could not gain any footing in the kingdom of Naples, reigned triumphant in Spain; and by racks, gibbets, stakes, and other such formidable instruments of its method of persuading, soon terrified the people back into popery, and suppressed the vehement desire they had of changing a superstitious worship for a rational religion."

butes in this section to the pulpit discourses of Oehino and Martyr; for these famous preachers, and particularly the former, taught the doctrines of the reformation with great art, prudence, and caution, and converted many secretly, without giving public offence. The emperor himself, who heard him at Naples, declared, that "he preached with such spirit and devotion as was sufficient to make the very stones weep." After Oehino's departure from Naples, the disciples he had formed gave private instructions to others, among whom were some eminent ecclesiastics and persons of distinction, who began to form congregations and conventicles. This awakened the jealousy of the viceroy Toledó, who published a severe edict against heretical books, ordered some productions of Melancthon and Erasmus to be publicly burnt, looked with a suspicious eye on all kinds of literature, suppressed several academies, which had been erected about this time by the nobility for the advancement of learning; and, having received orders from the emperor to introduce the inquisition, desired pope Paul III. to send from Rome to Naples a deputy of that formidable tribunal. It was this that excited the people to take up arms in order to defend themselves against this branch of spiritual tyranny, which the Neapolitans never were patient enough to suffer, and which, on many occasions, they had opposed with vigour and success. Hostilities ensued, which were followed by an accommodation of matters and a general pardon; while the emperor and viceroy, by this resolute opposition, were deterred from their design of introducing this despotic tribunal into the kingdom of Naples. Several other attempts were afterward made, during the reign of Philip II. III. IV. and Charles II. to establish the inquisition in Naples; but, by the jealousy and vigilance of the people, they all proved ineffectual. At length the emperor Charles VI. in the beginning of this present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes, relating to the holy faith, to be tried by any persons, except the archbishops and bishops as ordinaries. See Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, livr. xxii. sect. 2 and 3. *Modern Univ. History*, vol. xviii. p. 373, &c. edit. octavo.

u This appears from the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics that had attended Charles V. and followed him into his retirement. No sooner was the breath of that monarch out, than they were put into the inquisition, and were afterward committed to the flames, or sent to death in other forms equally terrible. Such was the fate of Augustin Casal, the emperor's preacher; of Constantine Pontius, his confessor; of the learned Egidius, whom he had nominated to the bishopric of Tortosa; of Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been confessor to king Philip and queen Mary, with above twenty more of less note. All this gave reason to presume that Charles V. died a protestant. Certain it is, that he knew well the corruptions and frauds of the church of Rome, and the grounds and reasons of the protestant faith; though business, ambition, interest, and the prejudices of education, may have blinded him for a while, until leisure, retirement, the absence of worldly temptations and the approach of death, removed the veil, and led him to wise and serious reflections. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and the book cited in the following note.

w See Geddes, his *Spanish Martyrology*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. i. p. 445.

xiv. I shall not pretend to dispute with those writers, whatever their secret intentions may be, who observe, that many unjustifiable proceedings may be charged upon some of the most eminent promoters of this great change in the state of religion. For every impartial and attentive observer of the rise and progress of the reformation will ingenuously acknowledge, that wisdom and prudence did not always attend the transactions of those that were concerned in this glorious cause; that many things were done with violence, temerity, and precipitation; and what is still worse, that several of the principal agents in this great revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passions, and views of interest, than by a zeal for the advancement of true religion. But on the other hand, the wise and candid observer of things will own, as a most evident and incontestable truth, that many things, which, when stripped of the circumstances and motives that attended them, appear to us at this time as real crimes, will be deprived of their enormity, and even acquire the aspect of noble deeds, if they be considered in one point of view with the times and places in which they were transacted, and with the frauds and crimes of the Roman pontiffs and their creatures, by which they were occasioned. But after all, in defending the cause of the reformation, we are under no obligation to defend, in all things, the moral characters of its promoters and instruments. These two objects are entirely distinct. The most just and excellent cause may be promoted with low views and from sinister motives, without losing its nature, or ceasing to be just and excellent. The true state of the question here is, whether the opposition made, by Luther and the other reformers, to the Roman pontiff, was founded on just and solid reasons; and this question is entirely independent of the virtues or vices of particular persons.¹ Let many of these persons be supposed as odious, nay, still more detestable, than they are pleased to represent them, provided the cause in which they were embarked be allowed to have been just and good.

What judgment we are to form concerning the reformation and the means by which it was produced.

¹ x The translator has added here some paragraphs, to render more palpable the important observation of the learned author.

APPENDIX I.

CONCERNING THE SPIRIT AND CONDUCT OF THE FIRST REFORMERS, AND THE CHARGE OF ENTHUSIASM, & C. FANATICISM, THAT HAS BEEN BROUGHT AGAINST THEM BY A CELEBRATED AUTHOR.

I. THE candour and impartiality with which Dr. Mosheim represents the transactions of those who were agents and instruments in bringing about the reformation, are highly laudable. He acknowledges that imprudence, passion, and even a low self-interest, mingled sometimes their rash proceedings and ignoble motives in this excellent cause: and in the very nature of things it could not be otherwise. It is one of the most inevitable consequences of the subordination and connexions of civil society, that many improper instruments and agents are set to work in all great and important revolutions, whether of a religious or political nature. When great men appear in these revolutions, they draw after them their dependents; and the unhappy effects of a party spirit are unavoidably displayed in the best cause. The subjects follow their prince; the multitude adopt the system of their leaders, without entering into its true spirit, or being judiciously attentive to the proper methods of promoting it; and thus irregular proceedings are employed in the maintenance of the truth. Thus it happened in the important revolution that delivered a great part of Europe from the ignominious yoke of the Roman pontiff. The sovereigns, the ecclesiastics, the men of weight, piety, and learning, who arose to assert the rights of human nature, the cause of genuine Christianity, and the exercise of religious liberty, came forth into the field of controversy with a multitude of admirers, dependents, and friends, whose motives and conduct cannot be entirely justified. Beside, when the eyes of whole nations were opened upon the iniquitous absurdities of popery, and upon the tyranny and insolence of the Roman pontiffs, it was scarcely possible to set bounds to the indignation of an incensed and tumultuous multitude, who are naturally prone to ex-

tremes, generally pass from blind submission to law ferocity, and too rarely distinguish between the use and abuse of their undoubted rights. In a word, many of the measures which appear to us extremely irregular in the conduct of some of the instruments of our happy reformation, will be entitled to a certain degree of indulgence if the spirit of the times, the situation of the contending parties, the barbarous provocations of popery, and the infirmities of human nature, be duly and attentively considered.

The question here is, what was the spirit which animated the first and principal reformers, who arose in the midst of darkness and despair to deliver oppressed kingdoms from the dominion of Rome, and upon what principles Luther, a Zuingle, a Calvin, a Melancthon, a Bucer embarked in the arduous cause of the reformation? The question indeed is not at all necessary to the defence of the reformation, which rests upon the strong foundation of Scripture and reason, and whose excellence is absolutely independent of the virtues of those who took the lead in promoting it. Bad men may be, and often are, embarked in the best causes; as such causes afford the most specious mask to cover mercenary views, or to disguise ambitious purposes. But, until the more than Jesuitical and ungenerous Philips resumed the trumpet of calumny,^a the voice of popery had ceased to attack the moral characters of the leading reformers.

These eminent men were indeed attacked from another quarter, and by a much more respectable writer. The truly ingenious Mr. Hume, so justly celebrated as one of the first favourites of the historical muse, has, in his History of England, and more especially in the History of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, represented the character and temper of the first reformers in a point of view, which undoubtedly shows, that he had not considered them with that close and impartial attention that ought always to precede personal reflections. He has laid it down as a principle, that *superstition and enthusiasm are two species of religion that stand in diametrical opposition to each other* and seems to establish it as a fact, that the *former* is the genius of popery, and the *latter* the characteristic

^a See the various answers that were made to this biographer by the ingenious Mr. Fye, the learned Dr. Neve, and other commendable writers, who have appeared in this controversy.

reformation. Both the principle and its application must appear extremely singular; and three sorts of persons must be more especially surprised at it.

First, persons of a philosophical turn, who are accustomed to study human nature, and to describe with precision both its regular and eccentric movements, must be surprised to see superstition and fanaticism represented as opposite and jarring qualities. They have been seen often together, holding with each other a most friendly correspondence; and indeed, if we consider their nature and their essential characters, their union will appear not only possible, but in some cases natural, if not necessary. *Superstition*, which consists in *false* and *object* notions of the Deity, in the gloomy and groundless *fears* of invisible beings, and in the absurd rites that these notions and these fears naturally produce, is certainly at the root of various branches of fanaticism. For what is *fanaticism* but the visions, illuminations, impulses, and dreams of an overheated fancy, converted into rules of faith, hope, worship, and practice? This fanaticism, as it springs up in a melancholy or a cheerful complexion, assumes a variety of aspects, and its morose and gloomy forms are certainly most congenial with superstition, in its proper sense. It was probably this consideration that led the author of the article *fanaticism*, in the famous *Dictionnaire Encyclopedique*, published at Paris, to define it as "a blind and passionate zeal, which ariseth from *superstitious* opinions, and leads its votaries to commit ridiculous, unjust, and cruel actions, not only without shame, but even with certain internal feelings of joy and comfort;" from which the author concludes, that "*fanaticism* is really nothing more than *superstition* set in motion." This definition unites perhaps too closely these two kinds of *false* religion, whose enormities have furnished very ill-grounded pretexts for discrediting and misrepresenting the *true*. It is however

b I use the word *fanaticism* here, instead of *enthusiasm*, to prevent all ambiguity; because, as shall be shown presently, Mr. Hume takes *enthusiasm* in its worst sense, when he applies it to the reformers; and in that sense it is not only equivalent to, but is perfectly synonymous with fanaticism. Beside, this latter term is used indiscriminately with enthusiasm, by this celebrated historian, in characterizing the reformation.

c The words of the original are, "Le fanatisme est un zele aveugle et passionne, qui nait des opinions superstitieuses, et fait commettre des actions ridicules, injustes et cruelles, non seulement sans honte, mais avec une sorte de joye et de consolation. Le fanatisme donc n'est, que la superstition mise en mouvement."

a testimony, from one of the pretended oracles of modern philosophy, in favour of the compatibility of fanaticism with superstition. These two principles are evidently distinct; because superstition is, generally speaking, the effect of ignorance, or of a judgment perverted by a sour and splenetic temper; whereas fanaticism is the offspring of an inflamed imagination, and may exist where there is no superstition, i. e. no false or gloomy notions of the Divinity. But though distinct, they are not opposite principles; on the contrary, they lend, on many occasions, mutual strength and assistance to each other.

If persons accustomed to philosophical precision will not relish the maxim of the celebrated writer which I have been now considering, so neither in the second place can those who are versed in ecclesiastical history look upon superstition as a more predominant characteristic of popery than fanaticism; and yet this is a leading idea, which is not only visible in many parts of this author's excellent history, but appears to be the basis of all the reflections he employs, and of all the epithets he uses, in his speculations upon the Romish religion.

And nevertheless it is manifest, that the multitudes of fanatics, which arose in the church of Rome before the reformation, are truly innumerable; and the operations of fanaticism in that church were, at least, as visible and frequent, as the restless workings of superstition; they went, in short, hand in hand, and united their visions and their terrors in the support of the papacy. It is more especially well known, that the greatest part of the monastic establishment, that alternately insulted the benignity of Providence by their austerities, and abused it by their licentious luxury, were originally founded in consequence of pretended illuminations, miraculous dreams, and such like wild delusions of an overheated fancy. Whenever a new doctrine was to be established, that could augment the authority of the pope, or fill the coffers of the clergy; whenever a new convent was to be erected, there was always a vision or a miracle ready to facilitate the business; nor must it be imagined, that forgery and imposture were the only agents in this matter; by no means; imposture there was, and it was frequently employed; but impostors made use of fanatics; and in return fanatics found impostors, who spread abroad their fame, and turned their visions to profit.

Were I to recount with the utmost simplicity, without the smallest addition of ludicrous embellishment, the ecstasies, visions, seraphic amours, celestial apparitions, that are said to have shed such an odour of sanctity upon the male and female saints of the Romish church; were I to pass in review the famous *conformities* of St. Francis, the illuminations of St. Ignatius, and the enormous cloud of fanatical witnesses that have dishonoured humanity in bearing testimony to popery, this dissertation would become a voluminous history. Let the reader cast an eye upon Dr. Mosheim's account of those ages that more immediately preceded the reformation, and he will see what a number of sects, purely fanatical, arose in the bosom of the Romish church.

But this is not all; for it must be carefully observed, that even those extravagant fanatics, who produced such disorders in Germany, about the commencement of the reformation, were nursed in the bosom of popery, were professed papists before they adopted the cause of Luther, nay, many of them passed directly from popery to fanaticism without even entering into the outward profession of Lutheranism. It is also to be observed, that beside the fanatics, who exposed themselves to the contempt of the wise upon the public theatre of popery, Seckendorf speaks of a sect that merits this denomination, which had spread in the Netherlands, before Luther raised his voice against popery, and whose members were engaged, by the terror of penal laws, to dissemble their sentiments; nay, even affected a devout compliance with the external rites of the established worship, until religious liberty, introduced by the reformation, encouraged them to pull off the mask, and propagate their opinions, several of which were licentious and profane.

But, in the third place, the friends of the reformation must naturally be both surprised and displeased to find enthusiasm, or fanaticism, laid down by Mr. Hume as the character and spirit of its founders and abettors, without any exception or distinction made in favour of any one of the reformers. That fanaticism was visible in the conduct and spirit of many who embraced the reformation, is a fact which I do not pretend to deny; and it may be worthy of the reader's curiosity to consider, for a moment, how this came to pass. That religious liberty which the

reformation introduced and granted, in consequence of its essential principles, indiscriminately to all, to learned and unlearned, rendered this eruption of enthusiasm inevitable. It is one of the imperfections annexed to all human things, that our best blessings have their inconveniences, or at least are susceptible of abuse. As liberty is a natural right, but not a discerning principle, it could not open the door to truth without letting error and delusion come in along with it. If reason came forth with dignity, when delivered from the despotism of authority, and the blind servitude of implicit faith; imagination also set free, and less able to bear the prosperous change, came forth likewise, but with a different aspect, and exposed to view the reveries it had been long obliged to conceal.

Thus many fanatical phantoms were exhibited, which neither arose from the spirit of the reformation, nor from the principles of the reformers, but which had been engendered in the bosom of popery, and which the fostering rays of liberty had disclosed; similar in this, to the enlivening beams of the sun, which fructifies indiscriminately the salutary plant in the well-cultivated ground, and the noxious weed in a rank and neglected soil. And as the reformation had not such miraculous influence, not to speak of the imperfection that attended its infancy, and that has not yet entirely been removed from its more advanced stages, as to cure human nature of its infirmities and follies, to convert irregular passions into regular principles, or to turn men into angels before the time, it has still left the field open, both for fanaticism and superstition to sow their tares among the good seed; and this will probably be the case until the end of the world. It is here that we must seek for the true cause of all that condemnable enthusiasm that has dishonoured the Christian name, and often troubled the order of civil society, at different periods of time since the reformation; and for which the reformation is no more responsible, than a free government is for the weakness or corruption of those who abuse its lenity and indulgence. The reformation established the sacred and unalienable right of private judgment; but it could not hinder the private judgment of many from being wild and extravagant.

The reformation then, which the multiplied enormities of popery rendered so necessary, must be always distinguished from the abuses that might be, and were often

made of the liberty it introduced. If you ask indeed, what was the temper and spirit of the first heralds of this happy reformation? Mr. Hume will tell you that they were universally inflamed with the highest enthusiasm. This assertion, if taken singly, and not compared with other passages relating to the reformers, might be understood in a sense consistent with truth, nay, even honourable to the character of these eminent men. For, if by enthusiasm we understand that spirit of ardour, intrepidity, and generous zeal, which leads men to brave the most formidable obstacles and dangers in defence of a cause, whose excellence and importance had made a deep impression upon their minds; the first reformers will be allowed by their warmest friends to have been enthusiasts. This species of enthusiasm is a noble affection, when fitly placed, and wisely exerted. It is this generous sensibility, this ardent feeling of the great and the excellent, that forms heroes and patriots; and without it, nothing difficult and arduous, that is attended with danger or prejudice to our temporal interests, can either be attempted with vigour, or executed with success. Nay, had this ingenious writer observed that the ardour of the first reformers was more or less violent, that it was more or less blended with the warmth and vivacity of human passions, candour would be obliged to avow the charge.

But it is not in any of these points of view, that our eminent historian considers the spirit, temper, and enthusiasm of the first reformers. The enthusiasm he attributes to them is fanaticism in its worst sense. He speaks indeed of the "inflexible intrepidity with which they braved dangers, torments, and even death itself;" but he calls them the *fanatical and enraged reformers*; he indicates, through the whole course of his history, fanaticism as the characteristic of the protestant religion and its glorious founders; the terms protestant fanaticism, fanatical churches, are interspersed in various parts of this work; and we never meet with the least appearance of a distinction between the rational and enthusiastic, the wise and indiscreet friends of the reformation. In short, we find a phraseology constantly employed upon this subject, which discovers an intention to confound protestantism with enthusiasm, and to make reformers and fanatics synonymous terms. We are told, that while absurd rites and burdensome superstitions reigned in the Romish

church, the reformers were "thrown, by a spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion;" and in another place, that these latter "placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and ecstasy." It would be endless to quote the passages in which this representation of things is repeated in a great variety of phrases, and artfully insinuated into the mind of the reader, by dexterous strokes of a seducing pencil; which, though scattered here and there, yet gradually unite their influence on the imagination of an uninstructed and unwary reader, and form imperceptibly an unfavourable impression of that great event, to which we owe at this day our civil and religious liberty, and our deliverance from a yoke of superstitious and barbarous despotism. Protestants, in all ages and places, are stigmatized by Mr. Hume with very dishonourable titles; and it struck me particularly to see even the generous opposers of the Spanish inquisition in Holland, whose proceedings were so moderate, and whose complaints were so humble, until the barbarous yoke of superstition and tyranny became intolerable; it struck me, I say, to see these generous patriots branded with the general character of *bigots*. This is certainly a severe appellation; and were it applied with much more equity than it is, I think it would still come with an ill grace from a lover of freedom, from a man who lives and writes with security under the auspicious shade of that very liberty which the reformation introduced, and for which the Belgic heroes, or *bigots*, if we must call them so, shed their blood. I observe with pain, that the phraseology employed perpetually by Mr. Hume, on similar occasions, seems to discover a keen dislike of every opposition made to power in favour of the reformation. Nay, upon the too general principle which this eminent writer has diffused through his history, we shall be obliged to brand with the opprobrious mark of fanaticism, those generous friends of civil and religious liberty, who, in the revolution in 1688, opposed the measures of a popish prince and an arbitrary government; and to rank the Burnets, Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, and other immortal ornaments of the protestant name, among the enthusiastic tribe; it is a question, whether even a Boyle, a Newton, or a Locke, will escape a censure which is lavished without mercy and without distinction. But my present business is with the first reformers, and to them I return.

Those who more especially merit that title were Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Melancthon, Bucer, Martyr, Bullinger, Beza, Oecolampadius, and others. Now these were *all* men of learning, who came forth into the field of controversy, in which the fate of future ages, with respect to liberty, was to be decided, with a kind of arms that did not at all give them the aspect of persons agitated by the impulse, or seduced by the delusions of fanaticism. They pretended not to be called to the work they undertook by visions, or internal illuminations and impulses; they never attempted to work miracles, nor pleaded a divine commission; they taught no new religion, nor laid claim to any extraordinary vocation; they respected government, practised and taught submission to civil rulers, and desired only the liberty of that conscience which God has made free, and which ceases to be conscience if it be not free. They maintained, that the faith of Christians was to be determined by the word of God alone; they had recourse to reason and argument, to the rules of sound criticism, and to the authority and light of history. They translated the Scriptures into the popular languages of different countries, and appealed to them as the only test of religious truth. They exhorted Christians to judge for themselves, to search the Scriptures, to break asunder the bonds of ignorant prejudice and lawless authority, and to assert that liberty of conscience to which they had an unalienable right as reasonable beings. Mr. Hume himself acknowledges, that they offered to submit "all religious doctrines to private judgment, and exhorted every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him." In short, it was their great and avowed purpose to oppose the gross corruptions and the spiritual tyranny of Rome,^d of which Mr. Hume himself complains with a just indignation, and which he censures in as keen and vehement terms as those which were used by Luther and Calvin in their warmest moments.

I have already insinuated, and I acknowledge it here again, that the zeal of the reformers was sometimes intemperate; but I cannot think this circumstance sufficient to justify the aspersion of *fanaticism*, which is cast both on the spirit of the reformation, and the principal agents concern-

^d See the sensible and judicious Letters on Mr. Hume's History of Great Britain, such is the title, that were published at Edinburgh in the year 1756; and in which some points, which I have barely mentioned here, are enlarged upon, and illustrated, in an ample and satisfactory manner.

ed in it. A man may be over zealous in the advancement of what he supposes to be the true religion, without being entitled to the denomination of a *fanatic*, unless we depart from the usual sense of this word, which is often enough employed to have acquired, before this time, a determinate signification. The intemperate zeal of the reformers was the result of that ardour, which takes place in all divisions and parties that are founded upon objects of real or supposed importance; and it may be affirmed, that, in such circumstances, the most generous minds, filled with a persuasion of the goodness of their end, and of the uprightness of their intentions, are the most liable to transgress the exact bounds of moderation, and to adopt measures which, in the calm hour of deliberate reflection, they themselves would not approve. In all great divisions, the warmth of natural temper, the provocations of unjust and violent opposition, a spirit of sympathy which connects, in some cases, the most dissimilar characters, renders the mild violent, and the phlegmatic warm; nay, frequently the pride of conquest, which mingles itself imperceptibly with the best principles and the most generous views, all these produce or nourish an intemperate zeal; and this zeal is, in some cases, almost inevitable. On the other hand, it may be suspected that some writers, and Mr. Hume among others, may have given too high colours to their descriptions of this intemperate zeal. There is a passage of Sir Robert Cotton that has much meaning, "most men," says he, "grew to be frozen in zeal and benumbed, so that who-soever pretended a little spark of earnestness, he seemed no less than red fire hot, in comparison of the other."

Nothing can be more foreign from my temper and sentiments than to plead the cause of an excessive zeal; more especially every kind of zeal that approaches to a spirit of intolerance and persecution ought to be regarded with aversion and horror by all who have at heart the interest of genuine Christianity, and the happiness of civil society. There may be, nevertheless, cases in which a zeal, not that breathes a spirit of persecution, but that mounts to a certain degree of intemperance, may be not only inevitable, but useful; nay, not only useful but necessary. This assertion I advance almost against my will, because it is susceptible of great and dangerous abuse; the assertion however is true, though the cases must be singularly important

and desperate to which such zeal may be applied. It has been observed, that the reformation was one of these cases, and all things attentively considered, the observation appears to be entirely just; and the violence of expression and vehement measures employed by some of the reformers, *might have been*, I do not say that they *really were*, as much the effect of provident reflection, as of natural fervour and resentment. To a calculating head, which considered closely, in these times of corruption and darkness, the strength of the court of Rome, the luxury and despotism of the pontiffs, the ignorance and licentiousness of the clergy, the superstition and stupidity of the people; in a word, the deep root which the papacy had gained through all these circumstances combined, what was the first thought that must naturally have occurred? No doubt, the improbability that cool philosophy, dispassionate reason, and affectionate remonstrances would ever triumph over these multiplied and various supports of popery. And if a calculating head must have judged in this manner, a generous heart, which considered the blessings that must arise upon mankind with religious liberty and a reformation of the church, would naturally be excited to apply even a violent remedy, if that were necessary, to remove such a desperate and horrible disease. It would really seem that Luther acted on such a view of things. He began mildly, and did not employ the fire of his zeal, before he saw that it was essential to the success of his cause. Whoever looks into Dr. Mosheim's history, or any other impartial account of the XVIth century, will find that Luther's opposition to the infamous traffic of indulgences was carried on at first in the most submissive strain, by humble remonstrances addressed to the pope, and the most eminent prelates of the church. These remonstrances were answered, not only by the despotic voice of authority, but also by opprobrious invectives, perfidious plots against his person, and the terror of penal laws. Even under these he maintained his tranquillity; and his conduct at the famous diet of Worms, though resolute and steady, was nevertheless both respectful and modest. But when all gentle measures proved ineffectual, then indeed he acted with redoubled vigour, and added a new degree of warmth and impetuosity to his zeal; and I repeat it, reflection might have dictated those animated proceedings, which were owing perhaps merely to his re-

sentiment, and the natural warmth of his temper inflamed by opposition. Certain it is, at least, that neither the elegant satires of Erasmus, had he even been a friend to the cause of liberty, nor the timid remonstrances of the gentle Melancthon, who was really such, would ever have been sufficient to bring about a reformation of the church. The former made many *laugh*, the latter made some reason; but neither of the two could make them act, or set them in motion. In such a crisis, bold speech and ardent resolution were necessary to produce that happy change in the face of religion, which has crowned with inestimable blessings one part of Europe, and has been productive of many advantages even to the other, which censures it.

As to Calvin, every one who has any acquaintance with history, knows how he set out in promoting the reformation. It was by a work composed with a classic elegance of style; and which, though tinged with the scholastic theology of the times, breathes an uncommon spirit of good sense and moderation. This work was the Institutes of the Christian Religion, in which the learned writer shows that the doctrine of the reformers was founded in Scripture and reason. Nay, one of the designs of this book was to show, that the reformers ought not to be confounded with certain fanatics, who, about the time of the reformation, sprung from the bosom of the church of Rome, and excited tumults and commotions in several places. The French monarch, Francis I. to cover with a specious pretext his barbarous persecution of the friends of the reformation, and to prevent the resentment of the protestants in Germany, with whom it was his interest to be on good terms, alleged, that his severity fell only upon a sect of enthusiasts, who, under the title of Anabaptists, substituted their visions in the place of the doctrines and declarations of the Holy Scriptures. To vindicate the reformers from this reproach, Calvin wrote the book now under consideration; and though the theology that reigns in it be chargeable with some defects, yet it is as remote from the spirit and complexion of fanaticism, as any thing can be. Nor indeed is this spirit visible in any of the writings of Calvin that I have perused. His commentary upon the Old and New Testament is a production that will always be esteemed, on account of its elegant simplicity, and the evident marks it bears of an unpreju-

diced and impartial inquiry into the plain sense of the sacred writings, and of sagacity and penetration in the investigation of it.

If we were to pass in review the writings of the other eminent reformers, whose names have been already mentioned, we should find abundant matter to justify them in the same respect. They were men of letters, nay, several of them men of taste for the age in which they lived ; they cultivated the study of languages, history, and criticism, and applied themselves with indefatigable industry to these studies, which of all others are the least adapted to excite or nourish a spirit of fanaticism. They had indeed their errors and prejudices ; nor perhaps were they few in number ; but who is free from the same charge ? We have ours too, though they may turn on a different set of objects. Their theology savoured somewhat of the pedantry and jargon of the schools ; how could it be otherwise, considering the dismal state of philosophy at that period ? The advantages we enjoy above them, give them at least a title to our candour and indulgence ; perhaps to our gratitude, as the instruments who prepared the way through which these advantages have been conveyed to us. To conclude ; let us regret their infirmities, let us reject their errors ; let us even condemn any instances of ill-judged severity and violence they may have been chargeable with ; but let us never forget, that, through perils and obstacles almost insurmountable, they open the path to that religious liberty, which we cannot too highly esteem, nor be too careful to improve to rational and worthy purposes.

SECTION II.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

I. **THE Spaniards and Portuguese, if we may give credit to their historians, exerted themselves with the greatest vigour and success, in the propagation of the gospel among the darkened nations.*** And it must indeed be confessed, that they communicated some notions, such as they were, of the Christian religion to the inhabitants of America, to those parts of Africa where they carried their arms, and to the islands and maritime provinces of Asia, which they reduced under their dominion. It is also true, that considerable numbers of these savage people, who had hitherto lived, either under the bondage of the most extravagant superstitions, or in a total ignorance of any object of religious worship, embraced, at least in outward appearance, the doctrines of the gospel. But when we consider the methods of conversion that were employed by the Spanish missionaries among these wretched nations, the barbarous laws and inhuman tortures that were used to force them into the profession of Christianity; when it is considered farther, that the denomination of Christians was conferred upon such of those poor wretches as discovered a blind and excessive veneration for their stupid instructors, and were able, by certain gestures, and the repetition of a little jargon, to perform a few superstitious rites and ceremonies; then, instead of rejoicing at, we shall be tempted to lament such a propagation of the gospel, and to behold the labours of such miserable apostles with indignation and contempt. Such is the judgment passed upon these missionaries, not only by those whom the church of Rome places in the list of *heretics*, but also

The borders of the church enlarged.

* See Jos. Franc. Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquetes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 420. All the relations given by this eloquent writer, who was afterward created bishop of Sisteron, are taken from the Portuguese historians. The other writers who have cast light upon this part of ecclesiastical history, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Sahlar. Evangelii toti orbi exortans*, cap. 42, 43, 48, and 49.

by many of the most pious and eminent of her own doctors in France, Germany, Spain, and Italy.

II. When the Roman pontiffs saw their ambition checked by the progress of the reformation, which deprived them of a great part of their spiritual dominion in Europe, they turned their lordly views toward the other parts of the globe, and became more solicitous than ever about the propagation of the gospel among the nations that lay yet involved in the darkness of paganism. This they considered as the best method of making amends for the loss they had sustained in Europe, and the most specious pretext for assuming to themselves, with some appearance of justice, the title of heads or parents of the universal church. The famous society, which, in the year 1540, took the denomination of *Jesuits*, or the *company of Jesus*, seemed every way proper to assist the court of Rome in the execution of this extensive design. And accordingly, from their first rise, this peculiar charge was given them, that they should form a certain number of their order for the propagation of Christianity among the unenlightened nations, and that these missionaries should be at the absolute disposal of the Roman pontiff, and always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to whatever part of the world he should fix for the exercise of their ministry.^b The many histories and relations which mention the labours, perils, and exploits of that prodigious number of Jesuits, who were employed in the conversion of the African, American, and Indian infidels, abundantly show with what fidelity and zeal the members of this society executed the orders of the Roman pontiffs.^c

The zeal of the Roman pontiffs in the propagation of Christianity.

^b When the fanatic Ignatius first solicited the confirmation of his order by the Roman pontiff, Paul III. the learned and worthy cardinal Guidiccioni opposed his request with great vehemence. But this opposition was vanquished by the dexterity of Ignatius, who, changing the articles of his institution, in which he had promised obedience to the pope with certain restrictions, turned it in such a manner as to bind his order by a solemn vow of implicit, blind, and unlimited submission and obedience to the Roman pontiff. This change produced the desired effect, and made the popes look upon the Jesuits as the chief support of their authority; and hence the zeal which Rome has ever shown for that order, and that even at present, when their secret enormities have been brought to light, and procured the suppression of their society in Portugal and in France, where their power was so extensive. It is indeed remarkable, that Ignatius and his company, in the very same charter of their order in which they declare their implicit and blind allegiance to the court of Rome, promise a like implicit and unlimited allegiance to the general of their society, notwithstanding the impossibility of serving two absolute masters, whose commands may be often contradictory. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, printed at Utrecht in 1741, tom. i. p. 77, &c.

^c See Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxiii. p. 560.

And their labours would have undoubtedly crowned with immortal glory, had it not appeared evident, the most authentic records, that the greatest part of new apostles had more in view than promoting the tedious views of Rome, and the advancing of the interest of their own society, than the propagation of the Christian religion, or the honour of its divine Author.^d It may be affirmed, from records of the highest credit and authority, that the inquisition erected by the Jesuits at Goa, and the penal laws whose terrors they employed so freely to oppose the propagation of the gospel, contributed much more to their arguments and exhortations, which were but sparingly used, to engage the Indians to embrace Christianity. The converting zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans, which had, for a long time, been not only cooled, but almost totally extinguished, was animated anew by the example of the Jesuits. And several other religious orders, which slumbered in their cells, were roused from their lethargy if not by a principle of envy, at least by a spirit of emulation.

III. Of all the Jesuits who distinguished themselves by their zealous and laborious attempts to extend the limits of the church, none acquired a more shining reputation than Francis Xavier, who is commonly called the *apostle of the Indians*.^e A daunted resolution, and no small degree of genius and sagacity, rendered this famous missionary one of the most predestined persons that could be employed in such an arduous task. Accordingly, in the year 1522, he set sail from the Portuguese settlements in India, and, in a short space of time, spread the knowledge of the Christian, or, to more properly, of the popish religion, over a great part of the continent, and in several of the islands of the remote region. From thence, in the year 1529, he sailed into Japan, and laid there with amazing rapidity

^d B. Christ. Eberh. Weismanni *Oratio de virtutibus et vitiis Mission. Romanorum* Academ. p. 286.

^e See the *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 171, 207.

^f The late king of Portugal obtained for Xavier, or rather for his memory, the title of Protector of the Indies, from Benedict XIV. in the year 1747. See the *Relationes et Curiositates des Missions Etrangeres*, tom. xliii. *Præf.* p. 38. The body of the sainted missionary lies interred at Goa, where it is worshipped with the highest degree of devotion. There is also a magnificent church at Cotati dedicated to Xavier, where the inhabitants of that Portuguese settlement pay the most devout tribute of affection and worship. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. tom. iii. p. 85, 89, 203; tom. iv. p. 48; tom. vi. p. 78.

the foundations of the famous church which flourished, during so many years, in that vast empire. His indefatigable zeal prompted him to attempt the conversion of the Chinese; and with this view he embarked for that extensive and powerful kingdom, in sight of which he ended his days in the year 1552.^a After his death, other members of his insinuating order penetrated into China. The chief of these was Matthew Ricci, an Italian, who, by his skill in the mathematics, became so acceptable to the Chinese nobility, and even to their emperor, that he obtained, both for himself and his associates, the liberty of explaining to the people the doctrines of the gospel.^b This famous missionary may therefore be considered as the parent and founder of the Christian churches, which, though often dispersed and tossed to and fro by the storms of persecution, subsist nevertheless still in China.^c

iv. The jurisdiction and territories of those princes, who had thrown off the papal yoke, being confined within the limits of Europe, the churches that were under their protection could contribute but little to the propagation of the gospel in those distant regions of which we have been speaking. It is however recorded in history, that, in the year 1556, fourteen protestant missionaries were sent from Geneva to convert the Americans,^d though it is not well known who was the promoter of this pious design, nor with what success it was carried into execution. The English also, who, toward the conclusion of this century, sent colonies into the northern parts of America, transplanted with them the reformed religion, which they themselves professed; and, as their possessions were extended and multiplied from time to time, their religion also made a considerable progress among that rough and uncivilized people.

The attempts of the protestants toward the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts.

^a See the writers enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii*, &c. cap. xxxix. p. 677. Add to these, Laftau, *Histoire des Decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. iii. p. 419, 424; tom. iv. p. 63, 102. *Histoire de la Campagne de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 92.

^b B. Du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 84, edit. Holland.

^c It appears, however, that before the arrival of Ricci in China, some of the Dominicans had already been there, though to little purpose. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1364.

^d Picteti *Oratio de Trophæi, Christi*, in *Orat. ejus*, p. 570. There is no doubt but that the doctors here mentioned were those which the illustrious admiral Coligni invited into France, when, in the year 1555, he had formed the project of sending a colony of Protestants into Brazil and America. See Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tom. i. p. 22.

We learn, moreover, that about this time the Swedes exerted their religious zeal in converting to Christianity many of the inhabitants of Finland and Lapland, of whom a considerable number had hitherto retained the impious and extravagant superstitions of their pagan ancestors.

v. It does not appear, from authentic records of history, that the sword of persecution was drawn against the gospel, or any public opposition made to the progress of Christianity during this century. ^{The enemies of Christianity.} And it would betray a great ignorance, both of the situation, opinions, and maxims of the Turks, to imagine that the war they waged against the Christians was carried on upon religious principles, or with a view to maintain and promote the doctrines of Mahomet. On the other hand, it is certain that there lay concealed, in different parts of Europe, several persons who entertained a virulent enmity against religion in general, and, in a more especial manner, against the religion of the gospel; and who, both in their writings and in private conversation, sowed the seeds of impiety and error, and instilled their odious principles into weak, unsteady, and credulous minds. In this pernicious and unhappy class are generally placed several of the peripatetic philosophers, who adorned Italy by their erudition, and particularly Pomponatius; several French wits and philosophers, such as John Bodin, Rabelais, Montagne, Bonaventure des Perieres, Dolet, Charron; several Italians, at whose head appears the Roman pontiff Leo X. followed by Peter Bembo, Politian, Jordano Bruno, Ochino; and some Germans, such as Theophrastus Paracelsus, Nicholas Taurellus, and others.¹ It is even reported, that in certain provinces of France and Italy, schools were erected, from whence whole swarms of these impious doctors soon issued out to deceive the simple and unwary. This accusation will not be rejected in the lump, by such as are acquainted with the spirit and genius of these times; nor can it be said with truth, that all the persons charged with this heavy reproach were entirely guiltless. It is nevertheless certain, on the other hand, that, upon an accurate and impartial examination of this matter, it will appear that the accusation brought against many of them is entirely groundless; and that, with respect to several

¹ See Reimanni *Historia Atheismi et Atheorum*. Hildes. 1725, in 8vo. Jo. Franc. Buddeus, *Thesibus de Atheismo et Superstitione* cap. i. *Dictionnaire de Bayle*, passim.

who may be worthy of censure in a certain degree, their errors are less pernicious and criminal, than they are uncharitably or rashly represented to be.

VI. It is at the same time evident, that, in this century, the arts and sciences were carried to a degree of perfection unknown to preceding ages; and from this happy renovation of learning, the European churches derived the most signal and inestimable advantages, which they also transmitted to the most remote and distant nations. The benign influence of true science, and its tendency to improve both the form of religion and the institutions of civil policy, were perceived by many of the states and princes of Europe. Hence large sums were expended, and great zeal and industry employed, in promoting the progress of knowledge, by founding and encouraging literary societies, by protecting and exciting a spirit of emulation among men of genius, and by annexing distinguished honours and advantages to the culture of the sciences. And it is particularly worthy of observation, that this was the period when the wise and salutary law, which excludes ignorant and illiterate persons from the sacred functions of the Christian ministry, acquired at length that force which it still retains in the greatest part of the Christian world. There still remained, however, some seeds of that ancient discord between religion and philosophy, that had been sown and fomented by ignorance and fanaticism; and there were found, both among the friends and enemies of the reformation, several well-meaning, but inconsiderate men, who, in spite of common sense, maintained with more vehemence and animosity than ever, that vital religion and piety could never flourish until it was totally separated from learning and science, and nourished by the holy simplicity that reigned in the primitive ages of the church.


VII. The first rank in the literary world was now held by those who consecrated their studious hours and their critical sagacity to the publication, correction, and illustration of the most famous Greek and Latin authors of ancient times, to the study of antiquity and the languages, and to the study of eloquence and poetry. We see, by the productions of this age, that yet remain, and continue to excite the admiration of the learned, that in all the provinces of Europe these branches

The public advantages that arose from the restoration of letters.

The flourishing state of philosophy.

of literature were cultivated with a kind of enthusiasm, by such as were most distinguished by their taste and genius; nay, what is still more extraordinary, and perhaps not a little extravagant, the welfare of the church, and the prosperity of the state, were supposed to depend upon the improvement of these branches of erudition, which were considered as the very essence of true and solid knowledge. If such encomiums were swelled beyond the bounds of truth and wisdom by enthusiastical philologists, it is nevertheless certain, that the species of learning, here under consideration, was of the highest importance, as it opened the way that led to the treasures of solid wisdom, to the improvement of genius, and thus undoubtedly contributed, in a great measure, to deliver both reason and religion from the prepossessions of ignorance, and the servitude of superstition.^m And therefore we ought not to be surprised, when we meet with persons who exaggerate the merit, and dwell beyond measure on the praises of those who were our first guides from the regions of darkness and error, into the luminous paths of evidence and truth.

VIII. Though the lovers of philology and belles lettres were much superior in number to those who turned their principal views to the study of philosophy, yet the latter were far from being contemptible either in point of number or capacity. The state of philosophy. The philosophers were divided into two classes, of which the one was wholly absorbed in contemplation, while the other was employed in the investigation of truth, and endeavoured by experience, as well as by reasoning, to trace out the laws and operations of nature. The former were subdivided into two sects, of which the one followed certain leaders, while the other, unrestrained by the dictates of authority, struck out a new way for themselves, following freely their own

 In Many vehement debates have been carried on concerning the respective merit of literature and philosophy. But these debates are almost as absurd, as a comparison that should be made between the means and the end, the instrument and its effect. Literature is the key by which we often open the treasures of wisdom, both human and divine. But as the sordid miser converts absurdly the means into an end, and acquires a passion for the shining metal, considered abstractedly from the purposes it was designed to serve, so the pedantic philologists erects literature into an independent science, and contemns the divine treasures of philosophy, which it was designed both to discover and to illustrate. Hence that wretched tribe of *word catchers that live on syllables*, as Pope, I think, happily expresses their tasteless pursuits, who make the republic of letters groan under their commentaries, annotations, various readings, &c. and forget that the knowledge of words and languages was intended to lead us to the improvement of the mind and to the knowledge of things.

inventions. Those who submitted to the direction of certain philosophical guides, enlisted themselves under the standards of Aristotle, or those of Plato, who continued still to have many admirers, especially in Italy. Nor were the followers of Aristotle agreed among themselves; they all acknowledged the Stagirite as their chief, but they followed him through very different paths. Some were for retaining the ancient method of proceeding in philosophical pursuits, which their doctors falsely called the peripatetic system. Others pleaded for the pure and unmixed philosophy of Aristotle, and recommended the writings of that Grecian sage as the source of wisdom, and as the system which was most adapted, when properly illustrated and explained, to the instruction of youth. A third sort of Aristotelians, who differed equally from those now mentioned, and of whom the celebrated Melancthon was the chief, pursued another method. They extracted the marrow out of the lucubrations of Aristotle, illustrated it by the aids of genuine literature and the rules of good criticism, and corrected it by the dictates of right reason and the doctrines and principles of true religion.

Of those who struck out a path to themselves in the regions of philosophy, without any regard to that which had been opened by ancient sages, and pursued by their followers, Cardan,ⁿ Telesius,^o and

ⁿ Cardan was a man of a bold, irregular, enterprising genius, who by a wild imagination, was led into the study of astrology and magic, by which he excited the astonishment and attracted the veneration of the multitude, while his real merit as a philosopher was little known. He was accused of Atheism, but seems much rather chargeable with superstition. His life and character was an amazing mixture of wisdom and folly, and nothing can give a more unfavourable idea of his temper and principles, than the hideous portrait he has drawn of himself in his book *De genitiveris*. His knowledge of physic and mathematics was considerable, and his notions of natural philosophy may be seen in his famous book *De subtilitate et veritate rerum*, in which some important truths and discoveries are mixed with the most fanatical visions, and the most extravagant and delirious effusions of mystical folly. See the ample and judicious account that has been given of the character and philosophy of this writer, whose voyage to England and Scotland is well known, by the learned Brucker, in his *Historia Critica, Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part ii. lib. i. cap. iii.

^o This philosopher, less known than the former, was born A. D. 1508, at Cosensa in the kingdom of Naples, and was the restorer of the philosophy formerly taught by Parmenides, upon whose principles he built a new system, or at least a system which appeared new, by the elegant connexion which Telesius gave to its various parts, and the arguments he used to maintain and support it against the philosophy of Aristotle. It was the vague and uncertain method of reasoning, which the Stagirite had introduced into natural philosophy, that engaged Telesius to compose his famous book *De principiis rerum naturalium*. In this work, after having refuted the visionary principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, he substitutes in their place such as are immediately derived from the testimony of the senses, even *heat and cold*, from which, like Parmenides, he de-

Campanella,^r hold deservedly the first rank, as they were undoubtedly men of superior genius, though too much addicted to the suggestions and visions of an irregular fancy. To these may be added Peter Ramus, that subtle and ingenious French philosopher, who, by attempting to substitute in the place of Aristotle's logic, a method of reasoning more adapted to the use of rhetoric and the improvement of eloquence, excited such a terrible uproar in the Gallic schools. Nor must we omit here the mention of Theophrastus Paracelsus, who, by an assiduous observation of nature, by a great number of experiments indefatigably repeated, and by applying the penetrating force of fire^a to discover the first principles, or elements of bodies, endeavoured to cast new light and evidence on the important science of natural philosophy. As the researches of this industrious inquirer into nature excited the admiration of all, his example was con-

duces the nature, origin, qualities, and changes of all material beings. To these two principles he adds a third, viz. matter, and on these three builds, with dexterity enough, his physical system; for a part of which he seems also to have been indebted to a book of Plutarch, *De primo frigido*. It will be entertaining to the philosophical reader to compare this work of Telesius, with lord Bacon's physical account of the story of Cupid and Coelus, in his book *De principiis et originibus*, &c.

[^r p Campanella, a native of Calabria, made a great noise in the seventeenth century, by his innovations in philosophy. Shocked at the Atheism and absurdities of the Aristotelian system, he acquired early a contempt of it, and turned his pursuits toward something more solid, perusing the writings of all the ancient sages, and comparing them with the great volume of nature, to see whether the pretended copies resembled the original. The sufferings that this man endured are almost incredible; but they were said to be inflicted on him in consequence of the treasonable practices that were imputed to him, partly against the court of Spain, and partly against the kingdom of Naples, which he had formed the design of delivering into the hands of the Turks. He was freed from his prison and tortures by the interposition of pope Urban VIII. who gave him particular marks of his favour and esteem; and, finding that he was not safe at Rome, had him conveyed to Paris, where he was honoured with the protection of Lewis XIII. and cardinal Richelieu, and ended his days in peace. As to the writings and philosophy of this great man, they are tinged indeed with the colour of the times, and bear, in many places, the marks of a chimerical and undisciplined imagination; but, among a few visionary notions, they contain a great number of important truths. He undertook an entire reformation of philosophy, but was unequal to the task. For an account of his principles of logic, ethics, and natural philosophy, see Brucker's *Hist. Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. part. ii. p. 127, &c. He was accused of Atheism, but unjustly; he was also accused of suggesting cruel measures against the Protestants, and not without reason.

[^q The principal merit of Paracelsus consisted in inventing, or at least restoring from oblivion and darkness, the important science of *chymistry*, giving it a regular form, reducing it into a connected system, and applying it most successfully to the art of healing, which was the peculiar profession of this philosopher, whose friends and enemies have drawn him in the falsest colours. His application to the study of magic, which he treats of in the tenth volume of his works, under the denomination of the esoteric philosophy, is a circumstance dishonourable to his memory, and nothing can discover a more total absence of common sense and reason than his discourses on that subject. As to his philosophical system, it is so obscure and so contradictory, that we shall not pretend to delineate it here.

sequently followed by many ; and hence arose a new sect of philosophers, who assumed the denomination of *Theosophists*,^r and who, placing little confidence in the decisions of human reason, or the efforts of speculation, attributed all to divine illumination and repeated experience.

ix. This revolution in philosophy and literature, together with the spirit of emulation that animated the different sects or classes into which the learned men of this age were divided, produced many happy effects of various kinds. It in a more particular manner brought into disrepute, though it could not at once utterly eradicate, that intricate, barbarous, and insipid method of teaching theology that had universally prevailed hitherto in all the schools and pulpits of Christendom. The sacred writings, which, in the preceding ages, had been either entirely neglected, or very absurdly explained, were now much more consulted and respected in the debates and writings of the Christian doctors than they had formerly been ; the sense and language of the inspired writers were more carefully studied and more accurately unfolded ; the doctrines and precepts of religion taught with more method, connexion, and perspicuity ; and that dry, barren, and un-affecting language, which the ancient schoolmen affected so much in their theological compositions, was wholly exploded by the wiser part of the divines of this century. It must not however be imagined, that this reformation of the schools was so perfect, as to leave no new improvements to be made in succeeding ages ; this indeed was far from being the case. Much imperfection yet remained in the method of treating theology, and many things which had great need of a correcting hand, were left untouched. It would nevertheless be either an instance of ingratitude, or a mark of great ignorance, to deny this age the honour of having begun what was afterward more happily finished, and of having laid the foundation of that striking superiority, which the divines of succeeding ages obtained over those of ancient times.

^r See, for an ample account of the lives, transactions, and systems of these philosophers, Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophicæ*.

x. Nor did the improvements, which have been now mentioned, as proceeding from the restoration of letters and philosophy, extend only to the method of conveying theological instruction, but purified moreover the science of theology itself. For the true nature, genius, and design of the Christian religion, which even the most learned and pious doctors of antiquity had but imperfectly comprehended, were now unfolded with evidence and precision, and drawn, like truth, from an abyss in which they had hitherto lain too much concealed. It is true, the influence of error was far from being totally suppressed, and many false and absurd doctrines are still maintained and propagated in the Christian world. But it may nevertheless be affirmed, that the Christian societies, whose errors at this day are the most numerous and extravagant, have much less absurd and perverse notions of the nature and design of the gospel, and the duties and obligations of those that profess it, than were entertained by those doctors of antiquity, who ruled the church with an absolute authority, and were considered as the chief oracles of theology. It may farther be observed, that the reformation contributed much to soften and civilize the manners of many nations, who, before that happy period, were sunk in the most savage stupidity, and carried the most rude and unsociable aspect. It must indeed be confessed, that a variety of circumstances combined to produce that lenity of character, and that milder temperature of manners, maxims, and actions that discovered themselves gradually, and increased from day to day, in the greatest part of the European nations after the period that Luther rendered so famous. It is nevertheless evident, beyond all contradiction, that the disputes concerning religion, and the accurate and rational inquiries into the doctrines and duties of Christianity, to which these disputes gave rise, had a great tendency to eradicate out of the minds of men that ferocity that had been so long nourished by the barbarous suggestions of unmanly superstition. It is also certain, that at the very dawn of this happy revolution in the state of Christianity, and even before its salutary effects were manifested in all their extent, pure religion had many sincere and fervent votaries, though they were concealed from public view by the multitude of fanatics with which they were surrounded on all sides.

and the genius and spirit of the Christian religion better explained.

SECTION III.

PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN OR LATIN CHURCH.

I. **THE Roman or Latin church is a system of government, whose jurisdiction extends to a great part of the known world, though its authority has been circumscribed within narrower limits since the happy revolution that, in many places, delivered Christianity from the yoke of superstition and spiritual tyranny. This system of ecclesiastical policy, extensive as it is, is under the direction of the bishop of Rome alone, who by virtue of a sort of hereditary succession, claims the authority, prerogatives, and rights of St. Peter, the supposed prince of the apostles, and gives himself out for the *supreme head* of the universal church, the *vicegerent* of Christ upon earth. This lordly ruler of the church is, at this time, elected to his high office by the chosen members of the Roman clergy, who bear the ancient denomination of cardinals. Of these, six are bishops within the precincts of Rome; fifty are ministers of the Roman churches, and are called priests or presbyters; and fourteen are inspectors of the hospitals and charity houses, and are called deacons. These cardinals, while the papal chair is vacant, and they are employed in the choice of a successor to the deceased pontiff, are shut up, and closely confined in a certain sort of prison, called the *conclave*, that they may thus be engaged to bring this difficult matter to a speedy conclusion. No person, that is not an Italian by birth, and has not already obtained a place in the college of cardinals, is capable of being raised to the head of the church; nor have all**

The Roman pontiff, how elected.

the Italian cardinals the privilege of aspiring to this high office.^a Some are rendered incapable of filling the papal chair by the place of their birth, others by their manner of life, and a few by other reasons of a more incidental nature.^b It is also to be observed, that the emperor and the kings of France and Spain have acquired, whether expressly by stipulation, or imperceptibly through custom, the privilege of excluding from the number of the candidates for this high office, such as they think proper to oppose or dislike. Hence it often happens, that in the numerous college of cardinals, a very small number are permitted, upon a vacancy, to aspire at the papacy; the greatest part being generally prevented by their birth, their character, their circumstances, and by the force of political intrigues, from flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of ascending that towering summit of ecclesiastical power and dominion.

II. It must not be imagined, that the personal power and authority of the Roman pontiff are circumscribed by no limits; since it is well known, that in all his decisions relating to the government of the church, he previously consults the *brethren*, i. e. the cardinals who compose his ministry or privy council. Nay more, in matters of religious controversy and doctrine, he is obliged to ask the advice and opinion of eminent divines, in order to secure his pretended infallibility from the suggestions of error. Beside this, all matters that are not of

The power of the pope limited.

^a See Jo. Frid. Mayeri *Commentarius de Electione Pontif. Romani*, published in 4to. at Hamburg, in the year 1691. The ceremonial observed in the election and installation is amply described by Meuschenius, in a work published at Franckfort in the year 1732, under the following title; *Ceremoniale Electionis et Coronationis Pontificis Romani*.

^b The great obstacle that prevents several cardinals from aspiring at the pontificate, is what they call at Rome, *il peccato originale*, or *original sin*. This mark of exclusion belongs to those who are born subjects of some crown, or republic, which is not within the bounds of Italy, or which are upon a footing of jealousy with the court of Rome. Those also who were made cardinals by the nomination of the kings of France or Spain, or their adherents, are also included in this imputation of *original sin*, which excludes from the papal chair. The accidental circumstances that exclude certain cardinals from the pontificate, are their being born princes or independent sovereigns, or their declaring themselves openly in favour of certain courts, or their family's being too numerous, or their morals being irregular. Even youth, and a good complexion and figure, are considered as obstacles. But all these maxims and rules vary and change according to the inconstant and precarious impulse of policy and faction.

For an account of the different methods of electing the pope, whether by *compromise*, *inspiration*, *scrutiny*, or *access*, by which latter is meant a *second election*, employed when the other methods fail; see Aymon, *Tableaux de la Cour de Rome*, edit. 2de, p. 40, &c.

the highest moment and importance, are divided, according to their respective nature, into certain classes, and left to the management of certain colleges, called *congregations*,^c in

C These congregations are as follow ; I. The Congregation of the Pope, instituted first by Sixtus V. to prepare the matters that were to be brought before the consistory, at which the pontiff is always present. Hence this is called the consistorial congregation, and in it are treated all affairs relative to the erection of bishoprics and cathedral churches, the reunion or suppression of episcopal sees, the alienation of church goods, and the taxes and annates that are imposed upon all benefices in the pope's giving. The cardinal dean presides in this assembly. II. The Congregation of the Inquisition, or, as it is otherwise called, of the holy office, instituted by Paul III. which takes cognizance of heresies, apostacy, magic, and profane writings, which assemble thrice in the week, and every Thursday in presence of the pope, who presides in it. The office of grand inquisitor, which encroached upon the prerogatives of the pontiff, has been long suppressed, or rather distributed among the cardinals who belong to this congregation, and whose decisions come under the supreme cognizance of his holiness. III. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Roman Catholic Faith, founded under the pontificate of Gregory XV. composed of eighteen cardinals, one of the secretaries of state, a protonotary, a secretary of the inquisition, and other members of less rank. Here it is that the deliberations are carried on which relate to the extirpation of heresy, the appointment of missionaries, &c. This congregation has built a most beautiful and magnificent palace in one of the most agreeable situations that could be chosen at Rome, where proselytes to popery from foreign countries are lodged and nourished gratis, in a manner suitable to their rank and condition, and instructed in those branches of knowledge to which the bent of their genius points. The prelates, curates, and vicars also, who are obliged, without any fault of theirs to abandon the places of their residence, are entertained charitably in this noble edifice in a manner proportioned to their station in the church. IV. The Congregation designed to explain the Decisions of the council of Trent. V. The Congregation of the Index, whose principal business is to examine manuscripts and books that are designed for publication, to decide whether the people may be permitted to read them, to correct those books whose errors are not numerous, and which contain useful and salutary truths, to condemn those whose principles are heretical and pernicious, and to grant the peculiar privilege of perusing heretical books to certain persons. This congregation, which is sometimes held in the presence of the pope, but generally in the palace of the cardinal president, has a more extensive jurisdiction than that of the inquisition, as it not only takes cognizance of those books that contain doctrines contrary to the Roman catholic faith, but of those also that concern the duties of morality, the discipline of the church, and the interests of society. Its name is derived from the alphabetical tables, or *indexes* of heretical books and authors, which have been composed by its appointment. VI. The Congregation for maintaining the Rights and Immunities of the Clergy and of the Knights of Malta. This congregation was formed by Urban VIII. to decide the disputes and remove the difficulties and inconveniences that arose from the trial of ecclesiastics, before princes, or other lay judges. VII. The Congregation relating to the Bishops and Regular Clergy, instituted by Sixtus V. to decide the debates which arise between the bishops and their diocessans, and to compose the differences that happened so frequently among the monastic orders. VIII. The Congregation, appointed by Gregory XIV. for examining into the capacity and learning of the bishops. IX. Another for inquiring into their lives and morals. X. A third for obliging them to reside in their diocesses, or to dispense them from that obligation. XI. The Congregation for suppressing monasteries, i. e. such whose revenues are exhausted, and who thereby become a charge upon the public. XII. The Congregation of the Apostolic Visitation, which names the visitors who perform the duties and visitations of the churches and convents within the district of Rome, to which the pope is obliged as archbishop of that city. XIII. The Congregation of Relics, designed to examine the marks, and to augment the number of these instruments of superstition. XIV. The Congregation of Indulgences, designed to examine the case of those who have recourse to this method of quieting the conscience. XV. The Congregation of Rites, which Sixtus V. appointed to regulate and invent the religious ceremonies that are to be observed in the worship of each new saint that is added to the Calendar.

These are the congregations of cardinals, set apart for administering the spiritual affairs of the church ; and they are undoubtedly, in some respects, a check upon the power of the pontiff, enormous as it may be. There are six more, which relate to the

every one of which, one or more cardinals preside.^d The decisions of these societies are generally approved of by the Roman pontiff, who has not a right, without alleging the most weighty and evident reasons, to reverse what they pronounce to be just and expedient. This form of ecclesiastical government, is doubtless a check to the authority of the pope; and hence it is, that many things are transacted at Rome in a manner that is in direct opposition to the sentiments of its spiritual ruler. This may serve to show us, that those persons are little acquainted with the nature and limits of the papal hierarchy, who pretend that all the iniquitous proceedings of the court of Rome, the calamities it has occasioned, the contentions, rebellions, and tumults it has excited, are to be entirely and wholly laid to the charge of the Roman pontiff.^e

III. The power of the Roman pontiff hath excited debates even among those that are under the papal hierarchy; and the spiritual subjects of this pretended head of the church, are very far from being agreed with respect to the extent of his authority and jurisdiction. Hence it happens, that this authority and dominion are not the same in all places, having a larger scope in some provinces, and being reduced within narrower bounds in others. If indeed we consider only the pretensions of the pontiff, then we shall find that his power is unlimited and supreme; for there are no prerogatives that can flatter ambition, which he does not claim for

Debates arise concerning the power of the Roman pontiff.

temporal government of the papal territories. In these congregations, where the pope is never present, all things are transacted which relate to the execution of public justice in civil or criminal matters, the levying of taxes, the providing the cities and provinces with good governors, the relieving those who are unjustly oppressed by subordinate magistrates, the coinage, the care of the rivers, aqueducts, bridges, roads, churches, and public edifices.

^d The court of Rome is very particularly and accurately described by Aymon, who had been before his conversion to the Protestant religion, domestic chaplain to Innocent XI. in a book, entitled *Tableaux de la Cour de Rome*, of which the first edition was published at the Hague, in 8vo. in the year 1707, and the second in 1726. See also *Relation de la Cour de Rome et des Cérémonies qui s'y observent*, which father Labat has translated into French, from the Italian of Jerom Limadoro, and subjoined to his *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tom. viii. p. 105. For an account of the Roman congregations, &c. see Dorothea Ascian. *De Montibus Pietatis Romanis*, p. 510; as also Hunold. Plettenberg, *Notitia Tribunal. et Congregat. Curie Romanæ, Hildesie*, in 8vo. 1503.

^e Hence arises that important distinction, frequently employed by the French and other nations in their debates with the Roman pontiff; I mean the distinction between the pope of Rome and the court of Rome. The latter is often loaded with the bitterest reproaches and the heaviest accusations, while the former is spared, and in some measure excused. Nor is this distinction by any means groundless; since the cardinals and congregations, whose rites and privileges are held sacred, undertake and execute many projects without the knowledge, and sometimes against the will and consent of the Roman pontiff.

himself and his court. He not only pretends, that the whole power and majesty of the church reside in his person, and are transmitted in certain portions, from him to the inferior bishops, but moreover asserts the absolute infallibility of all decisions and decrees that he pronounces from his lordly tribunal. These arrogant pretensions are however opposed by many, and chiefly by the French nation, which expressly maintains, that every bishop receives immediately from Christ himself a portion of that spiritual power which is imparted to the church; that the collective sum, or whole of this power, is lodged in the collective body of its pastors, or which is the same thing, in a general council lawfully assembled; and that the pontiff, considered personally, and as distinct from the church, is liable to error. This complicated and important controversy may be easily brought within narrower bounds, and may be reduced to the following plain question; viz. "Is the Roman pontiff, properly speaking, the *lawgiver* of the church, or, is he no more than the *guardian* and *depository* of the laws enacted by Christ and by the church?" There is no prospect of seeing this question decided, nor the debates terminated to which it has given rise; since the contending parties are not even agreed about the proper and lawful judge of this important controversy.^f Some great revolution can only effect the decision of this matter.

iv. The church of Rome lost much of its ancient splendour and majesty, as soon as Luther, and the other luminaries of the reformation, had exhibited to the view of the European nations the Christian religion restored, at least to a considerable part of its native purity, and delivered from many of the superstitions under which it had lain so long disfigured. Among the most opulent states of Europe, several withdrew entirely from the jurisdiction of Rome; in others, certain provinces threw off the yoke of papal tyranny; and upon the whole, this defection produced a striking diminution both of the

The declension of the church of Rome.

^f The arguments employed by the creatures of the Roman pontiff in defence of his unlimited authority, may be seen in Bellarmine and other writers; of which an enormous collection has been made by Rocaberti; and, what is not a little extraordinary, a French writer, named Petitdidier, appeared in defence of the pope's pretensions, in a book published at Luxemburg, in the year 1724, *Sur l'Autorité de l'Infallibilité des Papes*. The sentiments of the Gallican church, and the arguments by which it opposes the pretensions of Rome, may be seen in the writings of Richer and Lamoignon.

wealth and power of the Roman pontiffs. It must also be observed, that even the kings, princes, and sovereign states, who adhered to the religion of Rome, yet changed their sentiments with respect to the claims and pretensions of its bishop. If they were not persuaded by the writings of the protestants to renounce the superstitions of popery, yet they received most useful instruction from them in other matters of very great moment. They drew from these writings important discoveries of the groundless claims and unlawful usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and came at length to perceive, that if the jurisdiction and authority of Rome continued the same that it was before the rise of Luther, the rights of temporal princes, and the majesty of civil government would sooner or later be absorbed in the gulf of papal avarice and ambition. Hence it was, that most of the sovereign states of Europe, partly by secret and prudent measures, partly by public negotiations and remonstrances, set bounds to the daring ambition of Rome, which aimed at nothing less than universal dominion both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs; nor did the Roman pontiff think it either safe or expedient to have recourse to the ancient arms of the church, *war* and *excommunication*, in order to repel these attacks upon his authority. Even those very kingdoms that acknowledged the Roman pontiff as the lawgiver of the church, and an infallible guide, confine nevertheless his power of enacting laws within narrow limits,

v. In this declining state of their affairs, it was natural for the humbled pontiffs to look about for some method of repairing their losses; and for this purpose they exerted much more zeal and industry, than had been shown by their predecessors, in extending the limits of their spiritual dominion beyond Europe, and left no means unemployed of gaining proselytes and adherents in the Indies, both among the pagan nations and the Christian sects. The Jesuits, as we have already had occasion to observe, were the first missionaries that were sent for this purpose into these distant parts of the world; but able men, selected out of the other monastic orders, were afterward employed in this arduous undertaking. If however we except the exploits of Francis Xavier and his companions in India, China, and Japan, of which notice has been taken above, there were

The methods employed by the Roman pontiffs to repair their losses.

Missions.

no great matters effected in this century; as, generally speaking, the persons who were set apart to execute this grand project, were not as yet endowed with that experience and dexterity that it necessarily required, and set about the work with more zeal than prudence and knowledge.

The Portuguese had, in the preceding century, opened a passage into the country of the Abyssinians, who professed the doctrine, and observed the religious rites of the Monophysites; and this offered a favourable occasion of reducing this people under the papal yoke. Accordingly, John Bermudes was sent into Ethiopia for this purpose; and that he might appear with a certain degree of dignity, he was clothed with the title of *Patriarch of the Abyssinians*. The same important commission was afterward given to Ignatius Loyola, and the companions of his labours;^c and at their first setting out, several circumstances, and particularly a war with a neighbouring prince, which the Abyssinian monarch was desirous of terminating by the powerful succours of the Portuguese, seemed to promise them a successful and happy ministry. But the event did not answer this fond expectation; and in some time it appeared plainly, that the Abyssinians stood too firm in the faith of their ancestors, to be easily engaged to abandon and forsake it; so that, toward the conclusion of this century, the Jesuits had almost lost all hopes of succeeding in their attempts.^b

vi. The Egyptians or Copts, who were closely connected with the Abyssinians in their religious sentiments, and also in their external forms of worship, became next the objects of Rome's ambitious zeal; and, in the year 1562, Christopher Roderic, a Jesuit of note, was sent by the express order of pope Pius IV. to propagate the cause of popery among that people. This ecclesiastic, notwithstanding the rich presents and subtle arguments by which he attempted to change the sentiments, and shake the constancy of Gabriel,^d who was at

The Egyptians and Armenians.

^g It is certainly by mistake that Dr. Mosheim mentions Loyola as having made a voyage into Abyssinia. Jesuits were sent, at different periods, to that country, and with little success: but their founder was never there in person.

^h See Ludolfi *Histor. Æthiopica et Comm.* Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 120. Le Grand, *Dissertation de la Conversion des Abyssins*, which is to be found in the second volume of the *Voyage Historique d'Abyssinie* du R. P. Jerome Lobo, p. 13. La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, livr. ii. p. 90.

ⁱ Franc. Sachini *Histor. Societat. Jesu*, part ii. lib. v. Euseb. Renaud. *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrin.* p. 161 *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 314.

that time patriarch of Alexandria, returned to Rome with no other effect of his embassy than fair words and a few compliments.^k It is however true, that toward the conclusion of this century, and during the pontificate of Clement VIII. an embassy from another patriarch of Alexandria, whose name was also Gabriel, appeared at Rome, and was considered as a subject of triumph and boasting by the creatures of the pope.^l But the more candid and sensible, even among the Roman catholics, looked upon this embassy, and not without reason, as a stratagem of the Jesuits, to persuade the Abyssinians, who were so prone to follow the example of their brethren of Alexandria, to join themselves to the communion of Rome, and to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff.^m It is at least certain, that, after this solemn embassy, we do not find in the records of history the smallest token of a propensity in the Copts to embrace the doctrine or discipline of Rome.

Many years before this period, a considerable sect of the Armenians had been accustomed to treat the Roman pontiff with particular marks of veneration and respect, without departing however from the religious doctrine, discipline, or worship of their ancestors. Of this a farther account shall be given in the history of the eastern churches; it may nevertheless be proper to observe here, that the attachment of this sect to the bishop of Rome was greatly increased, and the votaries of the pontiff considerably multiplied, by the zeal of Zerapion, an opulent man, who was entirely devoted to the court of Rome, and who, by engaging himself to discharge the debts under which the Armenians groaned, obtained, in the year 1593,

^k This patriarch offered to send one of his bishops to the council of Trent, in order to get rid of the importunity of these Jesuits; but he refused positively the sending any of his young students to be educated among their order, and declared plainly that he owed no obedience nor submission to the bishop of Rome, who had no more dignity nor authority than any other bishop except within the bounds of his own diocess. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. ii. p. 322, 324.

^l The transactions of this embassy, adorned with an ample and pompous preface, are subjoined to the sixth volume of the *Annal. Eccl.* of Baronius, p. 707, edit. Antwerp.

^m Renaudot, in his *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 611, 612, endeavours to maintain the credit and importance of this embassy, of which Baronius has given such a pompous account. He is however much mistaken, when he asserts, that father Simon, relying upon the fallacious testimony of George Douza, was the only person that ever considered this embassy as a stratagem; since it is evident that Thomas a Jesu, in the sixth book of his treatise *De conversione omnium gentium procuranda*, has considered it in the same light, as well as several other writers. See Geddes, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 231, 232.

the title and dignity of patriarch, though there were already two patriarchs at the head of the Armenian church. He did not however enjoy this dignity long; for soon after his promotion, he was sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the desire of those Armenians who adhered to the ecclesiastical discipline of their ancestors; and thus the boasting and exultation of the Romans subsided all of a sudden, and their hopes vanished.^o

VII. The ambitious views of the Roman pontiffs sowed the pestilential seeds of animosity and discord among all the eastern churches; and the Nestorian Christians, who are also known by the denomination of Chaldeans, felt early the effects of their imperious councils. In the year 1551, a warm dispute arose among that people about the creation of a new patriarch, Simeon Barmamas being proposed by one party, and Sulaka, earnestly desired by the other. The latter, to support his pretensions the more effectually, repaired to Rome, and was consecrated patriarch, in the year 1553, by pope Julius III. whose jurisdiction he had acknowledged, and to whose commands he had promised unlimited submission and obedience. Julius gave the name John to the new Chaldean patriarch, and, upon his return to his own country, sent with him several persons skilled in the Syriac language, to assist him in establishing and extending the papal empire among the Nestorians. From this time that unhappy people were divided into two factions, and were often involved in the greatest dangers and difficulties by the jarring sentiments and perpetual quarrels of their patriarchs.^o

The Nestorians, or as they are more commonly called, the Christians of St. Thomas, who inhabited the maritime coasts of India, suffered much from the methods employed by the Portuguese to engage them to embrace the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and to abandon the religion of their ancestors, which was much more simple, and infinitely less absurd.^p The finishing stroke was put

ⁿ See *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans la Levant*, tom. iii. p. 132, 133.

^o Jos. Sim. Assemani *Bibliotheca Oriental Clementino Vaticana*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 164. See the *History of the Eastern Church*, in the following chapter of this history.

^p For an account of the doctrines and worship of these, and the other eastern Christians, see the following chapter. As also two learned books of Monsieur La Croze, the one entitled *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*; and the other, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*.

to the violence and brutality of these attempts by don Alexis De Menezes, bishop of Goa, who, about the conclusion of this century, calling the Jesuits to his assistance, obliged this unhappy and reluctant people to embrace the religion of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope's supreme jurisdiction; against both of which acts they had always expressed the utmost abhorrence. These violent councils and arrogant proceedings of Menezes, and his associates, were condemned by such of the Roman catholics as were most remarkable for their equity and wisdom.^a

VIII. The greatest part of the first legates and missionaries of the court of Rome treated with much severity and injustice the Christians whom they were desirous of gaining over to their communion. For they did not only require that these Christians should renounce the particular opinions that separated them from the Greek and Latin churches, and that they should acknowledge the Roman pontiff as Christ's sole vicegerent upon earth; their demands went still farther; they opposed many of the opinions of this people, some of which were at least worthy of toleration, and others highly agreeable to the dictates both of reason and Scripture; they insisted upon the suppression and abolition of several customs, rites, and institutions, which had been handed down to them from their ancestors, and which were perfectly innocent in their nature and tendency; in a word, they would be satisfied with nothing less than an entire and minute conformity of the religious rites and opinions of this people, with the doctrine and worship of the church of Rome. The papal court, however, rendered wise by experience, perceived at length that this manner of proceeding was highly imprudent, and every way improper to extend the limits of the papal empire in the east. It was therefore determined to treat with more artifice and moderation a matter of such moment and importance, and the missionaries were consequently ordered to change the plan of their operations, and confine their views to the two following points; to wit, the subjection of these Christians to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and their renouncing, or at least professing to renounce, the opinions that had been condemned in the general councils of the church. In all other

^a See La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme aux Indes*, livr. ii. p. 88, &c. in which there is an ample account of the Christians of St. Thomas, and of the rough methods employed by Menezes to gain them over to the church of Rome.

matters, the Roman envoys were commanded to use a perfect toleration, and to let these people remain unmolested in following the sentiments and observing the institutions they had derived from their ancestors. To give the greater credit and plausibility to this new method of conversion, certain learned doctors of the church endeavoured to demonstrate, that the religious tenets of Rome, when explained according to the simplicity of truth, and not by the subtilities and definitions of the schools, differed very little from the opinions received in the Greek and the other eastern churches. But this demonstration was very far from being satisfactory, and it discovered less of an ingenious spirit, than a disposition to gain proselytes by all sorts of means, and at all events. Be that as it may, the cause of Rome received much more advantage from this plan of moderation, than it had derived from the severity of its former councils; though much less than the authors this reconciling plan fondly expected.

IX. While the Roman pontiffs were using their utmost efforts to extend their dominion abroad, they did not neglect the means that were proper to strengthen and maintain it at home. On the contrary, from the dawn of the reformation, they began to redouble their diligence in defending the internal form and constitution of the church of Rome against the dexterity and force of its adversaries. They could no more have recourse to the expedient of crusades, by which they had so often diminished the power and influence of their enemies. The revolutions that had happened in the affairs of Rome, and in the state of Europe, rendered any such method of subduing heretics visionary and impracticable. Other methods were therefore to be found out, and all the resources of prudence were to be exhausted in support of a declining church. Hence the laws and procedures of the inquisition were revised and corrected in those countries, where that formidable court is permitted to exert its dreadful power. Colleges, and schools of learning were erected in various places, in which the studious youth were trained up, by perpetual exercise, in the art of disputing, that thus they might wield with more dexterity and success, the arms of controversy against the enemies of Rome. The circulation of such books as were supposed to have a pernicious tendency, was either entirely prevented,

The internal constitution of the church of Rome strengthened in various ways.

or at least much obstructed, by certain lists, or indexes, composed by men of learning and sagacity, and published by authority, in which these books were marked with a note of infamy, and their perusal prohibited, though with certain restrictions. The pursuit of knowledge was earnestly recommended to the clergy, and honourable marks of distinction, as well as ample rewards, were bestowed on those who made the most remarkable progress in the cultivation of letters. And, to enlarge no farther on this head, the youth in general were more carefully instructed in the principles and precepts of their religion than they had formerly been. Thus it happens, that signal advantages are frequently derived from what are looked upon as the greatest evils, and much wisdom and improvement are daily acquired in the school of opposition and adversity. It is more than probable, that the church of Rome would never have been enriched with the acquisitions we have now been mentioning, had it continued in that state of uninterrupted ease and undisputed authority that nourish a spirit of indolence and luxury; and had not the pretended heretics attacked its territories, trampled upon its jurisdiction, and eclipsed a great part of its ancient majesty and splendour.

x. The monastic orders, and religious societies have been always considered by the Roman pontiffs as the principal support of their authority and dominion. It is chiefly by them that they rule the church, maintain their influence on the minds of the people, and augment the number of their votaries. And indeed, various causes contribute to render the connexion between the pontiff and these religious communities much more intimate, than that which subsists between him and the other clergy, of whatever rank or order we may suppose them to be. It was therefore judged necessary, when the success of Luther, and the progress of the reformation, had effaced such a considerable part of the majesty of Rome, to found some new religious fraternity, that should, in a particular manner, be devoted to the interests of the Roman pontiff, and the very express end of whose institution should be to renew the vigour of a declining hierarchy, to heal the deep wound it had received, to preserve those parts of the papal dominions that remained yet entire, and to augment them by new accessions. This was

Ignatius Loyola the founder of the order called Jesuits.

so much the more necessary, as the two famous *mendicant societies*,^r by whose ministry the popes had chiefly governed during many ages, and that with the greatest success and glory, had now lost, on several accounts, a considerable part of their influence and authority, and were thereby less capable of serving the church with efficacy and vigour than they had formerly been. What the pontiff sought for, in this declining state of his affairs, was found in that famous and most powerful society, which, deriving its title from the name of Jesus, were commonly called Jesuits, while they were styled by their enemies *Loyalites*, and sometimes *Inighists*,^s from the Spanish name of their founder.^t This founder was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish knight, who, from an illiterate soldier, became an unparalleled fanatic; a fanatic indeed, of a fertile and enterprising genius,^u who, after having passed through various scenes of life, came to Rome, and being there directed by the prudent counsels of persons much wiser than himself, was rendered capable of instituting such an order as the state of the church at that time essentially required.^v

^r These two orders were the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

^s The Spanish name of the founder of the order of Jesuits was don Inigo de Guipuscoa.

^t The writers who have given the most particular and circumstantial accounts of the order of the Jesuits, are enumerated by Christoph. Aug. Salig. in his *Historia August. Confessionis*, tom. ii. p. 75.

^u Many Jesuits have written the life of this extraordinary man; but the greatest part of these biographers seem more intent on advancing the glory of their founder, than solicitous about the truth and fidelity of their relations; and hence the most common events, and the most trivial actions that concern Ignatius, are converted into prodigies and miracles. The history of this enterprising fanatic has been composed with equal truth and ingenuity, though seasoned with a very large portion of wit and pleasantry, by a French writer, who calls himself Hercules Rasiel de Selve.* This work, which is divided into two volumes, is entitled *Histoire de l'admirable Don Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et fondateur de la Monarchie des Inighistes*, and it has passed already through two editions at the Hague.

^v Not only the protestants, but also a great number of the more learned and judicious Roman catholics, have unanimously denied that Ignatius Loyola had either learning sufficient to compose the writings of which he is said to be the author, or genius enough to form the society of which he is considered as the founder. They maintain, on the contrary, that he was no more than a flexible instrument in the hands of able and ingenious men, who made use of his fortitude and fanaticism to answer their purposes; and that persons much more learned than he, were employed to compose the writings which bear his name. See Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 429. The greatest part of his works are supposed to have proceeded from the pen of his secretary John de Palanco; see La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme en Ethiopie*, p. 55, 371. The Benedictines affirm, that his book of *Spiritual Exercises* is copied from the work of a Spanish Benedictine monk, whose name was Cisneros; see *La Vie de M. de la Croze*, par Jordan, and the *constitutions* of the society were probably the work of Lainez and Salmeron, two learned men, who were among its first members. See *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 115.

* This is a feigned name. The real author was Monsieur Le Vier, an ingenious bookseller, who lived formerly at the Hague.

XI. The Jesuits hold a middle rank between the monks and the secular clerks, and with respect to the nature of their institute, approach nearer to the regular canons than to any other order. For though they resemble the monks in this, that they live separate from the multitude, and are bound by certain religious vows, yet they are exempt from stated hours of worship, and other numerous and burdensome services, that lie heavy upon the monastic orders, that they may have more time to employ in the education of youth, in directing the consciences of the faithful, in edifying the church by their pious and learned productions, and in transacting other matters that relate to the prosperity of the papal hierarchy. Their whole order is divided into three classes. The first comprehends the professed members, who live in what are called the professed houses; the second contains the scholars, who instruct the youth in the colleges; and to the third belong the novices, who live in the houses of probation.² The professed members, beside the three ordinary vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, that are common to all the monastic tribes, are obliged to take a fourth, by which they solemnly bind themselves to go, without deliberation or delay, wherever the pope shall think fit to send them; they are also a kind of mendicants, being without any fixed subsistence, and living upon the liberality of pious and well-disposed people. The other Jesuits, and more particularly the scholars, are possessed of large revenues, and are obliged, in case of urgent necessity, to contribute to the support of the professed members. These latter, who are few in number, considering the multitudes that belong to the other classes, are, generally speaking, men of prudence and learning, deeply skilled in the affairs of the world, and dexterous in transacting all kinds of business from long experience, added to their natural penetration and sagacity; in a word they are the true and perfect Jesuits. The rest have indeed the title, but are rather the companions and assistants of the Jesuits, than real members of that mysterious order; and it is only in a very vague and general sense, that the denomination of Jesuits

The nature of the order and institution of the Jesuits.

² x Other writers add a fourth class, consisting of the spiritual and temporal coadjutors, who assist the professed members, and perform the same functions, without being bound by any more than the three simple vows; though, after a long and approved exercise of their employment, the spiritual coadjutors are admitted to the fourth vow, and thus become professed members.

can be applied to them. But what is still more remarkable, the secrets of the society are not revealed even to all the professed members. It is only a small number of this class, whom old age has enriched with thorough experience, and long trial declared worthy of such an important trust, that are instructed in the mysteries of the order.

XII. The church and court of Rome, since the remarkable period when so many kingdoms and provinces withdrew from their jurisdiction, having derived more influence and support from the labours of this single order, than from all their other emissaries and ministers, and all the various exertions of their power and opulence. It was this famous company, which, spreading itself with an astonishing rapidity through the greatest part of the habitable world, confirmed the wavering nations in the faith of Rome, restrained the progress of the rising sects, gained over a prodigious number of pagans in the most barbarous and remote parts of the globe to the profession of popery, and attacked the pretended heretics of all denominations; appearing almost alone in the field of controversy, sustaining with fortitude and resolution the whole burden of this religious war, and surpassing by far the champions of antiquity, both in the subtilty of their reasonings and the eloquence of their discourses. Nor is this all; for, by the affected softness and complying spirit that reigns in their conversation and manners, by their consummate skill and prudence in civil transactions, by their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, and a variety of other qualities and accomplishments, they insinuated themselves into the peculiar favour and protection of statesmen, persons of the first distinction, and even of crowned heads. Nor did any thing contribute more to give them that ascendancy they have universally acquired, than the cunning and dexterity with which they relaxed and modified their system of morality, accommodating it artfully to their propensities of mankind, and depriving it, on certain occasions, of that severity, that rendered it burdensome to the sensual and voluptuous. By this they supplanted, in the palaces of the great, and in the courts of princes, the Dominicans and other rigid doctors, who had formerly held there the tribunal of confession and the direction of consciences, and engrossed to themselves an exclusive and irresistible influence in those retreats of royal

The zeal of the Jesuits for the interests of the Roman pontiff.

grandeur, from whence issue the counsels that govern mankind.⁷ An order of this nature could not but be highly adapted to promote the interests of the court of Rome; and this indeed was its great end, and the leading purpose which it never lost sight of; employing every where its utmost vigilance and art to support the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and to save them from the contempt of which they must have been naturally apprehensive, in consequence of a revolution that opened the eyes of a great part of mankind.

All these circumstances placed the order of Jesuits in a conspicuous point of light. Their capacity, their influence, and their zeal for the papacy, had a very advantageous retrospect upon themselves, as it swelled the sources of their opulence, and procured to their society an uncommon, and indeed an excessive degree of veneration and respect. But it is also true, that these signal honours and advantages exposed them, at the same time, to the envy of other religious orders; that their enemies multiplied from day to day; and that they were often involved in the greatest perplexities and perils. Monks, courtiers, civil magistrates, public schools, united their efforts to crush this rising fabric of ambition and policy; and a prodigious number of books were published to prove, that nothing could be more detrimental to the interest of religion, and the well-being of society, than the institution of the Jesuits. In France, Poland, and other countries, they were declared public enemies of their country, traitors and parricides, and were even banished with ignominy.⁸ But the prudence, or rather the cunning and artifice of the disciples of Loyola, calmed this storm of opposition, and, by gentle and imperceptible methods, restored the credit and authority of their order, delivered it from the perils with which it had been threatened, and even put it in a state of defence against the future attempts of its adversaries.⁹

⁷ Before the order of Jesuits was instituted, the Dominicans alone directed the consciences of all the European kings and princes. And it was by the Jesuits that the Dominicans were deprived of a privilege so precious to spiritual ambition. See Peyrat, *Antiquités de la Chapelle de France*, livr. i. p. 322.

⁸ See the *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. passim. Boulay, *Hist. Académ. Paris*, tom. vi. p. 559—648, et passim. As well as almost all the writers who have given accounts of the sixteenth century.

⁹ The character and spirit of the Jesuits were admirably described, and their transactions and fate foretold, with a sagacity almost prophetic, so early as the year 1551, in a sermon preached in Christ church, Dublin, by Dr. George Brown, bishop

XIII. The pontiffs of this century that ruled the church after the decease of Alexander VI. were Pius III. Roman pontiff. Julius II.^b Leo. X. Adrian XI. whose characters and transactions have been already taken notice of; Clement VII. of the house of Medicis; Paul III. of the illustrious family of Farnese,^c Julius III.^d whose name was

of that see; a copy of which was given to Sir James Ware, and may be found in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 566. The remarkable passage that relates to the Jesuits is as follows: "But there is a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the scribes and Pharisees' manner. Among the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the heathens a heathenist, with the Atheist an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the reformers a reformer, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart, there was no God. These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so that, at the end, they shall become *odious to all nations*. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit." This singular passage, I had almost said, prediction, seems to be accomplished in part, by the present suppression of the Jesuits in France; * and by the universal indignation which the perfidious stratagems, iniquitous avarice, and ambitious views of that society, have excited among all the orders of the French nation, from the throne to the cottage.

¶ b It was from a foolish ambition of resembling Cesar, a very singular model for a Christian pontiff, that this pope, whose name was Rovere, assumed the denomination of Julius II: It may be indeed said, that Cesar was sovereign pontiff, *pontifex maximus*, and that the pope of Rome enjoyed the same dignity, though with some change in the title.

c The sentiments and character of Paul III. have given rise to much debate, even in our time, especially between the late cardinal Quirini, and Keisling, Schelhorn, and some other writers. The cardinal has used his utmost efforts to defend the probity and merit of this pontiff, while the two learned men above mentioned represent him as a perfidious politician, whose predominant qualities were dissimulation and fraud. See Quirinus, *De gestis Pauli III. Farnesi Brisie*, 1745, in 4to. ¶ Among the *res gesta* of Paul III. were two bastards, whose offspring, Farnese and Sforza, were made cardinals in their infancy. See Keislingii *Epist. de gestis Pauli III. Schelhorn. Amentitates Hist. Eccl. et Liter.* But the licentious exploits of this pope do not end here. He was reproached, in a book published before his death under the name of Ochino, with having poisoned his mother and his nephew, with having ravished a young virgin at Ancona, with an incestuous and adulterous commerce with his daughter Constantia, who died of poison administered by the pope, to prevent any interruption in his odious amours. It is said, in the same book, that being caught in bed with his niece Laura Farnese, who was the wife of Nic. Quercei, he received from this incensed husband a stab of a dagger, of which he bore the marks to his death. See Sleidan, *Comment de Statu Rel. et Republica, Carolo Quinto Cesare*, lib. xxi. p. 667, edit. Argentor.

¶ d This was the worthy pontiff, who was scarcely seated in the papal chair, when he bestowed the cardinal's hat on the keeper of his monkeys, a boy chosen from among the lowest of the populace, and who was also the infamous object of his unnatural pleasures. See Thuan. lib. vi. and xv. Hoffing. *Hist. Eccl.* tom. v. p. 572, and more especially Sleidan, *Hist.* lib. xxi. folio, m. 609. When Julius was reproached by the cardinals for introducing such an unworthy member into the sacred college, a person who had neither learning, nor virtue, nor merit of any kind, he impudently replied by asking them, "What virtue or merit they had found in him, that could induce them to place him, Julius, in the papal chair?"

* I write this note in the year 1762.

John Maria Giocci; Marcellus II. Paul IV.^c whose name before his elevation to the pontificate, was John Peter Caraffa; Pius IV. who was ambitious of being looked upon as a branch of the house of Medicis, and who had been known, before his promotion, by the name of John Angeli de Medicis; Pius V. a Dominican, called Michael Ghisleri, a man of an austere and melancholy turn of mind, by which, and other similar qualities, he obtained a place in the calendar; Gregory XIII. who was known previously by the name of Hugo Buoncompagno;^f Sixtus V. otherwise named Felix Peretti di Montalto, who, in pride, magnificence, intrepidity, and strength of mind, and in other great virtues and vices, surpassed by far all his predecessors; Urban VIII. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX. the shortness of whose reigns prevented them from acquiring reputation, or falling into reproach.

Among these pontiffs there were better and worse;^g but they were all men of exemplary characters, when compared with the greatest part of those who governed the church before the reformation. The number of adversaries, both foreign and domestic, that arose to set limits to the despotism of Rome, and to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of its pontiff, rendered the college of cardinals, and the Roman nobility, more cautious and circumspect in the choice of a spiritual ruler; nor did they almost dare, in these critical circumstances of opposition and danger, to intrust such an important dignity to any ecclesiastic, whose barefaced licentiousness, frontless arrogance, or inconsiderate youth, might render

^e Nothing could exceed the arrogance and ambition of this violent and impetuous pontiff, as appears from his treatment of queen Elizabeth. See Burnet's History of the Reformation. It was he, who, by a bull, pretended to raise Ireland to the privilege and quality of an independent kingdom; and it was he also who first instituted the *Index of prohibited books*, mentioned above, § ix.

^f See Jo. Petr. Maffei *Annales Gregorij XIII.* Rom. 1742, in 4to.

^g Pius V. and Sixtus V. made a much greater figure in the annals of fame, than the other pontiffs here mentioned; the former on account of his excessive severity against heretics, and the famous bull *In Cens Domini*, which is read publicly at Rome every year on the festival of the holy sacrament; and the latter, in consequence of many services rendered to the church, and numberless attempts, carried on with spirit, fortitude, generosity, and perseverance, to promote its glory and maintain its authority. Several modern writers employed their pens in describing the life and actions of Pius V. so soon as they saw him canonized, in the year 1712, by Clement XI. Of his bull, entitled *In Cens Domini*, and the tumults it occasioned, there is an ample account in Gianone's *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 248. The life of Sixtus V. has been written by Gregory Leti, and translated into several languages; it is, however, a very indifferent work, and the relations it contains are in many places inaccurate and unfaithful.

him peculiarly obnoxious to reproach, and furnish thereby new matter of censure to their adversaries. It is also worthy of observation, that from this period of opposition, occasioned by the ministry of the reformers, the Roman pontiffs have never pretended to such an exclusive authority as they had formerly usurped; nor could they indeed make good such pretensions, were they so extravagant as to avow them. They claim therefore no longer a power of deciding, by their single authority, matters of the highest moment and importance; but, for the most part, pronounce according to the sentiments that prevail in the college of cardinals, and in the different congregations, which are intrusted with their respective parts in the government of the church. Nor do they any more venture to foment divisions in sovereign states, to arm subjects against their rulers, or to level the thunder of their excommunications at the heads of princes. All such proceedings, which were formerly so frequent at the court of Rome, have been prudently suspended since the gradual decline of that ignorance and superstition that prescribed a blind obedience to the pontiff, and the new degrees of power and authority that monarchs and other civil rulers have gained by the revolutions that have shaken the papal throne.

xiv. That part of the body of the clergy that is more peculiarly devoted to the Roman pontiffs, seemed The state of the clergy. to have undergone no visible change during this century. As to the bishops, it is certain that they made several zealous attempts, and some even in the council of Trent, for the recovery of the ancient rights and privileges of which they had been forcibly deprived by the popes. They were even persuaded that the pope might be lawfully obliged to acknowledge, that the episcopal dignity was of divine original, and that the bishops received their authority immediately from Christ himself.^h But all these attempts were successfully opposed by the artifice and dexterity of the court of Rome, which never ceases to propagate and enforce this despotic maxim: "That the bishops are no more than the legates or ministers of Christ's vicar; and that the authority they exercise is entirely derived from the munificence and *favour of the*

^h See Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent.

apostolic see ;” a maxim however that several bishops, and more especially those of France, treat with little respect. Some advantages, however, and those not inconsiderable, were obtained for the clergy at the expense of the pontiffs ; for those reservations, provisions, exemptions, and expectatives, as they are termed by the Roman lawyers, which before the reformation had excited such heavy and bitter complaints throughout all Europe, and exhibited the clearest proofs of papal avarice and tyranny, were now almost totally suppressed.

xv. Among the subjects of deliberation in the council of Trent, the reformation of the lives and manners of the clergy, and the suppression of the scandalous vices that had too long reigned in that order, were not forgot ; nay, several wise and prudent laws were enacted with a view to that important object. But those who had the cause of virtue at heart, complained, and the reason of these complaints still subsists, that these laws were no more than feeble precepts, without any avenging arm to maintain their authority ; and that they were transgressed, with impunity, by the clergy of all ranks, and particularly by those who filled the highest stations and dignities of the church. In reality, if we cast our eyes upon the Romish clergy, even in the present time, these complaints will appear as well founded now, as they were in the sixteenth century. In Germany, as is notorious to daily observation, the bishops, if we except their habit, their title, and a few ceremonies that distinguish them, have nothing in their manner of living that is in the least adapted to point out the nature of their sacred office. In other countries, a great part of the episcopal order, unmolested by the remonstrances or reproofs of the Roman pontiff, pass their days amidst the pleasures and cabals of courts, and appear rather the slaves of temporal princes, than the servants of Him *whose kingdom is not of this world*. They court glory ; they aspire after riches, while very few employ their time and labours in edifying their people, or in promoting among them the vital spirit of practical religion and substantial virtue. Nay, what is still more deplorable, those bishops, who, sensible of the sanctity of their character, and the duties of their office, distinguish themselves by their zeal in the cause of virtue and good morals, are frequently exposed to the malicious efforts

The lives and morals of the clergy.

of envy, often loaded with false accusations, and involved in perplexities of various kinds. It may indeed be partly owing to the examples they have received, and still too often receive, from the heads of the church, that so many of the bishops live dissolved in the arms of luxury, or toiling in the service of ambition. Many of them perhaps would have been more attentive to their vocation, and more exemplary in their manners, had they not been corrupted by the models exhibited to them by the bishops of Rome, and had constantly before their eyes a splendid succession of popes and cardinals, remarkable only for their luxury and avarice, their arrogance and vindictive spirit, their voluptuousness and vanity.

That part of the clergy that go under the denomination of *canons*, continue almost every where their ancient course of life, and consume, in a manner far remote from piety and virtue, the treasures which the religious zeal and liberality of their ancestors had consecrated to the uses of the church, and the relief of the poor.

It must not however be imagined, that all the other orders of the clergy are at liberty to follow such corrupt models, or indeed that their inclinations and reigning habits tend toward such a loose and voluptuous manner of living. For it is certain, that the reformation had a manifest influence even upon the Roman catholic clergy, by rendering them at least more circumspect and cautious in their external conduct, that they might be thus less obnoxious to the censures of their adversaries; and it is accordingly well known, that since that period the clergy of the inferior orders have been more attentive to the rules of outward decency, and have given less offence by open and scandalous vices and excesses than they had formerly done.

xvi. The same observation holds good with respect to the monastic orders. There are indeed several things, Monks; the ancient orders reformed. worthy of the severest animadversion, chargeable upon many of the heads and rulers of these societies; nor are these societies themselves entirely exempt from that laziness, intemperance, ignorance, artifice, discord, and voluptuousness, that were formerly the common and reigning vices in the monastic retreats. It would be, nevertheless, an instance of great partiality and injustice to deny, that in many countries

the manner of living, among these religious orders, has been considerably reformed, severe rules employed to restrain licentiousness, and much pains taken to conceal, at least, any vestiges of ancient corruption and irregularity that may yet remain. In some places the austerity of the ancient rules of discipline, which had been so shamefully relaxed, was restored by several zealous patrons of monastic devotion; while others, animated with the same zeal, instituted new communities, in order to promote, as they piously imagined, a spirit of religion, and thus to contribute to the well-being of the church.

Of this latter number was Matthew de Bassi, a native of Italy, the extent of whose capacity was much inferior to the goodness of his intentions, and who was a Franciscan of the more rigid class,¹ who were zealous in observing rigorously the primitive rules of their institution. This honest enthusiast seriously persuaded himself, that he was divinely inspired with the zeal that impelled him to restore the original and genuine rules of the Franciscan order to their primitive austerity; and looking upon this violent and irresistible impulse as a celestial commission, attended with sufficient authority, he set himself to this work of monastic reformation with the most devout assiduity and ardour.² His enterprise was honoured, in the year 1525, with the solemn approbation of Clement VII. and this was the origin of the order of Capuchins. The vows of this order implied the greatest contempt of the world and its enjoyments, and the most profound humility, accompanied with the most austere and sullen gravity of external aspect;³ and its reputation and success excited in the other Franciscans the most bitter feelings of indignation and envy.⁴ The capuchins were so called from the sharp

¹ The dispute that arose among the Franciscans by Innocent IV. relaxing so far their institute as to allow of property and possessions in their community, produced a division of the order into two classes, of which the most considerable, who adopted the papal relaxation, were denominated *conventuals*, and the other, who rejected it, *brethren of the observance*. The latter professed to observe, and follow rigorously the primitive laws and institute of their founder.

² The *brethren of the observance*, mentioned in the preceding note, had degenerated, in process of time, from their primitive self-denial; and hence the reforming spirit that animated Bassi.

³ See Luc. Waddingi *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, tom. xvi. p. 207, 257, edit. Roman. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. vii. ch. xxiv. p. 264. And, above all, Zach. Boverii *Annales Capuchinorum*.

⁴ One of the circumstances that exasperated most of the Franciscans, was the innovation made in their habit by the Capuchins. Whatever was the cause of their choler, true it is that their provincial persecuted the new monks, and obliged them to fly from place to place, until they at last took refuge in the palace of the duke of Cameri-

pointed *capuche*, or cowl,ⁿ which they added to the ordinary Franciscan habit, and which is supposed to have been used by St. Francis himself, as a covering for his head.^o

Another branch of the Franciscan order formed a new community, under the denomination of Recollets in France, Reformed Franciscans in Italy, and Barefooted Franciscans in Spain, and were erected into a separate order, with their respective laws and rules of discipline, in the year 1532, by the authority of Clement VII. They differ from the other Franciscans in this only, that they profess to follow, with greater zeal and exactness, the austere institute of their common founder and chief; and hence also they were called Friars minors of the strict observance.^p

St. Theresa, a Spanish lady of an illustrious family, undertook the difficult task of reforming the Carmelite order,^q which had departed much from its primitive sanctity, and of restoring its neglected and violated laws to their original credit and authority. Her associate, in this arduous attempt, was Johannes de Santa Crusa, and her enterprise was not wholly destitute of success, notwithstanding the opposition she met with from the greatest part of the Carmelites. Hence the order was, during the space of ten years, divided into two branches, of which one followed a milder rule of discipline, while the other embraced an institute of the most severe and self-denying kind.^r But as these different rules of life among the members of the same community were a perpetual source of animosity and discord, the more austere, or barefooted Carmelites, were separated from the others, and formed into a distinct body, in the year 1580, by Gregory XIII. at the particular desire of Philip II. king of Spain. This separation was confirmed in the year 1587, by Sixtus V. and completed in 1593, by

no, by whose credit they were received under the obedience of the conventuals, in the quality of hermits minors, in the year 1527. The next year the pope approved this union, and confirmed to them the privilege of wearing the square *capuche*; and thus the order was established in 1528.

ⁿ I know not on what authority the learned Michael Geddes attributes the erection and denomination of this order to one Francis Puchine.

^o See Du Fresne *Glossarium Latinitat. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 298, edit. Benedict.

^p See Waddingi *Annales*, tom. xvi. p. 167. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monast.* tom. vii. ch. xviii. p. 123.

^q Otherwise called the white friars.

^r The former, who were the Carmelites, of the ancient observance, were called the moderate, or mitigated; while the latter, who were of the strict observance, were distinguished by the denomination of barefooted Carmelites.

Clement VIII. who allowed the barefooted Carmelites to have their own chief or general. But after having withdrawn themselves from the others, these austere friars quarrelled among themselves, and in a few years their dissensions grew to an intolerable height; hence they were divided anew, by the pontiff last mentioned, into two communities, each of which were governed by their respective general.'

XVII. The most eminent of all the new orders that were instituted in this century, was, beyond all doubt, that of the Jesuits, which we have already had New monastic orders. occasion to mention, in speaking of the chief pillars of the church of Rome, and the principal supports of the declining authority of its pontiffs. Compared with this aspiring and formidable society, all the other religious orders appear inconsiderable and obscure. The reformation, among the other changes which it occasioned even in the Roman church, by exciting the circumspection and emulation of those who still remained addicted to popery, gave rise to various communities, which were all comprehended under the general denomination of regular clerks. And as all these communities were, according to their own solemn declarations, formed with a design of imitating that sanctity of manners, and reviving that spirit of piety and virtue, that had distinguished the sacred order in the primitive times; this was a plain though tacit confession of the present corruption of the clergy, and consequently of the indispensable necessity of the reformation.

The first society of these regular clerks was formed in the year 1524, under the denomination of *Theatins*, which they derived from their principal founder, John Peter Caraffa, then bishop of Theate, or Chieti, in the kingdom of Naples, and afterward pope, under the title of Paul IV. who was assisted in this pious undertaking by Cajetan, or Gaetan, and other devout associates. These monks, being by their vows destitute of all possessions and revenues, and even secluded from the resource of begging, subsist entirely upon the voluntary liberality of pious persons. They are called by their profession and institute to revive a spirit of devotion, to purify and reform the eloquence of the pulpit, to assist the sick and the dying by their spiritual in-

^s Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. i. ch. xvii. p. 340.

structions and counsels, and to combat heretics of all denominations with zeal and assiduity.' There are also some female convents established under the rule and title of this order.

The establishment of the Theatins was followed by that of the regular clerks of St. Paul, so called from their having chosen that apostle for their patron ; though they are more commonly known under the denomination of Barnabites, from the church of St. Barnabas at Milan, which was bestowed upon them in the year 1545. This order, which was approved by Clement VII. and confirmed about three years after by Paul III. was originally founded by Antonio Mavia Zacharias of Cremona, and Bartholomew Ferrari, and Jacob. Ant. Morigia, noblemen of Milan. Its members were at first obliged to live after the manner of the Theatins, renouncing all worldly goods and possessions, and depending upon the spontaneous donations of the liberal for their daily subsistence. But they soon grew weary of this precarious method of living from hand to mouth, and therefore took the liberty, in process of time, of securing to their community certain possessions and stated revenues. Their principal function is to go from place to place, like the apostles, in order to convert sinners, and bring back transgressors into the paths of repentance and obedience."

The regular clerks of St. Maieul, who are also called the fathers of Somasquo, from the place where their community was first established, and which was also the residence of their founder, were erected into a distinct society by Jerome Emiliani, a noble Venetian, and were afterward successively confirmed, in the years 1540 and 1563, by the Roman pontiffs Paul III. and Pius IV." Their chief occupation was to instruct the ignorant, and particularly young persons, in the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, and to procure assistance for those that were reduced to the unhappy condition of orphans. The same important ministry was committed to the fathers of the Christian doctrine in France and Italy. The order that bore this title in France was instituted

t Helyot *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. iv. ch. xii. p. 71.

u Helyot, *loc. cit.* tom. iv. ch. xvi. p. 100. In the same part of this incomparable work, this learned author gives a most accurate, ample, and interesting account of the other religious orders, which are here, for brevity's sake, but barely mentioned.

w *Acta Sanctor.* Februar. tom. ii. p. 217.

by Cesar de Bus, and confirmed, in the year 1597, by Clement VIII. while that which is known in Italy under the same denomination derives its origin from Mark Cusani, a Milanese knight, and was established by the approbation and authority of Pius V. and Gregory XIII.

XVIII. It would be an endless, and indeed an unprofitable labour to enumerate particularly that prodigious multitude of less considerable orders and religious associations, that were instituted in Germany and other countries, from an apprehension of the pretended heretics, who disturbed by their innovations the peace, or rather the lethargy of the church. For certainly no age produced such a swarm of monks, and such a number of convents, as that in which Luther and the other reformers opposed the divine light and power of the gospel to ignorance, superstition, and papal tyranny. We therefore pass over in silence these less important establishments, of which many have been long buried in oblivion, because they were erected on unstable foundations, while numbers have been suppressed by the wisdom of certain pontiffs, who have considered the multitude of these communities rather as prejudicial than advantageous to the church. Nor can we take particular notice of the female convents, or nunneries, among which the Ursulines shine forth with a superior lustre both in point of number and dignity. The priests of the oratory, founded in Italy by Philip Neri, a native of Florence, and publicly honoured with the protection of Gregory XIII. in the year 1577, must however be excepted from this general silence, on account of the eminent figure they have made in the republic of letters. It was this community that produced Baronius, Raynaldus, and Laderchius, who hold so high a rank among the ecclesiastical historians of the sixteenth and following centuries; and there are still to be found in it men of considerable erudition and capacity. The name of this religious society was derived from an apartment, accommodated in the form of an oratory,^x or cabinet for devotion, which St. Philip Neri built at Florence for himself, and in which, for many years, he held spiritual conferences with his more intimate companions.^y

Other new religious communities.

^x Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, &c. tom. viii. ch. iv. p. 12.

^y He was peculiarly assisted in these conferences by Baronius, author of the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, who also succeeded him as general of the order, and whose *An.*

XIX. It is too evident to admit of the least dispute, that all kinds of erudition, whether sacred or profane, were held in much higher esteem in the western world since the time of Luther, than they had been before that auspicious period. The Jesuits, more especially, boast, and perhaps not without reason, that their society contributed more, at least in this century, to the culture of the languages, the improvement of the arts, and the advancement of true science, than all the rest of the religious orders. It is certain, that the schools and academies, either through indolence or design, persisted obstinately in their ancient method of teaching, though that method was intricate and disagreeable in many respects; nor would they suffer themselves to be better informed, or permit the least change in their uncouth and disgusting systems. The monks were not more remarkable for their docility than the schools; nor did they seem at all disposed to admit into the retreats of their gloomy cloisters, a more solid and elegant method of instruction than they had been formerly accustomed to. These facts furnish a rational account of the surprising variety that appears in the style and manner of the writers of this age, of whom several express their sentiments with elegance, perspicuity, and order, while the diction of a great part of their contemporaries is barbarous, perplexed, obscure, and insipid.

Cesar Baronius, already mentioned, undertook to throw light on the history of religion by his annals of the Christian church; but this pretended light was scarcely any thing better than perplexity and darkness.^a His example however excited many to enterprises of the same nature. The attempts of the persons they called heretics, rendered indeed such enterprises necessary; for these heretics, with the learned Flackius and Chemnitz at their head,^a demon-

nals, on account of his imperfect knowledge of the Greek language, are so remarkably full of gross faults, misrepresentations, and blunders.

^z The learned Isaac Casaubon undertook a refutation of the *Annals* of Baronius, in an excellent work, entitled *Exercitationes*, &c. and though he carried it no farther down than the 34th year of the Christian era, yet he pointed out a prodigious number of palpable, and, many of them, shameful errors, into which the Romish annalist has fallen during that short space. Even the Roman catholic literati acknowledge the inaccuracies and faults of Baronius; hence many learned men, such as Pagi, Noris, and Tillemont, have been employed to correct them. And accordingly, a few years ago, a new edition of these *Annals* were published at Lucca, with the corrections of these reviewers at the foot of each page.

^a The former in the *Centuria Magdeburgenses*; the latter in his *Examen Concilii*

strated with the utmost evidence, that not only the declarations of holy Scripture, but also the testimony of ancient history, and the records of the primitive church, were in direct opposition both to the doctrines and pretensions of the church of Rome. This was wounding popery with its own arms, and attacking it in its pretended strong holds. It was therefore incumbent upon the friends of Rome to employ, while it was time, their most zealous efforts in maintaining the credit of those ancient fables, on which the greatest part of the papal authority reposed, as its only foundation and support.

xx. Several men of genius in France and Italy, who have been already mentioned with the esteem that is due to their valuable labours,^b used their most zealous endeavours to reform the barbarous philosophy of the times. The state of philosophy. But the excessive attachment of the scholastic doctors to the Aristotelian philosophy on the one hand, and on the other the timorous prudence of many weak minds, who were apprehensive that the liberty of striking out new discoveries and ways of thinking might be prejudicial to the church, and open a new source of division and discord, crushed all these generous endeavours, and rendered them ineffectual. The throne of the subtle Stagirite remained therefore unshaken; and his philosophy, whose very obscurity afforded a certain gloomy kind of pleasure, and flattered the pride of those who were implicitly supposed to understand it, reigned unrivalled in the schools and monasteries. It even acquired new credit and authority from the Jesuits, who taught it in their colleges, and made use of it in their writings and disputes. By this however these artful ecclesiastics showed evidently, that the captious jargon and subtilities of that intricate philosophy were much more adapted to puzzle heretics, and to give the popish doctors at least the appearance of carrying on the controversy with success, than the plain and obvious method of disputing, which is pointed out by the genuine and unbiassed dictates of right reason.

xxi. The church of Rome produced, in this century, a prodigious number of theological writers. The most eminent of these, both in point of reputation and merit, are as follow: Thomas de Vio, Theological writers of the Romish persuasion.

^b See above, sect. ii. viii. and ix.

otherwise named cardinal Cajetan, Eckius, Cochlaeus, Emser, Surius, Hosius, Faber, Sadolet, Pighius, Vatable, Canus, D'Espence, Caranza, Maldonat, Turrianus, Arias Montanus, Catharinus, Reginald Pole, Sixtus Senensis, Cassander, Paya d'Andrada, Baius, Pamelius, and others.^c

xxii. The religion of Rome, which the pontiffs are so desirous of imposing upon the faith of all that bear the Christian name, is derived, according to the unanimous accounts of its doctors, from two sources, the written word of God, and the unwritten; or, in other words, from Scripture and tradition. But as the most eminent divines of that church are far from being agreed concerning the person or persons who are authorized to interpret the declarations of these two oracles, and to determine their sense; so it may be asserted, with truth, that there is, as yet, no possibility of knowing with certainty what are the real doctrines of the church of Rome, nor where, in that communion, the judge of religious controversies is to be found. It is true, the court of Rome, and all those who favour the despotic pretensions of its pontiff, maintain, that he alone, who governs the church as Christ's vicegerent, is entitled to explain and determine the sense of Scripture and tradition in matters pertaining to salvation, and that, of consequence, a devout and unlimited obedience is due to his decisions. To give weight to this opinion, Pius IV. formed the plan of a council, which was afterward instituted and confirmed by Sixtus V. and called the Congregation for interpreting the Decrees of the Council of Trent. This congregation was authorized to examine and decide, in the name of the pope, all matters of small moment relating to ecclesiastical discipline, while every debate of any consequence, and particularly all disquisitions concerning points of faith and doctrine, were left to the decision of the pontiff alone, as the great oracle of the church.^d But notwithstanding all this, it was impossible to persuade the wiser part of the Roman catholic body to acknowledge this exclusive authority in their head. And accord-

The principles of the Roman Catholic faith.

^c For an ample account of the literary character, rank, and writings of these learned men, and of several others whose names are here omitted, see Louis Ell. Du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xiv. and xvi.

^d See Aymon, *Tableaux de la Cour de Rome*, part v. ch. iv. p. 282.

Hence it was, that the approbation of Innocent XI. was refused to the artful and insidious work of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, entitled *An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, until the author had suppressed entirely the first edition of that work, and made corrections and alterations in the second.

ingly, the greatest part of the Gallican church, and a considerable number of very learned men of the popish religion in other countries, think very differently from the court of Rome on this subject. They maintain, that all bishops and doctors have a right to consult the sacred fountains of Scripture and tradition, and to draw from thence the rules of faith and manners for themselves and their flock ; and that all difficult points and debates of consequence are to be referred to the cognisance and decision of general councils. Such is the difference of opinion, with respect to the determination of doctrine and controversies, that still divides the church of Rome ; and as no judge has been, nor perhaps can be found to compose it, we may therefore reasonably despair of seeing the religion of Rome acquire a permanent, stable, and determined form.

xxiii. The council of Trent was assembled, as was pretended, to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the The council of Trent. vigour of its discipline, and to reform the lives of its ministers. But in the opinion of those who examine things with impartiality, this assembly, instead of reforming ancient abuses, rather gave rise to new enormities ; and many transactions of this council have excited the just complaints of the wisest men in both communions. They complain that many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate points, that had formerly been left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate, were, by this council, absurdly adopted as articles of faith, and recommended as such, nay, imposed with violence, upon the consciences of the people, under pain of excommunication. They complain of the ambiguity that reigns in the decrees and declarations of that council, by which the disputes and dissensions that had formerly rent the church, instead of being removed by clear definitions and wise and charitable decisions, were rendered, on the contrary, more perplexed and intricate, and were, in reality, propagated and multiplied instead of being suppressed or diminished. Nor were these the only reasons of complaint ; for it must have been afflicting to those that had the cause of true religion and Christian liberty at heart, to see all things decided, in that assembly, according to the despotic will of the Roman pontiff, without any regard to the dictates of truth, or the au-

thority of Scripture, its genuine and authentic source, and to see the assembled fathers reduced to silence by the Roman legates, and deprived, by these insolent representatives of the papacy, of that influence and credit, that might have rendered them capable of healing the wounds of the church. It was moreover a grievance justly to be complained of, that the few wise and pious regulations that were made in that council, were never supported by the authority of the church, but were suffered to degenerate into a mere lifeless form, or shadow of law, which was treated with indifference, and transgressed with impunity. To sum up all in one word, the most candid and impartial observers of things consider the council of Trent as an assembly that was more attentive to what might maintain the despotic authority of the pontiff, than solicitous about entering into the measures that were necessary to promote the good of the church. It will not therefore appear surprising, that there are certain doctors of the Romish church, who, instead of submitting to the decisions of the council of Trent as an ultimate rule of faith, maintain, on the contrary, that these decisions are to be explained by the dictates of Scripture and the language of tradition. Nor when all these things were duly considered, shall we have reason to wonder, that this council has not throughout the same degree of credit and authority, even in those countries that profess the Roman catholic religion.*

Some countries indeed, such as Germany, Poland, and Italy, have adopted implicitly and absolutely the decrees of this council, without the smallest restriction of any kind. But in other places it has been received and acknowledged on certain conditions, which modify not a little its pretended authority. Among these latter we may reckon the Spanish dominions, which disputed, during many years, the authority of this council, and acknowledged it at length only so far as it could be adopted "without any prejudice to the rights and prerogatives of the kings of Spain."^g In other countries, such as France,^f and Hungary,^h it never has

* The translator has here inserted in the text the note h of the original, and has thrown the citations it contains into different notes.

^f See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iv. p. 235.

^g See Hect. Godofr. Masii *Diss. de Contemptu Concilii Tridentini in Gallia*, which is published among his other dissertations collected into one volume. See also the excellent discourse which Dr. Courayer has subjoined to the second volume of his French translation of Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, entitled *Discours sur la Reception du Concile de Trente, particulierement en France*, p. 775, 789.

^h See Lorandi Samuelof, *Vita Andr. Dudiliii*, p. 58.

been solemnly received or publicly acknowledged. It is true indeed, that in the former of these kingdoms, those decrees of Trent that relate to points of religious doctrine, have, tacitly and imperceptibly, through the power of custom, acquired the force and authority of a rule of faith; but those which regard external discipline, spiritual power, and ecclesiastical government, have been constantly rejected both in a public and private manner, as inconsistent with the authority and prerogatives of the throne, and prejudicial to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church.¹

xxiv. Notwithstanding all this, such as are desirous of forming some notion of the religion of Rome, will do well to consult the decrees of the council of Trent, together with the compendious confession of faith, which was drawn up by the order of Pius IV. Those, however, who expect to derive from these sources a clear, complete, and perfect knowledge of the Romish faith, will be greatly disappointed. To evince the truth of this assertion it might be observed, as has been already hinted, that both in the decrees of Trent, and in this papal confession, many things are expressed in a vague and ambiguous manner, and that designedly, on account of the intestine divisions and warm debates that then reigned in the church. This other singular circumstance might also be added, that several tenets are omitted in both, which no Roman catholic is allowed to deny, or even to call in question. But waving both these considerations, let it only be observed, that in these decrees, and in this confession several doctrines and rules of worship are inculcated in a much more rational and decent manner than that in which they appear in the daily service of the church, and in the public practice of its members.¹ Hence we may conclude that the justest notion of the doctrine of Rome is not to be derived so much from the *terms* made

The principal heads of the Roman catholic religion.

¹ See Louis Ell. Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xv. p. 380.

¹ For what relates to the literary history of the council of Trent, the historians who have transmitted accounts of it; and other circumstances of that nature, see Jo. Chr. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolica*, p. 325, 377, as also Salig's *History of the Council of Trent*, in German, p. 190—320.

^k This is true in a more especial manner, with respect to the canons of the council of Trent, relating to the doctrine of purgatory, the invocation of saints, the worship of images and relics. The terms employed in these canons are artfully chosen, so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the philosophical sense of that word; for in the Scripture sense, they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumstance does not appear in the worship of the Roman catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both the senses of that word.

use of in the decrees of the council of Trent, as from the real signification of these terms, which must be drawn from the customs, institutions, and observances, that are every where in use in the Romish church. Add to all this another consideration, which is, that in the bulls issued out from the papal throne in these latter times, certain doctrines, which were obscurely proposed in the council of Trent, have been explained with sufficient perspicuity, and avowed without either hesitation or reserve. Of this Clement XI. gave a notorious example in the famous bull called *UNIGENITUS*, which was an enterprise as audacious as it proved unsuccessful.

XXV. As soon as the popes perceived the remarkable detriment their authority had suffered from the accurate interpretations of the holy Scriptures that had been given by the learned, and the perusal of these divine oracles, which was now grown more common among the people, they left no method unemployed that might discourage the culture of this most important branch of sacred erudition. While the tide of resentment ran high, they forgot themselves in the most unaccountable manner. They permitted their champions to indulge themselves openly in reflections injurious to the dignity of the sacred writings, and by an excess of blasphemy almost incredible, if the passions of men did not render them capable of the greatest enormities, to declare publicly, that the edicts of the pontiffs, and the records of oral tradition, were superior, in point of authority, to the express language of the holy Scriptures. But as it was impossible to bring the sacred writings wholly into disrepute, they took the most effectual methods in their power to render them obscure and useless. For this purpose the ancient Latin translation of the Bible, commonly called the Vulgate, though it abounds with innumerable gross errors, and in a great number of places, exhibits the most shocking barbarity of style, and the most impenetrable obscurity with respect to the sense of the inspired writers, was declared, by a solemn decree of the council of Trent, an authentic, i. e. a faithful, accurate, and perfect translation, and was conse-

The state of exegetic theology, or Scripture knowledge.

[P] If we consult the canons of the council of Trent, we shall find that the word *authentic* is there explained in terms less positive and offensive than those used by Dr. Mosheim. Nor is it strictly true, that the Vulgate was declared by this council as a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure; since, as we learn from Fra. Paolo, it was determined that this version should be corrected, and a new edition of it pub-

quently recommended as a production beyond the reach of criticism or censure. It was easy to foresee that such a declaration was every way adapted to keep the people in ignorance, and to veil from their understandings the true meaning of the sacred writings. In the same council farther steps were taken to execute, with success, the designs of Rome. A severe and intolerable law was enacted, with respect to all interpreters and expositors of the Scriptures, by which they were forbidden to explain the sense of these divine books, in matters relating to faith and practice, in such a manner as to make them speak a different language from that of the church and the ancient doctors." The same law farther declared, that the church alone, i. e. its ruler, the Roman pontiff, had the right of determining the true meaning and signification of Scripture. To fill up the measure of these tyrannical and iniquitous proceedings, the church of Rome persisted obstinately in affirming, though not always with the same impudence and plainness of speech, that the holy Scriptures were not composed for the use of the multitude, but only for that of their spiritual teachers; and of consequence ordered these divine records to be taken from the people in all places, where it was allowed to execute its imperious commands."

xxvi. These circumstances had a visible influence upon the spirit and productions of the commentators and expositors of Scripture, which the example of Luther and his followers had rendered, through emulation, extremely numerous. The popish doctors, who vied with the protestants in this branch of sacred erudition, were insipid, timorous, servilely attached

Commentators and expositors of the Holy Scriptures.

lished by persons appointed for that purpose.* There was indeed something highly ridiculous in the proceedings of the council in relation to this point; for, if the natural order of things had been observed, the revisal and correction of the Vulgate would have preceded the pompous approbation with which the council honoured, and as it were consecrated that ancient version. For how, with any shadow of good sense could the assembled fathers set the seal of their approbation to a work which they acknowledge to stand in need of correction, and that before they knew whether or not the correction would answer their views, and merit their approbation.

It is remarkable, that this prohibition extends even to such interpretations as were not designed for public view. "Etiam si hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edendæ forent." Sessio 4ta, tit. cap. ii.

The pontiffs were not allowed to execute this despotic order in all countries that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. The French and some other nations have the Bible in their mother tongue, in which they peruse it, though much against the will of the creatures of the pope.

* See Fra. Paolo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, book ii. part iii. and Dr. Courtyer's French translation of this History, vol. i. p. 284, note 29.

to the glory and interests of the court of Rome, and discovered, in their explications, all the marks of slavish dependence and constraint. They seem to have been in constant terror lest any expression should escape from their pen that savoured of opinions different from what were commonly received; they appeal, every moment, to the declarations and authority of the holy fathers, as they usually style them; nor do they appear to have so much consulted the real doctrines taught by the sacred writers, as the language and sentiments which the church of Rome has taken the liberty to put into their mouths. Several of these commentators rack their imaginations in order to force out of each passage of Scripture the four kinds of significations, called literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical, which ignorance and superstition had first invented, and afterward held so sacred, in the explication of the inspired writings. Nor was their attachment to this manner of interpretation so ill managed, since it enabled them to make the sacred writers speak the language that was favourable to the views of the church, and to draw out of the Bible, with the help of a little subtilty, whatever doctrine they had a mind to impose upon the credulity of the multitude.

It must however be acknowledged, that beside these miserable commentators that dishonour the church of Rome, there were some in its communion, who had wisdom enough to despise these senseless methods of interpretation, and who, avoiding all mysterious significations and fancies, followed the plain, natural, and literal sense of the expressions used in the Holy Scriptures. In this class the most eminent were Erasmus of Rotterdam, who translated into Latin, with an elegant and faithful simplicity, the books of the New Testament, and explained them with judgment in a paraphrase which is deservedly esteemed; cardinal Cajetan, who disputed with Luther at Augsburg, and who gave a brief, but judicious exposition of almost all the books of the Old and New Testament; Francis Tittleman, Isidorus Clarius, John Maldonat, Benedict Justinian, who acquired no mean reputation by their commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. To these may be added Gaigny, d'Espence, and other expositors.* But

* See Simon, *Hist. Critique du Vieux et de Nouveau Testament*.

these eminent men, whose example was so adapted to excite emulation, had almost no followers; and, in a short space of time, their influence was gone, and their labours were forgot. For, toward the conclusion of this century, Edmund Richer, that strenuous opposer of the encroachments made by the pontiffs on the liberties of the Gallican church, was the only doctor in the university of Paris who followed the literal sense and the plain and natural signification of the words of Scripture; while all the other commentators and interpreters, imitating the pernicious example of several ancient expositors, were always racking their brains for mysterious and sublime significations, where none such were, nor could be designed by the sacred writers.^p

XXVII. The seminaries of learning were filled, before the reformation, with that subtle kind of theological The state of didactic theology. doctors, commonly known under the denomination of schoolmen; so that even at Paris, which was considered as the principal seat of sacred erudition, no doctors were to be found who were capable of disputing with the protestant divines in the method they generally pursued, which was that of proving the doctrines they maintained by arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the fathers. This uncommon scarcity of didactic and scriptural divines produced much confusion and perplexity, on many occasions, even in the council of Trent; where the scholastic doctors fatigued some, and almost turned the heads of others, by examining and explaining the doctrines that were there proposed, according to the intricate and ambiguous rules of their captious philosophy. Hence it became absolutely necessary to reform the methods of proceeding in theological disquisitions, and to restore to its former credit that which drew the truths of religion more from the dictates of the sacred writings, and from the sentiments of the ancient doctors, than from the uncertain suggestions of human reason, and the ingenious conjectures of philosophy.^q It was however impossible to

^p See Baillet, *Vie d'Edmund Richer*, p. 9, 10.

^q See Du Boulay's account of the reformation of the theological faculty, or college, at Paris, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. vi. p. 790. In this reform, the bachelors of divinity, called *sententiarii* and *biblici*, are particularly distinguished; and what is extremely remarkable, the *Augustine* monks, who were Luther's fraternity, are ordered to furnish the college of divinity once a year with a *Scriptural bachelor*, *Baccalaureum Biblicum presentare*; from whence we may conclude, that the monks of the

deprive entirely the scholastic divines of the ascendant they had acquired in the seminaries of learning, and had so long maintained almost without opposition. Nay, after having been threatened with a diminution of their authority, they seemed to resume new vigour from the time that the Jesuits adopted their philosophy, and made use of their subtile dialectic, as a more effectual armour against the attacks of the heretics, than either the language of Scripture, or the authority of the fathers. And indeed this intricate jargon of the schools was every way proper to answer the purposes of a set of men, who found it necessary to puzzle and perplex, where they could neither refute with perspicuity, nor prove with evidence. Thus they artfully concealed their defeat, and retreated, in the dazzled eyes of the multitude, with the appearance of victory.^r

The mystics lost almost all their credit in the church of Rome after the reformation; and that, partly on account of the favourable reception they found among the protestants, and partly in consequence of their pacific system, which, giving them an aversion to controversy in general, rendered them little disposed to defend the papal cause against its numerous and formidable adversaries. These enthusiasts however, were, in some measure, tolerated in the Church of Rome, and allowed to indulge themselves in their philosophical speculations, on certain conditions, which obliged them to abstain from censuring either the laws or the corruptions of the church, and from declaiming, with their usual freedom and vehemence, against the vanity of external worship, and the dissensions of jarring and contentious doctors.

Augustine order, to which Luther belonged, were much more conversant in the study of the holy Scriptures than the other monastic societies. But this academical law deserves to be quoted here at length, and that so much the more, as Du Boulay's history is in few hands. It is as follows: "Augustinenses quolibet anno Biblicum presentabunt, secundum statuum fol. 21, quod sequitur; Quilibet ordo Mendicantium et Collegiam S. Bernardi habeat quolibet anno Biblicum qui legat ordinarie, alioqui priventur Baccalaureo sententiariorum." It appears by this law, that each of the mendicant orders was by a decree of the theological faculty, obliged to furnish yearly, a Scriptural bachelor, such was Luther; and yet we see, that in the reformation already mentioned, this obligation is imposed upon none but the Augustine monks; from which it is natural to conclude, that the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the other mendicants, had entirely neglected the study of the Scriptures, and consequently had among them no Scriptural bachelors; and that the Augustine monks alone were in a condition to satisfy the demands of the theological faculty.

^r The translator has added the two last sentences of this paragraph, to illustrate more fully the sense of the author.

XXIII. There was no successful attempt made, in this century, to correct or improve the practical or moral system of doctrine that was followed in the church of Rome; nor indeed could any make such an attempt without drawing upon him the displeasure, and perhaps the fury, of the papal hierarchy. For, in reality, such a project of reformation seemed in nowise conducive to the interests of the church, as these interests were understood by its ambitious and rapacious rulers. And it is undoubtedly certain, that many doctrines and regulations, on which the power, opulence, and grandeur of that church essentially depended, would have run the risk of falling into discredit and contempt, if the pure and rational system of morality, contained in the gospel, had been exhibited, in its native beauty and simplicity, to the view and perusal of all Christians without distinction. Little or no zeal was therefore exerted in amending or improving the doctrines that immediately relate to practice. On the contrary, many persons of eminent piety and integrity, in the communion of Rome, have grievously complained, with what justice shall be shown in its proper place, that, as soon as the Jesuits had gained an ascendant in the courts of princes and in the schools of learning, the cause of virtue began visibly to decline. It has been alleged, more particularly, that this artful order employed all the force of their subtle distinctions to sap the foundations of morality, and, in process of time, opened a door to all sorts of licentiousness and iniquity, by the loose and dissolute rules of conduct they propagated as far as their influence extended. This poisonous doctrine spread indeed its contagion, in a latent manner, during the sixteenth century; but, in the following age, its abettors ventured to expose some specimens of its turpitude to public view, and thus gave occasion to great commotions in several parts of Europe.

All the moral writers of the Romish church, in this century, may be distinguished into three classes, the schoolmen, the dogmatists, and the mystics. The first explain-

☞ See cent. xvii. sect. ii. part i. chap. i. § xxxiv.

☞ The reader will easily perceive, by the short account of these three classes that is given by Dr. Mosheim, that the word dogmatist must not be taken in that magisterial sense, which it bears in modern language.

The state of
morality and
practical reli-
gion.

ed, or rather obscured, the virtues and duties of the Christian life, by knotty distinctions, and unintelligible forms of speech, and buried them under an enormous load of arguments and demonstrations. The second illustrated them from the declarations of Scripture, and the opinions of the ancient doctors. While the third placed the whole of morality in the tranquillity of a mind withdrawn from all sensible objects, and habitually employed in the contemplation of the divine nature.

XXIX. The number of combatants that the pontiffs brought into the field of controversy, during this century, was prodigious, and their glaring defects are abundantly known. It may be said with truth, of the most of them, that, like many warriors of another class, they generally lost sight of all considerations, except those of victory and plunder. The disputants, which the order of Jesuits sent forth in great number against the adversaries of the church of Rome, surpassed all the rest in subtilty, impudence, and invective. But the chief leader and champion of the polemic tribe was Robert Bellarmine, a Jesuit, and one of the college of cardinals, who treated, in several bulky volumes, of all the controversies that subsisted between the protestants and the church of Rome, and whose merit as a writer consisted principally in clearness of style, and a certain copiousness of argument, which showed a rich and fruitful imagination. This eminent defender of the church of Rome arose about the conclusion of this century, and, on his first appearance, all the force and attacks of the most illustrious protestant doctors were turned against him alone. His candour and plain dealing exposed him however to the censures of several divines of his own communion; for he collected, with diligence, the reasons and objections of his adversaries, and proposed them, for the most part, in their full force, with integrity and exactness. Had he been less remarkable on account of his fidelity and industry; had he taken care to select the weakest arguments of his antagonists, and to render them still weaker, by proposing them in an imperfect and unfaithful light, his fame would have been much greater among the friends of Rome than it actually is."

u See Jo. Frid. Maycri *Elogia de fide Baronii et Bellarmini ipsis pontificiis dubia*, published at Amsterdam in 8vo. in 1698.

XXX. If we turn our view to the internal state of the church of Rome, and consider the respective sentiments, opinions, and manners of its different members, we shall find that, notwithstanding its boasted unity of faith, and its ostentatious pretensions to harmony and concord, it was, in this century, and is at this day, divided and distracted with dissensions and contests of various kinds. The Franciscans and the Dominicans contend with vehemence about several points of doctrine and discipline. The Scotists and Thomists are at eternal war. The bishops have never ceased disputing with the pontiff, and the congregations that he has instituted to maintain his pretensions, concerning the origin and limits of his authority and jurisdiction. The French and Flemings, together with other countries, openly oppose the Roman pontiff on many occasions, and refuse to acknowledge his supreme and unlimited dominion in the church; while, on the other hand, he still continues to encroach upon their privileges, sometimes with violence and resolution, when he can do so with impunity, at other times with circumspection and prudence, when vigorous measures appear dangerous or unnecessary. The Jesuits, who from their first rise had formed the project of diminishing the credit and influence of all the other religious orders, used their warmest endeavours to share with the Benedictines and other monasteries, which were richly endowed, a part of their opulence; and their endeavours were crowned with success. Thus they drew upon their society the indignation and vengeance of the other religious communities, and armed against it the monks of every other denomination; and, in a more especial manner, the Benedictines and Dominicans, who surpassed all its enemies in the keenness and bitterness of their resentment. The rage of the Benedictines is animated by a painful reflection on the possessions of which they had been deprived; while the Dominicans contend for the honour of their order, the privileges annexed to it, and the religious tenets by which it is distinguished. Nor are the theological colleges and seminaries of learning more exempt from the flame of controversy than the clerical and monastic orders; on the contrary, debates concerning almost all the doctrines of Christianity are multiplied in them beyond number, and conducted with little moderation. It is true indeed, that all

The controversies that divide the church of Rome.

these contests are tempered and managed, by the prudence and authority of the Roman pontiffs, in such a manner as to prevent their being carried to an excessive height, to a length that might prove fatal to the church, by destroying that phantom of external unity that is the source of its consistence as an ecclesiastical body. I say *tempered* and *managed*; for to heal entirely these divisions, and calm these animosities, however it may be judged an undertaking worthy of one who calls himself the vicar of Christ, is nevertheless a work beyond the power, and contrary to the intention of the Roman pontiff.

XXXI. Beside these debates of inferior moment, which made only a slight breach in the tranquillity and union of the church of Rome, there arose, after the period in which the council of Trent was assembled, controversies of much greater importance, which deservedly attracted the attention of Christians of all denominations. These controversies were set on foot by the Jesuits, and from small beginnings have increased gradually, and gathered strength; so that the flame they produced has been transmitted even to our times, and continues at this very day to divide the members of the Romish church in a manner that does not a little endanger its stability. While the Roman pontiffs foment, perhaps, instead of endeavouring to extinguish, the less momentous disputes mentioned above, they observe a different conduct with respect to those now under consideration. The most zealous efforts of artifice and authority are constantly employed to calm the contending parties, since it appears impossible to unite and reconcile them, and to diminish the violence of commotion, which they can scarcely ever hope entirely to suppress. Their efforts however have hitherto been, and still continue to be, ineffectual. They have not been able to calm the agitation and vehemence with which these debates are carried on, nor to inspire any sentiments of moderation and mutual forbearance into minds, which are less animated by the love of truth, than by the spirit of faction.

XXXII. Whoever looks with attention and impartiality into these controversies will easily perceive that there are two parties in the Roman church, whose notions with respect both to doctrine and discipline are extremely different. The Jesuits in ge-

The more momentous controversies that have divided the church of Rome.

Two general classes of doctors in the church of Rome.

neral, considered as a body,* maintain, with the greatest zeal and obstinacy, the ancient system of doctrine and manners, which was universally adopted in the church before the rise of Luther, and which, though absurd and ill digested, has nevertheless been considered as highly favourable to the views of Rome, and the grandeur of its pontiffs. These sagacious ecclesiastics, whose peculiar office it is to watch for the security and defence of the papal throne, are fully persuaded that the authority of the pontiffs, as well as the opulence, pomp, and grandeur of the clergy, depend entirely upon the preservation of the ancient forms of doctrine; and that every project that tends either to remove these forms, or even to correct them, must be, in the highest degree, detrimental to what they call the interests of the church, and gradually bring on its ruin. On the other hand, there are within the pale of the Roman church, especially since the dawn of the reformation, many pious and well-meaning men, whose eyes have been opened, by the perusal of the inspired and primitive writers, upon the corruptions and defects of the received forms of doctrine and discipline. Comparing the dictates of primitive Christianity with the vulgar system of popery, they have found the latter full of enormities, and have always been desirous of a reformation, though indeed a partial one, according to their particular fancies, that thus the church might be purified from those unhappy abuses that have given rise to such fatal divisions, and still draw upon it the censures and reproaches of the heretics.

From these opposite ways of thinking, arose naturally the warmest contentions and debates between the Jesuits and several doctors of the church of Rome. These debates may be reduced under the six following heads;

The main controversies that divide the church of Rome reduced to six heads.

The first subject of debate concerns the limits and extent of the power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. The Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and dependents, all maintain, that the pope is infallible; that he is the only visible source of that universal and unlimited power which Christ has granted to the church; that all bishops and subordinate rulers derive from

First subject of debate.

* The Jesuits are here taken in the general and collective sense of that denomination; because there are several individuals of that order, whose sentiments differ from those that generally prevail in their community.

him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested; that he is not bound by any laws of the church, nor by any decrees of the councils that compose it; and that he alone is the supreme lawgiver of that sacred community, a lawgiver whose edicts and commands it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits; but they are very far from being universally adopted. For other doctors of the church of Rome hold, on the contrary, that the pope is liable to error; that his authority is inferior to that of a general council; that he is bound to obey the commands of the church, and its laws, as they are enacted in the councils that represent it; that these councils have a right to depose him from the papal chair, when he abuses, in a flagrant manner, the dignity and prerogatives with which he is intrusted; and that, in consequence of these principles, the bishops and other inferior rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the Roman pontiff, but from Christ himself.

XXXIII. The extent and prerogatives of the church form the second subject of debate. The Jesuits and their adherents stretch out its borders far and wide. They comprehend within its large circuit, not only many who live separate from the communion of Rome,^x but even extend the inheritance of eternal salvation to nations that have not the least knowledge of the Christian religion, or of its divine Author, and consider as true members of the church open transgressors which profess its doctrines. But the adversaries of the Jesuits reduce within narrower limits the kingdom of Christ, and not only exclude from all hope of salvation those who are not within the pale of the church of Rome, but also those who, though they live within its external communion, yet dishonour their profession by a vicious and profligate course of life. The Jesuits, moreover, not to mention other differences of less moment, assert, that the church can never pronounce an erroneous or unjust decision, either relating to matters of fact, or points of doctrine;^y while the adverse party declare, that, in judg-

^x They were accused at Spoleto, in the year 1653, of having maintained, in their public instructions there, the probability of the salvation of many heretics. See *Le Clerc, Biblioth. Univers. et Historique*, tom. xiv. p. 320.

^y This distinction, with respect to the objects of infallibility, was chiefly owing to the following historical circumstance; pope Innocent X. condemned five propositions, drawn from the famous book of Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*. This condem-

ing of matters of fact, it is not secured against all possibility of erring.

XXXIV. The third class of controversies, that divides the church of Rome, comprehends the debates The third subject of debate. relating to the nature, efficacy, and necessity of divine grace, together with those that concern original sin, the natural power of man to obey the laws of God, and the nature and foundation of those eternal decrees that have for their object the salvation of men. The Dominicans, Augustins, and Jansenists, with several other doctors of the church, adopt the following propositions; that the impulse of divine grace cannot be opposed or resisted; that there are no remains of purity or goodness in human nature since its fall; that the eternal decrees of God, relating to the salvation of men, are neither founded upon, nor attended with, any condition whatsoever; that God wills the salvation of all mankind; and several other tenets that are connected with these. The Jesuits maintain, on the contrary, that the natural dominion of sin in the human mind, and the hidden corruption it has produced in our internal frame, are less universal and dreadful than they are represented by the doctors now mentioned; that human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good; that the succours of grace are administered to all mankind in a measure sufficient to lead them to eternal life and salvation; that the operations of grace offer no violence to the faculties and powers of nature, and therefore may be resisted; and that God from all eternity has appointed everlasting rewards and punishments, as the portion of men in a future world, not by an absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional decree, but in consequence of that divine and unlimited prescience, by which he foresaw the actions, merits, and characters of every individual.

The fourth head in this division of the controversies that destroy the pretended unity of the church of Rome, contains various subjects of debate, relative The fourth subject of debate. to doctrines of morality and rules of practice, which it would be both tedious and foreign from our pur-

nation occasioned the two following questions; 1st, Whether or no these propositions were erroneous: this was the question *de jure*, i. e. as the translator has rendered it, the question relating to doctrine. 2d, Whether or no these propositions were really taught by Jansenius; this was the question *de facto*, i. e. relating to the matter of fact. The church was supposed, by some, infallible only in deciding questions of the former kind.

pose to enumerate in a circumstantial manner ; though it may not be improper to touch lightly the first principles of this endless controversy.*

The Jesuits and their followers have inculcated a very strange doctrine with respect to the motives that determine the moral conduct and actions of men. They represent it as a matter of perfect indifference from what motives men obey the laws of God, provided these laws are really obeyed ; and maintain, that the service of those who obey, from the fear of punishment, is as agreeable to the Deity, as those actions which proceed from a principle of love to him and to his laws. This decision excites the horror of the greatest part of the doctors of the Roman church, who affirm, that no acts of obedience that do not proceed from the love of God, can be acceptable to that pure and holy Being. Nor is the doctrine of the Jesuits only chargeable with the corrupt tenets already mentioned. They maintain farther, that a man never sins, properly speaking ; but when he transgresseth a divine law, which is fully known to him, which is present to his mind, while he acts, and of which he understands the true meaning and intent. And they conclude from hence, that in strict justice, the conduct of that transgressor cannot be looked upon as criminal, who is either ignorant of the law, or is in doubt about its true signification, or loses sight of it through forgetfulness, at the time that he violates it. From these propositions, they deduce the famous doctrines of probability and philosophical sin, that have cast an eternal reproach upon the schools of the Jesuits.* Their adversaries behold these

* No author has give a more accurate, precise, and clear enumeration of the objections that have been made to the moral doctrine of the Jesuits, and the reproaches that have been cast on their rules of life ; and none at the same time has defended their cause with more art and dexterity than the eloquent and ingenious Gabriel Daniel, a famous member of their order, in a piece entitled *Entretiens de Cleandre et d'Eudoxe*. This dialogue is to be found in the first volume of his *Opuscules*, p. 351, and was designed as an answer to the celebrated Provincial Letters of Pascal, which did more real prejudice to the society of the Jesuits than can be well imagined, and exposed their loose and perfidious system of morals with the greatest fidelity and perspicuity, embellished by the most exquisite strokes of humour and irony. Father Daniel, in the piece above mentioned, treats with great acuteness the famous doctrine of probability, p. 351 ; the method of directing our intentions, p. 556 ; equivocation and mental reservation, p. 562 ; sins of ignorance and oblivion, p. 719 ; and it must be acknowledged, that if the cause of the Jesuits were susceptible of defence or plausibility, it has found in this writer an able and dexterous champion.

† The doctrine of probability consists in this : "That an opinion or precept may be followed with a good conscience, when it is inculcated by four, or three, or two, nay, even by one doctor of any considerable reputation, even though it be contrary to the judgment of him that follows it, and even of him that recommends it." This doctrine rendered the Jesuits capable of accommodating themselves to all the

pernicious tenets with the utmost abhorrence, and assert that neither ignorance, nor forgetfulness of the law, nor the doubts that may be entertained with respect to its signification, will be admitted as sufficient to justify transgressors before the tribunal of God. This contest, about the main and fundamental points of morality, has given rise to a great variety of debates concerning the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourselves; and produced two sects of moral doctors, whose animosities and divisions have miserably rent the church of Rome in all parts of the world, and involved it in the greatest perplexities.

xxxvi. The administration of the sacraments, especially those of penance and the eucharist, forms the fifth The fifth subject of debate. subject of controversy in the church of Rome.

The Jesuits and many other doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the sacraments are produced by their intrinsic virtue and immediate operation^b upon the mind at the time they are administered, and that consequently it requires but little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort; nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity, and a heart animated with divine love in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And hence it is, that according to their doctrine, the priests are empowered to give immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterward to admit them to the use of the sacraments. But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart. These look upon it as the duty of the clergy to use the greatest diligence and

different passions of men, and to persons of all tempers and characters, from the most austere to the most licentious. "Philosophical sin," according to the Jesuits' doctrine, "is an action, or course of actions, that is repugnant to the dictates of reason, and yet not offensive to the Deity." See a fuller account of these two odious doctrines in the following part of this work, cent. xvii. sect. ii. part i. chap. i. § xxxv. and in the author's and translator's notes.

[^b] This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say, that the sacraments produce their effect *opera operata*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain, that the sacraments have in themselves an instrumental and efficient power, by virtue of which they work in the soul, independently on its previous preparation or propensities, a disposition to receive the divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, are necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, whose victorious energy nothing but a mortal sin can resist. See Dr. Courrayer's Translation of Paul Scarpi's History of the Council of Trent, tom. i. livr. ii. p. 423, 424, edit. Amsterdam.

assiduity in examining the characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the sacraments, before they grant their requests; since, in their sense of things; the real benefits of these institutions can extend to those only whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love that casteth out fear. Hence arose that famous dispute in the church of Rome, concerning a frequent approach to the holy communion, which was carried on with such warmth in the last century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with Arnauld^c at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in our times by the Jesuit Pichon, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French bishops.^d The frequent celebration of the Lord's supper is one of the main duties which the Jesuits recommended with peculiar earnestness to those who are under their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appeasing the Deity, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding the Jansenists censure with their usual severity; and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious doctors of the Romish communion, who reject that intrinsic virtue and efficient operation that is attributed to the sacraments, and wisely maintain, that the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper can be profitable to those only whose minds are prepared, by faith, repentance, and the love of God, for that solemn service.

xxxvii. The sixth and last controversy turns upon the proper method of instructing Christians in the truths and precepts of religion. One part of the Romish doctors, who have the progress of religion truly at heart, look upon it as expedient, and even necessary, to sow the seeds of divine truth in the mind, in the tender and flexible state of infancy, when it is most susceptible of good impressions, and to give it by degrees, according to the measure of its capacity, a full and accurate knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others, who have a greater zeal for the interests of the church than the improvement of its members, recommend a devout igno-

^c Arnauld published, on this occasion, his famous book concerning the Practice of communicating frequently. The French title is *Traité de la fréquente Communion*.

^d See *Journal Universel*, tom. xiii. p. 148, tom. xv. p. 363, tom. xvi. p. 124.

rance to such as submit to their direction, and think a Christian sufficiently instructed when he has learned to yield a blind and unlimited obedience to the orders of the church. The former are of opinion, that nothing can be so profitable and instructive to Christians as the study of the Holy Scriptures, and consequently judge it highly expedient that they should be translated into the vulgar tongue of each country. The latter exclude the people from the satisfaction of consulting the sacred oracles of truth, and look upon all vernacular translations of the Bible as dangerous, and even of a pernicious tendency. They accordingly maintain, that it ought only to be published in a learned language, to prevent its instructions from becoming familiar to the multitude. The former compose pious and instructive books to nourish a spirit of devotion in the minds of Christians, to enlighten their ignorance, and dispel their errors; they illustrate and explain the public prayers and the solemn acts of religion in the language of the people, and exhort all who attend to their instructions, to peruse constantly these pious productions, in-order to improve their knowledge, purify their affections, and to learn the method of worshipping the Deity in a rational and acceptable manner. All this however is highly displeasing to the latter kind of doctors, who are always apprehensive, that the blind obedience and implicit submission of the people will diminish in proportion as their views are enlarged, and their knowledge increased.*

e The account here given of the more momentous controversies that divide the church of Rome, may be confirmed, illustrated, and enlarged, by consulting a multitude of books published in the last and present centuries, especially in France and Flanders, by Jansenists, Dominicans, Jesuits, and others. All the productions, in which the doctrine and precepts of the Jesuits, and the other creatures of the Roman pontiff, are opposed, and refuted, are enumerated by Dominic Colonia, a French Jesuit, in a work published in 1735, under the following title: *Bibliothèque Janseniste, ou Catalogue Alphabetique des principaux livres Jansenistes, ou suspects de Jansenisme, avec des notes critiques*. This writer is led into many absurdities by his extravagant attachment to the Roman pontiff, and to the cause and tenets of his order. His book, however, is of use in pointing out the various controversies that perplex and divide the church of Rome. It was condemned by the late pope Benedict XIV. but was nevertheless republished in a new form, with some change in the title, and additions that swelled it from one octavo volume to four of the same size. This new edition appeared at Antwerp, in the year 1752, under the following title: *Dictionnaire des livres Jansenistes, ou qui favorisent le Jansenisme, à Anvers chez J. B. Verdussen*. And it must be acknowledged, that it is extremely useful, in showing the intestine divisions of the church, the particular contests that divide its doctors, the religious tenets of the Jesuits, and the numerous productions that relate to the six heads of the controversy here mentioned. It must be observed, at the same time, that this work abounds with the most malignant invectives against many persons of eminent learning and piety, and with the most notorious instances of partiality and injustice.*

[* See a particular account of this learned and scandalous work in the first and second volumes of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, printed at the Hague.

XXXVIII. All the controversies that have been here mentioned did not break out at the same time. The disputes concerning divine grace, the natural power of man to perform good actions, original sin, and predestination, which have been ranged under the third class, were publicly carried on in the century of which we are now writing. The others were conducted with more secrecy and reserve, and did not come forth to public view before the following age. Nor will this appear at all surprising to those who consider that the controversies concerning grace and freewill, which had been set in motion by Luther, were neither accurately examined, nor peremptorily decided, in the church of Rome, but were rather artfully suspended and hushed into silence. The sentiments of Luther were indeed condemned; but no fixed and perspicuous rule of faith with respect to these disputed points, was substituted in their place. The decisions of St. Augustin were solemnly approved; but the difference between these decisions and the sentiments of Luther were never clearly explained. The first rise of this fatal controversy was owing to the zeal of Michael Baius, a doctor in the university of Louvain, equally remarkable on account of the warmth of his piety and the extent of his learning. This eminent divine, like the other followers of Augustin, had an invincible aversion to that contentious, subtle, and intricate manner of teaching theology, that had long prevailed in the schools; and under the auspicious name of that famous prelate, who was his darling guide, he had the courage or temerity to condemn and censure, in an open and public manner, the tenets commonly received in the church of Rome, in relation to the natural powers of man, and the merit of good works. This bold step drew upon Baius the indignation of some of his academical colleagues, and the heavy censures of several Franciscan monks. Whether the Jesuits immediately joined in this opposition, and may be reckoned among the first accusers of Baius, is a matter unknown, or at most uncertain; but it is unquestionably evident and certain, that even at the rise of this controversy, they abhorred the principal tenets of Baius, which he had taken from Augustin, and adopted as his own. In the year 1567, this doctor was accused at the court of Rome, and seventy-six propositions, drawn from his writings,

The disputes carried on with Baius concerning grace, &c.

were condemned by pope Pius V. in a circular letter expressly composed for that purpose. This condemnation however was issued out in an artful and insidious manner, without any mention being made of the name of the author; for the fatal consequences that had arisen from the rash and inconsiderate measures employed by the court of Rome against Luther, were too fresh in the remembrance of the prudent pontiff to permit his falling into new blunders of the same nature. The thunder of excommunication was therefore suppressed by the dictates of prudence, and the person and functions of Baius were spared, while his tenets were censured. About thirteen years after this transaction, Gregory XIII. complied so far with the importunate solicitations of a Jesuit, named Tolet, as to reinforce the sentence of Pius V. by a new condemnation of the opinions of the Flemish doctor. Baius submitted to this new sentence, either from an apprehension that it would be followed by severer proceedings in case of resistance, or, which is more probable, on account of the ambiguity that reigned in the papal edict, and the vague and confused manner in which the obnoxious propositions were therein expressed. But his example in this respect was not followed by the other doctors who had formed their theological system upon that of Augustin; and even at this day, many divines of the Romish communion, and particularly the Jansenists, declare openly that Baius was unjustly treated, and that the two edicts of Pius and Gregory, mentioned above, are absolutely destitute of all authority, and have never been received as laws of the church.^f

xxxix. Be that as it may, it is at least certain, that the doctrine of Augustin, with respect to the nature and operations of divine grace, lost none of its credit in consequence of these edicts, but was embraced and propagated, with the same zeal as formerly, throughout all the Belgic provinces, and more especially in

Conflicts with
the Jesuits,
Lessius and
Hamedius.

^f See, for an account of the disputes relating to Baius, the works of that author, published in 4to. at Cologne, in 1696, particularly in the second part, or appendix, entitled *Baiana seu Scripta, quæ controversias spectant occasione sententiarum Baii exortas*, Bayle's *Dict.* at the article Baius, in which there is an ample and circumstantial account of these disputes. Du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xvi. p. 144. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 161.

^g This is demonstrated fully by an anonymous writer, in a piece, entitled *Dissertation sur les Bulles contre Baius, ou l'on montre qu'elles ne sont pas reçues par l'Eglise*, and published in two volumes 8vo. at Utrecht, in the year 1737.

the two flourishing universities of Louvain and Douay. This appeared very soon after, when two Jesuits, named Lessius and Hamedius, ventured to represent the doctrine of predestination in a manner different from that in which it appears in the writings of Augustin. For the sentiments of these Jesuits were publicly condemned by the doctors of Louvain in the year 1587, and by those of Douay the year following. The bishops of the Low Countries were disposed to follow the example of these two universities, and had already deliberated about assembling a provincial council for this purpose, when the Roman pontiff, Sixtus V. suspended their proceedings by the interposition of his authority, and declared, that the cognizance and decision of religious controversies belonged only to the vicar of Christ, residing at Rome. But this cunning vicar, whose sagacity, prudence, and knowledge of men and things, never failed him in transactions of this nature, wisely avoided making use of the privilege he claimed with such confidence, that he might not inflame the divisions and animosities that were already subsisting. And accordingly, in the year 1588, this contest was finished, and the storm laid in such a manner, as that the contending parties were left in the quiet possession of their respective opinions, and solemnly prohibited from disputing, either in public or in private, upon the intricate points that had excited their divisions. Had the succeeding pontiffs, instead of assuming the character of judges in this ambiguous and difficult controversy, imitated the prudence of Sixtus V. and imposed silence on the litigious doctors, who renewed afterward the debates concerning divine grace, the tranquillity and unity of the church of Rome would not have been interrupted by such violent divisions as rage at present in its bosom.^a

XL. The Roman church had scarcely perceived the fruits of that calm, which the prudence of Sixtus had restored, by suppressing instead of deciding the late controversies, when new commotions of the

The controversies with the Molinists.

^a See *Apologie Historique des deux Censures de Louvain et de Douay*, par M. Gery, 1688, in 8vo. The famous Pasquer Quenel was the author of this apology, if we may give credit to the writer of a book, entitled *Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 104. See an account of this controversy in a piece, entitled *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace*; this curious piece is to be found in the fourteenth tome of Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle Historique*.

same nature, but of a much more terrible aspect, arose to disturb its tranquillity. These were occasioned by Lewis Molina,ⁱ a Spanish Jesuit, professor of divinity in the university of Eboræ in Portugal, who, in the year 1588, published a book to show that the operations of divine grace were entirely consistent with the freedom of human will,^k and who introduced a new kind of hypothesis, to remove the difficulties attending the doctrines of predestination and liberty, and to reconcile the jarring opinions of Augustinians, Thomists, Semipelagians, and other contentious divines.^l This attempt of the subtle Spanish doctor was so offensive to the Dominicans, who followed St. Thomas as their theological guide, that they sounded, throughout the whole kingdom of Spain, the alarm of heresy, and accused the Jesuits of endeavouring to renew the errors of Pelagius. This alarm was followed by great commotions, and all things seemed to prognosticate a general flame, when Clement VIII. in the year 1594, imposed silence on the contending parties, promising that he himself would examine with care and diligence every thing relating to this new debate, in order to decide it in such a manner as might tend to promote the cause of truth, and the peace of the church.

XLI. The pontiff was persuaded that these gentle remedies would soon remove the disease, and that, through length of time, these heats and animosities would undoubtedly subside. But the event was far from being answerable to such pleasing hopes. The Domi-

The congregation of aids.

ⁱ From this Spanish doctor's name proceeded the well-known denomination of Molinists, by which those Roman catholics are distinguished, who seem to incline to the doctrines of grace and freewill, that are maintained in opposition to those of Augustin. Many however who differ widely from the sentiments of Molina, are unjustly ranked in the class of Molinists.

^k The title of this famous book is as follows: *Liberi Arbitrii Concordia cum Gratia donis, divina præscientia, providentia, prædestinatione, et reprobatione, auctore Lud. Molina.* This book was first published at Lisbon, in folio, in the year 1588. Afterward, with additions, and in 4to. at Antwerp, Lyons, Venice, and other places, in 1595. A third edition, still farther augmented, was published at Antwerp in 1609.

^l Molina affirmed that the decree of predestination to eternal glory was founded upon a previous knowledge and consideration of the merits of the elect; that the grace, from whose operation these merits are derived, is not efficacious by its own intrinsic power only, but also by the consent of our own will, and because it is administered in those circumstances in which the Deity, by that branch of his knowledge, which is called *Scientia Media*, foresees that it will be efficacious. The kind of prescience, denominated in the schools *Scientia Media*, is that foreknowledge of future contingents, that arises from an acquaintance with the nature and faculties of rational beings, of the circumstances in which they shall be placed, of the objects that shall be presented to them, and of the influence that these circumstances and objects must have on their actions.

nicans, who had long fostered a deep-rooted and invincible hatred against the Jesuits, having now a favourable opportunity of venting their indignation, exhausted their furious zeal against the doctrine of Molina, notwithstanding the pacific orders of the papal edict. They fatigued incessantly the Spanish monarch, Philip II. and the Roman pontiff, Clement VIII. with their importunate clamours, until at length the latter found himself under the necessity of assembling at Rome a sort of council for the decision of this controversy. And thus commenced, about the beginning of the year 1598, those famous deliberations concerning the contests of the Jesuits and Dominicans, which were held in what was called the congregation *de auxiliis*, or of aids. This congregation was so denominated on account of the principal point in debate, which was the efficacy of the aids and succours of divine grace, and its consultations were directed by Lewis Madrusi, bishop of Trent, and one of the college of cardinals, who sat as president in this assembly, which was composed beside of three bishops and seven divines chosen out of so many different orders. The remaining part of this century was wholly employed by these spiritual judges in hearing and weighing the arguments alleged in favour of their respective opinions, by the contending parties.^m The Dominicans maintained, with the greatest obstinacy, the doctrine of their patron, St. Thomas, as alone conformable to truth. The Jesuits, on the other hand, though they did not adopt the religious tenets of Molina, thought the honour of their order concern-

^m The history and transactions of this congregation are related and illustrated by several writers of different complexions, by Jesuits, Dominicans, and Jansenists. Hyacinth Serri, a Dominican, published, under the feigned name of Augustin le Blanc, in the year 1700, at Louvain, a work entitled *Historia Congregationum de auxiliis Gratia divina*; which was answered by another history of these debates composed by Liv. de Meyer, a Jesuit, who assumed the name of Theod. Eleutherius, in order to be concealed from public view, and whose book is entitled *Historia Controversiarum de Gratia divina auxiliis*. The Dominicans also published the *Acta congregationum et disputationum, quæ coram Clemente VIII. et Paulo V. de auxiliis divine Gratia sunt celebrata*, a work composed by Thomas de Lemos, a subtle monk of their order, who, in this very congregation, had defended with great applause the glory of St. Thomas against the Jesuits. Amidst these jarring accounts, a man must be endowed with a supernatural sagacity to come at the truth. For acts are opposed to acts, testimony to testimony, and narration to narration. It is therefore as yet a matter of doubt, which the court of Rome favoured most on this occasion, the Jesuits or the Dominicans, and which of these two parties defended their cause with the most dexterity and success. There is also a history of these debates written in French, which was published, in 8vo. at Louvain, in the year 1702, under the following title; *Histoire de Congregationis de auxiliis, par un Docteur de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*. This historian, though he be neither destitute of learning nor elegance, being nevertheless a flaming Jansenist, discovers throughout his enmity against the Jesuits, and relates all things in a manner that favours the cause of the Dominicans.

ed in this controversy, on account of the opposition so publicly made to one of its members, and consequently used their utmost endeavours to have the Spanish doctor acquitted of the charge of Pelagianism, and declared free from any errors of moment. In this they acted according to the true monastic spirit, which leads each order to resent the affronts that are offered to any of its members, as if they had been cast upon the whole community, and to maintain, at all adventures, the cause of every individual monk, as if the interests of the society were involved in it.

XLII. Notwithstanding the zealous attempts that were made, by several persons of eminent piety, to restore the institutions of public worship to their primitive simplicity, the multitude of vain and useless ceremonies still remained in the church; nor did the pontiffs judge it proper to diminish that pomp and show, that gave the ministers of religion a great, though ill-acquired, influence on the minds of the people. Beside these ceremonies, many popular customs and inventions, which were multiplied by the clergy, and were either entirely absurd or grossly superstitious, called loudly for redress; and indeed the council of Trent seemed disposed to correct these abuses, and prevent their farther growth. But this good design was never carried into execution; it was abandoned, either through the corrupt prudence of the pope and clergy, who looked upon every check given to superstition as an attempt to diminish their authority, or through their criminal negligence about every thing that tended to promote the true interests of religion. Hence it happens, that in those countries where there are few protestants, and consequently where the church of Rome is in no danger of losing its credit and influence from the proximity and attempts of these pretended heretics, superstition reigns with unlimited extravagance and absurdity. Such is the case in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where the feeble glimmerings of Christianity that yet remain are overwhelmed and obscured by an enormous multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, and absurd, fantastic, and unaccountable rites; so that a person who arrives in any of these countries, after having passed through other nations even of the Romish communion, is immediately struck with the change, and thinks himself transported into the thickest darkness, into

Rites and ceremonies.

the most gloomy retreats of superstition." Nor indeed are even those countries, whom the neighbourhood of the protestants, and a more free and liberal turn of mind have rendered somewhat less absurd, entirely exempt from the dominion of superstition, and the solemn fooleries that always attend it; for the religion of Rome, in its best form, and in those places where its external worship is the least shocking, is certainly loaded with rites and observances that are highly offensive to sound reason. If, from this general view of things, we descend to a more circumstantial consideration of the innumerable abuses that are established in the discipline of that church; if we attend to the pious, or rather impious frauds which are imposed, with impunity, upon the deluded multitude in many places; if we pass in review the corruption of the clergy, the ignorance of the people, the devout farces that are acted in the ceremonies of public worship, and the insipid jargon and trifling rhetoric that prevail in the discourses of the Roman catholic preachers; if we weigh all these things maturely, we shall find that they have little regard to impartiality and truth, who pretend, that since the council of Trent, the religion and worship of the Roman church have been every where corrected and amended.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND EASTERN CHURCHES.

I. THE society of Christians that goes under the general denomination of the eastern church, is dispersed throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, and may be divided into three distinct communities. The first is, that of the Greek Christians, who agree, in all points of doctrine and worship, with the patriarch residing at Constantinople, and reject the pretended supremacy of

The eastern church may be divided into three branches.

n It is well known that the French, who travel into Italy, employ the whole force of their wit and raillery in rendering ridiculous the monstrous superstition of the Italians. The Italians, in their turn, look upon the French that visit their country as totally destitute of all principles of religion. This is evidently the case, as we learn from the testimony of many writers, and particularly from that of father Labat, in his *Voyages en Italie et en Espagne*. This agreeable Dominican lets no opportunity escape of censuring and exposing the superstition of the Spaniards and Italians; nor does he pretend to deny that his countrymen, and even he himself, passed for impious libertines in the opinion of these bigots.

the Roman pontiff. The second comprehends those Christians, who differ equally from the Roman pontiff and the Grecian patriarch in their religious opinions and institutions, and who live under the government of their own bishops and rulers. The third is composed of those who are subject to the see of Rome.

II. That society of Christians that lives in religious communion with the patriarch of Constantinople, is, properly speaking, the Greek, though it assumes likewise the title of the eastern church. This society is subdivided into two branches, of which the one acknowledges the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Constantinople; while the other, though joined in communion of doctrine and worship with that prelate, yet obstinately refuses to receive his legates, or to obey his edicts, and is governed by its own laws and institutions, under the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers, who are independent on all foreign authority.

The Greek church, properly speaking,

III. That part of the Greek church which acknowledges the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constantinople, is divided, as in the early ages of Christianity, into four large districts or provinces, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, over every one of which a bishop presides with the title of patriarch, whom the inferior bishops and monastic orders unanimously respect as their common father. But the supreme chief of all these patriarchs, bishops, and abbots, and generally speaking of the whole church, is the patriarch of Constantinople. This prelate has the privilege of nominating the other patriarchs, though that dignity still continues elective, and of approving the election that is made; nor is there any thing of moment undertaken or transacted in the church without his express permission, or his especial order. It is true indeed, that, in the present decayed state of the Greek churches, whose revenues are so small, and whose former opulence is reduced almost to nothing, their spiritual rulers enjoy little more than the splendid title of *patriarchs*, without being in a condition to extend their fame, or promote their cause, by any undertaking of signal importance.

is for the most part subject to the patriarch of Constantinople,

IV. The spiritual jurisdiction and dominion of the patriarch of Constantinople are very extensive, comprehending a considerable part of Greece, the

and is divided into four provinces or districts.

tricks here described.

Grecian Isles, Wallachia, Moldavia, and several of the European and Asiatic provinces that are subject to the Turk. The patriarch of Alexandria resides generally at Cairo, and exercises his spiritual authority in Egypt, Nubia, Lybia, and part of Arabia.^o Damascus is the principal residence of the patriarch of Antioch, whose jurisdiction extends to Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, and other provinces,^p while the patriarch of Jerusalem comprehends, within the bounds of his pontificate, Palestine, Syria,^q Arabia, the country beyond Jordan, Cana in Galilee, and mount Sion.^r The episcopal dominions of these three patriarchs are indeed extremely poor and inconsiderable; for the monophysites have long since assumed the patriarchal seats of Alexandria and Antioch, and have deprived the Greek churches of the greatest part of their members in all those places where they gained an ascendant. And as Jerusalem is the resort of Christians of every sect, who have their respective bishops and rulers, the jurisdiction of the Grecian patriarch is consequently confined there within narrow limits.

^o For an account of the patriarchate of Alexandria, and the various prelates who have filled that see, it will be proper to consult Sollerii *Commentar. de Patriarchis Alexandrinis*, which is prefixed to the fifth volume of the *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Junii*; as also the *Oriens Christianus* of Le Quien, tom. ii. p. 329. The nature of their office, the extent of their authority, and the manner of their creation, are accurately described by Eus. Renaudot, in his *Dissertatio de Patriarcha Alexandrino*, which is published in the first volume of his *Liturgiæ Orientales*, p. 365. The Grecian patriarch has, at this day, no bishops under his jurisdiction; the *chorepiscopi* or rural bishops alone are subject to his authority. All the bishops acknowledge as their chief the patriarch of the *Monophysites*, who is, in effect, the patriarch of Alexandria.

^p The Jesuits have prefixed a particular and learned account of the patriarchs of Antioch to the fifth volume of the *Acta SS. Mensis Julii*, in which however there are some omissions and defects. Add to this the account that is given of the district or diocese of the patriarch of Antioch by Mich. Le Quien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 670, and by Blasius Tertius, in his *Siria Sacra o Descrittione Historico Geographica delle due Chiese Patriarchali. Antiocha, et Hierusalemme*, published in folio at Rome, in the year 1695. There are three bishops in Syria which claim the title and dignity of patriarch of Antioch. The first is the bishop of the Melchites, a name given to the Christians in Syria, who follows the doctrine, institutions, and worship of the Greek church; the second is the spiritual guide of the Syrian Monophysites; and the third is the chief of the Maronites, who hold communion with the church of Rome. This last bishop pretends to be the true and lawful patriarch of Antioch, and is acknowledged as such, or at least receives this denomination from the Roman pontiff. And yet it is certain, that the pope creates at Rome, a patriarch of Antioch of his own choice. So that the See of Antioch has, at this day, four patriarchs, one from the Greeks, two from the Syrians, and one created at Rome, who is patriarch *in partibus*, i. e. titular patriarch, according to the signification of that usual phrase.

^q Syria is here erroneously placed in the patriarchate of Jerusalem, as it evidently belongs to that of Antioch, in which also Dr. Mosheim places it in the preceding sentence.

^r Blas. Tertii *Siria Sacra*, lib. ii. p. 165. D. Papebrochii *Comment. de Patriarch. Hierosolym.* tom. iii. *Actor. Sanct. Mens. Maii.* Le Quien, *Oriens. Christ.* tom. iii. p. 102.

v. The right of electing the patriarch of Constantinople is at this day vested in the twelve bishops who reside nearest that famous capital; but the right of confirming this election, and of enabling the new chosen patriarch to exercise his spiritual functions, belongs only to the Turkish emperor. This institution, however, if it is not entirely overturned, is nevertheless, on many occasions, prostituted in a shameful manner by the corruption and avarice of the reigning ministers. Thus it happens, that many bishops, inflamed with the ambitious lust of power and pre-eminence, purchase by money what they cannot obtain by merit; and seeing themselves excluded from the patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of their brethren, find an open and ready way to it by the mercenary services of men in power. Nay, what is yet more deplorable has frequently happened; even that prelates, who have been chosen in the lawful way to this eminent office, have been deposed, in order to make way for others, whose only pretensions were ambition and bribery. And indeed, generally speaking, he is looked upon by the Turkish vizirs as the most qualified for the office of patriarch, who surpasses his competitors in the number and value of the presents he employs on that occasion. It is true, some accounts worthy of credit represent the present state of the Greek church as advantageously changed in this respect; and it is reported, that as the Turkish manners have gradually assumed a milder and more humane cast, the patriarchs live under their dominion with more security and repose than they did some ages ago.

The power of the patriarch among a people dispirited by oppression, and sunk, through their extreme ignorance, into the greatest superstition, must undoubtedly be very considerable and extensive; and such indeed it is. Its extent however is not entirely owing to the causes now mentioned, but to others that give no small weight and lustre to the patriarchal dignity. For this prelate does not only call councils by his own authority, in order to decide, by their assistance, the controversies that arise, and to make use of their prudent advice and wise deliberations in directing the affairs of the church; his preroga-

^s Le Quien, *ibid.* tom. i. p. 145. Elsner, *Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Turckey*, p. 54.

tives go yet farther, and by the special permission of the emperor, he administers justice, and takes cognizance of civil causes among the members of his communion. His influence is maintained, on the one hand, by the authority of the Turkish monarch, and, on the other, by his right of excommunicating the disobedient members of the Greek church. This right gives the patriarch a singular degree of influence and authority, as nothing has a more terrifying aspect to that people than a sentence of excommunication, which they reckon among the greatest and most tremendous evils. The revenue of this prelate is drawn particularly from the churches that are subject to his jurisdiction; and its produce varies according to the state and circumstances of the Greek Christians, whose condition is exposed to many vicissitudes.¹

VI. The holy Scriptures and the decrees of the first seven general councils are acknowledged by the Greeks as the rule of their faith. It is received however as a maxim, established by long custom, that no private person has a right to explain, for himself or others, either the declarations of Scripture, or the decisions of these councils; and that the patriarch, with his brethren, are alone authorized to consult these oracles, and to declare their meaning. And accordingly the declarations of this prelate are looked upon as sacred and infallible directions, whose authority is supreme, and which can neither be transgressed nor disregarded without the utmost impiety. The substance of the doctrine of the Greek church is contained in a treatise entitled *The orthodox Confession of the catholic and apostolic Eastern Church*, which was drawn up by Peter Mogislaus, bishop of Kiow, in a provincial council assembled in that city. This confession was translated into Greek,² and publicly approved and adopted, in the year 1648, by Parthenius of Constantinople and all the other Grecian patriarchs. It was afterward published in Greek and Latin at the expense of Panagiota, the Turkish emperor's inter-

¹ Ceper, a Jesuit, has given a History of the patriarchs of Constantinople, in the *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Augusti*, tom. i. p. 18, 257. There is also a very ample account both of the see of Constantinople and its patriarchs, in the first volume of the *Oriens Christianus*, of Mich. Le Quien, who treats moreover of the Latin patriarchs of that city, in the third volume of the same work, p. 786. See also a brief account of the power and revenues of the present patriarch, and of the names of the several sees under his spiritual jurisdiction, in Smith, *De Eccles. Græca Hodierno Statu*, p. 48—59.

² It was originally composed in the Russian language.

preter, a man of great opulence and liberality, who ordered it to be distributed *gratis* among the Greek Christians; and it was also enriched with a recommendatory letter composed by Nectarius, patriarch of Jerusalem.* It appears evidently from this confession, that the Greeks differ widely from the votaries of the Roman pontiff, whose doctrines they reject and treat with indignation in several places; but it appears, at the same time, that their religious tenets are equally remote from those of other Christian societies. So that whoever peruses this treatise with attention, will be fully convinced, how much certain writers are mistaken who imagine that the obstacles which prevent the union of the Greeks with this or the other Christian community, are but small and inconsiderable.†

VII. The votaries of Rome have found this to be true on many occasions. And the Lutherans made an experiment of the same kind, when they presented a fruitless invitation to the Greek churches to embrace their doctrine and discipline, and live with them in religious communion. The first steps in this laudable attempt were taken by Melancthon, who sent to the patriarch of Constantinople, a copy of the confession of Augsburg, translated into Greek by Paul Dolscius. This present was accompanied with a letter in which the learned and humane professor of Wittemberg represented the protestant doctrine with the utmost simplicity and faithfulness, hoping that the artless charms of truth might touch the heart of the Grecian prelate. But his hopes were disappointed; for the patriarch did

The design of uniting the Greeks with the protestants miscarries.

* This confession was published in 8vo. at Leipsic, with a Latin translation, by Laur. Normanus, in the year 1695. In the preface we are informed, that it had been composed by Nectarius; but this assertion is refuted by Nectarius himself, in a letter which follows immediately the preface. It is also affirmed, both in the preface and title page, that this is the first public edition that has been given of the Greek confession. But this assertion is also false; since it is well known that it was published in Holland, in the year 1562, at the expense of Panagiota. The German translation of this confession was published at Frankfort and Leipsic, in 4to. in 1727. The learned Jo. Christ. Kecherus has given, with his usual accuracy and erudition, an ample account both of this and the other confessions received among the Greeks, in his *Bibliotheca Theologia Symbol.* p. 45, and 53, and the laborious Dr. Hoffman, principal professor of divinity at Wittemberg, published at Breslaw, in 1751, a new edition of the Orthodox Confession, with an historical account of it. Those who are desirous of a circumstantial account of the famous Panagiota, to whom this confession is indebted for a considerable part of its credit, and who has rendered to the Greek church in general the most eminent services, will find it in Cantemir's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. iii. p. 149.

† The learned Fabricius has given, in the tenth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, p. 441, an exact and ample list of the writers, whom it is proper to consult, in order to the forming a just notion of the state, circumstances, and doctrines of the Greek church.

not even design to send him an answer.^a After this, the divines of Tübingen renewed, with his successor Jeremias,^b the correspondence which had been begun by Melancthon. They wrote frequently during the course of several years,^c to the new patriarch, sent him another copy of the confession of Augsburg, together with a Compend of Theology, composed by Heerbrand, and translated into Greek by Martin Crusius; nor did they leave unemployed any means, which a pious and well-conducted zeal could suggest as proper to gain over this prelate to their communion. The fruits however of this correspondence were very inconsiderable, and wholly consisted in a few letters from the Greek patriarch, written indeed with an amiable spirit of benevolence and cordiality; but at the same time in terms which showed the impossibility of the union so much desired by the protestants. The whole strain of these letters discovered in the Greeks an inviolable attachment to the opinions and institutions of their ancestors, and was sufficient to demonstrate the vanity of attempting to dissolve it in the present situation and circumstances of that people.^b

VIII. Nothing indeed more deplorable can be conceived than the state of the greatest part of the Greeks, since their subjection to the oppressive yoke of the Turkish emperors. Since that fatal period, almost all learning and science, human and divine, had been extinguished among them. They have neither schools, colleges, nor any of those literary establishments that ennoble human nature, by sowing in the mind the immortal seeds of knowledge and virtue. Those few that surpass the vulgar herd in intellectual acquirements, have derived this advantage from the schools of learning in Sicily or Italy, where the studious Greeks usually repair in quest of know-

The miserable state of the Greeks.

^a Leo Allatius, *De perpetua Consensione Ecclesie Orient. et Occident.* lib. iii. cap. viii. § ii. p. 1005.

^b The name of the former patriarch was Joseph. In the year 1559, he had sent his deacon Demetrius to Wittemberg to inform himself upon the spot of the genius and doctrines of the protestant religion.

^c This correspondence commenced in the year 1576, and ended in 1591.

^d All the acts and papers, relating to this correspondence, were published in one volume at Wittemberg, in the year 1584. See Christ. Matth. Pfaffii *Liber de Actis et Scriptis publicis Ecclesie Wittembergicæ*, p. 50. See also Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. x. p. 517. Emman. a Schelstrate, *Acta Ecclesie Orientalis contra Lutheri hæresin*, published at Rome in the year 1739. Lami *Deliciae Eruditorum*, tom. viii. p. 176.

ledge, or from a perusal of the writings of the ancient doctors, and more especially of the theology of St. Thomas, which they have translated into their native language.^c

Such at least is the notion of the learning of the modern Greeks, that is entertained by all the European Christians, as well Roman catholics as protestants, and it is built upon the clearest evidence, and supported by testimonies of every kind. Many of the Greeks deny with obstinacy this inglorious charge, and not only defend their countrymen against the imputation of such gross ignorance, but even go so far as to maintain, that all the liberal arts and sciences are in as flourishing a state in modern Greece, as they were in any period of the history of that nation. Among the writers that exalt the learning of the modern Greeks in such an extraordinary manner, the first place is due to an eminent historian,^d who has taken much pains to demonstrate the error of those who are of a different opinion. For this purpose he has not only composed a list of the learned men that adorned that country in the last century, but also makes mention of an academy founded at Constantinople by a certain Greek, whose name was Manolax, in which all the branches of philosophy, as well as the liberal arts and sciences, are taught with the utmost success and applause, after the manner of the ancient sages of Greece. But all this, though matter of fact, does by no means amount to a satisfactory proof of the point in question. It only proves what was never doubted by any thinking person, that the populous nation of the Greeks, in which there is such a considerable number of ancient, noble, and opulent families, is not entirely destitute of men of learning and genius. But it does not at all demonstrate, that this nation, considered in general, is at present enriched with science either sacred or profane, or makes any shining figure in the republic of letters. In a nation which, generally speaking, is sunk in the most barbarous ignorance, some men of genius and learning may arise, and shine like meteors in a gloomy firmament. With respect to the academy founded at Constantinople, it may be observed, that a literary establishment, so necessary and yet so recent, confirms the judgment that has been

[^c] The translator has inserted the note k of the original into the following paragraph of the English text, which begins thus: *Such at least, &c.*

^d See Dem. Cantemir, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. ii. p. 38.

almost universally formed concerning the erudition of the Greeks.

This ignorance, that reigns among the Greeks, has the most pernicious influence upon their morals. Licentiousness and impiety not only abound among the people, but also dishonour their leaders; and the calamities that arise from this corruption of manners, are deplorably augmented by their endless contentions and divisions. Their religion is a motley collection of ceremonies, the greatest part of which are either ridiculously trifling, or shockingly absurd. Yet they are much more zealous in retaining and observing these senseless rites, than in maintaining the doctrine, or obeying the precepts of the religion they profess. Their misery would be extreme were it not for the support they derive from the Greeks, who perform the functions of physicians and interpreters at the emperor's court; and who, by their opulence and credit, frequently interpose to reconcile the differences, or to ward off the dangers that so often portend the destruction of their church.

IX. The Russians, Georgians, and Mingrelians adopt the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church; though they are entirely free from the jurisdiction and authority of the patriarch of Constantinople.

The Greek church independent on foreign jurisdiction.

It is true indeed that this prelate had formerly enjoyed the privilege of a spiritual supremacy over the Russians, to whom he sent a bishop whenever a vacancy happened. But, towards the conclusion of this century, this privilege ceased by the following incident. Jeremiah, patriarch of Constantinople, undertook a journey into Moscovy, to levy pecuniary succours against his rival Metrophanes, and to drive him, by the force of money, from the patriarchal throne. On this occasion, the Moscovite monks, in compliance, no doubt, with the secret orders of the grand duke Theodore, the son of John Basilides, employed all the influence both of threatenings and supplications to engage Jeremiah to place at the head of the Moscovite nation an independent patriarch. The patriarch of Constantinople, unable to resist such powerful solicitations, was forced to yield; and accordingly in a council assembled at Moscow in the year 1589, nominated and proclaimed Job, archbishop of Rostow, the first patriarch of the Moscovites. This extraordinary step was however

taken on condition that every new patriarch of the Russians should demand the consent and suffrage of the patriarch of Constantinople, and pay, at certain periods fixed for that purpose, five hundred gold ducats. The transactions of this Moscovite council were afterward ratified in one assembled by Jeremiah at Constantinople in the year 1593, to which ratification the Turkish emperor gave his solemn consent.* But the privileges and immunities of the patriarch of Moscow were still farther extended about the middle of the following age, when the four eastern patriarchs, under the pontificate of Dionysius II. patriarch of Constantinople, exempted him, at the renewed solicitation of the grand duke of Moscovy, from the double obligation of paying tribute, and of depending, for the confirmation of his election and installation, on a foreign jurisdiction.†

x. The Georgians and Mingrelians, or, as they were anciently called, the Iberians and Colchians, have declined so remarkably since the Mahometan The Georgians and Mingrelians. dominion has been established in these countries, that they can scarcely be ranked in the number of Christians. Such, in a more especial manner, is the depraved state of the latter, who wander about in the woods and mountains, and lead a savage and undisciplined life: for among the Georgians or Iberians, there are yet some remains of religion, morals, and humanity. These nations have a pontiff at their head, whom they call the catholic; they have also their bishops and priests; but these spiritual rulers are a dishonour to Christianity, by their ignorance, avarice, and profligacy; they surpass almost the populace in the corruption of their manners, and grossly ignorant themselves of the truths and principles of religion, they never entertain the least thought of instructing the people. If therefore it be affirmed, that the Georgians and Mingrelians, at this day, are neither attached to the opinions of the Monophysites, nor to those of the Nestorians, but embrace the doctrine of the Greek church, this must be affirmed rather in consequence of probable conjecture, than of certain knowledge; since it is impossible almost to know,

* See Anton. Possevin *Moscovia*. Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1292. See also a relation of this transaction, which is published in the *Catalogus Codic. MSS. Biblioth. Taurinens.* p. 433—469.

† Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*. tom. i. p. 155. Nic. Bergius, *De Ecclesiæ Moscoviticæ*, part i. sect. l. c. xviii. p. 164.

with any degree of precision, what are the sentiments of a people who seem to lie in the thickest darkness. Any remains of religion that are observable among them, are entirely comprehended in certain sacred festivals and external ceremonies, of which the former are celebrated, and the latter are performed, without the least appearance of decency; so that the priests administer the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's supper with as little respect and devotion, as if they were partaking of an ordinary repast.^c

XI. The eastern Christians, who renounce the communion of the Greek church, and differ from it both in doctrine and worship, may be comprehended under two distinct classes. To the former belong the Monophysites, or Jacobites, so called from Jacob Albardai,^b who declare it as their opinion, that in the Saviour of the world there is only one nature; while the latter comprehends the followers of Nestorius, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country where they principally reside, and who suppose that there are two distinct persons or natures in the Son of God. The Monophysites are subdivided into two sects or parties, the one African, the other Asiatic. At the head of the Asiatics is the patriarch of Antioch, who resides, for the most part, in the monastery of St. Ananias, which is situated near the city of Merdin, and sometimes at Merdin, his episcopal seat, as also at Amida, Aleppo, and other Syrian cities.¹ The government of this prelate is too extensive, and the churches

Of the eastern churches that separate from the communion of the Greeks and Latins.

^c G. Clément. Gallanus, *Conciliatio Ecclesie Armenic. cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 156. Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, &c. tom. i. p. 67, where the reader will find Jos. Mar. Zam-pi's *Relation de la Colchide et Mingrelie*. Lamberti *Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrelie*, in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 160. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1333, 1339. See also Rich. Simon, *Histoire Critique des dogmes et ceremonies des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. v. and vi. p. 71, in which the learned author endeavours to remove at least a part of the reproach under which the Georgians and Mingrelians labour on account of their supposed ignorance and corruption. The catholicks, or pontiffs of Georgia and Mingrelia are, at this day, independent on any foreign jurisdiction; they are, however, obliged to pay a certain tribute to the patriarch of Constantinople.

^b This Jacob Albardai, or Baradzeus, as he is called by others, restored, in the sixth century, the sect of the Monophysites, which was almost expiring, to its former vigour, and modelled it anew; hence they were called Jacobites. This denomination is commonly used in an extensive sense, as comprehending all the Monophysites excepting those of Armenia; it, however, more strictly and properly belongs only to those Asiatic Monophysites, of which Jacob Albardai was the restorer and the chief. See Simon, *Histoire de Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. ix. p. 118, a work nevertheless that often wants correction.

¹ Assemanni *Dissert. de Monophys.* tom. ii. *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vatican.* § viii. Faust. Nairon, *Euoplia fidei Catholicae ex Syrorum Monument.* part I. p. 40. Le Quien, *Oriens. Christ.* tom. ii. p. 1343.

over which he presides too numerous, to admit of his performing, himself, all the duties of his high office; and therefore a part of the administration of the pontificate is given to a kind of colleague, who is called the *maphrian* or primate of the east, and whose doctrine and discipline are said to be adopted by the eastern churches beyond the Tigris. This primate used formerly to reside at Tauris, a city on the frontiers of Armenia; but his present habitation is the monastery of St. Matthew, which is in the neighbourhood of Mousul, a city of Mesopotamia. It is farther observable, that all the patriarchs of the Jacobites assume the denomination of Ignatius.^k

XII. The African Monophysites are under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria, who generally resides at Grand Cairo, and they are subdivided into Copts and Abyssinians. The Copts and Abyssinians. The denomination of Copts comprehends all those Christians who dwell in Egypt, Nubia, and the countries adjacent, and whose condition is truly deplorable. Oppressed by the insatiable avarice and tyranny of the Turks, they draw out their wretched days in misery and want, and are unable to support either their patriarch or their bishops. These are not however left entirely destitute; since they are, in a manner, maintained by the liberality of those Copts, who, on account of their capacity in household affairs, and their dexterity in the exercise of several manual arts, highly useful, though entirely unknown to the Turks, have gained admittance into the principal Mahometan families.^l As to the Abyssinians, they surpass considerably, the Copts, both in their numbers, their power, and their opulence; nor will this appear surprising, when it is considered, that they live under the dominion of a Christian emperor; they nevertheless consider the Alexandrian pontiff as their spiritual parent and chief, and consequently, instead of choosing their own bishop, re-

^k Assamanni *Dissertot. de Monophysitis*, § viii.

^l Renaudot published at Paris, in 40. in the year 1713, a very learned work, relative to the history of the eastern patriarchs, under the title of *Historia Alexandrinorum Patriarcharum Jacobitarum*, &c. He also published the office used in the ordination of the Jacobite patriarch, with remarks, in the first volume of his *Liturgiæ Orient.* p. 467. The internal state of the Alexandrian or Coptic church, both with respect to doctrine and worship, is described by Wansleb, in his *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie, que nous appellons celle de Jacobites Coptes*, published at Paris in 1667. Add to this another work of the same author, entitled *Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte*, p. 293, in which there is a particular account of the Coptic monasteries and religious orders. See also *Nouveaux Mémoires des missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant*, tom. ii. p. 9. Mallet. *Description de l'Égypte*, tom. ii. p. 64.

ceive from that prelate a primate whom they call *abbuna*, and whom they acknowledge as their ghostly ruler.^m

XIII. These Monophysites differ from other Christian societies, whether of the Greek or Latin communion, in several points, both of doctrine and worship; though the principal reason of their separation lies in the opinion they entertain concerning the nature and person of Jesus Christ. Following the doctrine of Dioscorus, Barsuma, Xenaias, Fullo, and others, whom they consider as the heads or chief ornaments of their sect, they maintain that in Christ the divine and human nature were reduced into one, and consequently reject both the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and the famous letter of Leo the Great. That however they may not seem to have the least inclination toward the doctrine of Eutyches, which they profess to reject with the most ardent zeal, they propose their own system with the utmost caution and circumspection, and hold the following obscure principles; that the two natures are united in Christ without either confusion or mixture; so that though the nature of our Saviour be really *one*, yet it is at the same time *twofold* and *compound*.ⁿ By this declaration it appears, that those learned men, who look upon the difference between the Monophysites and the Greek and Latin churches, rather as a dispute about words than things, are not so far mistaken as some have imagined. Be that as it may, both the Asiatic and African Monophysites of the present times are, generally speaking, so deeply sunk in ignorance, that their attachment to the doctrine by which they are distinguished from other Christian societies, is rather founded on their own obstinacy, and on the authority of their ancestors, than on

^m Job Ludolf, *Comment. in Histor. Æthiop.* p. 461, 451, 466. Lobo, *Voyage d' Abyssinia*, tom. ii. p. 36. *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 277. Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* tom. ii. p. 641.

ⁿ Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c. See, in the same work, Abulpharage's *Subtile Vindication of the Doctrine of his Sect*, vol. ii. p. 288. There is a complete and circumstantial account of the religion of the Abyssinians, in the *Theologia Æthiopica* of Gregory the Abyssinian, published by Fabricius, in his *Lux evangelii toti orbi exortens*, p. 716, where there is also a list of all the writers who have given accounts of the Abyssinians.

^o See La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 23. Assemani *loc. citat.* tom. ii. p. 291, 297. Rich. Simon, *Histoire des Chretiens Orientaux*, p. 119. Jo. Joach. Schroderi *Thesaurus Lingue Armenica*, p. 276. ☞ The truth of the matter is, that the terms used by the Monophysites are something more than equivocal; they are contradictory. It may also be farther observed, that those who pretend to hold a middle path between the doctrines of Nestorius and Eutyches, when greatly embarrassed, as it was almost impossible to oppose the one, without adopting, or at least appearing to adopt the other.

any other circumstance; nor do they even pretend to appeal, in its behalf, to reason and argument.^p

xiv. The Armenians,^q though they agree with the other Monophysites in the main doctrine of that sect relating to the unity of the divine and human nature in Christ, differ from them nevertheless in many points of faith, discipline, and worship; and hence it comes to pass, that they hold no communion with that branch of the Monophysites who are Jacobites, in the more limited sense of that term. The Armenian church is governed by three patriarchs.^r The chief of these, whose diocess comprehends the Greater Armenia, beholds forty-two archbishops subjected to his jurisdiction, and resides in a monastery at a place called Echmiazin. The revenues of this spiritual ruler are such as would enable him to live in the most splendid and magnificent manner; but there is no mark of pomp or opulence in his external appearance, nor in his domestic economy. His table is frugal, his habit plain; nor is he distinguished from the monks with whom he lives by any other circumstance than his superior power and authority. He is, for the most part, elected to his patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of the bishops assembled at Echmiazin, and his election is confirmed by the solemn approbation of the Persian monarch. The second patriarch of the Armenians, who is called *the catholic*, resides at Cis, a city of Cilicia, rules over the churches es-

The Armenians.

^p The liturgies of the Copts, the Syrian Jacobites, and the Abyssinians, have been published, with learned observations, by Renaudot, in the first and second volumes of his *Liturgie Orientales*.

^q The first writer who gave a circumstantial account of the religion and history of the Armenians, was Clement Galani, an Italian of the order of the Theatins, whose *Conciliatio Ecclesie Armenicae cum Romana*, was published at Rome, in three volumes in folio, in the year 1650. The other authors, who have treated of this branch of ecclesiastical history, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi azeriens*, ch. xxxviii. p. 640; to which must be added, Le Quien *Oriens Christianus*, tom i. p. 1362. The History of Christianity in Armenia, which the learned La Croze has subjoined to his account of the progress of the Christian religion in Abyssinia, and which was published at the Hague in 1739, is by no means answerable to the importance and copiousness of the subject; which must be attributed to the age and infirmities of that author. For an account of the particular institutions and rites of the Armenians, see Gemelli Carreri *Voyage du tour du monde*, tom. ii. p. 146.

^r Sir Paul Ricaut mentions four; but his authority, were it more respectable than it really is, cannot be compared with that of the excellent sources from whence Dr. Mosheim draws his materials.

^s R. Simon has subjoined to his *Histoire de Chretiens Orient.* p. 217, an account of all the Armenian churches that are subject to the jurisdiction of this grand patriarch. But this account, though taken from Uscanus, an Armenian bishop, is nevertheless defective in many respects. For an account of the residence and manner of life of the patriarch of Echmiazin, see Paul Lucas *Voyage au Levant*, tom. ii. p. 247, and Gemelli Carreri *Voyage du tour du monde*, tom. ii. p. 4—10.

tablished in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Syria, and hath twelve archbishops under his jurisdiction. He also, at present, acknowledges his subordination to the patriarch of Echmiazin. The third and last in rank of the patriarchs above mentioned, who has no more than eight or nine bishops under his dominion, resides in the island of Aghtamar, which is in the midst of the great lake of Varaspu-racan, and is looked upon by the other Armenians as the enemy of their church.

Beside these prelates, who are patriarchs in the true sense of that term, the Armenians have other spiritual leaders, who are honoured with the title of patriarchs; but this indeed is no more than an empty title, unattended with the authority and prerogatives of the patriarchal dignity. Thus the archbishop of the Armenians, who lives at Constantinople, and whose authority is respected by the churches established in those provinces that form the connexion between Europe and Asia, enjoys the title of patriarch. The same denomination is given to the Armenian bishop who resides at Jerusalem; and to the prelate of the same nation, who has his episcopal seat at Caminec in Poland, and governs the Armenian churches that are established in Russia, Poland, and the adjacent countries. These bishops assume the title of patriarchs on account of some peculiar privileges conferred on them by the great patriarch of Echmiazin. For by an authority derived from this supreme head of the Armenian church, they are allowed to consecrate bishops, and to make, every third year, and distribute among their congregations, the holy *chrism*, or ointment, which, according to a constant custom among the eastern Christians, is the privilege of the patriarchs alone.

xv. The Nestorians, who are also known by the denomination of Chaldeans, have fixed their habitations chiefly in Mesopotamia, and the adjacent countries. They have several doctrines, as well as some religious ceremonies and institutions that are peculiar to themselves. But the main points that distinguish

The Nestorians or Chaldeans.

t See the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 1—218, where there is an ample and circumstantial account, both of the civil and religious state of the Armenians. This account has been highly applauded by M. de la Croze, for the fidelity, accuracy, and industry, with which it is drawn up, and no man was more conversant in subjects of this nature than that learned author. See La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiophe*, p. 345.

them from all other Christian societies, are, their persuasion that Nestorius was unjustly condemned by the council of Ephesus, and their firm attachment to the doctrine of that prelate, who maintained that there were not only two *natures*, but also two distinct *persons* in the Son of God. In the earlier ages of the church, this error was looked upon as of the most momentous and pernicious kind; but in our times it is esteemed of less consequence, by persons of the greatest weight and authority in theological matters, even among the Roman catholic doctors. They consider this whole controversy as a dispute about words, and the opinion of Nestorius as a nominal, rather than a real heresy; that is, as an error arising rather from the words he employed, than from his intention in the use of them. It is true indeed that the Chaldeans attribute to Christ two natures, and even two persons; but they correct what may seem rash in this expression, by adding, that these natures and persons are so closely and intimately united, that they have only one aspect. Now the word *barsopa*, by which they express this aspect, is precisely of the same signification with the Greek word *σπουδα*, which signifies a *person*,^u and from hence it is evident, that they attached to the word *aspect* the same idea that we attach to the word *person*, and that they understood by the word *person*, precisely what we understand by the term *nature*. However that be, we must observe here, to the lasting honour of the Nestorians, that of all the Christian societies established in the east, they have been the most careful and successful in avoiding a multitude of superstitious opinions and practices that have infected the Greek and Latin churches.^v

XVI. In the earlier ages of Nestorianism the various branches of that numerous and powerful sect ^{Their Patri- archs.} were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the same pontiff, or catholic, who resided, first at Bagdat, and afterward at Mousul. But in this century the Nestorians were

^u It is in this manner that the sentiments of the Nestorians are explained in the inscriptions which adorn the tombs of their patriarchs in the city of Mousul. See Assemani *Biblioth. Oriental. Vaticana*. tom. iii. part ii. p. 210. R. Simon, *Histoire de la Creance des Chretiens Orientaux*, ch. vii. p. 94. Petrus Strozza, *De dogmatibus Chaldeorum*, published in 8vo. at Rome, in the year 1647.

^v See the learned dissertation of Assemani *de Syris Nestorianis*, which occupies entirely the fourth volume of his *Biblioth. Oriental. Vaticana*. and which seems to have been much consulted and partly copied, by Mich. Le Quien, in the eleventh volume of his *Oriens. Christianus*, p. 1078.

divided into two sects. They had chosen, in the year 1552, as has been already observed, two bishops at the same time, Simeon Barmana and John Sulakg, otherwise named Siud. The latter, to strengthen his interest, and to triumph over his competitor, went directly to Rome, and acknowledged the jurisdiction, that he might be supported by the credit of the Roman pontiff. In the year 1555, Simeon Denha, archbishop of Gelu, adopted the party of the fugitive patriarch, who had embraced the communion of the Latin church; and, being afterward chosen patriarch himself, fixed his residence in the city of Ormia, in the mountainous parts of Persia, where his successors still continue, and are all distinguished by the name of Simeon. So far down as the last century, these patriarchs persevered in their communion with the church of Rome, but seem at present to have withdrawn themselves from it.* The great Nestorian pontiffs, who form the opposite party, and look with a hostile eye on this little patriarch, have, since the year 1559, been distinguished by the general denomination of Elias, and reside constantly in the city of Mousul.† Their spiritual dominion is very extensive, takes in a great part of Asia, and comprehends also within its circuit the Arabian Nestorians; as also the Christians of St. Thomas, who dwell along the coast of Malabar.‡

XVII. Beside the Christian societies now mentioned, who

still retained some faint shadow at least of that system of religion delivered by Christ and his apostles, there were other sects dispersed

The remains
of ancient
sects.

through a great part of Asia, whose principles and doctrines were highly pernicious. These sects derived their origin from the Ebionites, Valentinians, Manicheans, Basilidians, and other separatists, who, in the early ages of Christianity, excited schisms and factions in the church. Equally abhorred by Turks and Christians, and thus suffering oppression from all quarters, they declined from day to day, and fell at length into such barbarous superstition and ignorance, as extinguished among them every spark of true religion. Thus were

y See Jos. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 538, and tom. ii. p. 456.

z A list of the Nestorian pontiffs is given by Assemani, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. part i. p. 711, which is corrected however in the same volume, part ii. p. mcl. See also Le Quien, *Oriens. Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078.

a The reader will find an ample account of the Christians of St. Thomas in La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*. See also Assemani *loc. citat.* tom. iii. part ii. cap. ccccxiii.

they reduced to the wretched and ignominious figure they at present make, having fallen from the privileges, and almost forfeited the very name of Christians. The sect, who pass in the east under the denomination of Sabians, who call themselves *mendai ijahi*, or the *disciples of John*, and whom the Europeans entitle the Christians of St. John, because they yet retain some knowledge of the gospel, is probably of Jewish origin, and seems to have been derived from the ancient *Hemerobaptists*, of whom the writers of ecclesiastical history make frequent mention.* This at least is certain, that John, whom they consider as the founder of their sect, bears no sort of similitude to John the Baptist, but rather resembles the person of that name whom the ancient writers represent as the chief of the Jewish Hemerobaptists.^b These ambiguous Christians, whatever their origin be, dwell in Persia and Arabia, and principally at Bassora; and their religion consists in bodily washings, performed frequently and with great solemnity,^c and attended with certain ceremonies which the priests mingle with this superstitious service.^d

☞ a The sect of Hemerobaptists among the Jews were so called from their washing themselves every day, and their performing this custom with the greatest solemnity, as a religious rite necessary to salvation. The account of this sect given by Epiphanius, in the introduction to his book of heresies, has been treated as a fiction, in consequence of the suspicions of inaccuracy and want of veracity under which that author too justly labours. Nay, the existence of the Hemerobaptists has been denied, but without reason; since they are mentioned by Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and many other ancient writers, every way worthy of credit. That the Christians of St. John were descended from this sect, is rendered probable by many reasons, of which the principal and the most satisfactory may be seen in a very learned and ingenious work of Dr. Mosheim, entitled *Mosheimii De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii*, p. 44.

☞ b See the preceding note.

☞ c The Mendæans at present perform these ablutions only once in a year. See Mosheim, *De Rebus Christianis ante Const. Mag. Comment.* p. 45.

d See the work of a learned Carmelite, named Ignatius a Jesu, published at Rome, in 8vo. in the year 1652, under the following title; "Narratio originis rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Johannis; cui adjungitur discursus, per modum Dialogi, in quo confutantur xxxiv. errores ejusdem nationis." Engelb. Kaemferi *Amanitates Exoticae, Fascic. II. Relat. XI.* p. 35. Sale's Preface to his English Translation of the Koran, p. 15. Assemanni *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. iii. part ii. p. 609. Thevenot, *Voyages*, tom. iv. p. 584. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 725. The very learned Bayer had composed an historical account of these Mendæans, which contained a variety of curious and interesting facts, and of which he designed that I should be the editor, but a sudden death prevented his executing his intention. He was of opinion, as appears from the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Crozianus*, tom. i. p. 21, that these Mendæans, or disciples of St. John, were a branch of the ancient Manicheans; which opinion La Croze himself seems to have adopted, as may be seen in the work now cited, tom. iii. p. 31, 52. But there is really nothing, either in the doctrines or manners of this sect, that resembles the opinions and practice of the Manicheans. Hence several learned men conjecture, that they derive their origin from the ancient idolaters who worshipped a plurality of gods, and more especially from those who paid religious adoration to the stars of heaven, and who were called, by the Arabians, Sabians or Sabeans, Sabini. This opinion has been maintained with much erudition by the famous Fourmont, in a

XVIII. The Jasidians, or Jezdæans, of whose religion and manners many reports of a very doubtful nature are given by voyage writers, are an unsettled wandering tribe, who frequent the Gordian mountains, and the deserts of Kurdistan, a province of Persia; the character of whose inhabitants has something in it peculiarly fierce and intractable. The Jezdæans are divided into black and white members. The former are the priests and rulers of the sect, who go arrayed in sable garments; while the latter, who compose the multitude, are clothed in white. Their system of religion is certainly very singular, and is not hitherto sufficiently known; though it be evidently composed of some Christian doctrines, and a motley mixture of fictions drawn from a different source. They are distinguished from the other corrupt sects that have dishonoured Christianity, by the peculiar impiety of their opinion concerning the evil genius. This malignant principle they call *karubin*, or cherubim, i. e. one of the great ministers of the Supreme Being. And if they do not directly address religious worship to this evil minister, they treat him at least with the utmost respect, and not only abstain themselves from offering him any marks of hatred or contempt, but moreover will not suffer any contumelious treatment to be given him by others. Nay, they are said to carry this reverence and circumspection to such an excessive height, that no efforts of persecution, no torments, not even death itself, can engage them to conceive or express an abhorrence of this evil genius; and that they will make no scruple to put to death such persons as express in their presence an aversion to him.*

Dissertation, inserted in the eighteenth volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, p. 23. But it is absolutely groundless, and has not even a shadow of probability, if we except the name which the Mahometans usually give to this sect. The Mendæans themselves acknowledge that they are of Jewish origin, and that they were translated out of Palestine into the country they at present inhabit. They have sacred books of a very remote antiquity; among others, one which they attribute to Adam, and another composed by John, whom they revere as the founder of their sect. As these books have been some years ago added to the library of the king of France, it is to be hoped that they may contribute to give us a more authentic account of this people than we have hitherto received.

* See Hyde, *Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum in Append.* p. 546. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 131; tom. ii. p. 249. In the last century, Michael Nau, a learned Jesuit, undertook to instruct this profane sect, and to give them juster notions of religion, see D'Arvieux, *Mémoires des Voyages*, tom. vi. p. 362, 377, and after him another Jesuit, whose name was Monier, embarked in the same dangerous enterprise, see *Mémoires des Missions des Jésuites*, tom. iii. p. 291; but how they were received, and what success attended their ministry, is hitherto unknown. Rheinforsius, as appears from the letters of the learned Gisbert Cuper, published by Bayer, see p.

XIX. The Duruzians, or Dursians, a fierce and warlike people that inhabit the craggy rocks and inhospitable wilds of mount Libanus, give themselves out for descendants of the Franks, who, from the eleventh century, carried on the holy war with the Mahometans in Palestine; though this pretended origin is a matter of the greatest uncertainty. What the doctrine and discipline of this nation are at present, is extremely difficult to know, as they are at the greatest pains imaginable to conceal their religious sentiments and principles. We find however both in their opinions and practice, the plainest proofs of their acquaintance with Christianity. Several learned men have imagined, that both they and the *curdi* of Persia had formerly embraced the sentiments of the Manicheans, and perhaps still persevere in their pernicious errors.^f

Duruzians, or
Dursians.

The Chamsi, or Solares, who reside in a certain district of Mesopotamia, are supposed, by curious inquirers into these matters, to be a branch of the Samsæans mentioned by Epiphanius.^g

There are many other semichristian sects of these kinds in the east,^h whose principles, tenets, and institutions are far from being unworthy of the curiosity of the learned. And those who would be at the pains to turn their researches this way, and more especially to have the religious books of these sects conveyed into Europe, would undoubtedly render eminent service to the cause of sacred literature, and obtain applause from all who have a taste for the study of Christian antiquities; for the accounts

30, considered the Jezdæans as the descendants of the ancient Sethians. But this opinion is no less improbable than that which makes them a branch of the Manicheans; which his sufficiently refuted by their sentiments concerning the *evil genius*. Beausobre, in his *Histoire de Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 613, conjectures that the denomination of this sect is derived from the name of Jesus; but it seems rather to be borrowed from the word *jasid*, or *jesdan*, which, in the Persian language, signifies the Good God, and is opposed to *akrimus* or *arimanius*, the evil principle: see Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, p. 484. Charesfeddin Aly, *Hist. de Timurbec*, tom. iii. p. 81, so that the term *Jasidans* points out that sect as the worshippers of true God. Notwithstanding the plausibility of this account of the matter, it is not impossible that the city Jezd, of which Otter speaks in his *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 283, may have given rise to the title of *Jasidians* or *Jezdæans*.

^f See Lucas, *Voyages en Grece et Asie Mineure*, tom. ii. p. 36. Hyde, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 491, 554. Sir Paul Ricaut's *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. i. p. 313.

^g Hyde, *Histor. Relig. Veter. Persar.* p. 555.

^h See the work of the Jesuit Dussé, entitled "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions Etrangères," tom. i. p. 63. This author tells us, that in the mountains which separate Persia from India, there lives a sect of Christians, who imprint the sign of the cross on their bodies with a red hot iron.

which have hitherto been given of these nations and sects are full of uncertainty and contradiction.

xx. The missionaries of Rome have never ceased to display in these parts of the world their dexterity in making proselytes, and accordingly have founded, though with great difficulty and expense, among the greatest part of the sects now mentioned, congregations that adopt the doctrine, and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. It is abundantly known, that among the Greeks who live under the empire of the Turk, and also among those who are subject to the dominion of the Venetians, the emperor of the Romans, and other Christian princes, there are several who have adopted the faith and discipline of the Latin Church, and are governed by their own clergy and bishops, who receive their confirmation and authority from Rome. In this latter city there is a college, expressly founded with a view to multiply these apostatizing societies, and to increase and strengthen the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff among the Greeks. In these colleges a certain number of Grecian students, who have given early marks of genius and capacity, are instructed in the arts and sciences, and are more especially prepossessed with the deepest sentiments of veneration and zeal for the authority of the pope. Such an institution, accompanied with the efforts and labours of the missionaries, could not fail, one would think, to gain an immense number of proselytes to Rome, considering the unhappy state of the Grecian churches. But the case is quite otherwise; for the most respectable writers, even of the Roman catholic persuasion, acknowledge fairly, that the proselytes they have drawn from the Greek churches make a wretched and despicable figure in point of number, opulence, and dignity, when compared with those to whom the religion, government, nay, the very name of Rome, are disgusting and odious. They observe farther, that the sincerity of a great part of these proselytes is of the Grecian stamp; so that, when a favourable occasion is offered them of renouncing, with advantage, their pretended conversion, they seldom fail, not only to return to the bosom of their own church, but even to recompense the good offices they received from the Romans with the most injurious treatment. The same writers mention another circumstance, much less surprising indeed than

Of the Greeks who embraced the Roman communion.

those now mentioned, but much more dishonourable to the church of Rome ; and that circumstance is, that even those of the Greek students who are educated at Rome with such care, as might naturally attach them to its religion and government, are nevertheless so disgusted and shocked at the corruptions of its church, clergy, and people, that they forget, more notoriously than others, the obligations with which they have been loaded, and exert themselves with peculiar obstinacy and bitterness in opposing the credit and authority of the Latin church.¹

XXI. In their efforts to extend the papal empire over the Greek churches, the designing pontiffs did not forget the church of Russia, the chief bulwark and ornament of the Grecian faith. On the contrary, frequent deliberations were held at Rome, about the proper methods of uniting, or rather subjecting this church to the papal hierarchy. In this century John Basilides, grand duke of the Russians, seemed to discover a propensity toward this union, by sending, in the year 1580, a solemn embassy to Gregory XIII. to exhort that pontiff to resume the negotiations relative to this important matter, that so they might be brought to a happy and speedy conclusion. Accordingly, the year following, Antony Possevin, a learned and artful Jesuit, was charged with this commission by the Roman pontiff, and sent into Moscovy to bring it into execution. But this dexterous missionary, though he spared no pains to obtain the purposes of his ambitious court, found by experience that all his efforts were unequal to the task he had undertaken ; nor did the Russian ambassadors, who arrived at Rome soon after, bring any thing to the ardent wishes of the pontiff, but empty promises, conceived in dubious and general terms, on which little dependence could be made.¹ And

A junction between the Russian and Roman churches attempted in vain.

¹ See, among other authors who have treated this point of history, Urb. Cerri, *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 82, in which, speaking of the Greeks, he expresses himself in the following manner ; " Ils deviennent les plus violens ennemis des Catholiques lorsqu'ils ont appris nos sciences, et qu'ils ont connoissance de nos imperfections ; i. e. in plain English, " They," the Greeks, " become the bitterest enemies of us Roman catholics, when they have been instructed in our sciences, and have acquired the knowledge of our imperfections." Other testimonies of a like nature shall be given hereafter. Mich. Le Quien has given us an enumeration, although a defective one, of the Greek bishops that follow the rites of the Roman church, in his *Oriens Christ.* tom. iii. p. 860.

^k See the conferences between Possevin and the duke of Moscovy, together with the other writings of this Jesuit, relative to the negotiation in question, that are sub-

indeed the event abundantly showed, that Basilides had no other view, in all these negotiations, than to flatter the pope, and obtain his assistance, in order to bring to an advantageous conclusion the unsuccessful war, which he had carried on against Poland.

The ministry of Possevin and his associates was however attended with more fruit among that part of the Russians who reside in the Polish dominions, many of whom embraced the doctrine and rites of the Roman church, in consequence of an association agreed on in the year 1596, in a meeting at Bresty, the capital of the palatinate of Cujavia. Those that thus submitted to the communion of Rome, were called the *united*, while the adverse party, who adhered to the doctrine and jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, were distinguished by the title of the *nonunited*.¹ It is likewise farther worthy of observation here, that there has been established at Kiovia, since the fourteenth century, a congregation of Russians, subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, and ruled by its own Metropolitans, who are entirely distinct from the Russian bishops that reside in that city.^m

XXII. The Roman missionaries made scarcely any spiritual conquests worthy of mention among either the Asiatic or African Monophysites. About the middle of the preceding century, a little insignificant church, that acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, was erected among the Nestorians, whose patriarchs, successively named Joseph,ⁿ reside in the city of Diarbek. Some of the Armenian provinces embraced the doctrines and discipline of Rome so early as the fourteenth century, under the pontificate of John XXII. who, in the year 1318, sent them a Dominican monk to govern their church, with the title and authority of an archbishop. The episcopal seat of this spiritual ruler was first fixed at Adorbiana, in the district of Soldania;^o but was afterward transferred to Naxivan, where it

The votaries of Rome still less numerous among the Monophysites, Nestorians, and Armenians.

joined to his work, called *Moscovia*. See also *La Vie du Possevin, par Jean Dorigny*, livr. v. p. 351.

¹ Adr. Regenvolschii *Histor. Ecclesiar. Slavonicar.* lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 465.

^m See Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1274, and tom. iii. p. 1126. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Februar. p. 693.

ⁿ See *Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part. i. p. 615. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1084.

^o Odor. Raynald. *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1318, § iv.

still remains in the hands of the Dominicans, who alone are admitted to that ghostly dignity.^p The Armenian churches in Poland, who have embraced the faith of Rome, have also their bishop, who resides at Lemberg.^q The Georgians and Mingrelians, who were visited by some monks of the Theatin and Capuchin orders, disgusted these missionaries by their ferocity and ignorance, remained inattentive to their counsels, and unmoved by their admonitions; so that their ministry and labours were scarcely attended with any visible fruit.^r

XXIII. The pompous accounts which the papal missionaries have given of the vast success of their labours among all these Grecian sects, are equally destitute of candour and truth. It is evident, from testimonies of the best and most respectable authority, that in some of these countries they do nothing more than administer clandestine baptism to sick infants, who are committed to their care, as they appear in the fictitious character of physicians; and that, in other places, the whole success of their ministry is confined to the gathering together some wretched tribes of indigent converts, whose poverty is the only bond of their attachment to the church of Rome, and who, when the papal largesses are suspended or withdrawn, fall from their pretended allegiance to Rome, and return to the religion of their ancestors.^s It happens also, from time to time, that a person of distinction among the Greeks or orientals embraces the doctrine of the Latin church, and promises obedience to its pontiff, nay, carries matters so far as to repair to Rome to testify his respectful submission to the apostolic see. But in these obsequious steps the noble converts are almost always moved by avarice or ambition; and accordingly, when the face of their affairs changes, when they have obtained their purposes, and have nothing more to expect, then they,

The labours of the Roman missionaries among all these sects produce little fruit.

^p Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* tom. iii. p. 1362, and 1403. Clemens Galanus, *Conciliatione Ecclesie Armenia, cum Romana*, tom. i. p. 527.

^q *Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iii. p. 54.

^r Urb. Cerri *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 162.

^s Urb. Cerri *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 164. Gabr. de Chinou, *Relations nouvelles du Levant*, part i. c. vi. p. 174. This capuchin monk delivers his opinions on many subjects with frankness and candour.

^t See Chardin's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 186, tom. ii. p. 53, 75, 206, 271, 349, and principally tom. iii. p. 433, of the last edition published in Holland, in 4to. for in the former editions all the scandalous transactions of the Roman missionaries among the Armenians, Colchians, Iberians, and Persians, are entirely wanting. See also Chinou, *Relations du Levant*, part ii. p. 308, which regards the Armenians; and Maillet, *Description d'Egypte*, tom. iii. p. 65, which is relative to the Copts.

generally speaking, either suddenly abandon the church of Rome, or express their attachment to it in such ambiguous terms as are only calculated to deceive. Those who, like the Nestorian bishop of Diarbek,^u continue steadfast in the profession of the Roman faith, and even transmit it with an appearance of zeal to their posterity, are excited to this perseverance by no other motive than the uninterrupted liberality of the Roman pontiff.

On the other hand, the bishops of Rome are extremely attentive and assiduous in employing all the methods in their power to maintain and extend their dominion among the Christians of the east. For this purpose, they treat with the greatest lenity and indulgence the proselytes they have made in these parts of the world, that their yoke may not appear intolerable. Nay, they carry this indulgence so far, as to show evidently, that they are actuated more by a love of power, than by an attachment to their own doctrines and institutions. For they do not only allow the Greek and other eastern proselytes the liberty of retaining in their public worship the rites and ceremonies of their ancestors, though in direct opposition with the religious service of the church of Rome, and of living in a manner repugnant to the customs and practice of the Latin world; but, what is much more surprising, they suffer the peculiar doctrines that distinguish the Greeks and orientals from all other Christian societies, to remain in the public religious books of the proselytes already mentioned, and even to be reprinted at Rome in those that are sent abroad for their use.^w The truth of the matter seems to be briefly this: that at Rome, a Greek, an Armenian, or a Copt, is looked upon as an obedient child, and a worthy member of the church, if he acknowledges the supreme and unlimited power of the Roman pontiff over all the Christian world.

xxiv. The Maronites, who inhabit the mounts Libanus and Antilibanus, date their subjection to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff from the

^{The Maronites.}

^u Otherwise named Amidad and Caramit.

^w Assemanni complains in many passages of his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* that even the very books that were printed at Rome for the use of the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, were not corrected, nor purged from the errors peculiar to these sects; and he looks upon this negligence, as the reason of the defection of many Roman converts, and of their return to the bosom of the eastern and Greek churches, to which they originally belonged. See, on the other hand, the *Letters Choisies du R. Simon*, tom. ii. let. xxiii. p. 156, in which this author pretends to defend this conduct of the Romans, which some attribute to indolence and neglect, others to artifice and prudence.

time that the Latins carried their hostile arms into Palestine, with a view to make themselves masters of the holy land.^z This subjection however was agreed to, with this express condition, that neither the popes nor their emissaries should pretend to change or abolish any thing that related to the ancient rites, moral precepts, or religious opinions of this people. So that, in reality, there is nothing to be found among the Maronites that savours of popery, if we except their attachment to the Roman pontiff,^y who is obliged to pay very dear for their friendship. For, as the Maronites live in the utmost distress of pover-

x The Maronite doctors, and more especially those that reside at Rome, maintain, with the greatest efforts of zeal and argument, that the religion of Rome has always been preserved among them in its purity, and exempt from any mixture of heresy or error. The proof of this assertion has been attempted, with great labour and industry, by Faust. Nairon, in his *Dissertation de origine, nomine, ac religione, Maronitarum*, published in Svo. at Rome, in the year 1679. It was from this treatise, and some other Maronite writers that De la Roque drew the materials of his discourse concerning the origin of the Maronites, together with the abridgment of their history, which is inserted in the second volume of his *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban*, p. 28, &c. But neither this hypothesis, nor the authorities by which it is supported, have any weight with the most learned men of the Roman church; who maintain, that the Maronites derived their origin from the Monophysites, and adhered to the doctrine of the Monothelites,^z until the twelfth century, when they embraced the communion of Rome. See R. Simon, *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, ch. xiii. p. 146. Euseb. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexand. in Præfat.* iii. 2, in *Hist.* p. 49. The very learned Assemanni, who was himself a Maronite, steers a middle way between these two opposite accounts, in his *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496, while the matter in debate is left undecided by Mich. Le Quien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 1, where he gives an account of the Maronite church and its spiritual rulers. For my own part, I am persuaded, that those who consider that all the Maronites have not as yet embraced the faith, or acknowledged the jurisdiction of Rome, will be little disposed to receive with credulity the assertions of certain Maronite priests, who are, after the manner of the Syrians, much addicted to boasting and exaggeration. Certain it is, that there are Maronites in Syria, who still behold the church of Rome with the greatest aversion and abhorrence; nay, what is still more remarkable, great numbers of that nation residing in Italy, even under the eye of the pontiff, opposed his authority during the last century, and threw the court of Rome into great perplexity. One body of these nonconforming Maronites retired into the valleys of Piedmont, where they joined the Waldenses; another, above six hundred in number, with a bishop and several ecclesiastics at their head, fled into Corsica, and implored the protection of the republic of Genoa against the violence of the inquisitors. See Urb. Cerri *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 121, 122. Now may it not be asked here, what could have excited the Maronites in Italy to this public and vigorous opposition to the Roman pontiff, if it be true that their opinions were in all respects conformable to the doctrines and decrees of the church of Rome? This opposition could not have been owing to any thing but a difference in point of doctrine and belief; since the church of Rome allowed, and still allows, the Maronites, under its jurisdiction, to retain and perform the religious rites and institutions that have been handed down to them from their ancestors, and to follow the precepts and rules of life to which they have always been accustomed. Compare with the authors above cited, *Thesaur. Epistol. Crozian*, tom. i. p. 11.

y The reader will do well to consult principally, on this subject, the observations subjoined by Rich. Simon, to his French translation of the Italian Jesuit Dandini's *Voyage to Mount Libanus*, published in 12mo. at Paris, in 1695. See also Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 548.

* Those who maintained, that notwithstanding the two natures in Christ, viz. the human and the divine; there was nevertheless but *one will*, which was the divine.

ty, under the tyrannical yoke of the Mahometans, the bishop of Rome is under necessity of furnishing them with such subsidies as may appease the voracity of their oppressors, procure a subsistence for their bishop and clergy, provide all things that are requisite for the support of their churches and the uninterrupted exercise of public worship, and contribute in general to lessen their misery. Beside, the college erected at Rome by Gregory XIII. with a design to instruct the young men, frequently sent from Syria, in the various branches of useful science and sacred erudition, and to prepossess them with an early veneration and attachment for the Roman pontiff, is attended with a very considerable expense. The patriarch of the Maronites performs his spiritual functions at Canobin, a convent of the monks of St. Anthony, on mount Libanus, which is his constant residence. He claims the title of patriarch of Antioch, and always assumes the name of Peter, as if he seemed desirous of being considered as the successor of that apostle.*

* See Petitqueux, *Voyage a Canobin dans le Mont Liban*, in the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. iv. p. 252, and tom. viii. p. 355. La Roque *Voyage de Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 10. Laur. D'Arvieux, *Memoires ou Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 418.

PART II.

HISTORY OF THE MODERN CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

I. **THE rise and progress of the evangelical, or Lutheran church, have been already related, so far as they belong to the history of the reformation. The former of these titles was assumed by that church in consequence of the original design of its founders, which was to restore to its native lustre the gospel of Christ, that had so long been covered with the darkness of superstition, or in other words, to place in its proper and true light that important doctrine, which represents salvation as attainable by the merits of Christ alone. Nor did the church now under consideration discover any reluctance against adopting the name of the great man, whom Providence employed as the honoured instrument of its foundation and establishment. A natural sentiment of gratitude to him, by whose ministry the clouds of superstition had been chiefly dispelled, who had destroyed the claims of pride and self-sufficiency, exposed the vanity of confidence in the intercession of saints and martyrs, and pointed out the Son of God as the only proper object of trust to miserable mortals, excited his followers to assume his name, and to call their community the Lutheran church.**

The commencement of the Lutheran church.

The rise of this church must be dated from that remarkable period, when the pontiff, Leo X. drove Martin Luther, with his friends and followers, from the bosom of the Roman hierarchy, by a solemn and violent sentence of excommunication. It began to acquire a regular form, and a considerable degree of stability and consistence, from the year 1530, when the system of doctrine and morality it had adopted, was drawn up and presented to the diet of

Augsburg. And it was raised to the dignity of a lawful and complete hierarchy, totally independent on the laws and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, in consequence of the treaty concluded at Passau, in the year 1552, between Charles V. and Maurice, elector of Saxony, relating to the religious affairs of the empire.

II. The great and leading principle of the Lutheran church is, that the Holy Scriptures are the only source from whence we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or practice; and that these inspired writings are, in all matters that are essential to salvation, so plain, and so easy to be thoroughly understood, that their signification may be learned, without the aid of an expositor, by every person of common sense, who has a competent knowledge of the language in which they are composed. There are indeed certain formularies adopted by this church, which contain the principal points of its doctrine, ranged, for the sake of method and perspicuity, in their natural order. But these books have no authority but what they derive from the Scriptures of truth, whose sense and meaning they are designed to convey; nor are the Lutheran doctors permitted to interpret or explain these books so as to draw from them any propositions that are inconsistent with the express declarations of the word of God. The chief and the most respectable of these human productions is the Confession of Augsburg, with the annexed *defence* of it against the objections of the Roman catholic doctors.* In the next rank

The sum and substance of its religious doctrine.

¶ When the confession of Augsburg had been presented to the diet of that city, the Roman catholic doctors were employed to refute the doctrines it contained; and this pretended refutation was also read to that august assembly. A reply was immediately drawn up by Melancthon, and presented to the emperor; who, under the pretext of a pacific spirit, refused to receive it. This reply was published afterward, under the title of "Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ;" and is the defence of that confession mentioned by Dr. Mosheim as annexed to it. To speak plain, Melancthon's love of peace and concord seems to have carried him beyond what he owed to the truth, in composing this defence of the confession of Augsburg. In the edition of that defence that some Lutherans, and Chytræus among others, look upon as the most genuine and authentic, Melancthon makes several strange concessions to the church of Rome; whether through servile fear, excessive charity, or hesitation of mind, I will not pretend to determine. He speaks of the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist in the very strongest terms that the Roman catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation; and adopts those remarkable words of Theophylact, that "the bread was not a figure only, but was truly changed into flesh." He approves of that canon of the mass, in which the priest prays that "the bread may be changed into the body of Christ." It is true that in some subsequent editions of the defence or apology now under consideration, these obnoxious passages were left out, and the phraseology, that had given such just offence, was considerably mitigated. There is an ample account of this whole matter, together with a history of the dissen-

may be placed the Articles of Smalcald,^b as they are commonly called, together with the shorter and larger Catechisms of Luther, designed for the instruction of youth, and the improvement of persons of riper years. To these standard books most churches add the Form of Concord; which, though it be not universally received, has not, on that account, occasioned any animosity or disunion; as the few points that prevent its being adopted by some churches are of an indifferent nature,^c and do not, in any degree, affect the grand and fundamental principles of true religion.^d

III. The form of public worship, and the rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted as a part of it, gave rise to disputes in several places during the infancy of the Lutheran church. Some were inclined to retain a greater number of the ceremonies and customs that had been so excessively multiplied

The ceremonies and public worship of the Lutheran church.

sions of the Lutheran church, in the valuable and learned work of Hospinian, entitled "Historiæ Sacramentariæ Pars posterior," p. 199, et seq. These expressions in Melancthon's *Apologia*, will appear still more surprising, when we recollect that, in the course of the debates concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, he at length seemed to lean visibly toward the opinions of Bucser and Calvin; and that, after his death, his followers were censured and persecuted in Saxony on this account, under the denomination of Philippists. This shows either that the great man now under consideration changed his opinions, or that he had formerly been seeking union and concord at the expense of truth.

[^b] The articles here mentioned were drawn up at Smalcald, by Luther, on occasion of a meeting of the protestant electors, princes, and states, at that place. They were principally designed to show how far the Lutherans were disposed to go in order to avoid a final rupture, and in what sense they were willing to adopt the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist. And though the terms in which these articles are expressed, be somewhat dubious, yet they are much less harsh and disgusting than those used in the Confession, the Apology, and the Form of Concord.

[^c] Dr. Mosheim, like an artful painter, shades those objects in the history of Lutheranism, which it is impossible to expose with advantage to a full view. Of this nature was the conduct of the Lutheran doctors in the deliberations relating to the famous Form of Concord here mentioned; a conduct that discovered such an imperious and uncharitable spirit, as would have been more consistent with the genius of the court of Rome than with the principles of a protestant church. The reader, who is desirous of an ample demonstration of the truth and justice of this censure, has only to consult the learned work of Rod. Hospinian, entitled "Concordia discors, seu de Origine et Progressu Formulæ Concordiæ Burgensis." The history of this remarkable production is more amply related in the thirty-ninth and following paragraphs of this first chapter, and in the notes, which the translator has taken the liberty to add there, in order to cast a proper light upon some things that are too interesting to be viewed superficially. In the mean time I shall only observe, that the points in the Form of Concord, that prevented its being universally received, are not of such an indifferent nature as Dr. Mosheim seems to imagine. To maintain the ubiquity, or omnipresence of Christ's body, together with its real and peculiar presence in the eucharist, and to exclude from their communion the protestants, who denied these palpable absurdities, was the plan of the Lutheran doctors in composing and recommending the Form of Concord; and this plan can neither be looked upon as a matter of pure indifference, nor as a mark of Christian charity. But for a farther proof of this, see § xxxix. already referred to.

[^d] See for an account of the Lutheran confessions of faith, Christ. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologiæ Symbolicæ*, p. 114.

in the church of Rome than seemed either lawful or expedient to others. The latter, after the example of the Helvetic reformers, had their views entirely turned toward that simplicity and gravity that characterized the Christian worship in the primitive times; while the former were of opinion, that some indulgence was to be shown to the weakness of the multitude, and some regard paid to institutions that had acquired a certain degree of weight through long established custom. But as these contending parties were both persuaded that the ceremonial part of religion was, generally speaking, a matter of human institution, and that consequently, a diversity of external rites might be admitted among different churches professing the same religion, without any prejudice to the bonds of charity and fraternal union, these disputes could not be of very long duration. In the mean time, all those ceremonies and observances of the church of Rome, whether of a public or private nature, that carried palpable marks of error and superstition, were every where rejected without hesitation; and wise precautions were used to regulate the forms of public worship in such a manner, that the genuine fruits of piety should not be choked by a multitude of insignificant rites. Beside, every church was allowed the privilege of retaining so much of the ancient form of worship as might be still observed without giving offence, and as seemed suited to the character of the people, the genius of the government, and the nature and circumstances of the place where it was founded. Hence it has happened, that even so far down as the present times, the Lutheran churches differ considerably one from the other, with respect both to the number and nature of their religious ceremonies; a circumstance so far from tending to their dishonour, that it is, on the contrary, a very striking proof of their wisdom and moderation.*

iv. The supreme civil rulers of every Lutheran state are clothed also with the dignity, and perform the functions of supremacy in the church. The very essence of civil government seems manifestly to point out the necessity of investing the sovereign

Concerning the visible head, and the form of government of the Lutheran church.

* See Balth. Meisnerus, *Lib. de Legibus*, lib. iv. art. iv. quæst. iv. p. 662—666. Jo. Adam Scherzerus, *Breviar. Hulsemann. Enact.* p. 1313—1321.

with this spiritual supremacy,^f and the tacit consent of the Lutheran churches has confirmed the dictates of wise policy in this respect. It must not however be imagined that the ancient rites and privileges of the people in ecclesiastical affairs have been totally abolished by this constitution of things; since it is certain, that the vestiges of the authority exercised by them in the primitive times, though more striking in one place than in another, are yet more or less visible every where. Besides, it must be carefully remembered, that all civil rulers of the Lutheran persuasion are effectually restrained, by the fundamental principles of the doctrine they profess, from any attempts to change or destroy the established rule of faith and manners, to make any alteration in the essential doctrines of their religion, or in any thing that is intimately connected with them, or to impose their particular opinions upon their subjects in a despotic and arbitrary manner.

The councils, or societies, appointed by the sovereign to watch over the interests of the church, and to govern and direct its affairs, are composed of persons versed^g in the knowledge both of civil and ecclesiastical law, and, according to a very ancient denomination, are called consistories. The internal government of the Lutheran church seems equally removed from episcopacy on the one hand, and from presbyterianism on the other, if we except the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, who retain the form of ecclesiastical government that preceded the reformation, purged indeed from the superstitions and abuses that rendered it so odious.^h This constitution of the Lutheran hierarchy will not seem surprising, when the sentiments of that people, with respect to ecclesiastical polity, are duly considered. On the one hand, they are persuaded that there is no law of divine authority, which points out a distinction between the ministers of the gospel, with res-

[^f Since nothing is more inconsistent with that subordination and concord, which are among the great ends of civil government, than *imperium in imperio*, i. e. two independent sovereignties in the same body politic. Hence the genius of government, as well as the spirit of genuine Christianity, proclaims the equity of that constitution, that makes the supreme head of the state, the supreme visible ruler of the church.

[^g In these two kingdoms the church is ruled by bishops and superintendents, under the inspection and authority of the sovereign. The archbishop of Upsal is primate of Sweden, and the only archbishop among the Lutherans. The luxury and licentiousness, that too commonly flow from the opulence of the Roman catholic clergy, are unknown in these two northern states; since the revenues of the prelate now mentioned do not amount to more than four hundred pounds yearly, while those of the bishops are proportionably small.

pect to rank, dignity, or prerogatives; and therefore they recede from episcopacy. But, on the other hand, they are of opinion, that a certain subordination, a diversity in point of rank and privileges among the clergy, are not only highly useful, but also necessary to the perfection of church communion, by connecting, in consequence of a mutual dependence, more closely together the members of the same body; and thus they avoid the uniformity of the presbyterian government. They are not however agreed with respect to the extent of this subordination, and the degrees of superiority and precedence that ought to distinguish their doctors; for in some places this is regulated with much more regard to the ancient rules of church government than is discovered in others. As the divine law is silent on this head, different opinions may be entertained, and different forms of ecclesiastical polity adopted, without a breach of Christian charity and fraternal union.

v. Every country has its own liturgies, which are the rules of proceeding in every thing that relates to external worship and the public exercises of religion. These rules however are not of an immutable nature, like those institutions which bear the stamp of a divine authority, but may be augmented, corrected, or illustrated, by the order of the sovereign, when such changes appear evidently to be necessary or expedient. The liturgies used in the different countries that have embraced the system of Luther, agree perfectly in all the essential branches of religion, in all matters that can be looked upon as of real moment and importance; but they differ widely in many things of an indifferent nature, concerning which the Holy Scriptures are silent, and which compose that part of the public religion that derives its authority from the wisdom and appointment of men. Assemblies for the celebration of divine worship meet every where at stated times. Here the Holy Scriptures are read publicly, prayers and hymns are addressed to the Deity, the sacraments are administered, and the people are instructed in the knowledge of religion, and excited to the practice of virtue by the discourses of their ministers. The wisest methods are used for the religious education of youth, who are not only carefully instructed in the elements of Christianity in the public schools, but are also examined, by the pastors of the churches to which they belong, in a

The Lutheran liturgies, their public worship, and their method of instructing.

public manner, in order to the farther improvement of their knowledge, and the more vigorous exertion of their faculties in the study of divine truth. Hence, in almost every province, catechisms, which contain the essential truths of religion, and the main precepts of morality, are published and recommended by the authority of the sovereign, as rules to be followed by the masters of schools, and by the ministers of the church, both in their private and public instructions. But as Luther left behind him an accurate and judicious production of this kind, in which the fundamental principles of religion and morality are explained and confirmed with the greatest perspicuity and force, both of evidence and expression, this compendious catechism of that eminent reformer is universally adopted as the first introduction to religious knowledge, and is one of the *standard books* of the church which bears his name. And indeed all the provincial catechisms are no more than illustrations and enlargements on this excellent abridgment of faith and practice.

VI. Among the days that are held sacred in the Lutheran church, beside that which is celebrated every week in memory of Christ's resurrection from the dead, we may reckon all such as were signa-
The holydays and ecclesiastical discipline of the Lutheran church.
 lized by those glorious and important events that proclaim the celestial mission of the Saviour, and the divine authority of his holy religion.^b These sacred festivals, the grateful and well-grounded piety of ancient times had always held in the highest veneration. But the Lutheran church has gone yet farther; and, to avoid giving offence to weak brethren, has retained several which seem to have derived the respect that is paid to them, rather from the suggestions of superstition than from the dictates of true religion. There are some churches, who carry the desire of multiplying festivals so far as to observe religiously the days that were formerly set apart for celebrating the memory of the twelve apostles.

It is well known that the power of excommunication, i. e. of banishing from its bosom obstinate and scandalous transgressors, was a privilege enjoyed and exercised by the church from the remotest antiquity; and it is no less cer-

^b Such, for example, are the nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God; the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, &c.

tain, that this privilege was perverted often to the most iniquitous and odious purposes. The founders therefore of the Lutheran church undertook to remove the abuses and corruptions under which this branch of ecclesiastical discipline laboured, and to restore it to its primitive purity and vigour. At first their attempt seemed to be crowned with success; since it is plain, that during the sixteenth century, no opposition of any moment was made to the wise and moderate exercise of this spiritual authority. But in process of time this privilege fell imperceptibly into contempt; the terror of excommunication lost its force; and ecclesiastical discipline was reduced to such a shadow, that in most places there are scarcely any remains, any traces of it to be seen at this day. This change may be attributed partly to the corrupt propensities of mankind, who are naturally desirous of destroying the influence of every institution that is designed to curb their licentious passions. It must however be acknowledged, that this relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline was not owing to this cause alone; other circumstances concurred to diminish the respect and submission that had been paid to the spiritual tribunal. On the one hand the clergy abused this important privilege in various ways; some misapplying the severity of excommunication through ignorance or imprudence, while others, still more impiously, perverted an institution, in itself extremely useful, to satisfy their private resentments, and to avenge themselves of those who had dared to offend them. On the other hand, the counsels of certain persons in power, who considered the privilege of excommunicating in the hands of the clergy as derogatory from the majesty of the sovereign, and detrimental to the interests of civil society, had no small influence in bringing this branch of ghostly jurisdiction into disrepute. It is however certain, that whatever causes may have contributed to produce this effect, the effect itself was much to be lamented, as it removed one of the most powerful restraints upon iniquity. Nor will it appear surprising, when this is duly considered, that the manners of the Lutherans are so remarkably depraved, and that in a church that is deprived almost of all authority and discipline, multitudes affront the public by their audacious irregularities, and transgress, with a frontless impudence, through the prospect of impunity.

VII. The prosperous and unfavourable events that belong to the history of the Lutheran church, since the happy establishment of its liberty and independence, are neither numerous nor remarkable, and may consequently be mentioned in a few words.

Of the prosperous and calamitous events that have happened to the Lutheran church.

The rise and progress of this church, before its final and permanent establishment, have been already related; but that very religious peace, which was the instrument of its stability and independence, set bounds, at the same time, to its progress in the empire, and prevented it effectually from extending its limits.¹ Toward the conclusion of this century, Gebhard, archbishop of Cologne, discovered a propensity to enter into its communion, and having contracted the bonds of matrimony, formed the design of introducing the reformation into his dominions. But this arduous attempt, which was in direct contradiction with the famous ecclesiastical reservation,² stipulated in the articles of the peace of religion concluded at Augsburg, proved abortive, and the prelate was obliged to resign his dignity, and to abandon his country.¹ On the other hand, it is certain, that the adversaries of the Lutheran church were not permitted to disturb its tranquillity, or to hurt, in any essential point, its liberty, prosperity, and independence. Their intentions indeed were malignant enough; and it appeared evident, from many striking circumstances, that they were secretly projecting a new attack upon the protestants, with a view to annul the treaty of Passau, which had been confirmed at Augsburg, and to have them declared public enemies to the empire. Such was undoubtedly the unjust and seditious design of Francis Burckhard, in composing the famous book *De Autonomia*, which was published in the year 1586; and also of Pistorius, in drawing up the reasons, which the marquis

[P] i The reason of this will be seen in the following note.

[P] k In the diet of Augsburg, which was assembled in the year 1555, in order to execute the treaty of Passau, the several states, that had already embraced the Lutheran religion, were confirmed in the full enjoyment of their religious liberty. To prevent, however, as far as was possible, the farther progress of the reformation, Charles V. stipulated for the Catholics the famous ecclesiastical reservation; by which it was decreed, that if any archbishop, prelate, bishop, or other ecclesiastic, should, in time to come, renounce the faith of Rome, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited, and his place be filled by the chapter or college, possessed of the power of election.

¹ See Jo. Dav. Koleri *Dissertatio de Gebhardo Truchsessio*. Jo. Pet. a Ludewig *Reliquæ Historiarum omnium ævæ*, tom. v. p. 393. See also a German work, entitled *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, A, 1748, p. 484.

of Bade alleged in vindication of his returning back from Lutheranism into the bosom of popery." These writers, and others of the same stamp, treat the religious peace, negotiated at Passau, and ratified at Augsburg, as unjust, because obtained by force of arms, and as null, because concluded without the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontiff. They pretended also to prove, that by the changes and interpolations, which they affirm to have been made by Melancthon, in the confession of Augsburg, after it had been presented to the diet, the protestants forfeited all the privileges and advantages that they derived from the treaty now mentioned. This latter accusation gave rise to long and warm debates during this and the following century. Many learned and ingenious productions were published on that occasion, in which the Lutheran divines proved, with the utmost perspicuity and force of argument, that the confession of Augsburg was preserved in their church in its first state, uncorrupted by any mixture, and that none of their brethren had ever departed in any instance from the doctrines it contains." They that felt most sensibly the bitter and implacable hatred of the papists against the doctrine and worship of the Lutheran church, which they disdainfully called the *new religion*, were the members of that church who lived in the territories of Roman catholic princes. This is more especially true of the protestant subjects of the house of Austria,^o who have experienced, in the most affecting manner, the dire effects of bigotry and superstition seated on a throne, and who lost the greatest part of their liberty before the conclusion of this century.

VIII. While the votaries of Rome were thus meditating the ruin of the Lutheran church, and exerting, for this purpose, all the powers of secret artifice and open violence, the followers of Luther were assiduously bent on defeating their efforts, and left no means

The state of learning among the Lutherans.

m See Chr. Aug. Salig. *Hist. August. Confessionis*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 767.

n See Salig. *Hist. August. Confessionis*, tom. i. It cannot indeed be denied, that Melancthon corrected and altered some passages of the confession of Augsburg. Nay more; it is certain, that in the year 1555, he made use of the extraordinary credit and influence he then had, to introduce among the Saxon churches an edition of that confession, which was not only corrected in several places, but was moreover, upon the whole, very different from the original one. But his conduct in this step, which was extremely audacious, or at least highly imprudent, never received the approbation of the Lutheran church, nor was the Augsburg confession, in this new shape, ever admitted as one of the standard books of its faith and doctrine.

o See the *Austri Evangelica* of the learned Raupachius, tom. i. p. 159, tom. ii. p. 287. This work is composed in the German language.

unemployed, that seemed proper to maintain their own doctrine, and to strengthen their cause. The calamities they had suffered were fresh in their remembrance; and hence they were admonished to use all possible precautions to prevent their falling again into the like unhappy circumstances. Add to this the zeal of princes and men in power for the advancement of true religion, which, it must be acknowledged, was much greater in this century, than it is in the times in which we live. Hence the original confederacy that had been formed among the German princes for the maintenance of Lutheranism, and of which the elector of Saxony was the chief, gained new strength from day to day, and foreign sovereigns, particularly those of Sweden and Denmark, were invited to enter into this grand alliance. And as it was universally agreed, that the stability and lustre of the rising church depended much on the learning of its ministers, and the progress of the sciences among those in general who professed its doctrines, so the greatest part of the confederate princes promoted, with the greatest zeal, the culture of letters, and banished, wherever their salutary influence could extend, that baneful ignorance that is the mother of superstition. The academies founded by the Lutherans at Jena, Helmstadt, and Altorf, and by the Calvinists at Franeker, Leyden, and other places; the ancient universities reformed and accommodated to the constitution and exigencies of a purer church than that under whose influence they had been at first established; the great number of schools that were opened in every city; the ample rewards, together with the distinguished honours and privileges that were bestowed on men of learning and genius, all these circumstances bear honourable testimony to the generous zeal of the German princes for the advancement of useful knowledge. These noble establishments were undoubtedly expensive, and required large funds for their support. These were principally drawn from the revenues and possessions, which the piety or superstition of ancient times had consecrated to the multiplication of convents, the erection or embellishment of churches, and other religious uses.

IX. These generous and zealous efforts in the cause of learning were attended with remarkable success. Almost all the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with emulation, and brought to greater

*The study of
Belles Lettres
and languages
promoted.*

degrees of perfection. All those, whose views were turned to the service of the church, were obliged to apply themselves, with diligence and assiduity, to the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin literature, in order to qualify them for performing, with dignity and success, the duties of the sacred function ; and it is well known, that in these branches of erudition several Lutheran doctors excelled in such a manner, as to acquire a deathless name in the republic of letters. Melancthon, Cario, Chytræus, Reineccius, and others, were eminent for their knowledge of history. More particularly Flacius, one of the authors of the *Centuria Magdeburgenses*,* that immortal work, which restored to the light of evidence and truth the facts relating to the rise and progress of the Christian church, which had been covered with thick darkness, and corrupted by innumerable fables, may be deservedly considered as the parent of ecclesiastical history. Nor should we omit mentioning the learned Martin Chemnitz, to whose Examination of the decrees of the Council of Trent, the history of religion is more indebted, than many, at this day, are apt to imagine. While so many branches of learning were cultivated with zeal, some, it must be confessed, were too little pursued. Among these we may place the history of literature and philosophy ; the important science of criticism ; the study of antiquities ; and other objects of erudition that stand in connexion with them. It is however to be observed, that notwithstanding the neglect with which these branches of science seemed, too generally, to have been treated, the foundations of their culture and improvement in future ages were really laid in this century. On the other hand, it is remarkable that Latin eloquence and poetry were carried to a very high degree of improvement, and exhibited orators and poets of the first order ; from which circumstance alone it may be fairly concluded, that if all the branches of literature and philosophy were not brought to that pitch of perfection of which they were susceptible, this was not owing to the want of industry or genius, but rather to the restraints laid upon genius by the infelicity of the times. All the votaries of science, whom a noble emu-

* The joint authors of this famous work, beside Flacius Illyricus, were Nicolaus Gallus, Johannes Wigandus, and Matthias Judex, all ministers of Magdeburg ; and they were assisted by Caspar Nidpruckius an imperial counsellor, Johannes Baptista Heinco-Augustinian, Basil Faber, and others.

lation excited to the pursuit of literary fame, were greatly animated by the example, the influence, and the instructions of Melancthon, who was deservedly considered as the great and leading doctor of the Lutheran church, and whose sentiments, relating both to the sacred and profane erudition, were so universally respected, that scarcely any had the courage to oppose them. In the next rank to this eminent reformer may be mentioned Joachim Camerarius of Leipsic, a shining ornament to the republic of letters in this century, who, by his zeal and application contributed much to promote the cause of universal learning, and more especially the study of elegant literature.

x. The revolutions of philosophy among the Lutheran doctors were many and various. Luther and Melancthon seemed to set out with a resolution to banish every species of philosophy^p from the church; and though it is impossible to justify entirely this part of their conduct, yet they are less to be blamed than those scholastic doctors, whose barbarous method of teaching philosophy was inexpressibly disgusting, and who, by a miserable abuse of the subtile precepts of Aristotle, had perverted the dictates of common sense, and introduced the greatest obscurity and confusion both in philosophy and religion. But though these abuses led the two great men now mentioned too far, and were carrying them into the opposite extreme; yet their own recollections suspended their precipitation, and they both perceived, before it was too late, that true philosophy was necessary to restrain the licentious flights of mere genius and fancy, and to guard the sanctuary of religion against the inroads of superstition and enthusiasm.^q It was in consequence of this persuasion that Melancthon composed, in a plain and familiar style, abridgments of almost all the various branches of philosophy, which, during many years, were explained publicly to the studious youth in all the Lutheran academies

The various
state of philo-
sophy among
the Lutherans.

^p See Christ. Aug. Heumann's *Acta philosophor.* art. ii. part x. p. 579. Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *Dissertat. de varia Aristotelis fortuna in Schois Protestantium*, which Launoy has prefixed to his book *De fortuna Aristotelis in Academia Parisiensi*, § viii. p. 15, § xiii. p. 38.

^q Some writers, either through malignity, or for want of better information, have pretended that Luther rejected the scholastic philosophy through a total ignorance of its nature and precepts. Those that have ventured upon such an assertion must have been themselves grossly ignorant of the history of literature in general, as well as of the industry and erudition of Luther in particular. For a demonstrative proof of this, see Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophia*, tom. iv. part i. p. 94, 95, 96, &c.

and schools of learning. This celebrated reformer may not improperly be considered as an *eclectic*; for though in many points he followed Aristotle, and retained some degree of propensity to the ancient philosophy of the schools, yet he drew many things from the fecundity of his own genius, and had often recourse also to the doctrines of the Platonics and stoics.

XI. This method of teaching philosophy, however commendable on account of its simplicity and perspicuity, did not long enjoy alone and unrivalled, the great credit and authority it had obtained.

Philosophical sects; Aristotelians and Ramusans. Certain acute and subtile doctors, having perceived that Melancthon, in composing his abridgments, had discovered a peculiar and predominant attachment to the philosophy of Aristotle, thought it was better to go to the source, than to drink at the stream; and therefore read and explained to their disciples the works of the Stagirite. On the other hand, it was observed, that the Jesuits, and other votaries of Rome, artfully made use of the ambiguous terms and the intricate sophistry of the ancient schoolmen, in order to puzzle the protestants, and to reduce them to silence, when they wanted such arguments as were adapted to produce conviction. And therefore many protestant doctors thought it might be advantageous to their cause to have the studious youth instructed in the mysteries of the Aristotelian philosophy, as it was taught in the schools, that thus they might be qualified to defend themselves with the same weapons with which they were attacked. Hence there arose, toward the conclusion of this century, three philosophical sects, the Melancthonian, the Aristotelian, and the scholastic. The first declined gradually, and soon disappeared; while the other two imperceptibly grew into one, and acquired new vigour by this coalition, increased daily in reputation and influence, and were adopted in all the schools of learning. It is true, the followers of Ramus made violent inroads, in several places, upon the territories of these combined sects, and sometimes with a certain appearance of success; but their hopes were transitory; for after various struggles they were obliged to yield, and were at length entirely banished from the schools.

r Jo. Herm. ab Elswich, *De factis Aristot. in Scholis Protest.* § xxi. p. 54. Jo. Georg. Walchius, *Historia Logices*, lib. ii. cap. i. § iii. v. in *Parergis Academicis*, p. 613, 617. Otto Frid. Schutzium, *De vita Chytræi*, lib. iv. sect. iv. p. 19.

XII. Such also was the fate of the disciples of Paracelsus, who, from the grand principle of their physical system, were called *fire philosophers*,¹ and who aimed at nothing less than the total subversion of the peripatetic philosophy and the introduction of their own reveries into the public schools. Toward the conclusion of this century the Paracelsists really made a figure in almost all the countries of Europe, as their sect was patronised and supported by the genius and eloquence of several great men, who exerted themselves, with the utmost zeal and assiduity, in its cause, and endeavoured, both by their writings and their transactions, to augment its credit. In England it found an eminent defender in M. Robert Flood, or Fludd, a man of a very singular genius,² who illustrated, or at least attempted to illustrate, the philosophy of Paracelsus, in a great number of treatises, which, even in our times, are not entirely destitute of readers and admirers. The same philosophy got a certain footing in France, had several votaries in that kingdom, and was propagated with zeal at Paris, by a person whose name was Rivier, in opposition to the sentiments and efforts of the university of that city.³ Its cause was industriously promoted in Denmark by Severinus;⁴ in Germany by Kunrath, an eminent physician at Dresden, who died in the year 1605;⁵ and in other countries by a considerable number of warm votaries, who were by no means unsuccessful in augmenting its reputation, and multiplying its followers. As all these heralds of the new philosophy accompanied their instructions with a striking air of piety and devotion, and seemed, in propagating their

The Paracelsists, or fire philosophers.

¹ This fanatical sect of philosophers had several denominations. They were called Theosophists, from their declaiming against human reason as a dangerous and deceitful guide, and their representing a Divine and supernatural illumination as the only means of arriving at truth. They were called *Philosophi per ignem*, i. e. fire philosophers, from their maintaining that the intimate essences of natural things were only to be known by the trying efforts of fire, directed in a chymical process. They were, lastly, denominated Paracelsists, from the eminent physician and chymist of that name, who was the chief ornament and leader of that extraordinary sect.

² The person here mentioned by Dr. Mosheim is not the famous Dominican monk of that name, who, from his ardent pursuit of mathematical knowledge, was called the Seeker, and who, from his passion for chymistry, was suspected of magic, but a famous physician born in the year 1574, at Milgate in Kent, and very remarkable for his attachment to the alchemists. See Ant. Wood, *Athenar. Oxoniens.* vol. i. p. 610, and *Hist. et Antiq. Acad. Oxoniens.* lib. ii. p. 390. P. Gassendi *Examen Philosoph. Fluxuana.* tom. iii. opp. p. 259.

³ Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. vi. p. 327, et passim.

⁴ Jo. Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 623.

⁵ Jo. Molleri, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 440.

strange system, to propose to themselves no other end than the advancement of the divine glory, and the restoration of peace and concord in a divided church; a motive, in appearance, so generous and noble, could not fail to procure them friends and protectors. Accordingly, we find that, toward the conclusion of this century, several persons, eminent for their piety, and distinguished by their zeal for the advancement of true religion, joined themselves to this sect. Of this number were the Lutheran doctors, Wigelius, Arndius, and others, who were led into the snare by their ill-grounded notions of human reason, and who apprehended that controversy and argumentation might lead men to substitute anew the pompous and intricate jargon of the schools in the place of solid and sincere piety.

XIII. Among those that discovered a propensity toward the system of the Paracelsists, or theosophists, was the celebrated Daniel Hofmann, professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt, who, from the year 1598, had declared open war against philosophy, and who continued to oppose it with the greatest obstinacy and violence. Laying hold of some particular opinions of Luther, and certain passages in the writings of that great man, he extravagantly maintained that philosophy was the mortal enemy of religion; that truth was divisible into two branches, the one philosophical and the other theological; and that what was true in philosophy, was false in theology. These absurd and pernicious tenets naturally alarmed the judicious doctors of the university, and excited a warm controversy between Hofmann and his colleagues, Owen Guntherus, Cornelius Martin, John Caselius, and Duncan Liddell; a controversy also of too much consequence to be confined within such narrow bounds, and which accordingly was carried on in other countries with the same fervour. The tumults it excited in Germany were appeased by the interposition of Henry Julius, duke of Brunswick, who, having made a careful inquiry into the nature of this debate, and consulted the professors of the academy of Rostoc on that subject, commanded Hofmann to retract publicly the invectives he had thrown out against philosophy in his writings and in his academical lectures, and to acknowledge, in the most open manner, the harmony and

The controversy
between Hof-
mann and his
colleagues.

union of sound philosophy with true and genuine theology.⁷

xiv. The theological system that now prevails in the Lutheran academies, is not of the same tenor or spirit with that which was adopted in the infancy of the reformation. As time and experience are necessary to bring all things to perfection, so the doctrine of the Lutheran church changed imperceptibly, and by degrees its original form, and was improved and perfected in many respects. This will appear both evident and striking to those who are acquainted with the history of the doctrines relating to the interpretation of Scripture, freewill, predestination, and other points, and who compare the Lutheran systems of divinity of an earlier date with those that have been composed in modern times. The case could not well be otherwise. The glorious defenders of religious liberty, to whom we owe the various blessings of the reformation, as they were conducted only by the suggestions of their natural sagacity, whose advances in the pursuit of knowledge are gradual and progressive, could not at once behold the truth in all its lustre, and in all its extent, but, as usually happens to persons that have been long accustomed to the darkness of ignorance, their approaches toward knowledge were but slow, and their views of things but imperfect. The Lutherans were greatly assisted both in correcting and illustrating the articles of their faith, partly by the controversies they were obliged to carry on with the Roman catholic doctors, and the disciples of Zuingle and Calvin, and partly by the intestine divisions that reigned among themselves, of which an account shall be given in this chapter. They have been absurdly reproached, on account of this variation in their doctrine, by Bossuet and other papal writers, who did not consider that the founders of the Lutheran church never pretended to divine inspiration; and that it is by discovering first the errors of others, that the wise generally prepare them for the investigation of truth.

The science of theology corrected and improved.

xv. The first and principal object that drew the attention and employed the industry of the reformers, was the exposition and illustration of the sacred writings, which, according to the doctrine of the

The state of exegetic theology.

^y There is an accurate account of this controversy, with an enumeration of the writings published on both sides of the question, in the Life of Owen Guntherus, which

Lutheran church, contain all the treasures of celestial wisdom; all things that relate to faith and practice. Hence it happened that the number of commentators and expositors among the Lutherans was equal to that of the eminent and learned doctors that adorned that communion. At the head of them all, Luther and Melancthon are undoubtedly to be placed; the former, on account of the sagacity and learning discovered in his explications of several portions of Scripture, and particularly of the books of Moses, and the latter in consequence of his commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, and other learned labours of that kind which are abundantly known. A second class of expositors of the same communion, obtained also great applause in the learned world, by their successful application to the study of the holy Scriptures, in which we may rank Matthias Flacius, whose Glossary and Key to the Sacred Writings² is extremely useful in unfolding the meaning of the inspired penmen; John Bugenhagenius, Justus Jonus, Andrew Osiander, and Martin Chemnitz, whose Harmonies of the Evangelists are not void of merit. To these we may add Victor Strigelius and Joachim Camerarius, of whom the latter, in his Commentary on the New Testament, expounds the Scriptures in a grammatical and critical manner only; and laying aside all debated points of doctrine and religious controversy, unfolds the sense of each term, and the spirit of each phrase, by the rules of criticism and the genius of the ancient languages, in which he was a very uncommon proficient.

xvi. All these expositors and commentators abandoned the method of the ancient interpreters, who, neglecting the plain and evident purport of the words of Scripture, were perpetually torturing their imaginations, in order to find out a mysterious sense in each word or sentence, or were hunting after insipid allusions and chimerical applications of Scripture passages, to objects which never entered into the views of the inspired writers. On the contrary, their principal zeal and industry were employed in investigating the natural force and signification of each expression, in consequence of that

The respective merits of the sacred interpreters.

is inserted by Mollerus, in his *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 225. See also Jo. Herm. ab Elawich, *De factis Aristotelis in Scholis Protestant.* § xvii. p. 76. And a German work, entitled *Gottes. Arnold, Kirchen und Kitzer Historie*, p. 947.

² The Latin titles are *Glossæ Scripture Sacre*, and *Clavis Scripture Sacre*.

golden rule of interpretation inculcated by Luther, "That there is no more than one sense annexed to the words of Scripture throughout all the books of the Old and New Testament." It must however be acknowledged, that the examples exhibited by these judicious expositors were far from being universally followed. Many labouring under the old and inveterate disease of an irregular fancy and a scanty judgment, were still seeking for hidden significations and double meanings in the expressions of Holy Writ. They were perpetually busied in twisting all the prophecies of the Old Testament into an intimate connexion with the life, sufferings, and transactions of Jesus Christ; and were over sagacious in finding out, in the history of the patriarchal and Jewish churches, the types and figures of the events that have happened in modern, and that may yet happen in future times. In all this they discovered more imagination than judgment; more wit than wisdom. Be that as it may, all the expositors of this age may be divided, methinks, with propriety enough, into two classes, with Luther at the head of the one, and Melancthon presiding in the other. Some commentators followed the example of the former, who, after a plain and familiar explication of the sense of Scripture, applied its decisions to the fixing of controverted points, and to the illustration of the doctrines and duties of religion. Others discovered a greater propensity to the method of the latter, who first divided the discourses of the sacred writers into several parts, explained them according to the rules of rhetoric, and afterward proceeded to a more strict and almost a literal exposition of each part, taken separately, applying the result, as rarely as was possible, to points of doctrine, or matters of controversy.

XVII. Complete systems of theology were far from being numerous in this century. Melancthon, the most eminent of all the Lutheran doctors, collected and digested the doctrines of the church, which he so eminently adorned, into a body of divinity, under the vague title of *Loci Communes*, i. e. A Commonplace Book of Theology. This compilation, which was afterward, at different times, reviewed, corrected, and enlarged by its author, was in such high repute during this century,

Concerning the didactic theology or doctrine of the Lutheran church.

☞ This golden rule will be found often defective and false, unless several prophetic, parabolical, and figurative expressions be excepted in its application.

and even in succeeding times, that it was considered as a universal model of doctrine for all those, who either instructed the people by their public discourses, or promoted the knowledge of religion by their writings.* The title prefixed to this performance indicates sufficiently the method, or rather the irregularity that reigns in the arrangement of its materials; and shows that it was not the design of Melancthon to place the various truths of religion in that systematical concatenation, and that scientific order and connexion, that are observed by the philosophers in their demonstrations and discourses, but to propose them with freedom and simplicity, as they presented themselves to his view. Accordingly, in the first editions of the book under consideration, the method observed both in delineating and illustrating these important truths, is extremely plain, and is neither loaded with the terms, the definitions, nor the distinctions, that abound in the writings of the philosophers. Thus did the Lutheran doctors, in the first period of the rising church, renounce and avoid, in imitation of the great reformer, whose name they bear, all the abstruse reasoning and subtile discussions of the scholastic doctors. But the sophistry of their adversaries, and their perpetual debates with the artful champions of the church of Rome, engaged them by degrees, as has been already observed, to change their language and their methods of reasoning; so that, in process of time, the simplicity that had reigned in their theological systems, and in their manner of explaining the truths of religion, almost totally disappeared. Even Melancthon himself fell imperceptibly into the new method, or rather into the old method revived, and enlarged the subsequent editions of his *Loci Communes*, by the addition of several philosophical illustrations, designed to expose the fallacious reasonings of the Roman catholic doctors. As yet, however, the discussions of philosophy were but sparingly used, and the unintelligible jargon of the schoolmen was kept at a certain distance, and seldom borrowed. But when the founders of the Lutheran church were removed by death, and the Jesuits attacked the principles of the reformation with redoubled animosity, armed with the intricate and perplexing dialectic of the schools; then indeed the scene changed, and theology as-

* See Jo. Franc. Buddeus *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. xiii. tom. i. p.

sumed another aspect. The stratagem employed by the Jesuits corrupted our doctors, induced them to revive that intricate and abstruse manner of defending and illustrating religious truth that Luther and his associates had rejected, and to introduce, into the plain and artless paths of theology, all the thorns and thistles, all the dark and devious labyrinths of the scholastic philosophy. This unhappy change was deeply lamented by several divines of eminent piety and learning about the commencement of the seventeenth century, who regretted the loss of that amiable simplicity that is the attendant on divine truth; but they could not prevail upon the professors, in the different universities, to sacrifice the jargon of the schools to the dictates of common sense, nor to return to the plain, serious, and unaffected method of teaching theology that had been introduced by Luther. These obstinate doctors pleaded necessity in behalf of their scholastic divinity, and looked upon this pretended necessity as superior to all authorities, and all examples, however respectable.

XVIII. Those who are sensible of the intimate connexion that there is between faith and practice, between the truths and duties of religion, will easily perceive the necessity that there was of reforming the corrupt morality, as well as the superstitious doctrines of the church of Rome. It is therefore natural, that the same persons, who had spirit enough to do the one, should think themselves obliged to attempt the other. This they accordingly attempted, and not without a certain degree of success; for it may be affirmed with truth, that there is more genuine piety and more excellent rules of conduct in the few practical productions of Luther, Melancthon, Weller, and Rivius, to mention no more, than are to be found in the innumerable volumes of all the ancient casuists and moralizers,^c as they are called in the barbarous language of these remote periods. It is not however meant even to insinuate, that the notions of these great men concerning the important science of morality were either sufficiently accurate or extensive. It appears, on the contrary, from the various debates that were carried on during this century, concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, and from the answers that were given by famous casuists to persons perplexed

The state of
morality
among the
Lutherans.

^c The moral writers of this century were called *moralisantes*, a barbarous term, of which the English word *moralizers* bears some resemblance.

with religious scruples, that the true principles of morality were not as yet fixed with perspicuity and precision, the agreement or difference between the laws of nature and the precepts of Christianity sufficiently examined and determined, nor the proper distinctions made between those parts of the gospel dispensation, which are agreeable to right reason, and those that are beyond its reach and comprehension. Had not the number of adversaries, with whom the Lutheran doctors were obliged to contend, given them perpetual employment in the field of controversy, and robbed them of that precious leisure which they might have consecrated to the advancement of real piety and virtue, they would certainly have been free from the defects now mentioned, and would perhaps have equalled the best moral writers of modern times. This consideration will also diminish our wonder at a circumstance, which otherwise might seem surprising, that none of the famous Lutheran doctors attempted to give a regular system of morality. Melancthon himself, whose exquisite judgment rendered him peculiarly capable of reducing into a compendious system the elements of every science, never seems to have thought of treating morals in this manner; but has inserted, on the contrary, all his practical rules and instructions under the theological articles that relate to the *law, sin, freewill, faith, hope, and charity.*

XIX. All the divines of this century were educated in the school of controversy, and so trained up to spiritual war, that an eminent theologian, and a bold and vehement disputant, were considered as synonymous terms. It could scarcely indeed be otherwise, in an age when foreign quarrels and intestine divisions of a religious nature threw all the countries of Europe into a state of agitation, and obliged the doctors of the contending churches to be perpetually in action, or at least in a posture of defence. These champions of the reformation were not however all animated with the same spirit, nor did they attack and defend with the same arms. Such of them as were contemporary with Luther, or lived near his time, were remarkable for the simplicity of their reasoning, and attacked their adversaries with no other arguments than those which they drew from the declarations of the inspired writers, and the decisions of the ancient fathers. Toward the latter end of the century this

Polemical or
controversial
theology.

method was considerably changed, and we see those doctors, who were its chief ornaments, reinforcing their cause with the succours of the Aristotelian philosophy, and thus losing, in point of perspicuity and evidence, what they gained in point of subtilty and imagined science. It is true, as has been already observed more than once, that they were too naturally, though inconsiderately, led to adopt this method of disputing by the example of their adversaries, the Roman catholics. The latter having learned, by a disagreeable and discouraging experience, that their cause was unable to support that plain and perspicuous method of reasoning that is the proper test of religious and moral truth, had recourse to stratagem when evidence failed, and involved both their arguments and their opinions in the dark and intricate mazes of the scholastic philosophy; and it was this that engaged the protestant doctors to change their weapons, and to employ methods of defence unworthy of the glorious cause in which they had embarked.

The spirit of zeal that animated the Lutheran divines was, generally speaking, very far from being tempered by a spirit of charity. If we except Melancthon, in whom a predominant mildness and sweetness of natural temper triumphed over the contagious ferocity of the times, all the disputants of this century discovered too much bitterness and animosity in their transactions and in their writings. Luther himself appears at the head of this sanguine tribe whom he far surpassed in invectives and abuse, treating his adversaries with the most brutal asperity, and sparing neither rank nor condition, however elevated or respectable they might be. It must indeed be confessed, that the criminal nature of this asperity and vehemence will be much alleviated, when they are considered in one point of view with the genius of these barbarous times, and the odious cruelty and injustice of the virulent enemies, whom the oppressed reformers were called to encounter. When the impartial inquirer considers the abominable calumnies that were lavished on the authors and instruments of the reformation; when he reflects upon the horrors of fire and sword employed, by bloodthirsty and bigoted tyrants, to extirpate and destroy those good men whom they wanted arguments to persuade and convince; will not his heart burn with a generous indignation? and will he not think it

in some measure just, that such horrid proceedings should be represented in their proper colours, and be stigmatized by such expressions as are suited to their demerit?

XX. In order to form a just idea of the internal state of the Lutheran church, and of the revolutions and changes that have happened in it, with their true springs and real causes, it is necessary to consider the history of that church under three distinct periods. The first of these extends from the commencement of the reformation to the death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546. The second takes in the space of time elapsed between the death of Luther and that of Melancthon, and consequently terminates in the year 1560; while the remainder of the century is comprehended in the third period.

Three periods must be distinguished in the history of the Lutheran church.

FIRST PERIOD.

During the first period, all things were transacted in the Lutheran church in a manner conformable to the sentiments, counsels, and orders of Luther. This eminent reformer, whose undaunted resolution, and amazing credit and authority, rendered him equal to the most arduous attempts, easily suppressed the commotions and dissensions that arose from time to time in the church, and did not suffer the sects, that several had attempted to form in its bosom, to gather strength, or to arrive at any considerable degree of consistence and maturity. The natural consequence of this was, that during the life of that great man the internal state of the Lutheran church was a state of tolerable tranquillity and repose; and all such as attempted to foment divisions, or to introduce any essential changes, were either speedily reduced to silence, or obliged to retire from the new community.

XXI. The infancy of this church was troubled by an impetuous rabble of wrongheaded fanatics, who introduced the utmost confusion wherever they had occasion to spread their pestilential errors, and who pretended that they had received a divine inspiration, authorizing them to erect a new kingdom of Christ, in which sin and corruption were to have no place. The leaders of this turbulent and riotous sect were Munzer, Storchius, Stubner, and others, partly

Debates between Luther and the fanatics that troubled the church during the first period.

Swiss, and partly Germans, who kindled the flame of discord and rebellion in several parts of Europe, and chiefly in Germany, and excited among the ignorant multitude tumults and commotions, which, though less violent in some places than in others, were nevertheless formidable wherever they appeared.^d The history of this seditious band is full of obscurity and confusion. A regular, full, and accurate account of it neither has, nor could well be committed to writing; since, on the one hand, the opinions and actions of these fanatics were a motley chaos of inconsistencies and contradictions, and, on the other, the age in which they lived, produced few writers who had either the leisure or the capacity to observe with diligence, or to relate with accuracy, commotions and tumults of this extraordinary kind. It is however certain, that from the most profligate and abandoned part of this enthusiastical multitude, those seditious armies were formed, which kindled in Germany the *war of the peasants*, and afterward seized upon the city of Munster, involving the whole province of Westphalia in the most dreadful calamities. It is also well known, that the better part of this motley tribe, terrified by the unhappy and deserved fate of their unworthy associates, whom they saw extirpated and massacred with the most unrelenting severity, saved themselves from the ruin of their sect, and at length embraced the communion of those who are called Mennonites. The zeal, vigilance, and resolution of Luther happily prevented the divisions, which the odious disciples of Munzer attempted to excite in the church he had founded, and preserved the giddy and credulous multitude from their seductions. And it may be safely affirmed, that, had it not been for the vigour and fortitude of this active and undaunted reformer, the Lutheran church would, in its infancy, have fallen a miserable prey to the enthusiastic fury of these detestable fanatics.

^d Jo. Baptista Ottius, in his *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 8, has collected a considerable number of facts relating to these fanatical commotions, which are also mentioned by all the writers of the history of the reformation.

^e The tumults of the Anabaptists in Germany, and the junction of the better part of them with Mennon, have already been mentioned in a cursory manner, sect. i. chap. ii. § xxi. For an ample account of the origin, doctrine, and progress of the Mennonites, see the third chapter of the second part of this third section, cent. xvi.

^f The danger that threatened the Lutheran church in these tumults of the German Anabaptists, was so much the greater on account of the inclination, which Munzer and Storc discovered, at first, for the sentiments of Luther, and the fa-

XXII. Fanatics and enthusiasts of the kind now described, while they met with the warmest opposition from Luther, found on the contrary in Carolostadt, his colleague, such a credulous attention to their seductions, as naturally flattered them with the hopes of his patronage and favour. This divine, who was a native of Franconia, was neither destitute of learning nor merit; but imprudence and precipitation were the distinguished lines of his warm and violent character. Of these he gave the most evident marks, in the year 1522, when, during the absence of Luther, he excited no small tumult at Wittemberg, by ordering the images to be taken out of the churches, and other enterprises of a rash and dangerous nature.^g This tumult was appeased by the sudden return of Luther, whose presence and exhortations calmed the troubled spirits of the people; and here must we look for the origin of the rupture between him and Carolostadt. For the latter immediately retired from Wittemberg to Orlamund, where he not only opposed the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist,^h but also discovered, in se-

avourable disposition, which Carolostadt seemed, for some time, to entertain with respect to these fanatics.

¶ ^g The reader may perhaps imagine, from Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter, that Carolostadt introduced these changes merely by his own authority; but this was far from being the case; the suppression of private masses, the removal of images out of the churches, the abolition of the law which imposed celibacy upon the clergy, which are the changes hinted at by our historian as *rash and perilous*, were effected by Carolostadt in conjunction with Bugenhagenius, Melancthon, Jonas Amsdorff, and others, and were confirmed by the authority of the elector of Saxony. So that there is some reason to apprehend, that one of the principal causes of Luther's displeasure at these changes, was their being introduced in his absence; unless we suppose that he had not so far got rid of the fetters of superstition, as to be sensible of the absurdity and of the pernicious consequences of the use of images, &c. As to the abolition of the law that imposed celibacy on the clergy, it is well known that it was the object of his warmest approbation. This appears from the following expressions in his letter to Amsdorff; "Carolostadii nuptiæ mire placent; novi puellam; confortet eum Dominus in bonum exemplum inhibendæ et minuendæ Papisticæ libidinis." He confirmed soon afterward this approbation by his own example.

¶ ^h This difference of opinion between Carolostadt and Luther concerning the eucharist, was the true cause of the violent rupture between these two eminent men, and it was very little to the honour of the latter. For, however the explication, which the former gave of the words of the institution of the Lord's supper, may appear forced, yet the sentiments he entertained of that ordinance as a commemoration of Christ's death, and not as a celebration of his bodily presence, in consequence of a *consubstantiation* with the bread and wine, are infinitely more rational than the doctrine of Luther, which is loaded with some of the most palpable absurdities of *transubstantiation*. And if it be supposed that Carolostadt strained the rule of interpretation too far, when he alleged, that Christ pronounced the pronoun *this*, in the words *this is my body*, pointing to his *body*, and not to the *bread*, what shall we think of Luther's explaining the nonsensical doctrine of *consubstantiation* by the similitude of a red hot iron, in which two elements are united, as the body of Christ is with the bread in the eucharist? But of this more in its proper place.

veral instances, a fanatical turn of mind.¹ He was therefore commanded to leave the electorate of Saxony, which he did accordingly, and repaired to Switzerland, where he propagated his doctrines, and taught with success, first at Zurich, and afterward at Basil, retaining still however as long as he lived, a favourable disposition toward the sect of the Anabaptists, and in general to all enthusiastic teachers who pretended to a divine inspiration.² Thus then did Luther, in a short space of time, lay this new storm, that the precipitation of Carolostadt had raised in the church.

XXIII. The reforming spirit of Carolostadt, with respect to the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist was not extinguished by his exile in the Lutheran church. It was revived, on the contrary, by a man of much the same turn of mind, a Silesian knight, and counsellor to the duke of Lignitz, whose name was Gaspar Schwenckfeldt. This nobleman, seconded by Valentine Crautwald, a man of eminent learning, who lived at the court of the prince now mentioned, took notice of many

Schwenckfeldt.

¶ i This censure is with too much truth applicable to Carolostadt. Though he did not adopt the impious and abominable doctrines of Munzer and his band, as Dr. Mosheim permits the uninstructed reader to imagine, by mentioning, in general, as being a friend to these fanatics, yet he certainly was chargeable with some extravagances, that were observable in the tenets of that wrongheaded tribe. He was for abolishing the civil law, with the municipal laws and constitutions of the German empire, and proposed substituting the law of Moses in their place. He distinguished himself by railing at the academics, declaiming against human learning, and other follies.

"Great wits to madness nearly are allied."

See Val. Ern. Loscheri *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformat.* part i. cap. i. Dan. Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii*, in *Miscell. Groningensivis*, tom. i.

¶ k This affirmation of Dr. Mosheim wants much to be modified. In the original it stands thus: "Dum vixit vero anabaptistarum, et hominum divina visa jactantium partibus amicum sese ostendit," i. e. "as long as he lived, he showed himself a friend to the Anabaptists, and other enthusiasts, who pretended to divine inspiration." But how could our historian assert this without restriction, since it is well known that Carolostadt, after his banishment from Saxony, composed a treatise against enthusiasm in general, and against the extravagant tenets and the violent proceedings of the anabaptists in particular? Nay, more; this treatise was addressed to Luther, who was so affected by it, that, repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given to Carolostadt, he pleaded his cause, and obtained from the elector a permission for him to return into Saxony. See Gerdes, *Vita Carolostadii* in *Miscell. Groningens.* After this reconciliation with Luther, he composed a treatise on the eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and having perused the writings of Zuingle, where he saw his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired a second time to Zurich, and from thence to Basil, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the exemplary and constant practice of every Christian virtue, he died, amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation, on the 25th of December, 1541. All this is testified solemnly in a letter of the learned and pious Grynæus of Basil, to Pitiscus, chaplain to the elector palatine, and shows how little credit ought to be given to the assertions of the ignorant Moreri, or to the insinuations of the insidious Bossuet.

things, which he looked upon as erroneous and defective, in the opinions and rites established by Luther; and, had not the latter been extremely vigilant, as well as vigorously supported by his friends and adherents, would undoubtedly have brought about a considerable schism in the church. Every circumstance in Schwenckfeldt's conduct and appearance was adapted to give him credit and influence. His morals were pure, and his life, in all respects, exemplary. His exhortations in favour of true and solid piety were warm and persuasive, and his principal zeal was employed in promoting it among the people. By this means he gained the esteem and friendship of many learned and pious men, both in the Lutheran and Helvetic churches, who favoured his sentiments, and undertook to defend him against all his adversaries.¹ Notwithstanding all this he was banished by his sovereign, both from the court and from his country, in the year 1528, only because Zuingli had approved of his opinions concerning the eucharist, and declared that they did not differ essentially from his own. From that time the persecuted knight wandered from place to place, under various turns of fortune, until death put an end to his trials, in the year 1561.^m He had founded a small congregation in Silesia, which were persecuted and ejected in our times by the popish possessors of that country; but have been restored to their former habitations and privileges, civil and religious, since the year 1742, by the present king of Prussia.ⁿ

xxiv. The upright intentions of Schwenckfeldt, and his zeal for the advancement of true piety, deserve, no doubt, the highest commendation; but the same thing cannot be said of his prudence and judgment. The good man had a natural propensity toward fanaticism, and fondly imagined that he had received a divine commission to propagate his opinions. He differed from Luther, and the other friends of the reforma-

The doctrine
of Schwenck-
feldt.

¹ See Jo. Conr. Fueslini *Centuria I. Epistolar. a Reformatoibus Helveticis Scriptor.* 169, 175, 225. *Museum Helvetic.* tom. iv. p. 445.

^m Jo. Wigandi *Schwenckfeldianismus*, Lips. 1586, in 4to. *Conr. Schlüsselburgi Catalogi Hæreticor.* lib. x. published at Franckfort in the year 1599, in 8vo. The most accurate accounts of this nobleman have been given by Chr. Aug. Salig, in his *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. iii. lib. xi. p. 951, and by Godf. Arnold, in a German work, entitled *Kirchen und Ketzler Historie*, p. 720, both which authors have pleaded the cause of Schwenckfeldt.

ⁿ See an account of Schwenckfeldt's Confession of Faith, in Jo. Chr. Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologia Symbolicæ*, p. 457.

tion, in three points, which it is proper to select from others of less consequence; the first of these points related to the doctrine concerning the eucharist. Schwenckfeldt inverted the following words of Christ; "This is my body," and insisted on their being thus understood; *My body is this*, i. e. "such as this bread which is broken and consumed; a true and real food which nourisheth, satisfieth, and delighteth the soul. *My blood is this*, that is, such in its effects as the wine, which strengthens and refresheth the heart." The poor man imagined that this wonderful doctrine had been revealed to him from heaven; which circumstance alone is a sufficient demonstration of his folly.

The second point in which he differed from Luther, was in his hypothesis relating to the efficacy of the divine word. He denied, for example, that the external word, which is committed to writing in the Holy Scriptures, was endowed with the power of healing, illuminating, and renewing the mind; and he ascribed this power to the internal word, which, according to his notion, was Christ himself. His discourses however concerning this internal word, were, as usually happens to persons of his turn, so full of confusion, obscurity, and contradiction, that it was difficult to find out what his doctrine really was, and whether or not it resembled that of the mystics and quakers, or was borrowed from a different source.

His doctrine concerning the human nature of Christ formed the third subject of debate between him and the Lutherans. He would not allow Christ's human nature, in its exalted state, to be called a *creature*, or a created substance, as such denomination appeared to him infinitely below its majestic dignity, united as it is in that glorious state, with the divine essence. This notion of Schwenckfeldt bears a remarkable affinity to the doctrine of Eutyches, which however he professed to reject; and in his turn accused those of Nestorianism, who gave the denomination of a creature to the human nature of Christ.

xxv. An intemperate zeal, by straining too far certain truths, turns them into falsehood, or at least often renders them the occasion of the most pernicious The Antinomian. abuses. A striking instance of this happened during the ministry of Luther. For, while he was insisting upon the necessity of imprinting deeply in the minds of the people,

that doctrine of the gospel which represents Christ's merits as the source of man's salvation, and while he was eagerly employed in censuring and refuting the popish doctors, who mixed the law and gospel together, and represented eternal happiness as the fruit of legal obedience, a fanatic arose, who abused his doctrine by overstraining it, and thus opened a field for the most dangerous errors. This new teacher was John Agricola, a native of Aisleben, and an eminent doctor of the Lutheran church, though chargeable with vanity, presumption, and artifice. He first began to make a noise in the year 1538, when from the doctrine of Luther, now mentioned, he took occasion to declaim against the law, maintaining that it was neither fit to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor to be used in the church as a mean of instruction; and that the gospel alone was to be inculcated and explained both in the churches and in the schools of learning. The followers of Agricola were called *antinomians*, i. e. enemies of the law. But the fortitude, vigilance, and credit of Luther suppressed this sect in its very infancy; and Agricola, intimidated by the opposition of such a respectable adversary, acknowledged and renounced his pernicious system. But this recantation does not seem to have been sincere; since it is said that when his fears were dispelled by the death of Luther, he returned to his errors, and gained proselytes to his extravagant doctrine.^o

xxvi. The tenets of the antinomians, if their adversaries are to be believed, were of the most noxious nature and tendency; for they are supposed to have taught the loosest and most dissolute doctrine in point of morals, and to have maintained, that it was allowable to follow the impulse of every passion, and to transgress, without reluctance, the divine law, provided the transgressor laid hold on Christ, and embraced his merits by a lively faith. Such at least is the representation that is generally given of their doctrine; but it ought not to be received with too much credulity. For whoever looks into this matter with attention and impartiality, will soon be persuaded, that such an absurd and impious doctrine is unjustly laid to the charge of Agricola, and that the

The doctrine of Agricola examined.

^o See Caspar. Sagittarius *Introduct. ad Histor. Ecclesias.* tom. i. p. 838. Bayle *Dictionnaire*, tom. ii. at the article *Islebius*. Conr. *Schlussemburgi Catalog. Harv.* lib. iv. G. Arnold. *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, p. 813.

principal fault of this presumptuous man lay in some harsh and inaccurate expressions, that were susceptible of dangerous and pernicious interpretations. By the term *law*, he understood the ten commandments, promulgated under the Mosaic dispensation; and he considered this law as enacted for the Jews, and not for Christians. He explained, at the same time, the term *gospel*, which he considered as substituted in the place of the law, in its true and extensive sense, as comprehending not only the doctrine of the merits of Christ rendered salutary by faith, but also the sublime precepts of holiness and virtue, delivered by the divine Saviour as rules of obedience. If therefore we follow the intention of Agricola, without interpreting, in a rigorous manner, the uncouth phrases and improper expressions he so frequently and so injudiciously employed, his doctrine will plainly amount to this: "That the ten commandments, published during the ministry of Moses, were chiefly designed for the Jews, and on that account might be lawfully neglected and laid aside by Christians; and that it was sufficient to explain with perspicuity, and to enforce with zeal, what Christ and his apostles had taught in the New Testament, both with respect to the means of grace and salvation, and the obligations of repentance and virtue." The greatest part of the doctors of this century are chargeable with a want of precision and consistency in expressing their sentiments; hence their real sentiments have been misunderstood, and opinions have been imputed to them which they never entertained.

SECOND PERIOD.

XXVII. After the death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, Philip Melancthon was placed at the head of the Lutheran doctors. The merit, genius, and talents of this new chief were, undoubtedly, great and illustrious; though it must, at the same time, be confessed, that he was inferior to Luther in many respects," and more especially in courage, steadfastness, and personal authority.

(rebrates that arose during the second period of the Lutheran church, between the death of Luther and that of Melancthon.

¶ It would certainly be very difficult to point out the *many respects* in which Dr. Mosheim affirms that Luther was superior to Melancthon. For if the single article of courage and firmness of mind be excepted, I know no other respect in which Melancthon is not superior, or at least equal, to Luther. He was certainly his equal in piety and virtue, and much his superior in learning, judgment, meekness, and humanity.

His natural temper was soft and flexible ; his love of peace almost excessive ; and his apprehensions of the displeasure and resentment of men in power were such as betrayed a pusillanimous spirit. He was ambitious of the esteem and friendship of all with whom he had any intercourse, and was absolutely incapable of employing the force of threatenings, or the restraints of fear to suppress the efforts of religious faction, to keep within due bounds the irregular love of novelty and change, and to secure to the church the obedience of its members. It is also to be observed, that Melancthon's sentiments, on some points of no inconsiderable moment, were entirely different from those of Luther ; and it may not be improper to point out the principal subjects, on which they adopted different ways of thinking.

In the first place Melancthon was of opinion, that for the sake of peace and concord, many things might be connived at and tolerated in the church of Rome, which Luther considered as absolutely insupportable. The former carried so far the spirit of toleration and indulgence, as to discover no reluctance against retaining the ancient form of ecclesiastical government, and submitting to the dominion of the Roman pontiff, on certain conditions, and in such a manner, as might be without prejudice to the obligation and authority of all those truths that are clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

A second occasion of a diversity of sentiments between these two great men was furnished by the tenets which Luther maintained in opposition to the doctrines of the church of Rome. Such were his ideas concerning faith, as the *only* cause of salvation, concerning the necessity of good works to our final happiness, and man's natural incapacity of promoting his own conversion. In avoiding the corrupt notions which were embraced by the Roman catholic doctors on these important points of theology, Luther seemed, in the judgment of Melancthon, to lean too much toward the opposite extreme.⁹ Hence the latter inclined to think that the sentiments and expressions of

¶ q It is certain, that Luther carried the doctrine of *justification by faith* to such an excessive length, as seemed, though perhaps contrary to his intention, to derogate not only from the necessity of good works, but even from their obligation and importance. He would not allow them to be considered either as the *conditions* or *means* of salvation, nor even as a preparation for receiving it.

his colleague required to be somewhat mitigated, lest they should give a handle to dangerous abuses, and be perverted to the propagation of pernicious errors.

It may be observed, thirdly, that though Melancthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation to the eucharist, yet he did not consider their controversy with the divines of Switzerland on that subject, as a matter of sufficient moment to occasion a breach of church communion and fraternal concord between the contending parties. He thought that this happy concord might be easily preserved, by expressing the doctrine of the eucharist, and Christ's presence in that ordinance, in general and ambiguous terms, which the two churches might explain according to their respective systems.

Such were the sentiments of Melancthon, which though he did not entirely conceal during the life of Luther, he delivered nevertheless with great circumspection and modesty, yielding always to the authority of his colleague, for whom he had a sincere friendship, and of whom also he stood in awe. But no sooner were the eyes of Luther closed, than he inculcated with the greatest plainness and freedom, what he had before only hinted at with timorousness and caution. The eminent rank Melancthon held among the Lutheran doctors rendered this bold manner of proceeding extremely disagreeable to many. His doctrine accordingly was censured and opposed; and thus the church was deprived of the tranquillity it had enjoyed under Luther, and exhibited an unhappy scene of animosity, contention, and discord.

XXVIII. The rise of these unhappy divisions must be dated from the year 1548, when Charles V. at-

The adiaphoris.

¶ It is somewhat surprising to hear Dr. Mosheim affirming that Melancthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation to the eucharist, when the contrary is well known. It is true, in the writings of Melancthon, which were published before the year 1529, or 1530, there are passages, which show that he had not as yet, thoroughly examined the controversy relating to the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharist. It is also true, that during the disputes carried on between Westphal and Calvin, after the death of Luther, concerning the real presence, he did not declare himself in an open manner for either side, which, however, is a presumptive proof of his leaning to that of Calvin, but expressed his sorrow at these divisions, and the spirit of animosity by which they were inflamed. But whoever will be at the pains to read the letters of Melancthon to Calvin upon this subject, or those extracts of them that are collected by Hospinian, in the second volume of his *Historia Sacramentaria*, p. 428, will be persuaded that he looked upon the doctrine of consubstantiation not only as erroneous, but even as idolatrous; and that nothing but the fear of inflaming the present divisions, and of not being seconded, prevented him from declaring his sentiments openly. See also *Dictionnaire de Bayle*, art. Melancthon, note L.

the controversy,
or the dispute
concerning mat-
ters of an indif-
ferent nature.

tempted to impose upon the Germans the famous edict, called the *interim*. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, desirous to know how far such an edict ought to be respected in his dominions, assembled the doctors of Wittemberg and Leipsic in the last-mentioned city, and proposed this nice and critical subject to their serious examination. Upon this occasion Melancthon, complying with the suggestions of that lenity and moderation that were the great and leading principles in the whole course of his conduct and actions, declared it as his opinion, that, in matters of an indifferent nature, compliance was due to the imperial edicts.* But in the class of matters indifferent, this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther, and could not, of consequence, be considered as indifferent by his true disciples.† For he regarded as such, the doctrine of justification by faith alone; the necessity of good works to eternal salvation; the number of the sacraments; the jurisdiction claimed by the pope and the bishops; extreme unction; the observation of certain religious festivals, and several superstitious rites and ceremonies. Hence arose that violent scene of contention and discord that was commonly called the *adiaphoristic* controversy, which divided the church during many years, and proved highly detrimental to the progress of the reformation. The defenders of the primitive doctrines of Lutheranism, with Flacius at their head, attacked with incredible bitterness and fury the doctors of Wittemberg and Leipsic, and particularly Melancthon, by whose counsel and influence every thing relating to the interim had been conducted, and accused them of apostacy from the true religion. Melancthon, on the other hand, seconded by the zeal of his friends and disciples, justified his conduct

* The piece in which Melancthon and his associates delivered their sentiments relating to things indifferent, is commonly called, in the German language, *Das Leipziger interim*, and was republished at Leipsic in 1731, by Bickius, in a work, entitled *Das dreysachs Interim*.

† If they only are the true disciples of Luther who submit to his judgment, and adopt his sentiments in theological matters, many doctors of that communion, and our historian among the rest, must certainly be supposed to have forfeited that title, as will abundantly appear hereafter. Be that as it may, Melancthon can scarcely, if at all, be justified in placing in the class of things indifferent the doctrines relating to faith and good works, which are the fundamental points of the Christian religion, and, if I may use such an expression, the very hinges on which the gospel turns.

‡ This controversy was called *adiaphoristic*; and Melancthon and his followers *adiaphorists*, from the Greek word *adiaphoros*, which signifies *indifferent*.

with the utmost spirit and vigour.* In this unlucky debate the two following questions were principally discussed; first, Whether the matter that *seemed* indifferent to Melancthon were so *in reality*. This his adversaries obstinately denied.† Secondly, Whether, in things of an indifferent nature, and in which the interests of religion are not essentially concerned, it be lawful to yield to the enemies of the truth.

XXIX. This debate concerning things indifferent became as might well have been expected, a fruitful source of other controversies, which were equally detrimental to the tranquillity of the church, and to the cause of the reformation. The first to which it gave rise, was the warm dispute concerning the necessity of good works, that was carried on with such spirit against the rigid Lutherans by George Major, an eminent teacher of theology at Wittemberg. Melancthon had long been of opinion, that the necessity of good works, in order to the attainment of everlasting salvation, might be asserted and taught, as conformable to the truths revealed in the gospel; and both he and his colleagues declared this to be their opinion, when they were assembled at Leipsic, in the year 1548, to examine the famous edict already mentioned.‡ This declaration was severely censured by the rigid disciples of Luther, as contrary to the doctrine and sentiments of their chief, and as conformable both to the tenets and interests of the church of Rome; but it found an able defender in Major, who, in the year 1552, maintained the necessity of good works against the extravagant assertions of Amsdorff. Hence arose a new controversy between the *rigid* and *moderate* Lutherans, which was carried on with that keenness and animosity that were peculiar to all debates of a religious nature during this century. In the course of this warm debate, Amsdorff was so far transported and infatuated by his excessive zeal for the doctrine of Luther, as to maintain that good works were an impediment to salvation; from which imprudent and odious expression the flame of controversy received new fuel.

* Schlussenburgi *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. xiii. Arnold's German work, entitled *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, lib. xvi. cap. xxvi. p. 816. Sadig, *Histor. Aug. Confess.* vol. i. p. 611. The German work, entitled *Unschuldigs Nachrichten*, A. 1702, p. 339, 393. Luc. Osiandri *Eptome Histor. Eccles. Centur.* xvi. p. 502.

† See above, note t.

‡ The *Interim* of Charles V.

and broke forth with redoubled fury. On the other hand, Major complained of the malice or ignorance of his adversaries, who explained his doctrine in a manner quite different from that in which he intended it should be understood; and he at length renounced it entirely, that he might not appear fond of wrangling, or be looked upon as a disturber of the peace of the church. This step did not however put an end to the debate, which was still carried on, until it was terminated at last by the Form of Concord.²

xxx. From the same source that produced the dispute concerning the necessity of good works, arose the *synergistical* controversy. The *synergists*,^a whose doctrine was almost the same with that of the semipelagians, denied that God was the *only* agent in the conversion of sinful man; and affirmed, that man *co-operated* with divine grace in the accomplishment of this salutary purpose. Here also Melancthon renounced the doctrine of Luther; at least, the terms he employs, in expressing his sentiments concerning this intricate subject, are such as Luther would have rejected with horror; for in the conference at Leipsic, already mentioned, the former of these great men did not scruple to affirm, that "God drew to himself, and converted adult persons in such a manner, that the powerful impression of his grace was accompanied with a certain correspondent action of their will." The friends and disciples of Melancthon adopted this manner of speaking, and used the expressions of their master to describe the nature of the divine agency in man's conversion. But this representation of the matter was far from being agreeable to the rigid Lutherans. They looked upon it as subversive of the true and genuine doctrine of Luther, relating to the absolute servitude of the human will, and the total inability of man to do any good action, or to bear any part in his own conversion; and hence they opposed the synergists, or semipelagians, with the utmost

^z Schlussenburg, lib. vii. *Catal. Hæreticor.* Arnoldi *Hist. Ecclesia*, lib. xvi. cap. xxvii. p. 829. Jo. Musæi *Prælection. in Form. Concord.* p. 181. Arn. Grevil *Mémoria* Joh. Westphali, p. 166.

^[a] a As this controversy turned upon the co-operation of the human will with the divine grace, the persons who maintained this joint agency, were called *synergists*, from a Greek word *συνεργια*, which signifies co-operation.

^[b] b The doctrines of absolute predestination, irresistible grace, and human impotence, were never carried to a more excessive length, nor maintained with a more virulent obstinacy by any divine, than they were by Luther. But in these times he has very few followers in this respect, even among those that bear his name. But of this more

animosity and bitterness. The principal champions in this theological conflict were Strigelius, who defended the sentiments of Melancthon with singular dexterity and perspicuity, and Flacius, who maintained the ancient doctrine of Luther; of these doctors, as also the subject of their debate, a farther account will be given presently.^c

xxxI. During these dissensions, a new academy was founded at Jena by the dukes of Saxe Weimar, the sons of the famous John Frederick, whose unsuccessful wars with the emperor Charles V. had involved him in so many calamities, and deprived him of his electoral dominions. The noble founders of this academy, having designed it for the bulwark of the protestant religion, as it was taught and inculcated by Luther, were particularly careful in choosing such professors and divines as were remarkable for their attachment to the genuine doctrine of that great reformer, and their aversion to the sentiments of those moderate Lutherans who had attempted, by certain modifications and corrections, to render it less harsh and disgusting. And as none of the Lutheran doctors were so eminent, on account of their uncharitable and intemperate zeal for this ancient doctrine, as Matthew Flacius, the virulent enemy of Melancthon, and all the Philippists, he was appointed, in the year 1557, professor of divinity at Jena. The consequences of this nomination were indeed deplorable. For this turbulent and impetuous man, whom nature had formed with an uncommon propensity to foment divisions and propagate discord, did not only revive all the ancient controversies that had distracted the church, but also excited new debates; and sowed, with such avidity and success, the seeds of contention between the divines of Weimar and those of the electorate of Saxony, that a fatal schism in the Lutheran church was apprehended by many of its wisest members.^d And indeed this schism would have been inevitable, if the machinations and intrigues of Flacius had produced the desired effect. For, in the year 1559, he persuaded the dukes of Saxe Weimar to order a refuta-

Flacius by his intemperate zeal excites many divisions in the church.

^c See Schlussenburg *Catal. Hæreticor.* lib. v. G. Arnold. *Histor. Eccles.* lib. xvi. cap. xxviii. p. 826. Bayle *Dictionnaire*, at the article Synergistes. Salig, *Histor. Aug. Confess.* vol. iii. p. 474, 567, 890. *Musæi Prælect. in Formulam Concordiæ*, p. 88.

^d See the famous letter of Augustus, elector of Saxony, concerning Flacius and the malignant attempts, which is published by Arn. Grevius, in his *Memoria Joh. Westphali*, p. 393.

tion of the errors that had crept into the Lutheran church, and particularly of those that were imputed to the followers of Melancthon, to be drawn up with care, to be promulgated by authority, and to be placed among the other religious edicts and articles of faith that were in force in their dominions. But this pernicious design of dividing the church proved abortive; for the other Lutheran princes, who acted from the true and genuine principles of the reformation, disapproved of this seditious book, from a just apprehension of its tendency to increase the present troubles, and to augment, instead of diminishing, the calamities of the church.*

xxxii. This theological incendiary kindled the flame of discord and persecution even in the church of Saxe Weimar, and in the university of Jena, to which he belonged, by venting his fury against Strigelius,† the friend and disciple of Melancthon. This moderate divine adopted, in many things, the sentiments of his master, and maintained, particularly in his public lectures, that the human will, when under the influence of the divine grace, leading it to repentance, was not totally *inactive*, but bore a certain part in the salutary work of its conversion. In consequence of this doctrine, he was accused by Flacius of *synergism*, at the court of Saxe Weimar; and by the order of the prince was cast into prison, where he was treated with severity and rigour. He was at length delivered from this confinement in the year 1562, and allowed to resume his former vocation, in consequence of a declaration of his real sentiments, which, as he alleged, had been greatly misrepresented. This declaration, however, did not either decide or terminate the controversy; since Strigelius seemed rather to conceal his erroneous sentiments‡ under ambiguous expressions, than to renounce them entirely. And indeed he was so conscious of this himself, that, to avoid being involved in new calamities and persecutions, he retired from Jena to Leipsic, and from Leipsic to Heidelberg, where he spent the remainder of his days; and appeared so unsettled in his religious opinions,

* e Saig, *Historia August. Confess.* vol. iii. p. 476.

† See the writers cited in the preceding notes; and also Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Strigelius.

‡ g The sentiments of Strigelius were not, I have reason to believe, very erroneous in the judgment of Dr. Mosheim, nor are they such in the estimation of the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors at this day.

that it is really doubtful whether he is to be placed among the followers of Luther or Calvin.

XXXIII. The issue however of this controversy, which Flacius had kindled with such an intemperate zeal, proved highly detrimental to his own reputation and influence in particular, as well as to the interests of the Lutheran church in general. For while this vehement disputant was assailing his adversary with an inconsiderate ardour, he exaggerated so excessively the sentiments, which he looked upon as orthodox, as to maintain an opinion of the most monstrous and detestable kind; an opinion which made him appear, even in the judgment of his warmest friends, an odious heretic, and a corrupter of the true religion. In the year 1560, a public dispute was held at Weimar, between him and Strigelius, concerning the natural powers and faculties of the human mind, and their influence in the conversion and conduct of the true Christian. In this conference the latter seemed to attribute to unassisted nature too much, and the former too little. The one looked upon the fall of man as an event that extinguished, in the human mind, every virtuous tendency, every noble faculty, and left nothing behind it but universal darkness and corruption. The other maintained, that this degradation of the powers of nature was by no means universal or entire; that the will retained still some propensity to worthy pursuits, and a certain degree of activity that rendered it capable of attainments in virtue. Strigelius, who was well acquainted with the wiles of a captious philosophy, proposed to defeat his adversary by puzzling him, and addressed to him, with that view, the following question: "Whether original sin, or the corrupt habit which the human soul contracted by the fall, is to be placed in the class of *substances* or *accidents*." Flacius answered with unparalleled imprudence and temerity, that it belonged to the former; and maintained, to his dying hour, this most extravagant and dangerous proposition, that *original sin is the very substance of human nature*. Nay, so invincible was the obstinacy with which he persevered in this strange doctrine, that he chose to renounce all worldly honours and advantages rather than depart from it. It was condemned by the greatest and soundest part of the Lutheran church, as a doctrine that bore no small affinity to that of the Manicheans. But, on the other hand

Some particulars of the dispute carried on by Flacius at Saxe Weimar.

the merit, erudition, and credit of Flacius procured him many respectable patrons and able defenders among the most learned doctors of the church, who embraced his sentiments, and maintained his cause with the greatest spirit and zeal; of whom the most eminent were Syriac Spangenberg, Christopher Irenæus, and Cælestine.^b

xxxiv. It is scarcely possible to imagine how much the Lutheran church suffered from this new dispute in all those places where its contagion had reached, and how detrimental it was to the progress of Lutheranism among those who still adhered to the religion of Rome. For the flame of discord spread far and wide; it was communicated even to those churches which were erected in popish countries, and particularly in the Austrian territories, under the gloomy shade of a dubious toleration; and it so animated the Lutheran pastors, though surrounded on all sides by their cruel adversaries, that they could neither be restrained by the dictates of prudence, nor by the sense of danger.¹ Many are of opinion, that an ignorance of philosophical distinctions and definitions threw Flacius inconsiderately into the extravagant hypothesis he maintained with such obstinacy, and that his greatest heresy was no more than a foolish attachment to an unusual term. But Flacius seems to have fully refuted this plea in his behalf, by declaring boldly, in several parts of his writings, that he knew perfectly well the philosophical signification and the whole energy of the word *substance*, and was by no means ignorant of the consequences that would be drawn from the doctrine he had embraced.² Be that as it may, we cannot but wonder at the senseless and excessive obstinacy of this turbulent man, who chose rather to sacrifice his fortune, and to disturb the tranquillity of the

^b Schlussenburg. *Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. ii. The Life of Flacius, written in German by Ritter, and published in 8vo. at Franckfort, in the year 1725. Salig, *Histor. Aug. Confession*, vol. iii. p. 593. *Arnoldi Histor. Ecclesiast.* lib. xvi. cap. xxix. p. 829. *Musæi Prælect. in Formul. Concordiæ*, p. 29. Jo. Georgii Leuckfeldii *Historia Spangenbergensis*. For a particular account of the dispute, that was held publicly at Weimar, see the German work, entitled *Unschuld. Nachricht*, p. 383.

ⁱ See a German work of Bern. Raupach, entitled *Zweifache Zugabe zu dem Evangelisch Oesterrich.* p. 25, 29, 32, 34, 43, 64. The same author speaks of the friends of Flacius in Austria; and particularly of Irenæus, in his *Presbyteral. Austriacæ*, p. 69. For an account of Cælestine, see the German work mentioned at the end of the preceding note.

^k This will appear evident to such as will be at the pains to consult the letters which Westphal wrote to his friend Flacius, in order to persuade him to abstain from the use of the word *substance*, with the answers of the latter. These Letters and Answers are published by Arnold Grevius, in his *Memoria Jo. Westphal*, p. 186.

church, than to abandon a word, which was entirely foreign to the subject in debate, and renounce an hypothesis, that was composed of the most palpable contradictions.

xxxv. The last controversy that we shall mention, of those that were occasioned by the excessive lenity of Melancthon, was set on foot by Osiander in the year 1549, and produced much discord and animosity in the church. Had its first founder been yet alive, his influence and authority would have suppressed in their birth these wretched disputes; nor would Osiander, who despised the moderation of Melancthon, have dared either to publish or defend his crude and chimerical opinions within the reach of Luther. Arrogance and singularity were the principal lines in Osiander's character; he loved to strike out new notions; but his views seemed always involved in an intricate obscurity. The disputes that arose concerning the interim, induced him to retire from Nuremberg, where he had exercised the pastoral charge, to Konigsberg, where he was chosen professor of divinity.

The disputes
kindled by
Osiander.

In this new station he began his academical functions, by propagating notions concerning the divine image, and the nature of repentance, very different from the doctrine that Luther had taught on these interesting subjects; and, not contented with this deviation from the common track, he thought proper, in the year 1550, to introduce considerable alterations and corrections into the doctrine that had been generally received in the Lutheran church, with respect to the means of our justification before God. When we examine his discussion of this important point, we shall find it much more easy to perceive the opinions he rejected, than to understand the system he had invented or adopted; for, as was but too usual in this age, he not only expressed his notions in an obscure manner, but seemed moreover perpetually in contradiction with himself. His doctrine however when carefully examined, will appear to amount to the following propositions: "Christ, considered in his human nature *only*, could not, by his obedience to the divine law, obtain justification and pardon for sinners; neither can we be justified before God by embracing and applying to ourselves, through faith, the righteousness and obedience of the *man* Christ. It is only through that eternal and essential righteousness, which dwells in Christ considered as *God*, and which resides in his divine nature that is united to the human, that mankind can obtain complete

justification. Man becomes a partaker of this divine righteousness by faith; since it is in consequence of this uniting principle that Christ dwells in the heart of man, with his divine righteousness; now, wherever this divine righteousness dwells, *there* God can behold no sin, and therefore, when it is present with Christ in the hearts of the regenerate, they are, on its account, considered by the Deity as *righteous*, although they be sinners. Moreover, this divine and justifying righteousness of Christ excites the faithful to the pursuit of holiness, and to the practice of virtue." This doctrine was zealously opposed by the most eminent doctors of the Lutheran church, and in a more special manner, by Melancthon and his colleagues. On the other hand, Osiander and his sentiments were supported by persons of considerable weight. But, upon the death of this rigid and fanciful divine, the flame of controversy was cooled, and dwindled by degrees into nothing.'

xxxvi. The doctrine of Osiander, concerning the method of being justified before God, appeared so absurd to Stancarus, professor of Hebrew at Königsberg, that he undertook to refute it. But while this turbulent and impetuous doctor was exerting all the vehemence of his zeal against the opinion of his colleague, he was hurried, by his violence, into the opposite extreme, and fell into an hypothesis, that appeared equally groundless, and not less dangerous in its tendency and consequences. Osiander had maintained that the man Christ, in his character of moral agent, was obliged to obey, for *himself*, the divine law, and therefore could not by the imputation of this obedience, obtain righteousness or justification for *others*. From hence he concluded that the Saviour of the world had been empowered, not by his character as *man*, but by his nature as *God*, to make expiation for our sins, and reconcile us to the favour of an offended Deity. Stancarus, on the other hand, excluded entirely Christ's divine nature from all concern in the satisfaction he made,

The debates
excited by
Stancarus.

1 See Schlussenburgii *Catalogus Hæreticor.* lib. vi. Arnoldi *Histor. Eccles.* lib. xvi. cap. xxiv. p. 604. Christ. Hartknoch. *Preussische Kirchen Historie*, p. 309. Salig, *Historis August. Confession.* tom. ii. p. 922. The judgment that was formed of this controversy, by the divines of Witttemberg, may be seen in the German work, entitled *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, p. 141, and that of the doctors of Copenhagen, in *der Danischen Bibliothec.* part vii. p. 150, where there is an ample list of the writings published on this subject. To form a just idea of the insolence and arrogance of Osiander, those who understand the German language will do well to consult Hischius, *Nuremberg Interims Historie*, p. 49, 60, &c.

and in the redemption he procured for offending mortals, and maintained that the sacred office of a mediator between God and man belonged to Jesus, considered in his human nature alone. Having perceived however that this doctrine exposed him to the enmity of many divines, and even rendered him the object of popular resentment and indignation, he retired from Königsberg into Germany, and from thence into Poland, where he excited no small commotions,^m and where he also concluded his days in the year 1574.ⁿ

XXXVII. All those who had the cause of virtue, and the advancement of the reformation really at heart, looked with an impatient ardour for an end to these bitter and uncharitable contentions; and their desires of peace and concord in the church, were still increased by their perceiving the industrious assiduity with which Rome turned these unhappy divisions to the advancement of her interests. But during the life of Melancthon, who was principally concerned in these warm debates, no effectual method could be found to bring them to a conclusion. The death of this great man, which happened in the year 1560, changed indeed the face of things, and enabled those who were disposed to terminate the present contests, to act with more resolution, and a surer prospect of success, than had accompanied their former efforts. Hence it was, that after several vain attempts, Augustus, elector of Saxony, and John William, duke of Saxe Weimar, summoned the most eminent doctors of both the contending parties to meet at Altenburg in the year 1568, and there to propose in an amicable manner, and with a charitable spirit, their respective opinions, that thus it might be seen how far a reconciliation was possible

The methods that were employed to heal these divisions.

^m See a German work of Chr. Hartknoch, entitled *Preussische Kirken geschichte*. p. 340. *Schlusselfburgii Catalog. Hæreticor.* lib. ix. *Dictionnaire du Bayle*, at the article Stancarus. Before the arrival of Stancarus at Königsberg, in the year 1548, he had lived for some time in Switzerland, where also he had occasioned religious disputes; for he adopted several doctrines of Luther, particularly that concerning the virtue and efficacy of the sacraments, which were rejected by the Swiss and Grisons. See the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 484, 490, 491. For an account of the disturbances he occasioned in Poland in 1556, see Bullinger, in Jo. Conr. Fueslini *Centuria I. Epistolar. a Reformator. Helvetic. scriptor.* p. 371, 459.

ⁿ The main argument alleged by Stancarus, in favour of his hypothesis, was this, that if Christ was mediator by his divine nature only, then it followed evidently, that even considered as God, he was inferior to the Father; and thus, according to him, the doctrine of his adversary Osiander led directly to the Unitarian system. This difficulty, which was presented with great subtilty, engaged many to strike into a middle road, and to maintain that both the divine and human natures of Christ were immediately concerned in the work of redemption.

and what was the most probable method of bringing it about. But the intemperate zeal and warmth of the dissentants, with other unlucky circumstances, blasted the fruits that were expected from this conference.^o Another method of restoring tranquillity and union among the members of the Lutheran church was therefore proposed; and this was, that a certain number of wise and moderate divines should be employed in composing a Form of doctrine, in which all the controversies, that divided the church, should be terminated and decided; and that this new compilation, as soon as it was approved of by the Lutheran princes and consistories, should be clothed with ecclesiastical authority, and added to the symbolical^p or standard books of the Lutheran church. James Andreæ, professor at Tübingen, whose theological abilities had procured him the most eminent and shining reputation, had been employed so early as the year 1569, in this critical and difficult undertaking, by the special command of the dukes of Wittemberg and Brunswick. The elector of Saxony,^q with several persons of distinction, embarked with these two princes in the project they had formed; so that Andreæ, under the shade of such a powerful protection and patronage, exerted all his zeal, travelled through different parts of Germany, negotiated alternately with courts and synods, and took all the measures which prudence could suggest, in order to render the Form, that he was composing, universally acceptable.

XXXVIII. The persons embarked in this new and critical design, were persuaded that no time ought to be lost in bringing it into execution, when they perceived the imprudence and temerity of the disciples of Melancthon, and the changes they were attempting to introduce into the doctrine of the church. For his son-in-law, Peucer,^r who was a physician and

The Saxon crypto Calvinista, or secret favourers of Calvinism.

^o Casp. Sagittarii *Introductio ad Hist. Ecclesiasticam*, part ii. p. 1542.

^p The Lutherans call *symbolical*, from a Greek word that signifies *collection* or *compilation*, the books which contain their articles of faith and rules of discipline.

^q Augustus.

^r This Peucer, whom Dr. Mosheim mentions without any mark of distinction, was one of the wisest, most amiable, and most learned men that adorned the annals of German literature during this century, as the well-known history of his life, and the considerable number of his medical, mathematical, moral, and theological writings, abundantly testify. Nor was he more remarkable for his *merit*, than for his *sufferings*. After his genius and virtues had rendered him the favourite of the elector of Saxony, and placed him at the head of the university of Wittemberg, he felt, in a terrible manner, the effects of the bigotry and barbarity of the rigid Lutherans, who on account of his denying the *corporal presence* of Christ in the eucharist, united, with success, their efforts

professor of natural philosophy at Wittemberg, together with the divines of Wittemberg at Leipsic, encouraged by the approbation, and relying on the credit of Cracovius, chancellor of Dresden, and of several ecclesiastics and persons of distinction at the Saxon court, aimed at nothing less than abolishing the doctrine of Luther concerning the eucharist and the person of Christ, with a design to substitute the sentiments of Calvin in its place. This new reformation was attempted in Saxony in the year 1570, and a great variety of clandestine arts and stratagems were employed in order to bring it to a happy and successful issue. What the sentiments of Melancthon concerning the eucharist were, toward the conclusion of his days, appears to be extremely doubtful. It is however certain that he had a strong inclination to form a coalition between the Saxons and Calvinists, though he was prevented, by the irresolution and timidity of his natural character, from attempting openly this much desired union. Peucer, and the other disciples of Melancthon already mentioned, made a public profession of the doctrine of Calvin; and though they had much more spirit and courage than their soft and yielding master, yet they wanted *his* circumspection and prudence, which were not less necessary to the accomplishment of their designs. Accordingly, in the year 1571, they published in the German language a work entitled *Stereoma*,* and other writings, in which they openly declared their dissent from the doctrine of Luther concerning the eucharist and the person of Christ; and that they might execute their purposes with

to deprive him of the favour of his sovereign, and procured his imprisonment. His confinement, which lasted ten years, was accompanied with all possible circumstances of severity. See Melchior. Adam, *Vit. Medicor. Germanor.*

☞ s A term which signifies *foundation*.

☞ t The learned historian seems to deviate here from his usual accuracy. The authors of the book, entitled *Stereoma*, did not declare their dissent from the doctrine of Luther, but from the extravagant inventions of some of his successors. This great man, in his controversy with Zuingle, had indeed thrown out some unguarded expressions that seemed to imply a belief of the omnipresence of the body of Christ; but he became sensible afterward that this opinion was attended with great difficulties, and particularly that it ought not to be made use of as a proof of Christ's corporal presence in the eucharist.* But this absurd hypothesis was renewed, after the death of Luther, by Tinman and Westphal, and was dressed up, in a still more specious and plausible form, by Brentius, Chemnitz, and Andreæ, who maintained, the communication of the properties of Christ's divinity to his human nature, in the manner that it was afterward adopted by the Lutheran church. This strange system gave occasion to the book, entitled *Stereoma*, in which the doctrine of Luther was respected, and the inventions alone of his successors renounced, and in which the authors declared

* See Lutheri opp. tom. viii. p. 375, edit. Jenens.

greater facility, introduced into the schools a catechism, compiled by Pezelius, which was favourable to the sentiments of Calvin. As this bold step excited great commotions and debates in the church, Augustus held at Dresden, in the year 1571, a solemn convocation of the Saxon divines, and of all other persons concerned in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and commanded them to adopt *his* opinion in relation to the eucharist.^o The assembled doctors complied with this order in appearance; but their compliance was feigned; for, on their return to the places of their abode, they resumed their original design, pursued it with assiduity and zeal, and by their writings, as also by their public and private instructions, endeavoured to abolish the ancient doctrine of the Saxons, relating to the presence of Christ's body in that holy sacrament. The elector, informed of these proceedings, convened anew the Saxon doctors, and held, in the year 1574, the famous convocation of Torgaw,^r where, after a strict inquiry into the doctrines of those who, from their secret attachment to the sentiments of the Swiss divines, were called Crypto Calvinists,^r he committed some of them to prison, sent others into banishment, and engaged a certain number, by the force of the secular arm, to

plainly, that they did not adopt the sentiments of Zuingle or Calvin; nay, that they admitted the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist.

¶ u In this passage, compared with what follows, Dr. Mosheim seems to maintain, that the opinion of Augustus, which he imposed upon the assembled divines, was in favour of the adversaries of Melancthon, and in direct opposition to the authors of the Stereoma. But here he has committed a palpable oversight. The convocation of Dresden in the year 1571, instead of approving or maintaining the doctrine of the rigid Lutherans, drew up, on the contrary, a form of agreement, *formula consensus*, in which the omnipresence or ubiquity of Christ's body was denied, and which was indeed an abridgment of the book, entitled Stereoma. So that the transactions at Dresden were entirely favourable to the moderate Lutherans, who embraced openly and sincerely, and not by a *feigned* consent, *subdole*, as our historian remarks, the sentiment of the elector Augustus, who at that time patronised the disciples of Melancthon. This prince, it is true, seduced by the crafty and artful insinuations of the Ubiquitarians or rigid Lutherans, who made him believe that the ancient doctrines of the church were in danger, changed sides soon after, and was pushed on to the most violent and persecuting measures of which the convocation of Torgaw was the first step, and the Form of Concord the unhappy issue.

¶ w The compliance was sincere, but the order was very different from that mentioned by our author; as appears from the preceding note.

¶ x It is to be observed, that there were but fifteen of the Saxon doctors convened at Torgaw by the summons of the elector; a small number this to give law to the Lutheran church. For an account of the declaration drawn up by this assembly, on the points relating to the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, the omnipresence of that body, and the oral manducation of the flesh and blood of the divine Saviour: see *Hospiniani Concordia Discors*, p. 39.

¶ y i. e. Hidden or disguised Calvinists.

change their sentiments. Peucer, who had been principally concerned in moderating the rigour of some of Luther's doctrines, felt, in a more especial manner, the dreadful effects of the elector's severity. For he was confined to a hard prison, where he lay in the most affecting circumstances of distress until the year 1585, when, having obtained his liberty, through the intercession of the prince of Anhalt, who had given his daughter in marriage to Augustus, he retired to Zerbst, where he ended his days in peace.^a

XXXIX. The schemes of the crypto Calvinists, or secret abettors of Calvinism, being thus disconcerted, the elector of Saxony, and the other princes who had entered into his views, redoubled their zeal and diligence in promoting the Form of Concord that has been already mentioned. Accordingly, various conferences were held preparatory to this important undertaking; and, in the year 1576, while the Saxon divines were convened at Torgaw, by the order of Augustus, a treatise was composed by James Andreæ, with a design to heal the divisions of the Lutheran church, and as a preservative against the opinions of the reformed doctors.^b This production, which received the denomination of the Book of Torgaw, from the place where it was composed, having been carefully examined, reviewed, and corrected, by the greatest part of the Lutheran doctors in Germany, the matter was again proposed to the deliberations of a select number of divines, who met at Berg, a benedictine monastery in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg.^b Here all things relating to the intended project were accurately weighed, the opinions of the assembled doctors carefully discussed, and the result

The form of Concord.

^a See Schlüsselburgii *Theologia Calvinistica*, lib. ii. p. 207, lib. iii. *Præf.* et. p. 1—22, 52—57, 69, lib. iv. p. 246. Hutteri *Concordia Concors*, cap. i.—viii. Arnoldi *Histor. Ecclesiast.* lib. xvi. cap. xxxii. p. 399—395. Loscheri *Historia motuum inter Lutheranos et Reformat.* part ii. p. 176, part iii. p. 1. All these are writers favourable to the rigid Lutherans; see therefore on the other side, Casp. Peuceri *Historia Carcerum et Liberationis Divinæ*. which was published in 8vo. at Zurich, in the year 1605, by Pezelius.

^b The term *reformed*, was used to distinguish the other protestants of various denominations from the Lutherans; and it is equally applied to the friends of episcopacy and presbytery. See the following chapter.

^b The book that was composed by Andreæ and his associates at Torgaw, was sent, by the elector of Saxony, to almost all the Lutheran princes, with a view of its being examined, approved, and received by them. It was, however, rejected by several princes, and censured and refuted by several doctors. These censures engaged the compilers to review and correct it; and it was from this book, thus changed and new modelled, that the Form of Concord, published at Berg, was entirely drawn.

of all was the famous Form of Concord, which has made so much noise in the world. The persons who assisted Andreae in the composition of this celebrated work, or at least in the last perusal of it at Berg, were Martin Chemnitz, Nicolas Selnecker, Andrew Musculus, Christopher Cornerus, and David Chytræus.^c This new confession of the Lutheran faith was adopted first by the Saxons, in consequence of the strict order of Augustus; and their example was afterward followed by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches, by some sooner, by others later.^d The authority of this confession, as is sufficiently known, was employed for the two following purposes, first, to terminate the controversies which divided the Lutheran church, more especially after the death of its founder; and secondly, to preserve that church against the opinions of the reformed, in relation to the eucharist.

XL. It so fell out however, that this very Form, which was designed to restore peace and concord in the church, and had actually produced this effect in several places, became nevertheless a source of new tumults, and furnished matter for the most violent dissensions and contests. It immediately met with a warm opposition from the reformed, and also from all those who were either secretly at-

The Form of Concord produces much disturbance.

Is opposed by the reformed, or Calvinists.

¶ The Form of Concord, composed at Torgaw, and reviewed at Berg, consists of two parts. In the first is contained a system of doctrine drawn up according to the fancy of the six doctors here mentioned. In the second is exhibited one of the strongest instances of that persecuting and tyrannical spirit, which the Protestants complained of in the church of Rome, even a formal condemnation of all those who differed from these six doctors, particularly in their strange opinions concerning the majesty and omnipresence of Christ's body, and the real manducation of his flesh and blood in the eucharist. This condemnation branded with the denomination of heretics, and excluded from the communion of the church, all Christians, of all nations, who refused to subscribe to these doctrines. More particularly in Germany, the terrors of the sword were solicited against these pretended heretics, as may be seen in the famous Testament of Brentius. For a full account of the confession of Torgaw and Berg, see Hospinian's *Concordia Discors*; where the reader will find large extracts out of this confession, with an ample account of the censures it underwent, the opposition that was made to it, and the arguments that were used by its learned adversaries.

A list of the writers who have treated concerning the Form of Concord, may be found in Jo. Georg. Walchii *Introduct. in Libros Symbolicos*, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 707, and Koecheri *Biblioth. Theol. Symbolica*, p. 188. There are also several documents in MSS. relative to this famous confession, of which there is an account in the German work, entitled *Unschuld Nachricht*. A. 1753, p. 322. The principal writers, who have given the history of the Form of Concord, and the transactions relating to it, are Hospinian, an eminent divine of Zurich, in his *Concordia Discors*; and Leon. Hunter, in his *Concordia Concors*. These two historians have written on opposite sides; and whoever will be at the pains of comparing their accounts with attention and impartiality, will easily perceive where the truth lies, and receive satisfactory information with respect to the true state of these controversies, and the motives that animated the contending parties.

tached to their doctrine, or who at least were desirous of living in concord and communion with them, from a laudable zeal for the common interests of the protestant cause. Nor was their opposition at all unaccountable, since they plainly perceived that this Form removed all the flattering hopes they had entertained of seeing the divisions that reigned among the friends of religious liberty happily healed, and entirely excluded the reformed from the communion of the Lutheran church. Hence they were filled with indignation against the authors of this new Confession of Faith, and exposed their uncharitable proceedings in writings full of spirit and vehemence. The Swiss doctors, with Hospinian at their head, the Belgic divines, those of the palatinate, together with the principalities of Anhalt and Baden, declared war against the Form of Concord. And accordingly from this period the Lutheran, and more especially the Saxon doctors, were charged with the disagreeable task of defending this new creed and its compilers, in many laborious productions.^a

XLI. Nor were the followers of Zuingle and Calvin the only opposers of this Form of Concord; it found adversaries even in the very bosom of Lutheranism, and several of the most eminent churches of that communion rejected it with such firmness and resolution, that no arguments or entreaties could engage them to admit it as a rule of faith, or even as a mean of instruction. It was rejected by the churches of Hessa, Pomerania, Nuremberg, Holstein, Silesia, Denmark, Brunswick, and others.^b But though they all united in

and even by
the Lutherans
themselves.

^a See Petrii Vilerii "Epistola Apologetica Reformatarum in Belgio Ecclesiarum ad et contra Auctores Libri Bergensis dicti *Concordia*." This work was published a second time, with the annotations of Lud. Gerhard a Renesse, by the learned Dr. Gerdes of Groningen, in his *Scrinium Antiquarium seu Miscellan. Groningens. Nov.* tom. i. p. 121. Add to these the *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A. 1747, p. 957.

^f John Casimir, prince palatine, convoked an assembly of the reformed divines at Franckfort, in the year 1577, in order to annul and reject this Form of Concord. See Hen. Altingii *Histor. Eccles. Palatin.* § clxxix. p. 143.

^g See Jo. Georg. Walchii *Introd. in Libros Symbolicos Lutheranor.* lib. i. cap. vii. p. 734.

^h For an account of the ill success the Form of Concord met with in the dutchy of Holstein, see the German work, entitled *Die Danische Bibliothec.* vol. iv. p. 212, . vol. v. p. 355; vol. viii. p. 333—461; vol. ix. p. 1. Mublii *Dissert. Histor. Theol. Diss. 1 de Reformat. Holsat.* p. 108. Arn. Grevii *Memoria Pauli ab Eitzen.* The transactions in Denmark in relation to this Form, and the particular reasons for which it was rejected there, may be seen in the Danish Library above quoted, vol. iv. p. 222—282. and also in Pontoppidan's *Annal. Eccles. Danicæ Diplomaticæ*, tom. iii. p. 456. This latter author evidently proves, p. 476, a fact, which Herman ab Elswich, and other authors, have endeavoured to represent as dubious, viz. that Frederic II. king of Denmark, as soon as he received a copy of the Form in question, threw it into the fire, and saw it con-

opposing it, their opposition was nevertheless founded on different reasons, nor did they all act in this affair from the same motives and the same principles. A warm and affectionate veneration for the memory of Melancthon was, with some the only, or at least the predominant motive that induced them to declare against the Form in question; they could not behold, without the utmost abhorrence, a production in which the sentiments of this great and excellent man were so rudely treated. In this class we may rank the Lutherans of Holstein. Others were not only animated in their opposition by a regard for Melancthon, but also by a persuasion, that the opinions condemned in the new creed, were more conformable to truth, than those that were substituted in their place. A secret attachment to the sentiments of the Helvetic doctors prevented some from approving of the Form under consideration; the hopes of uniting the reformed and Lutheran churches engaged many to declare against it; and a considerable number refused their assent to it from an apprehension, whether real or pretended, that adding a new creed to the ancient confessions of faith would be really a source of disturbance and discord in the Lutheran church. It would be endless to enumerate the different reasons alleged by the different individuals or communities, who declared their dissent from the Form of Concord.

XLII. This Form was patronised in a more especial manner by Julius, duke of Brunswick, to whom, in a great measure, it owed its existence, who had employed both his authority and munificence in order to encourage those who had undertaken to compose it, and had commanded all the ecclesiastics, within his dominions, to receive and subscribe it as a rule of faith. But scarcely was it published, when the zealous prince changed his mind, suffered the Form to be publicly opposed by Heshusius, and other divines of his university of Helmstadt, and to be excluded from the number of the creeds and confessions that were received by his subjects. The reasons alleged by the Lutherans of Brunswick, in behalf of this step, were, first, that the Form of Concord, when

The conduct of Julius, duke of Brunswick, in this matter.

sumed before his eyes. The opposition that was made by the Hessians to the same Form, may be seen in Tielemanni *Vita Theologor. Marpurgens.* p. 99. *Danischen Bibliothec.* vol. vii. p. 274—363; tom. ix. p. 1—87. The ill fate of this famous confession, in the principalities of Lignitz and Brieg, is amply related in the German work, entitled *Unschuld. Nachricht. A. 1745*, p. 173.

printed, differed in several places from the manuscript copy to which they had given their approbation; secondly, that the doctrine relating to the freedom of the human will was expressed in it without a sufficient degree of accuracy and precision, and was also inculcated in the harsh and improper terms that Luther had employed in treating that subject; thirdly, that the ubiquity, or universal and indefinite presence of Christ's human nature, was therein positively maintained, notwithstanding that the Lutheran church had never adopted any such doctrine. Beside these reasons for rejecting the Form of Concord, which were publicly avowed, others perhaps of a secret nature contributed to the remarkable change, which was visible in the sentiments and proceedings of the duke of Brunswick. Various methods and negotiations were employed to remove the dislike which this prince, and the divines that lived in his territories, had conceived against the creed of Berg. Particularly in the year 1583, a convocation of divines from Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, was held at Quedlinburg for this purpose. But Julius persisted steadfastly in his opposition, and proposed that the Form of Concord should be examined, and its authority discussed by a general assembly or Synod of the Lutheran church.¹

XLIII. This Form was not only opposed from abroad, but had likewise adversaries in the very country which gave it birth. For even in Saxony, many who had been obliged to subscribe it, beheld it with aversion, in consequence of their attachment to the doctrine of Melancthon. During the life of Augustus, they were forced to suppress their sentiments; but as soon as he had paid the last tribute to nature, and was succeeded by Christian I. the moderate Lutherans and the secret Calvinists resumed their courage. The new elector had been accustomed, from his tender years, to the moderate sentiments of Melancthon, and is also said to have discovered a propensity to the doctrine of the Helvetic church. Under his government therefore a fair op-

The crypto Calvinists make new attempts to spread their doctrine.

¹ See Leon. Hutteri *Concordia Concordis*, cap. xlv. p. 1051. Phil. Jul. Richtmeyer *Braunschweig Kirchen Historie*, part iii. cap. viii. p. 483. See also the authors mentioned by Christ. Matth. Pfaffius, in his *Acta et Scripta Ecclesie Wurtemberg*, p. 62, and *Hist. Literar. Theologia*, part ii. p. 423. For an account of the convocation of Quedlinburg, and the acts that passed in that assembly, see the German work, entitled *Deutsche Bibliothec*. part viii. p. 595.

portunity was offered to the persons above mentioned, of declaring their sentiments and executing their designs. Nor was this opportunity neglected. The attempts to abolish the Form of Concord, that had in time past proved unsuccessful, seemed again to be renewed, and that with a design to open a door for the entrance of Calvinism into Saxony. The persons who had embarked in this design, were greatly encouraged by the protection they received from several noblemen of the first rank at the Saxon court, and particularly, from Crellius, the first minister of Christian. Under the auspicious influence of such patrons it was natural to expect success; yet they conducted their affairs with circumspection and prudence. Certain laws were previously enacted, in order to prepare the minds of the people for the intended revolution in the doctrine of the church; and some time after^k the form of exorcism was omitted in the administration of baptism.^l These measures were followed by others still more alarming to the rigid Lutherans; for not only a new German catechism, favourable to the purpose of the secret Calvinists, was industriously distributed among the people, but also a new edition of the Bible in the same language, enriched with the observations of Henry Salmuth, which were artfully accommodated to this purpose, was, in the year 1591, published at Dresden. The consequences of these vigorous measures were violent tumults and seditions among the people, which the magistrates endeavoured to suppress, by punishing with severity such of the clergy as distinguished themselves by their opposition to the views of the court. But the whole plan of this religious revolution was, all of a sudden, overturned by the unexpected death of Christian, which happened in the year 1591. Then the face of affairs changed again, and assumed its former aspect. The doctors, who had been principally concerned in the execution of this unsuccessful project, were committed to prison, or sent into banishment, after the death of the elector; and

^k In the year 1591.

^l The custom of exorcising, or casting out evil spirits, was used in the fourth century at the admission of catechumens, and was afterward absurdly applied in the baptism of infants. This application of it was retained by the greatest part of the Lutheran churches. It was indeed abolished by the elector, Christian I. but was restored after his death; and the opposition that had been made to it by Crellius, was the chief reason of his unhappy end. See Justi. H. Boehmeri *Jus Ecclesiast. Protestant.* tom. iii. p. 843. *Ed. Secund. Italia*, 1727. As also a German work of Melchior Kraft, entitled *Geschichte des Exorcismi*, p. 401.

its chief encourager and patron Crellius suffered death in the year 1601, as the fruit of his temerity.^m

XLIV. Toward the conclusion of this century, a new controversy was imprudently set on foot at Wittemberg, by Samuel Huber, a native of Switzerland, and professor of divinity in that university. ^{The dispute set on foot by Huber.} The Calvinistical doctrine of absolute predestination and unconditional decrees was extremely offensive to this adventurous doctor, and even excited his warmest indignation. Accordingly, he affirmed and taught publicly, that all mankind were elected from eternity by the Supreme Being to everlasting salvation, and accused his colleagues in particular, and the Lutheran divines in general, of a propensity to the doctrine of Calvin, on account of their asserting, that the divine election was confined to those, whose faith, foreseen by an omniscient God, rendered them the proper objects of his redeeming mercy. The opinion of Huber, as is now acknowledged by many learned men, differed more in *words* than in *reclity*, from the doctrine of the Lutheran church: for he did no more than explain in a new method, and with a different turn of phrase, what that church had always taught concerning the unlimited extent of the love of God, as embracing the whole human race, and excluding none by an *absolute* decree from everlasting salvation. However, as a disagreeable experience and repeated examples had abundantly shown, that new methods of explaining or proving even received doctrines were as much adapted to excite divisions and contests, as the introduction of new errors. Huber was exhorted to adhere to the ancient method of proposing the doctrine of election, and instead of his own peculiar forms of expression, to make use of those that were received and authorized by the church. This compliance nevertheless he refused to submit to, alleging, that it was contrary to the dictates of his conscience; while his patrons and disciples, in many places, gave several indications of a turbulent and seditious zeal for his cause. These considerations engaged the magistrates of Wittemberg to depose him from his office, and to send him into banishment.ⁿ

^m See the German work of Godf. Arnold, entitled *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, part ii. book xvi. cap. xxxii. p. 863. As also the authors mentioned by Herm. Ascan. Engelken, in his *Dissertat. de Nic. Crellio, ejusque Supplicio*, Rostochii, 1724, edit.

ⁿ For an account of the writers that appeared in this controversy, see Christ. Matth. Pfaffii *Introductio in Histor. Liter. Theologiae*, part ii. lib. iii. p. 431.

XLV. The controversies, of which a succinct account has now been given, and others of inferior moment, which it is needless to mention, were highly detrimental to the true interests of the Lutheran church, as is abundantly known by all who are acquainted with the history of this century. It must also be acknowledged, that the manner of conducting and deciding these debates, the spirit of the disputants, and the proceedings of the judges, if we form our estimate of them by the sentiments that prevail among the wiser sort of men in modern times, must be considered as inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity. It betrays nevertheless a want both of candour and justice to inveigh indiscriminately against the authors of these misfortunes, and to represent them as totally destitute of rational sentiments and virtuous principles. And it is yet more unjust to throw the whole blame upon the triumphant party, while the suffering side are all fondly represented as men of unblemished virtue, and worthy of a better fate. It ought not certainly to be a matter of surprise, that persons long accustomed to a state of darkness, and suddenly transported from thence into the blaze of day, did not at first behold the objects that were presented to their view with that distinctness and precision that are natural to those who have long enjoyed the light. And such really was the case of the first protestant doctors, who were delivered from the gloom of papal superstition and tyranny. Beside, there was something gross and indelicate in the reigning spirit of this age, which made the people not only tolerate, but even applaud, many things relating both to the conduct of life and the management of controversy, which the more polished manners of modern times cannot relish, and which indeed are by no means worthy of imitation. As to the particular motives or intentions that ruled each individual in this troubled scene of controversy, whether they acted from the suggestions of malice and resentment, or from an upright and sincere attachment to what they looked upon to be the truth, or how far these two springs of action were jointly concerned in their conduct, all this must be left to the decision of Him alone, whose prerogative it is to search the heart, and to discern its most hidden intentions, and its most secret motives.

The judgment that ought be formed concerning all these controversies.

XLVI. The Lutheran church furnished, during this century, a long list of considerable doctors, who illustrated, in their writings, the various branches of theological science. After Luther and Melancthon, who stand foremost in this list, on account of their superior genius and erudition, we may select the following writers, as the most eminent, and as persons, whose names are worthy to be preserved in the annals of literature; viz. Weller, Chemnitz, Brentius, Flacius, Regius, Major, Amsdorff, Sarcerius, Mathesius, Wigandus, Lambertus, Andreae, Chytræus, Salnecker, Bucer, Fagius, Cruciger, Strigelius, Spangenberg, Judex, Heshusius, Westphal, Æpinus, Osiander, and others.^o

The principal doctors and writers of this century.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

I. THE nature and constitution of the reformed church, which was formerly denominated by its adversaries after its founders Zuingle and Calvin, is entirely different from that of all other ecclesiastical communities. Every other Christian church hath some common centre of union, and its members are connected together by some common bond of doctrine and discipline. But this is far from being the case of the reformed church,^p whose several branches are neither united

The constitution of the reformed church.

^o For an ample account of these Lutheran doctors, see Melchior Adami *Vita Theologorum*, and Louis Elis Du Pin, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs separes de la Communion de l'Eglise Romaine au xvii. Siècle*. The lives of several of these divines have been also separately composed by different authors of the present times; as for example, that of Weller by Læmelius, that of Flacius by Ritter, those of Heshusius and Spangenberg by Leuckfeldt, that of Fagius by Fevelin, that of Chytræus by Schutz, that of Bucer by Verportenius, those of Westphal and Æpinus by Arn. Grevius, &c.

^p It has already been observed that the denomination of reformed was given to those protestant churches which did not embrace the doctrine and discipline of Luther. The title was first assumed by the French protestants, and afterward became the common denomination of all the Calvinistical churches on the continent. I say, on the continent, since in England the term reformed is generally used as standing in opposition to popery alone. Be that as it may, this part of Dr. Mosheim's work would have been, perhaps, with more propriety, entitled *The History of the Reformed Churches, than The History of the Reformed Church*. This will appear still more evident from the following note.

^q This and the following observations are designed to give the Lutheran church an air of unity, which is not to be found in the reformed. But there is a real fallacy in this specious representation of things. The reformed church, when considered in the true extent of the term *reformed*, comprehends all those religious communities that separated themselves from the church of Rome; and, in this sense, includes the Lutheran

by the same system of doctrine, nor by the same mode of worship, nor yet by the same form of government. It is farther to be observed, that this church does not require from its ministers, either uniformity in their private sentiments, or in their public doctrine, but permits them to explain, in different ways, several doctrines of no small moment, provided that the great and fundamental principles of Christianity, and the practical precepts of that divine religion, be maintained in their original purity. This great community therefore may be properly considered as an ecclesiastical body composed of several churches, that vary, more or less, from each other in their form and constitution; but which are preserved however from anarchy and schisms, by a general spirit of equity and toleration, that runs through the whole system, and renders variety of opinion consistent with fraternal union.

II. This indeed was not the original state and constitution of the reformed church, but was the result of a certain combination of events and circumstances, that threw it, by a sort of necessity, into this ambiguous form. The doctors of Switzerland, from whom it derived its origin, and Calvin, who was one of its principal founders, employed all their credit, and exerted their most vigorous efforts, in order to reduce all the churches, which embraced their sentiments, under one rule of faith, and the same form of ecclesiastical government. And although they considered the Lutherans as their brethren, yet

The causes that produced this state of things.

church, as well as the others. And even when this epithet is used in opposition to the community founded by Luther, it represents not a single church, as the episcopal, presbyterian, or independent, but rather a collection of churches; which, though they be invisibly united by a belief and profession of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yet frequent separate places of worship, and have, each, a visible centre of external union peculiar to themselves, which is formed by certain peculiarities in their respective rules of public worship and ecclesiastical government. *An attentive examination of the discipline, polity, and worship of the churches of England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland, will set this matter in the clearest light. The first of these churches being governed by bishops, and not admitting of the validity of presbyterian ordination, differs from the other three, more than any of these differ from each other. There are, however, peculiarities of government and worship, that distinguish the church of Holland from that of Scotland. The institution of deacons, the use of forms for the celebration of the sacraments, an ordinary form of prayer, the observation of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsuntide, are established in the Dutch church: and it is well known that the church of Scotland differs from it extremely in these respects. But after all, to what does the pretended uniformity among the Lutherans amount? are not some of the Lutheran churches governed by bishops, while others are ruled by elders? It shall moreover be shown in its proper place, that even in point of doctrine, the Lutheran churches are not so very remarkable for their uniformity.

* See the general sketch of the state of the church in the eighteenth century, in the fourth volume, paragraph xxi. and note y.

they showed no marks of indulgence to those who openly favoured the opinions of Luther, concerning the eucharist, the person of Christ, predestination, and other matters that were connected with these doctrines; nor would they permit the other protestant churches, that embraced their communion, to deviate from their example in this respect. A new scene, however, which was exhibited in Britain, contributed much to enlarge this narrow and contracted system of church communion. For when the violent contest concerning the form of ecclesiastical government, and the nature and number of those rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted into the public worship, arose between the abettors of episcopacy and the puritans, it was judged necessary to extend the borders of the reformed church, and rank in the class of its true members even those who departed, in some respects, from the ecclesiastical polity and doctrines established at Geneva. This spirit of toleration and indulgence grew still more forbearing and comprehensive after the famous synod of Dort. For though the sentiments and doctrines of the Arminians were rejected and condemned in that numerous assembly, yet they gained ground privately, and insinuated themselves into the minds of many. The church of England, under the reign of Charles I. publicly renounced the opinions of Calvin relating to the divine decrees, and made several attempts to model its doctrine and institutions after the laws, tenets, and customs that were observed by the primitive Christians. On the other hand, several Lutheran congregations in Germany entertained a strong propensity to the doctrines and discipline of the church of Geneva; though they were restrained from declaring themselves fully and openly on this head, by their apprehensions of forfeiting the privileges they derived from their adherence to the confession of Augsburg. The French refugees also, who had long been accustomed to a moderate way of thinking in religious matters, and whose national turn led them to a

Pr The puritans, who inclined to the presbyterian form of church government, of which Knox was one of the earliest abettors in Britain, derived this denomination from their pretending to a *purer* method of worship than that which had been established by Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth.

Ps This assertion is equivocal. Many members of the church of England, with archbishop Laud at their head, did indeed propagate the doctrines of Arminius, both in their pulpits and in their writings. But it is not accurate to say that the church of England renounced publicly, in that reign, the opinions of Calvin. See this matter farther discussed, in the note m, cent. xvii. sect. ii. p. ii. ch. ii. paragraph xx.

certain freedom of inquiry, being dispersed abroad in all parts of the protestant world, rendered themselves so agreeable, by their wit and eloquence, that their example excited a kind of emulation in favour of religious liberty. All these circumstances, accompanied with others, whose influence was less palpable, though equally real, instilled by degrees such a spirit of lenity and forbearance into the minds of protestants, that at this day all Christians, if we except Roman catholics, Socinians, Quakers, and Anabaptists, may claim a place among the members of the reformed church. It is true, great reluctance was discovered by many against this comprehensive scheme of church communion; and, even in the times in which we live, the ancient and less charitable manner of proceeding hath several patrons who would be glad to see the doctrines and institutions of Calvin universally adopted and rigorously observed. The number, however, of these rigid doctors is not very great, nor is their influence considerable. And it may be affirmed with truth, that both in point of number and authority, they are much inferior to the friends of moderation, who reduce within a narrow compass the fundamental doctrines of Christianity on the belief of which salvation depends, exercise forbearance and fraternal charity toward those who explain certain doctrines in a manner peculiar to themselves, and desire to see the enclosure, if I may use that expression, of the reformed church rendered as large and comprehensive as is possible.*

III. The founder of the reformed church was Ulrich Zuingle, a native of Switzerland, and a man of uncommon penetration and acuteness, accompanied with an ardent zeal for truth. This great man was for removing out of the churches, and abolishing in the ceremonies and appendages of public worship, many things which Luther was disposed to treat with

The foundation of the reformed church laid by Zuingle.

* The annals of theology have not as yet been enriched with a full and accurate History of the Reformed Church. This task was indeed undertaken by Scudet, and even carried down so far as his own time, in his *Annales Evangelii Renovati*; but the greatest part of this work is lost. Theod. Hasæus, who proposed to give the Annals of the Reformed Church, was prevented by death from fulfilling his purpose. The famous work of James Basnage, published in two volumes 4to. at Rotterdam, in the year 1725, under the title of *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformees*, instead of giving a regular history of the Reformed church, is only designed to show, that its peculiar and distinguishing doctrines are not new inventions, but were taught and embraced in the earliest ages of the church. Maimbourg's *Histoire du Calvinisme*, is remarkable for nothing, but the partiality of its author, and the wilful errors with which it abounds.

toleration and indulgence, such as images, altars, wax tapers, the form of exorcism, and private confession. He aimed at nothing so much as establishing, in his country, a method and form of divine worship remarkable for its simplicity, and as far remote as could be from every thing that might have the smallest tendency to nourish a spirit of superstition. Nor were these the only circumstances in which he differed from the Saxon reformer; for his sentiments concerning several points of theology, and more especially his opinions relating to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, varied widely from those of Luther. The greatest part of these sentiments and opinions were adopted in Switzerland, by those who had joined themselves to Zuingli in promoting the cause of the reformation, and were by them transmitted to all the Helvetic churches that threw off the yoke of Rome. From Switzerland these opinions were propagated among the neighbouring nations, by the ministerial labours and the theological writings of the friends and disciples of Zuingli; and thus the primitive reformed church that was founded by this eminent ecclesiastic, and whose extent at first was not very considerable, gathered strength by degrees, and made daily new acquisitions.

iv. The separation between the Lutheran and Swiss churches was chiefly occasioned by the doctrine of Zuingli, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Luther maintained, that the body and blood of Christ were *really*, though in a manner far beyond human comprehension, *present* in the eucharist, and were exhibited together with the bread and wine. On the contrary, the Swiss reformer looked upon the bread and wine in no other light, than as the *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of Christ; and, from the year 1524, propagated this doctrine in a public manner

The controversy between the Lutherans and reformed concerning the eucharist.

It is the design of Zuingli was certainly excellent; but in the execution of it perhaps he went too far, and consulted rather the dictates of reason than the real exigencies of human nature in its present state. The present union between soul and body, which operate together in the actions of moral agents, even in those that appear the most abstracted and refined, renders it necessary to consult the external senses, as well as the intellectual powers, in the institution of public worship. Besides, between a worship purely and philosophically rational, and a service grossly and palpably superstitious, there are many intermediate steps and circumstances, by which a rational service may be rendered more affecting and awakening without becoming superstitious. A noble edifice, a solemn music, a well-ordered set of external gestures, though they do not, in themselves, render our prayers one whit more acceptable to the Deity, than if they were offered up without any of these circumstances, produce nevertheless a good effect. They elevate the mind, they give it a composed and solemn frame, and thus contribute to the fervour of its devotion.

by his writings, after having entertained and taught it privately before that period.^u In a little time after this,^v his example was followed by Œcolampadius, a divine of Basil, and one of the most learned men of that century.^w But they were both opposed with obstinacy and spirit by Luther and his associates, particularly those of the circle of Swabia. In the mean time, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, apprehending the pernicious effects that these debates might have upon the affairs of the protestants, which were as yet in that fluctuating and unsettled state that marks the infancy of all great revolutions, was desirous of putting an end to these differences, and appointed for that purpose a conference at Marpurg, between Zuingle, Luther, and other doctors of both parties.^x This meeting however only covered the flame, instead of extinguishing it; and the pacific prince, seeing it impossible to bring about a definitive treaty of peace and concord between these jarring divines, was obliged to rest satisfied with having engaged them to consent to a truce. Luther and Zuingle came to an agreement about several points; but the principal matter in debate, even that which regarded Christ's presence in the eucharist, was left undecided; each party appealing to the fountain of wisdom to terminate this controversy, and expressing their hopes that time and impartial reflection might discover and confirm the truth.^y

v. The reformed church had scarcely been founded in Switzerland by Zuingle when this Christian hero fell in a battle that was fought, in the year 1530, between the protestants of Zurich and their Roman catholic compatriots, who drew the sword in defence of popery. It was not indeed to perform the sanguinary office of a soldier that Zuingle was present at this

The progress of these disputes so far down as the death of Luther.

u Zuingle certainly taught this doctrine in private before the year 1524, as appears from Gerdes, *Historia Renovat. Evangelicæ*, tom. i. *Append.* p. 223.

w In the year 1525.

x Jo. Conr. Fueslini *Centuria I. Epistol. Theolog. Reformat.* p. 31, 35, 44, 49. [Œ] Œcolampadius was not less remarkable for his extraordinary modesty, his charitable, forbearing, and pacific spirit, and his zeal for the progress of vital and practical religion, than for his profound erudition, which he seemed rather studious to conceal than to display.

[Œ] y Zuingle was accompanied by Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Hedion. Luther had with him Melancthon and Justus Jonas from Saxony, together with Osiander, Brentius, and Agricola.

z Ruchat, *Histoire de la Reformation de la Suisse*, vol. i. passim. vol. ii. livr. vi. p. 463. Hottinger, *Helvetiche Kirchen Geschichte*, part iii. p. 27, 51, 483. Val. Era. Loscheri *Historia Motuum*, part i. cap. ii. iii. p. 55, cap. vi. p. 143. Fueslin, *Beſtzege zur Schweizer Reformation*, tom. iv. p. 120.

engagement, but with a view to encourage and animate, by his counsels and exhortations, the valiant defenders of the protestant cause.^a After his death, several Lutheran doctors of the more moderate sort, and particularly Martin Bucer, used their utmost endeavours to bring about some kind of reconciliation between the contending parties. For this purpose they exhorted the jarring theologians to concord, interpreted the points in dispute with a prudent regard to the prejudices of both sides, admonished them of the pernicious consequences that must attend the prolongation of these unhappy contests, and even went so far as to express the respective sentiments of the contending doctors in terms of considerable ambiguity and latitude, that thus the desired union might be the more easily effected. There is no doubt, but that the intentions and designs of these zealous intercessors were pious and upright;^b but it will be difficult to decide, whether or not the means they employed were adapted to promote the end they had in view. Be that as it may, these pacific counsels of Bucer excited divisions in Switzerland; for some persevered obstinately in the doctrine of Zuingle, while others adopted the explications and modifications of his doctrine that were offered by Bucer.^c But these divisions and commotions had not the least effect on that reconciliation with Luther, that was earnestly desired by the pious and moderate doctors on both sides. The efforts of Bucer were more successful out of Switzerland,

a The Lutherans, who consider this unhappy fate of Zuingle as a reproach upon that great man in particular, and upon the reformed church in general, discover a gross ignorance of the genius and manners of the Swiss nation in this century. For as all the inhabitants of that country are at present trained to arms, and obliged to take the field when the defence of their country requires it, so in the time of Zuingle, this obligation was so universal, that neither the ministers of the gospel, nor the professors of theology, were exempted from this military service. Accordingly, in the same battle in which Zuingle fell, Jerome Potanus, one of the theological doctors of Basil, also lost his life. See Fueslini, *Centuria I. Epistolæ. Theol. Reformator.* p. 84. ¶ Erasmus also spoke in a very unfriendly manner of the death of Zuingle, and his friend Œcolampadius. See Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, vol. i. p. 592. It is not therefore surprising to find the bigoted Sir Thomas More insulting, with the barbarity that superstition seldom fails to produce in a narrow and peevish mind, the memory of these two eminent reformers, in a letter to the furious and turbulent Cochlæus, of which the following words show the spirit of the writer; "Postrema ea fuit, quam de Zuinglio et Œcolampadio scriptam misiati quorum nunciata mors mihi *Lætitiam attulit.*—Sublatos e medio esse tam immanes *Fidei Christianæ* hostes, tam intentos ubique in omnem *perimendæ pietatis occasionem*, jure gaudere possum." Jortin, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 702. *App. No.* xvi. N.

b See Alb. Menon. Verpoorten, *Comment. de Mart. Bucero et ejus Sententia de Cæna Domini*, § ix. p. 13, published in 8vo. at Coburg, in the year 1708. Loscheri *Histor. Motuum*, part i. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 181, and part ii. lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 15.

c Tuelini *Centur. I. Epistolæ. Theolog.* p. 162, 170, 181, 172, 190, &c.

and particularly among those divines in the upper parts of Germany, who inclined to the sentiments of the Helvetic church; for they retired from the communion of that church, and joined themselves to Luther by a public act, which was sent to Wittemberg, in the year 1536, by a solemn deputation appointed for that purpose.^d The Swiss divines could not be brought to so great a length. There was however still some prospect of effecting a reconciliation between them and the Lutherans. But this fair prospect entirely disappeared in the year 1544, when Luther published his confession of faith in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was directly opposite to the doctrine of Zuingle and his followers, on that head. The doctors of Zurich pleaded their cause publicly against the Saxon reformer the year following; and thus the purposes of the peacemakers were totally defeated.^e

VI. The death of Luther, which happened in the year 1546, was an event that seemed adapted to calm these commotions, and to revive in the breasts of the moderate and pacific, the hopes of a reconciliation between the contending parties. For this union between the Lutherans and Zuinglians was so ardently desired by Melancthon and his followers, that this great man left no means unemployed to bring it about, and seemed resolved rather to submit to a dubious and forced peace, than to see those flaming discords perpetuated, which reflected such dishonour on the protestant cause. On the other hand, this salutary work seemed to be facilitated by the theological system that was adopted by John Calvin, a native of Noyon in France, who was pastor and professor of divinity at Geneva, and whose genius, learning, eloquence, and talents, rendered him respectable even in the eyes of his enemies. This great man, whose particular friendship for Melancthon was an incidental circumstance highly favourable to the intended reconciliation, proposed an explication of the point in debate, that modified the crude hypothesis of Zuingle, and made use of all his credit and authority among the Swiss, and more particularly at Zurich, where he was held in the highest ve-

The translations that succeeded the death of Luther.

^d Loscherus, *loc. cit.* cap. ii. p. 205. Ruchat, *Histoire de la Reformat. de la Suisse*, tom. p. 535. Hottinger *Hist. Eccles. Helvet.* tom. iii. lib. vi. p. 702.
^e Loscherus, *loc. cit.* part i. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 341.

neration, in order to obtain their assent to it.^f The explication he proposed was not indeed favourable to the doctrine of Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist, which he persisted in denying; he supposed however that a certain divine virtue or efficacy was communicated by Christ with the bread and wine, to those who approached this holy sacrament with a lively faith, and with upright hearts; and to render this notion still more satisfactory, he expressed it in almost the same terms which the Lutherans employed in inculcating their doctrine of Christ's real presence in the eucharist.^g For the great and common error of all those, who, from a desire of peace, assumed the character of arbitrators in this controversy, lay in this, that they aimed rather at a uniformity of *terms* than of *sentiments*; and seemed satisfied when they had engaged the contending parties to use the same words and phrases, though their real difference in opinion remained the same, and each explained these ambiguous or figurative terms in a manner agreeable to their respective systems.

The concord so much desired did not however seem to advance much. Melancthon, who stood foremost in the rank of those who longed impatiently for it, had not courage enough to embark openly in the execution of such a perilous project. Beside, after the death of Luther, his enemies attacked him with redoubled fury, and gave him so much disagreeable occupation, that he had neither that leisure, nor that tranquillity of mind, that were necessary to prepare his measures properly for such an arduous undertaking. A new obstacle to the execution of this pacific project was also presented, by the intemperate zeal of Joachim Westphal, pastor at Hamburg, who, in the year 1552, renewed, with greater vehemence than ever, this deplorable controversy, which had been for some time suspended, and who, after Flacius, was the most obstinate defender of the opinions of Luther. This violent theologian attacked, with that spirit of acrimony and vehemence that was too remarkable in the polemic writings of Luther, the act of uniformity, by which the churches

^f Christ. Aug. Salig, *Historia Aug. Confession.* tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. p. 1075.

^g Calvin went certainly too far in this matter; and, in his explication of the benefits that arise from a worthy commemoration of Christ's death in the eucharist, he dwelt too grossly upon the allegorical expressions of Scripture, which the Papists had so egregiously abused, and talked of really eating by *faith* the body, and drinking the blood of Christ.

of Geneva and Zurich declared their agreement concerning the doctrine of the eucharist. In the book which he published with this view,^b he censured with the utmost severity, the variety of sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper that was observable in the reformed church, and maintained, with his usual warmth and obstinacy, the opinion of Luther on that subject. This engaged Calvin to enter the lists with Westphal, whom he treated with as little lenity and forbearance as the rigid Lutheran had showed toward the Helvetic churches. The consequences of this debate were, that Calvin and Westphal had each their zealous defenders and patrons; hence the breach widened, the spirits were heated, and the flame of controversy was kindled anew with such violence and fury, that to extinguish it entirely seemed to be a task beyond the reach of human wisdom or human power.¹

VII. These disputes were unhappily augmented, in process of time, by that famous controversy concerning the decrees of God, with respect to the eternal condition of men, which was set on foot by Calvin, and became an inexhaustible source of intricate researches, and abstruse, subtle, and inexplicable questions. The most ancient Helvetic doctors were far from adopting the doctrine of those, who represent the Deity as allotting, from all eternity, by an *absolute, arbitrary, and unconditional* decree, to some everlasting happiness, and to others endless misery, without any *previous* regard to the moral characters and circumstances of either, Their sentiments seemed to differ but very little from those of the Pelagians; nor did they hesitate in declaring, after the example of Zuingle, that the kingdom of heaven was open to all who lived according to the dictates of right reason.² Calvin had adopted quite a different system

The controversy concerning predestination.

^a h This book, which abounds with senseless and extravagant temets that Luther never so much as thought of, and breathes the most virulent spirit of persecution, is entitled "Farrago confusaneorum et inter se dissidentium de S. Cœna opinionum ex Sacramentariorum Libris congesta."

i Loscheri *Historia Motuum*, part ii. lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 83. Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 642. Arn. Grevii *Memoria*. Joac. Westphali, p. 62, 106.

k For the proof of this assertion, see Dallei *Apologia pro duabus Ecclesiarum Gallicar. Synodis adversus Frid. Spanheim*, part iv. p. 946. Jo. Alphonso. Turretini *Epistol. ad Antestitem Cantuariensem*, which is inserted in the *Bibliothèque Germanic.* tom. xiii. p. 92. Simon *Bibliothèque Critique*, published under the fictitious name of Sainior, tom. iii. chap. xxviii. p. 292, 298, and also the author of a book, entitled *Observationes Gallicæ in Formul. Consensus Helveticum*, p. 52. The very learned Dr. Gerdes, instead of being persuaded by these testimonies, maintains, on the contrary, in his *Miscellan. Groningens.* tom. ii. p. 476, 477, that the sentiments of Calvin were the same with those of the au-

with respect to the divine decrees. He maintained, that the everlasting condition of mankind in a future world was determined from all eternity by the *unchangeable order* of the Deity, and that this *absolute* determination of his *will* and *good pleasure* was the *only* source of happiness or misery to every individual. This opinion was, in a very short time, propagated through all the reformed churches, by the writings of Calvin, and by the ministry of his disciples, and in some places was inserted in the national creeds and confessions; and thus made a public article of faith. The unhappy controversy, which took its rise from this doctrine, was opened at Strasburg, in the year 1560, by Jerome Zanchius, an Italian ecclesiastic, who was particularly attached to the sentiments of Calvin; and was afterward carried on by others with such zeal and assiduity, that it drew, in an extraordinary manner, the attention of the public, and tended as much to exasperate the passions, and foment the discord of the contending parties, as the dispute about the eucharist had already done.¹

VIII. The Helvetic doctors had no prospect left of calming the troubled spirits, and tempering at least the vehemence of these deplorable feuds, but the moderation of the Saxon divines, who were the disciples of Melancthon, and who, breathing the pacific spirit of their master, seemed, after his death, to have nothing so much at heart as the restoration of concord and union in the protestant church. Their designs however were not carried on with that caution and circumspection, with that prudent foresight, or that wise attention to the nature of the times, which distinguished always the transactions of Melancthon, and which the critical nature of the cause they were engaged in indispensably required. And hence they had already taken a step, which was adapted to render ineffectual all the remedies they could apply to the healing of the present disorders. For, by dispersing every where artful and insidious writings, with a design to seduce the ministers of the church, and the studious youth, into the sentiments of the Swiss divines,

The discord is carried to the greatest height.

cient Swiss doctors. But this excellent author may be refuted, even from his own account of the tumults that were occasioned in Switzerland by the opinion that Calvin had propagated in relation to the divine decrees.

¹ Loecheri *Historia Metanum*, part iii. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 27, S. c. x. p. 227. Salig, *Historia August. Confession*, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 441.

or at least to engage them to treat these sentiments with toleration and forbearance, they drew upon themselves the indignation of their adversaries, and ruined the pacific cause in which they had embarked. It was this conduct of theirs that gave occasion to the composition of that famous Form of Concord, which condemned the sentiments of the reformed churches, in relation to the person of Christ, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper. And as this Form is received by the greatest part of the Lutherans, as one of the articles of their religion; hence arises an insuperable obstacle to all schemes of reconciliation and concord.

ix. So much did it seem necessary to premise concerning the causes, rise, and progress of the controversy, which formed that separation that still subsists between the Lutheran and reformed churches. From thence it will be proper to proceed to an account of the internal state of the latter, and to the history of its progress and revolutions. The history of the reformed church, during this century, comprehends two distinct periods. The first commences with the year 1519, when Zuingle withdrew from the communion of Rome, and began to form a Christian church beyond the bounds of the pope's jurisdiction; and it extends to the time of Calvin's settlement at Geneva, where he acquired the greatest reputation and authority. The second period takes in the rest of this century.

During the first of these periods, the Helvetic church, which assumed the title of reformed, after the example of the French protestants in their neighbourhood, who had chosen this denomination in order to distinguish themselves from the Roman catholics, was very inconsiderable in its extent, and was confined to the cantons of Switzerland. It was indeed augmented by the accession of some small states in Swabia and Alsace, such as the city of Strasburg, and some little republics. But in the year 1536, these petty states changed sides through the suggestions and influence of Bucer, returned to the communion of the Saxon church, and thus made their peace with Luther. The other religious communities, which abandoned the church of Rome, either openly embraced the doctrine of Luther, or consisted of persons who were not agreed in their theological opinions, and who really seemed

What those things are that are most worthy of observation in the rise and progress of the reformed church.

to stand in a kind of neutrality between the contending parties. All things being duly considered, it appears probable enough that the church founded by Zuingle, would have remained still confined to the narrow limits which bounded it at first, had not Calvin arisen, to augment its extent, authority, and lustre. For the natural and political character of the Swiss, which is neither bent toward the lust of conquest, nor the grasping views of ambition, discovered itself in their religious transactions. And, as a spirit of contentment with what they had, prevented their aiming at an augmentation of their territory, so did a similar spirit hinder them from being extremely solicitous about enlarging the borders of their church.

x. In this infant state of the reformed church, the only point that prevented its union with the followers of Luther was the doctrine they taught with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. This first controversy indeed soon produced a second, relating to the person of Jesus Christ, which nevertheless concerned only a part of the Lutheran church.^m The Lutheran divines of Swabia, in the course of their debates with those of Switzerland, drew an argument in favour of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, from the following proposition; that "all the properties of the divine nature, and consequently its omnipresence, were communicated to the human nature of Christ by the hypostatic union." The Swiss doctors, in order to destroy the force of this argument, denied this communication of the divine attributes to Christ's human nature, and denied, more especially, the ubiquity, or omnipresence of the *man* Jesus. And hence arose that most intricate and abstruse controversy concerning ubiquity and the communication of properties, that produced so many learned and unintelligible treatises, so many subtile disputes, and occasioned that multitude of invectives and accusations, that the contending parties threw out against each other with such liberality and profusion.

The religious points that first excited divisions between the Swiss and the Lutherans.

^m It was only a certain number of those Lutherans, that were much more rigid in their doctrine than Luther himself, that believed the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's person, considered as *man*. By this we may see, that the Lutherans have their divisions as well as the reformed, of which several instances may be yet given in the course of this history.

It is proper to observe, that at this time, the Helvetic church universally embraced the doctrine of Zuingle concerning the eucharist. This doctrine, which differed considerably from that of Calvin, amounted to the following propositions; that the bread and wine were no more than a representation of the body and blood of Christ; or, in other words, the *signs* appointed to denote the benefits that were conferred upon mankind, in consequence of the death of Christ; that therefore Christians derived no other fruit from the participation of the Lord's supper, than a mere commemoration and remembrance of the merits of Christ, which, according to an expression common in the mouths of the abettors of this doctrine, was the *only thing that was properly meant* by the Lord's supper.^m Bucer, whose leading principle was the desire of peace and concord, endeavoured to correct and modify this doctrine in such a manner, as to give it a certain degree of conformity to the hypothesis of Luther; but the memory of Zuingle was too fresh in the minds of the Swiss to permit their accepting of these corrections and modifications, or to suffer them to depart in any respect from the doctrine of that eminent man, who had founded their church, and been the instrument of their deliverance from the tyranny and superstition of Rome.

xi. In the year 1541, John Calvin, who surpassed almost all the doctors of this age in laborious application, constancy of mind, force of eloquence, and extent of genius, returned to Geneva, from whence the opposition of his enemies had obliged him to retire. On his settlement in that city, the affairs of the new church were committed to his direction, and he acquired also a high degree of influence in the political administration of that republic. This event changed entirely

John Calvin
the principal
founder of
the reformed
church.

ⁿ "Nil esse in Cœna, quam memoriam Christi." That this was the real opinion of Zuingle, appears evidently from various testimonies which may be seen in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. i. p. 485, 490, tom. iii. p. 631. This is also confirmed by the following sentence in Zuingle's book concerning baptism; tom. ii. opp. p. 85. "Cœna Dominica non aliud, quam Commemorationis nomen meretur." Compare with all this Fueslini *Centur. I. Epistolar. Theologor. Reformator.* p. 255, 262, &c.

^o Calvin, in reality, enjoyed the power and authority of a bishop at Geneva; for, as long as he lived, he presided in the assembly of the clergy, and in the consistory, or ecclesiastical judicatory. But when he was at the point of death, he advised the clergy not to give him a successor, and proved to them evidently the dangerous consequences of intrusting with any one man, during life, a place of such high authority. After him therefore the place of president ceased to be perpetual. See Spon, *Histoire de Genève.* tom. ii. p. 111.

the face of affairs, and gave a new aspect to the reformed church. The views and projects of this great man were grand and extensive. For he not only undertook to give strength and vigour to the rising church, by framing the wisest laws and the most salutary institutions for the maintenance of order, and the advancement of true piety, but even proposed to render Geneva the mother, the seminary of all the reformed churches, as Wittemberg was of all the Lutheran communities. He laid a scheme for sending forth from this little republic, the succours and ministers that were to promote and propagate the protestant cause through the most distant nations, and aimed at nothing less than rendering the government, discipline, and doctrine of Geneva the model and rule of imitation to the reformed churches throughout the world. The undertaking was certainly great, and worthy of the extensive genius and capacity of this eminent man; and, great and arduous as it was, it was executed in part, nay, carried on to a very considerable length, by his indefatigable assiduity and inexhaustible zeal. It was with this view, that by the fame of his learning, as well as by his epistolary solicitations and encouragements of various kinds, he engaged many persons of rank and fortune, in France, Italy, and other countries, to leave the places of their nativity, and to settle at Geneva; while others repaired thither merely out of a curiosity to see a man, whose talents and exploits had rendered him so famous, and to hear the discourses which he delivered in public. Another circumstance, that contributed much to the success of his designs, was the establishment of an academy at Geneva, which the senate of that city founded at his request; and in which he himself, with his colleague, Theodore Beza, and other divines of eminent learning and abilities, taught the sciences with the greatest reputation. In effect, the lustre which these great men reflected upon this infant seminary of learning, spread its fame through the distant nations with such amazing rapidity, that all who were ambitious of a distinguished progress in either sacred or profane erudition, repaired to Geneva, and that England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany, seemed to vie with each other in the numbers of their studious youth, that were incessantly repairing to the new academy. By these means, and by the ministry of these his disciples, Calvin enlarged considerably the

borders of the reformed church, propagated his doctrine, and gained proselytes and patrons to his theological system, in several countries of Europe. In the midst of this glorious career he ended his days, in the year 1564; but the salutary institutions and wise regulations, of which he had been the author, were both respected and maintained after his death. In a more special manner the academy of Geneva flourished as much under Beza, as it had done during the life of its founder.^b

XII. The plan of doctrine and discipline that had been formed by Zuingle, was altered and corrected by Calvin; and that more especially in three points, of which it will not be improper to give a particular account.

The form of doctrine and ecclesiastical government drawn up by this reformer.

1. Zuingle, in his form of ecclesiastical government, had given an absolute and unbounded power, in religious matters, to the civil magistrate, to whom he had placed the clergy in a degree of subjection that was displeasing to many. But at the same time he allowed of a certain subordination and difference of rank among the ministers of the church, and even thought it expedient to place at their head a perpetual president, or superintendent, with a certain degree of inspection and authority over the whole body. Calvin, on the contrary, reduced the power of the magistrate, in religious matters, within narrow bounds. He declared the church a separate and independent body, endowed with the power of legislation for itself. He maintained, that it was to be governed, like the primitive church, only by presbyteries and synods, that is, by assemblies of *elders*, composed both of the clergy and laity; and he left to the civil magistrate little else than the privilege of protecting and defending the church, and providing for what related to its external exigencies and concerns. Thus this eminent reformer introduced into the republic of Geneva, and endeavoured to introduce into all the reformed churches throughout Europe, that form of ecclesiastical government, which is called *presbyterian*, from its neither

^p The various projects and plans that were formed, conducted, and executed with equal prudence and resolution by Calvin, in behalf both of the republic and church of Geneva, are related by the learned person, who, in the year 1730, gave a new edition, enriched with interesting historical notes, and authentic documents of Spon's *Histoire de Geneve*. The particular accounts of Calvin's transactions, given by this anonymous editor, in his notes, are drawn from several curious manuscripts of undoubted credit. See Spon, *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. 87, 100, &c.

admitting of the institution of bishops, nor of any subordination among the clergy; and which is founded on this principle, that all ministers of the gospel are, by the law of God, declared to be equal in rank and authority. In consequence of this principle, he established at Geneva a consistory, composed of ruling elders, partly pastors, and partly laymen, and invested this ecclesiastical body with a high degree of power and authority. He also convened synods, composed of the ruling elders of different churches, and in these consistories and synods had laws enacted for the regulation of all matters of a religious nature; and, among other things, restored to its former vigour the ancient practice of excommunication. All these things were done with the consent of the greatest part of the senate of Geneva.

2. The system that Zuingle had adopted with respect to the eucharist was by no means agreeable to Calvin, who, in order to facilitate the desired union with the Lutheran church, substituted in its place another, which appeared more conformable to the doctrine of that church, and in reality differed but little from it. For while the doctrine of Zuingle supposed only a symbolical, or figurative presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, and represented a pious remembrance of Christ's death, and of the benefits it procured to mankind, as the only fruits that arose from the celebration of the Lord's supper, Calvin explained this critical point in a quite different manner. He acknowledged a *real*, though *spiritual*, presence of Christ in this sacrament; or, in other words, he maintained that true Christians, who approached this holy ordinance with a lively faith, were, in a certain manner, united to the man Christ; and that from this union the spiritual life derived new vigour in the soul, and was still carried on, in a progressive motion, to greater degrees of purity and perfection. This kind of language had been used in the forms of doctrine drawn up by Luther; and, as Calvin observed, among other things, that the divine grace was *conferred* upon sinners, and *sealed* to them by the celebration of the Lord's supper, this induced many to suppose that he adopted the sentiment implied in the barbarous term *impanation*,² and differed but little from the

² q The term *impanation*, which signifies here the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, in or with the bread that is there exhibited, amounts to what is

doctrine of the Lutheran church on this important subject.* Be that as it may, his sentiments differed considerably from those of Zuingle; for while the latter asserted, that all Christians, without distinction, whether *regenerate* or *unregenerate*, might be partakers of the body and blood of Christ; Calvin confined this privilege to the pious and regenerate believer alone.

3. The absolute decree of God, with respect to the future and everlasting condition of the human race, which made no part of the theology of Zuingle, was an essential tenet in the creed of Calvin, who inculcated with zeal the following doctrine: "That God, in predestinating, from all eternity, one part of mankind to everlasting happiness, and another to endless misery, was led to make this distinction by no other motive than his own *good pleasure* and *freewill*."

XIII. The first of the three points now mentioned was of such a nature, that great as the credit and influence of Calvin were, he could not procure a uni-

These changes made by Calvin are

called consubstantiation. It was a modification of the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation, first invented by some of the disciples of Berenger, who had not a mind to break all measures with the church of Rome, and was afterward adopted by Luther and his followers, who, in reality, made sad work of it. For, in order to give it some faint air of possibility, and to maintain it as well as they could, they fell into a wretched scholastic jargon about the nature of substances, subsistences, attributes, properties, and accidents, that did infinite mischief to the true and sublime science of gospel theology, whose beautiful simplicity it was adapted to destroy. The very same perplexity and darkness, the same quibbling, sophistical, and unintelligible logic, that reigned in the attempts of the Roman catholics to defend the doctrine of transubstantiation, were visible in the controversial writings of the Lutherans in behalf of consubstantiation, or impanation. The latter had indeed one absurdity less to maintain; but being obliged to assert in opposition to intuitive evidence and unchangeable truth, that the *same* body can be in *many* places at the same time, they were consequently obliged to have recourse to the darkest and most intricate jargon of the schools, to hide the nonsense of this unaccountable doctrine. The modern Lutherans are grown somewhat wiser in this respect; at least, they seem less zealous than their ancestors about the tenet in question.

r See Fueslini *Centur. I. Epistol. Theolog. Reformat.* tom. i. p. 255, 256, 262, 263. *Lettres de Calvin a Mons. Jac. de Falaise*, p. 84, 85. We learn in Fueslin, p. 263, that Calvin wrote to Bucer a letter, intimating that he approved of his sentiments. It is possible that he may have derived from Bucer the opinion he entertained with respect to the eucharist. See Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tom. ii. p. 8, 14, 19. Courayer, *Examen des Defauts des Theologiens*, tom. ii. p. 72. These two writers pretend, that the sentiments of Calvin, with respect to the eucharist, were almost the same with those of the Roman catholics.* The truth of this matter is, that the obscurity and inconsistency with which this great man expressed himself upon that subject, render it extremely difficult to give a clear and accurate account of his doctrine.

* How it could come into the heads of such men as Bossuet and Dr. Courayer to say, that the sentiments of Calvin concerning the eucharist were almost the same with those of the Roman Catholics, is indeed strange enough. The doctrine of transubstantiation was to Calvin an invincible obstacle to any sort of conformity between him and Rome on that subject. For however obscure and figurative his expressions with respect to Christ's spiritual presence in the eucharist may have been, he never once dreamed of any thing like a corporal presence in that holy sacrament.

versal reception for it in the reformed churches. The English and Germans rejected it, and even the Swiss refused to adopt it. It was however received by the reformed churches in France, Holland, and Scotland. The Swiss remained firm in their opposition, they would not suffer the form of ecclesiastical government, that had once been established, under the inspection of Zuingle, to be changed in any respect, nor the power of the civil magistrate, in religious matters, to receive the smallest prejudice. The other two points were long debated, even in Switzerland, with the greatest warmth. Several churches, more especially those of Zurich and Berne, maintained obstinately the doctrine of Zuingle in relation to the eucharist;^s neither could they be easily persuaded to admit, as an article of faith, the doctrine of predestination, as it had been taught by Calvin.^t The prudence however of this great man, seconded by his resolute perseverance and his extraordinary credit, triumphed at length so far as to bring about a union between the Swiss churches and that of Geneva, first in relation to the doctrine of the eucharist,^u and afterward also on the subject of predestination.^v The followers of Calvin extended still farther the triumphs of their chief, and improved with such success the footing he had gained, that in process of time, almost all the reformed churches adopted his theological system, to which, no doubt, his learned writings contributed a good deal.^x

not approved of,
nor received by
all the reformed
churches

XIV. It will not be improper to pass in review the different countries in which the doctrine and discipline of the reformed church, as modelled by Calvin, were established in a fixed and permanent manner. Among its chief patrons in Germany we may reckon Frederic III. elector palatine, who, in the year 1560, re-

The progress of
Calvin's system
in Germany.

^s See Fueslini *Centur. Epistolar.* p. 264. *Museum Helvet.* tom. i. p. 490, tom. v. p. 479, 483, 490, tom. ii. p. 79.

^t Beside Ruchat and Hottinger, see *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 105, 107, 117. Gerdes, *Miscellan. Gronigens. Nova*, tom. ii. p. 476, 477.

^u The agreement between the churches of Switzerland and that of Geneva was concluded in 1549 and 1554.

^v See the *Consensus Genev. et Tigurinor.* in *Calvini Opusculis*, p. 754.

^x The learned Dan. Ern. Jablonsky, in his Letters to Leibnitz, published by Kappius, maintains, p. 24, 25, 41, that the opinion of Zuingle has no longer any patrons among the reformed. But this is a palpable mistake. For its patrons and defenders are, on the contrary, extremely numerous; and at this very time the doctrine of Zuingle is revived in England, Switzerland, and other countries, and seems to acquire new degrees of credit from day to day.

moved from their pastoral functions the Lutheran doctors, and filled their places with Calvinists; and at the same time, obliged his subjects to embrace the tenets, rites, and institutions of the church of Geneva.^a This order was indeed abrogated, in the year 1576, by his son and successor Lewis, who restored Lutheranism to its former credit and authority. The effects of this revolution were however but transitory; for, in the year 1583, under the government of the elector, John Casimir, who had followed the example of his brother Frederic in embracing the discipline of the reformed church, the face of things was again changed in favour of Calvinism, which resumed what it had lost, and became triumphant.^a From this period the church of the palatinate obtained the second place among the reformed churches; and its influence and reputation were so considerable, that the Form of Instruction, which was composed for its use by Ursinus, and which is known under the title of the Catechism of Heidelberg, was almost universally adopted by the Calvinists.^a The republic of Bremen embraced, also, the doctrine and institutions of the reformed. Albert Hardenberg, the intimate friend of Melancthon, was the first who attempted to introduce there the doctrine of Calvin concerning the eucharist. This attempt he made so early as the year 1556; and though a powerful opposition rendered it successful, and procured the expulsion of its author out of the city of Bremen, yet the latent seeds of Calvinism took root, and toward the conclusion of this century, acquired such strength, that no measures either of prudence or force were sufficient to prevent the church of Bremen from modelling its faith, worship, and government, after that of Geneva.^b The various motives that engaged other German states to adopt, by degrees, the same sentiments, and the incidents and circumstances that favoured the progress of Calvinism in the empire, must be sought in those writers who have undertaken to give a full, complete, and ample history of the Christian church.

^a Hen. Altingii *Hist. Eccl. Palat.* in Lud. Chr. Miegii *Monum. Palat.* tom. i. p. 223. Loscheri, *Historia Motuum*, part ii. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 125. Salig, *Hist. Confession. Aug.* tom. iii. lib. ix. cap. v. p. 433.

^z Alting. *loc. cit.* Loscherus, *ibid.* part iii. lib. vi. p. 234. See also a German work, entitled Gotth. Struvius, *Pfaelzische Kirchen Historie*, p. 110.

^a For an account of the catechism of Heidelberg, see Kocheri *Bibliotheca Theologica Symbolica*, p. 593, and 308.

^b Salig, *loc. cit.* part iii. lib. x. cap. v. p. 715, and cap. vi. p. 776. Loscherus, *loc. cit.* part ii. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 134, and part iii. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 276. Gerdes, *Historia Renovati Evangelii*, tom. iii. p. 157.

xv. Those among the French, who first renounced the jurisdiction and doctrine of the church of Rome, ^{and in France,} are commonly called Lutherans by the writers of these early-times. This denomination, joined to other circumstances, has engaged some to imagine, that these French converts to the protestant cause were attached to the tenets of the Lutheran church, and averse to those of the Swiss doctors.° But this is by no means a just representation of the matter. It appears much more probable, that the first French protestants were uniform in nothing but their antipathy to the church of Rome, and that this point being excepted, there was a great variety in their religious sentiments. It is however to be observed, that the vicinity of Geneva, Lausanne, and other cities which had adopted the doctrine of Calvin, together with the incredible zeal of this eminent man, and his two colleagues, Farel and Beza, in nourishing the opposition to the church of Rome, and augmenting both the indignation and number of its enemies, produced a very remarkable effect upon the French churches; for about the middle of this century, they all, without exception, entered into the bonds of fraternal communion with the church of Geneva. The French protestants were called, by their enemies, *huguenots*, by way of derision and contempt; the origin however of this denomination is extremely uncertain.° Their fate was severe; the storms of persecution assailed them with unparalleled fury; and though many princes of the royal blood, and a great number of the flower of the nobility, adopted their sentiments, and stood forth in their cause,° yet it may nevertheless be affirmed, that no other

c Loscheri *Historia Motuum*, part ii. cap. vi. p. 46. Salig, *Hist. Aug. Confession*, tom. ii. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 190.

¶ d Some etymologists suppose this term derived from Huguon, a word used in Touraine, to signify persons that walk at night in the streets. And as the first protestants, like the first Christians, may have chosen that season for their religious assemblies, through the fear of persecution, the nickname of *huguenot* may, naturally enough, have been applied to them by their enemies. Others are of opinion, that it was derived from a French and faulty pronunciation of the German word *eidgnossen*, which signifies confederates, and had been originally the name of that valiant part of the city of Geneva, which entered into an alliance with the Swiss cantons, in order to maintain their liberties against the tyrannical attempts of Charles III. duke of Savoy. These confederates were called *signots*, and from thence, very probably, was derived the word *huguenots* now under consideration. The count Villars, in a letter written to the king of France, from the province of Languedoc, where he was lieutenant-general, and dated the 11th of November, 1560, calls the riotous Calvinists of the Cevennes *Huguenots*, and this is the first time that this term is found, in the registers of that province, applied to the protestants.

e See the *Histoire Eccles. des Eglises Reformees au Royaume de France*, published at

part of the reformed church suffered so grievously as they did for the sake of religion. Even the peace, which they obtained from Henry III. in the year 1576, was the source of that civil war, in which the powerful and ambitious house of Guise, instigated by the sanguinary suggestions of the Roman pontiffs, aimed at nothing less than the extirpation of the royal family, and the utter ruin of the protestant religion; while the Huguenots, on the other hand, headed by leaders of the most heroic valour, and the most illustrious rank, combated for their religion and for their sovereigns with various success. These dreadful commotions, in which both the contending parties committed such deeds as are yet, and always will be, remembered with horror, were at length calmed by the fortitude and prudence of Henry IV. This monarch indeed sacrificed the dictates of conscience to the suggestions of policy; and imagining that his government could have no stable nor solid foundation as long as he persisted in disowning the authority and jurisdiction of Rome, he renounced the reformed religion, and made a solemn and public profession of popery. Perceiving, however, on the other hand, that it was not possible either to extirpate or suppress entirely the protestant religion, he granted to its professors, by the famous edict drawn up at Nantes in the year 1598, the liberty of serving God according to their consciences, and a full security for the enjoyment of their civil rights and privileges, without persecution or molestation from any quarter.^f

XVI. The church of Scotland acknowledges as its founder, John Knox, the disciple of Calvin; and accordingly from its first reformation, it adopted the doctrine, rites, and form of ecclesiastical government established at Geneva. These it has always adhered to

^{In England and Scotland.}

Antwerp, in three volumes 8vo. in the year 1590, and supposed by many to have been written by Beza. The writers that have given the best accounts of the French reformed churches, their confession of faith, and their forms of worship and discipline, are enumerated by Kocherus, in his *Bibliotheca Theolog. Symbolica*, p. 399.

^f This edict restored and confirmed, in the fullest terms, all the favours that had ever been granted to the protestants by other princes, and particularly by Henry III. To these privileges others were also added which had never been granted, nor even demanded before; such as a free admission to all employments of trust, honour, and profit; the establishing courts and chambers in which the professors of the two religions were equal in number; and the permitting the children of protestants to be educated, without any molestation or constraint, in the public universities.

g Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. I. lib. v. p. 200. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. ix. p. 409. Boulay, *Hist. Academ. Paris*. tom. vi.

with the utmost uniformity, and maintained with the greatest jealousy and zeal; so that even in the last century the designs of those who attempted to introduce certain changes into its discipline and worship, were publicly opposed by the force of arms.^b

A quite different constitution of things is observable in the church of England, which could never be brought to an entire compliance with the ecclesiastical laws of Geneva, and which retained, but for a short time, even those which it adopted. It is well known that the greatest part of those English, who first threw off the yoke of Rome, seemed much more inclined to the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist, the form of public worship, and ecclesiastical government, than to those of the Swiss churches. But the scene changed after the death of Henry VIII. when, by the industrious zeal of Calvin, and his disciples, more especially Peter Martyr, the cause of Lutheranism lost ground considerably; and the universities, schools, and churches became the oracles of Calvinism, which also acquired new votaries among the people from day to day.¹ Hence it happened, that when it was proposed, under the reign of Edward VI. to give a fixed and stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the church, Geneva was acknowledged as a sister church; and the theological system, there established by Calvin, was adopted, and rendered the public rule of faith in England. This however was done without any change of the form of episcopal government, which had already taken place, and was entirely different from that of Geneva: nor was this step attended with any alteration of several religious rites and ceremonies, which were looked upon as superstitious by the greatest part of the reformed. This difference however between the two churches, though it appeared at first of little consequence, and in the judgment even of Calvin, was esteemed an object of toleration and indulgence, was nevertheless in after ages, a source of many calamities and dissensions, that were highly detrimental both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of Great Britain.

^b Salig, *Hist. Aug. Confession*, part ii. lib. vi. cap. i. p. 403. [F] Dr. Mosheim alludes, in this passage, to the attempts made under the reign of Charles II. to introduce episcopacy into Scotland.

¹ Loscheri *Hist. Motuum*, part ii. lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 67. Salig, *Hist. Aug. Confession*, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 317.

XVII. The origin of these unhappy dissensions, which it has not as yet been possible entirely to heal must be sought for in the conduct of those persecuted fugitives, who, to save their lives, their families, and their fortunes, from the bloody rage and inhuman tyranny of queen Mary, left the places of their nativity in the year 1554, and took refuge in Germany.* Of these fugitive congregations *some* performed divine worship with the rites that had been authorized by Edward VI. while *others* preferred the Swiss method of worship as more recommendable on account of its purity and simplicity. The former were called *conformists*, on account of their compliance with the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the prince now mentioned; and the denominations of *nonconformists* and *puritans*, were given to the latter, from their insisting upon a form of worship, more exempt from superstition, and of a more pure kind, than the liturgy of Edward seemed to them to be. These denominations became permanent marks of distinction, which still continue to denote those different religious communities which divide the British nation. The controversy concerning the ceremonial part of divine worship, that had divided the exiles abroad, changed scenes, and was removed with them to England; when the auspicious succession of queen Elizabeth to the throne permitted them to return to their native country,

✍ I cannot help mentioning the uncharitableness of the Lutherans, upon this occasion, who hated these unhappy exiles, because they were *sacramentarians*, for so the Lutherans called those who denied Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist, and expelled from their cities such of the English protestants as repaired to them, as a refuge from popish superstition and persecution. Such as sought for shelter in France, Geneva, and those parts of Switzerland and Germany where the reformation had taken place, and where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with great humanity, and allowed places of public worship. But it was at Frankfort, that the exiles were most numerous; and there began the contest and division that gave rise to that separation from the church of England which continues to this day. It is however a piece of justice due to the memory of the excellent Melancthon, to observe, that he warmly condemned this uncharitable treatment, and more especially the indecent reproaches, which the Lutherans cast upon the English martyrs who had sealed the reformation with their blood, calling them the *devil's martyrs*. "Vociferantur quidam," says this amiable reformer, "Martyres Anglicos esse Martyres Diaboli. Nolim hac contumelia afficere sanctum spiritum in Latimero, qui annum octogesimum egressus, fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris, quos novi." These are the words of this truly Christian reformer, in one of his letters to Camerarius, *Epist.* lib. iv. p. 959, and in another of his letters, speaking of the burning of Burgins at Paris, he thus severely censures Westphal's intolerant principles; "Tales viros ait Westphalus esse Diaboli Martyres. Hanc judicii perversitatem quis non detestetur?" *Ep.* lib. ii. p. 387. Such were the humane and liberal sentiments of Melancthon, which have rendered his name so precious to the lovers of piety, probity, and moderation; while the zealots of his own church have treated his memory with obloquy, and composed dissertations de *Indifferentismo Melancthonis*. N.

The hopes of enjoying liberty, and of promoting each their respective systems, increased their contests instead of diminishing them; and the breach widened to such a degree, that the most sagacious and provident observers of things seemed to despair of seeing it healed. The wise queen, in her design to accomplish the reformation of the church, was fully resolved not to confine herself to the model exhibited by the protestants of Geneva and their adherents, the puritans; and therefore she recommended to the attention and imitation of the doctors that were employed in this weighty and important matter, the practice and institutions of the primitive ages. When her plan was put in execution, and the face of the church was changed and reformed by new rules of discipline, and purer forms of public worship, the famous Act of Uniformity was issued forth, by which all her subjects were commanded to observe these rules, and to submit to the reformation of the church on the footing on which it was now placed by the queen, as its supreme visible head upon earth. The puritans refused their assent to these proceedings; pleaded the dictates of their consciences in behalf of this refusal; and complained heavily that the gross superstitions of popery, which they had looked upon as abrogated and abolished, were now revived, and even imposed by authority. They were not indeed all equally exasperated against the new constitution of the church; nor did they in effect carry their opposition to equal degrees of excess. The more violent demanded the total abrogation of all that had been done toward the establishment of a national religion, and required nothing less than that the church of England should be exactly modelled after that of Geneva. The

¶ Dr. Mosheim seems disposed, by this ambiguous expression of the *primitive* ages, to insinuate that queen Elizabeth had formed a pure, rational, and evangelical plan of religious discipline and worship. It is however certain, that instead of being willing to strip religion of the ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer the Romish ritual,* and had a great propensity to several usages in the church of Rome, which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains who had preached in defence of the real presence; she was fond of images, and retained some in her private chapel;† and would undoubtedly have forbid the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary, had not interposed.‡ Having appointed a committee of divines to review king Edward's liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament.§

* Heylin, p. 124.

‡ Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 107, 108, 109.

† Id. *ibid.*

§ Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 138.

milder and more moderate puritans were much more equitable in their demands, and only desired liberty of conscience, with the privilege of celebrating divine worship in their own way. The queen did not judge it proper to grant to either the object of their requests, but rather intent upon the suppression of this troublesome sect, as she was used to call it, permitted its enemies to employ for that purpose all the resources of artifice, and all the severity of the laws. Thus was that form of religion established in Britain, which separated the English equally from the church of Rome on the one hand, and from the other churches which had renounced popery, on the other; but which, at the same time, laid a perpetual foundation for dissension and feuds in that otherwise happy and prosperous nation.^m

XVIII. The incident that gave rise to these unhappy divisions, which were productive of so many and such dreadful calamities, was a matter of very small moment, and which did not seem to affect, in any way, the interests of true religion and virtue. The chief leaders among the puritans entertained a strong aversion to the vestments worn by the English clergy in the celebration of divine worship. As these habits had been made use of in the times of popery, and seemed to renew the impressions that had been made upon the people by the Romish priests; they appeared to the puritans in no other light than as the *ensigns of antichrist*. The spirit of opposition being once set on foot, proceeded, in its remonstrances, to matters of superior moment. The form of ecclesiastical government established in England was one of the first and main grievances of which the puritans complained. They looked upon this form as quite different from that which had been instituted by Christ, the great Lawgiver of the church; and in conformity with the sentiments of Calvin, maintained, that by the divine law all

^m No writer has treated this part of the Ecclesiastical history of Britain in a more ample and elegant manner than Daniel Neal, in his *History of the Puritans or Protestant Nonconformists*, in four volumes 8vo. The first part of this laborious work was published at London, in the year 1732, and the latter part in 1738. The author, who was himself a nonconformist, has not indeed been able to impose silence so far on the warm and impetuous spirit of party, as not to discover a certain degree of partiality in favour of his brethren. For while he relates, in the most circumstantial manner, all the injuries the puritans received from the bishops, and those of the established religion, he in many places diminishes, excuses, or suppresses, the faults and failings of these separatists. See also for an account of the religious history of these times, *Strype's Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury under queen Elizabeth*, viz. Parker, Grindal, Whitgift.

the ministers of the gospel were absolutely equal in point of rank and authority. They did not indeed think it unlawful that a person distinguished by the title of a *bishop* or *superintendent* should preside in the assembly of the clergy, for the sake of maintaining order and decency in their method of proceeding; but they thought it incongruous and absurd, that the persons invested with this character should be ranked as the bishops had hitherto been, among the nobility of the kingdom, employed in civil and political affairs, and distinguished so eminently by their worldly opulence and power. This controversy was not carried on however with excessive animosity and zeal, as long as the English bishops pretended to derive their dignity and authority from no other source than the laws of their country, and pleaded a right purely human, to the rank they held in church and state. But the flame broke out with redoubled fury in the year 1588, when Bancroft, afterward archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to assert, that the order of bishops was superior to the body of presbyters, not in consequence of any human institution, but by the express appointment of God himself.* This doctrine was readily adopted by many, and the consequences that seemed naturally to flow from it in favour of episcopal ordination, happened in effect, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy. For they who embraced the sentiments of Bancroft, considered all ministers of the gospel, who had not received ordination from a bishop, as irregularly invested with the sacred character: and also maintained, that the clergy in those countries where there were no bishops, were destitute of the gifts and qualifications that were necessary to the exercise of the pastoral office, and were to be looked upon as inferior to the Roman catholic priests.

xix. All these things exasperated the puritans, whose complaints however were not confined to the objects already mentioned. There were many circumstances that entered into their plan of reformation. They had a singular antipathy against *cathedral* churches, and demanded the

* See Strype's Life and Acts of John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, p. 121.

☞ The first English reformers admitted but two orders of church officers to be of *divine appointment*, viz. bishops and deacons; a presbyter and a bishop, according to them, being but two names for the same office; but Dr. Bancroft, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, January 13, 1588, maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them *jure divino*.

abolition of the archdeacons, deans, canons, and other officials, that are supported by their lands and revenues. They disapproved of the pompous manner of worship that is generally observed in these churches, and looked, particularly, upon instrumental music, as improperly employed in the service of God. The severity of their zeal was also very great; for they were of opinion, that not only open profligates, but even persons whose piety was dubious, deserved to be excluded from the communion of the church; and they endeavoured to justify the rigour of this decision, by observing, that the church being the congregation of the faithful, nothing was more incumbent on its ministers and rulers, than to watch against its being defiled by the presence of persons destitute of true faith and piety. They found moreover much subject of affliction and complaint in the rites and ceremonies that were imposed by the order of the queen, and the authority of her council; among

¶ The puritans justified themselves in relation to this point, in a letter, addressed, from their prison, to queen Elizabeth, in the year 1592, by observing, that their sentiments concerning the persons subject to excommunication, and also concerning the effects and extent of that act of church discipline, were conformable to those of all the reformed churches, and to the doctrine and practice of the church of England in particular. They declared more especially, that according to their sense of things, the censure of excommunication deprived only of spiritual privileges and comforts, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government, private or public, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life; and thus they distinguished themselves from those furious and fanatical Anabaptists, who had committed such disorders in Germany, and some of whom were now making a noise in England.

¶ By this council our author means, the high commission court, of which it is proper to give here some account, as its proceedings essentially belong to the Ecclesiastical History of England. This court took its rise from a remarkable clause in the act of supremacy, by which the queen and her successors were empowered to choose persons "to exercise, under her, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities, whatsoever. Provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical Scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical Scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation." Upon the authority of this clause, the queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who, in many instances, abused their power. The court they composed, was called the court of high commission, because it claimed a more extensive jurisdiction, and higher powers, than the ordinary courts of the bishops. Its jurisdiction reached over the whole kingdom, and was much the same with that which had been lodged in the single person of lord Cromwell, vicar-general of Henry VIII. These commissioners were empowered to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise, that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They were vested with a right to examine such persons as they suspected, by administering to them an oath, not allowed of in their commission, and therefore called *ex officio*, by which they were obliged to answer all questions, and thereby might be obliged to accuse themselves, or their most intimate friends. The fines they imposed were merely discretionary; the imprisonment to which they condemned was

these were the festivals or holidays that were celebrated in honour of the saints, the use of the sign of the cross more especially in the sacrament of baptism, the nominating godfathers and godmothers as sureties for the education of children whose parents were still living,⁹ and the doctrine relating to the validity of lay baptism.^r They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books in the church; and with respect to set forms of prayer, although they did not go so far as to insist upon their being entirely abolished, yet they pleaded for a right to every minister, of modifying, correcting, and using them in such a manner, as might tend most to the advancement of true piety, and of addressing the Deity in such terms as were suggested by their inward feelings, instead of those that were dictated by others. In a word, they were of opinion, that the government and discipline of the church of England ought to have been modelled after the ecclesiastical laws and institutions of Geneva, and that no indulgence was to be shown to those ceremonies or practices, which bore the smallest resemblance of the discipline or worship of the church of Rome.

xx. These sentiments, considered in themselves, seemed neither susceptible of a satisfactory defence, nor of a complete refutation. Their solidity or falsehood depended upon the principles from whence they were derived; and no regular controversy could be carried on upon these matters, until the con-

The principles on which the puritans maintained their sentiments concerning ecclesiastical

limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed, when they thought proper, new articles of faith on the clergy, and practised all the iniquities and cruelties of a real inquisition. See Rapin's and Hume's Histories of England, under the reign of Elizabeth, and Neal's History of the Puritans, *passim*.

¶ q Other rites and customs, displeasing to the puritans, and omitted by our author, were kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, bowing at the name of Jesus, giving the ring in marriage, the prohibition of marriage during certain times of the year, and the licensing it for money, as also the confirmation of children by episcopal imposition of hands.

¶ r The words of the original are, "nec sacris Christianis pueros recens natos ab aliis, quam sacerdotibus, initiari patiebantur." The Roman catholics, who look upon the external rite of baptism as *absolutely necessary* to salvation, allow, consequently, of its being performed by a layman or a midwife, where a clergyman is not at hand, nay, if such a ridiculous thing may be mentioned, by a surgeon, where a still-birth is apprehended. The church of England, though it teacheth in general, that none ought to baptize but men dedicated to the service of God, yet doth not esteem null baptism performed by laics or women, because it makes a difference between what is *essential* to a sacrament, and what is requisite to the *regular* way of using it. The puritans, that they might neither prescribe, nor even connive at a practice that seemed to be founded on the absolute necessity of infant baptism, would allow that sacred rite to be performed by the clergy alone.

government
and divine
worship.

tending parties adopted some common and evident principles, by which they might corroborate their respective systems. It is only by an examination of these, that it can be known on what side truth lies, and what degree of utility or importance can be attributed to a contest of this nature. The principles laid down by the queen's commissioners on the one hand, and the puritans on the other, were indeed very different.

For, in the first place, The former maintained, that the right of reformation, that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions, and of correcting the errors that may have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church, is lodged in the sovereign, or civil magistrate alone; while the latter denied, that the power of the magistrate extended so far, and maintained, that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of Calvin, as has been already observed.

Secondly, The queen's commissioners maintained, that the rule of proceeding in reforming the doctrine or discipline of the church was not to be derived from the sacred writings *alone*, but also from the writings and decisions of the fathers in the primitive ages. The puritans, on the contrary, affirmed, that the inspired word of God being the pure and *only* fountain of wisdom and truth, it was from thence *alone* that the rules and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship of the church; and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of all sort of authority.

Thirdly, The queen's commissioners ventured to assert, that the church of Rome was *a true church*, though corrupt and erroneous in many points of doctrine and government; that the Roman pontiff, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole church, was nevertheless to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and consequently, that the ministers ordained by him were qualified for performing the pastoral duties. This was a point which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain since they could not otherwise claim the honour of

deriving their dignities, in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the apostles. But the puritans entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny, that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontiff as antichrist, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the gospel; and in consequence of this they renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion.

Fourthly, The court commissioners considered as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that which had been instituted by the apostles, because, as they alleged, our Saviour and his apostles had accommodated the form, mentioned in Scripture, to the feeble and infant state of the church, and left it to the wisdom and discretion of future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and also to the ends of civil policy. The puritans asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of church government were clearly laid down in the holy Scriptures, the only standard of spiritual discipline; and that the apostles, in establishing the first Christian church on the aristocratical plan that was then observed in the Jewish sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model, to be followed in all times, and in all places.

Lastly, The court reformers were of opinion, that things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of Scripture, such as the external rites of public worship, the kind of vestments that are to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like, might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that, in such a case, the violation of his commands would be no less criminal than an act of rebellion against the laws of the state.

Ps By this they meant at least, that nothing should be imposed as necessary, but what was expressly contained in the Holy Scriptures, or deduced from them by necessary consequence. They maintained still farther, that supposing it proved, that all things necessary to the good government of the church could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, yet that the discretionary power of supplying this defect was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the church.

The puritans alleged, in answer to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power to impose, as necessary and indispensable, those things which Christ had left in the class of matters indifferent; since this was a manifest encroachment upon that liberty, with which the divine Saviour had made us free. To this they added, that such rites and ceremonies as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impression of superstition and popery in the minds of men, could by no means be considered as indifferent, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation, as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, whose abrogation was refused by the queen and her council.'

XXI. This contest between the commissioners of the court, and their opponents, who desired a more complete reformation than had yet taken place, would have been much more dangerous in its consequences, had that party, that was distinguished by the general denomination of puritans, been united in their sentiments, views, and measures. But the case was quite otherwise. For this large body, composed of persons of different ranks, characters, opinions, and intentions, and unanimous in nothing but their antipathy against the forms of doctrine and discipline that were established by law, was, all of a sudden, divided into a variety of sects; of which some spread abroad the delusions of enthusiasm, which had turned their own brains; while others displayed their folly in inventing new and whimsical plans of church government. The most famous of all these sects was that which was formed, about the year 1581, by Robert Brown, an insinuating man, but very unsettled and inconsistent in his views and notions of things. This innovator did not differ in point of doctrine, either from the

The Browns,
a sect of
the Puritans.

It is Dr. Mosheim, in these five articles, has followed the account of this controversy given by Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans. This latter adds a sixth article, not of debate but of union; "Both parties," says he, "agreed too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their several principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy and the laws of the land; according to the puritans the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate; but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he lives."

church of England, or from the rest of the Puritans ; but he had formed new and singular notions concerning the nature of the church, and the rules of ecclesiastical government. He was for dividing the whole body of the faithful into separate societies or congregations, not larger than those which were formed by the apostles in the infancy of Christianity ; and maintained, that such a number of persons, as could be contained in an ordinary place of worship, ought to be considered as a *church*, and enjoy all the rights and privileges that are competent to an ecclesiastical community. These small societies he pronounced *independent, jure divino*, and entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops, in whose hands the court placed the reins of spiritual government ; and also from that of Synods, which the Puritans regarded as the supreme visible sources of ecclesiastical authority. He also maintained, that the power of governing each congregation, and providing for its welfare, resided in the people ; and that each member had an equal share in this direction, and an equal right to order matters for the good of the whole society." Hence all points both of doctrine and discipline were submitted to the discussion of the whole congregation, and whatever was supported by a majority of votes passed into a law. It was the congregation also that elected certain of the brethren to the office of pastors, to perform the duty of public instruction, and the several branches of divine worship, reserving however to themselves the power of dismissing these ministers, and reducing them to the condition of private members, whenever they should think such a change conducive to the spiritual advantage of the community. For these pastors were not esteemed superior, either in sanctity or rank, to the rest of their brethren, nor distinguished from them by any other circumstance than the liberty of preaching and praying, which they derived from the free will and consent of the congregation. It is beside to be observed, that their right of preaching was by no means of an exclusive nature, or peculiar to them alone ; since any member, that

It is farther to be observed, that according to this system, one church was not entitled to exercise jurisdiction over another ; but each might give the other counsel or admonition, if they walked in a disorderly manner, or abandoned the capital truths of religion ; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a church of Christ. On the other hand, the powers of their church officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society. The pastor of a church might not administer the sacrament of baptism, or the Lord's supper, to any but those of his own communion.

thought proper to exhort or instruct the brethren, was abundantly indulged in the liberty of *prophesying* to the whole assembly. Accordingly, when the ordinary teacher or pastor had finished his discourse, all the other brethren were permitted to communicate in public their sentiments and illustrations upon any useful or edifying subject, on which they supposed they could throw new light. In a word, Brown aimed at nothing less than modelling the form of the church after that infant community that was founded by the apostles, without once considering the important changes both in the religious and civil state of the world since that time, the influence that these changes must necessarily have upon all ecclesiastical establishments, and the particular circumstances of the Christian church, in consequence of its former corruptions and its late reformation. And, if his notions were crude and chimerical, the zeal with which he and his associates maintained and propagated them was intemperate and extravagant in the highest degree. For he affirmed, that all communion was to be broken off with those religious societies that were founded upon a different plan from his, and treated, more especially the church of England, as a spurious church, whose ministers were unlawfully ordained, whose discipline was popish and antichristian, and whose sacraments and institutions were destitute of all efficacy and virtue. The sect of this hot-headed innovator, not being able to endure the severe treatment which their opposition to the established forms of religious government and worship had drawn upon them, from an administration that was not distinguished by its mildness and indulgence, retired into the Netherlands, and founded churches at Middleburg in Zealand, and at Amsterdam and Leyden in the province of Holland; but their establishments were neither solid nor durable.* Their founder returned into England, and, having renounced his principles of separation, took orders in the established church, and obtained a benefice.† The puritan exiles,

✠ x The British churches at Amsterdam and Middleburg are incorporated into the national Dutch church, and their pastors are members of the Dutch synod, which is sufficient to show that there are at this time no traces of Brownism or independency in these churches. The church at Leyden, where Robinson had fixed the standard of independency about the year 1595, was dispersed; and it is very remarkable, that a part of this church, transplanting themselves into America, laid the foundation of the colony of New England.

✠ y Brown, in his new preferment, forgot not only the rigour of his principles, but

whom he thus abandoned, disagreed among themselves, split into parties, and their affairs declined from day to day.^a This engaged the wiser part of them to mitigate the severity of their founder's plan, and to soften the rigour of his uncharitable decisions; and hence arose the community of the independents, or congregational brethren, which still subsists, and of which an account shall be given in the history of the following century.

XXII. In the Belgic provinces, the friends of the reformation seemed for a long time uncertain, whether they should embrace the communion of the Swiss, or of the Lutheran church. Each of these had zealous friends and powerful patrons.^b The matter was nevertheless decided in the year 1571, and the religious system of Calvin was publicly adopted. For the Belgic confession of faith, which then appeared,^c was drawn up in the spirit, and almost in the terms, of that which was received in the reformed churches in France, and differed considerably in several respects, from the confession of Augsburg, but more especially in the article relating to Christ's presence in the eucharist.^d This will not appear surprising to those who consider the vicinity of the French to the Low Countries; the number of French protestants that were constantly passing or sojourning there; the extraordinary reputation of Calvin, and of the academy of Geneva; as also the indefatigable zeal of his disciples in extending the limits of their church, and propagating, throughout all Europe, their system of doctrine, discipline, and government. Be that as it may, from this period, the Dutch, who had before been denominated Lutherans, assumed universally the title of reformed, in which also they imitated the French, by whom this title had been first invented and adopted. It is true indeed, that as long as they were subject to the Spanish yoke, the fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure of that sovereign induced them to avoid the title of reformed, and to call themselves associates of the brethren of the confession of Augsburg.

The state of the reformed church in the Netherlands,

also the gravity of his former morals; for he led a very idle and dissolute life. See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 376.

^a Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. ch. vi. Hoorabeckii *Summa Controvers.* lib. x. p. 738. Fuller's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, book x. p. 168.

^b Loscheri *Histor. Motuum*, part iii. lib. v. cap. iv. p. 74.

^c Koeheri *Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolicæ*, p. 216.

^d See Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Netherlands, written in Dutch, vol. i. book v. p. 253.

For the Lutherans were esteemed by the Spanish court, much better subjects than the disciples of Calvin, who, on account of the tumults that had lately prevailed in France, were supposed to have a greater propensity to mutiny and sedition.^d

XXIII. The light of the reformation was first brought from Saxony into Poland by the disciples of Luther. Some time after this happy period, the Bohemian Brethren, whom the Romish clergy had expelled from their country, as also several Helvetic doctors, propagated their sentiments among the Poles. Some congregations were also founded in that republic by the anabaptists, antitrinitarians, and other sectaries.^e Hence it was that three distinct communities, each of which adopted the main principles of the reformation, were to be found in Poland, viz. the Bohemian brethren, the Lutherans, and Swiss. These communities, in order to defend themselves with the greater vigour against their common enemies, formed among themselves a kind of confederacy, in a synod held at Sendomir in the year 1570, upon certain conditions, which were comprehended in the Confession of Faith, that derives its title from the city now mentioned.^f But as this association seemed rather adapted to accelerate the conclusion of a peace, than to promote the cause of truth, the points in debate between the Lutherans and the reformed being expressed in this reconciling confession in vague and ambiguous terms, it was soon after this warmly opposed by many of the former, and was entirely annulled in the following century. Many attempts have indeed been made to revive it; but they have not answered the expectations of those who have employed their dexterity and zeal in this matter. In Prussia the Reformed gained ground after the death of Luther and Melancthon, and founded the flourishing churches that still subsist in that country.^g

^d Dr. Mosheim advances this on the authority of a passage in Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, p. 254, 255, which is written in Dutch, and is, indeed a most curious and valuable work, notwithstanding the author's partiality toward the cause of Arminianism, of which he was one of the most respectable patrons.

^e Loscheri *Hist. Motuum*, part iii. lib. v. cap. iii. p. 36. Saig, *Hist. Aug. Confession*. tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. iv. v. p. 516. Regenvolscii *Hist. Eccles. Slavonicar.* lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 71. Salignac, *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. v. p. 40. Kautz, *Præcipua Relig. Evangel. in Polonia Fata*, published in 4to. at Hamburg, in the year 1738.

^f See Dan. Ernest. Jablonsky, *Historia Consensus Sendomirensis*, published at Berlin in 4to. in the year 1731; as also the *Epistola Apologetica* of the same author, in defence of the work now mentioned, against the objections of an anonymous author.

^g Loscheri *Historia Motuum*, part iii. lib. vi. cap. j. p. 216.

XXIV. The Bohemian, or, as they are otherwise called, the Moravian brethren, who descended from the better sort of Hussites, and were distinguished by ^{The Bohemian brethren.} several religious institutions of a singular nature, and well adapted to guard their community against the reigning vices and corruptions of the times, had no sooner heard of Luther's design of reforming the church, than they sent deputies, in the year 1522, to recommend themselves to his friendship and good offices. In succeeding times they continued to discover the same zealous attachment to the Lutheran churches in Saxony, and also to those that were founded in other countries. These offers could not be well accepted without a previous examination of their religious sentiments and principles. And indeed this examination turned to their advantage; for neither Luther nor his disciples found any thing, either in their doctrine or discipline, that was, in any great measure, liable to censure; and though he could not approve, in every particular, of their Confession of Faith, which they submitted to his judgment, yet he looked upon it as an object of toleration and indulgence.^b Nevertheless, the death of Luther, and the expulsion of these brethren from their country in the year 1547, gave a new turn to their religious connexions; and great numbers of them, more especially of those who retired into Poland, embraced the religious sentiments and discipline of the reformed. The attachment of the Bohemians to the Lutherans seemed indeed to be revived by the Convention of Sendomir, already mentioned; but as the articles of union, that were drawn up in that assembly, lost all their force and authority in a little time, the Bohemians, by degrees, entered one and all into communion of the Swiss church.^c This union was at first formed on the express condition, that the two churches should continue to be governed by their respective laws and institutions, and should have separate places of public worship; but in the following century, all remains of dissension were removed in the synods held at Astrog in the years 1620 and 1627, and the two congregations were

^b See a German work of Carpzovius, entitled *Nachricht von den Bohmischen Brudern*, p. 46, as also Jo. Chr. Kocher's *Bibliotheca Theologica Symbolica*, p. 76.

^c Beside Comenius, Camerarius, and Lasitius, who have written professedly the history of the Bohemian brethren, see Loscher's *Historia Motuum*, part iii. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 99. Salig, *Hist. Confession. Aug.* tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 520. Ad. Regenvolschii *Hist. Eccles. Slavonica*, lib. i. cap. xiii. xiv. xv.

formed into one, under the title of the Church of the United Brethren. In this coalition the reconciled parties showed to each other reciprocal marks of toleration and indulgence; for the external form of the church was modelled after the discipline of the Bohemian brethren, and the articles of faith were taken from the creed of the Calvinists.^b

xv. The descendants of the Waldenses, who lived shut up in the valleys of Piedmont, were naturally led, by their situation in the neighbourhood of the French, and of the republic of Geneva, to embrace the doctrines and rites of the reformed church. So far down however as the year 1630, they retained a considerable part of their ancient discipline and tenets; but the plague, that broke out that year, having destroyed the greatest part of this unhappy people, and among the rest a considerable number of their pastors and clergy, they addressed themselves to the French churches for spiritual succour; and the new doctors sent from thence made several changes in the discipline and doctrine of the Waldenses, and rendered them conformable, in every respect, with those of the protestant churches in France.^c

The Hungarians and Transylvanians were engaged to renounce the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome by the writings of Luther, and the ministry of his disciples. But some time after Matthias Devay, and other doctors, began to introduce, in a secret manner, among these nations, the doctrines of the Swiss churches in relation to the eucharist, as also their principles of ecclesiastical government. This doctrine, and these principles, were propagated in a more open and public manner toward the year 1650, by Szegedin and other Calvinist teachers, whose ministry was attended with remarkable success. This change was followed by the same dissensions that had broke out in other countries on like occasions; and these dissensions grew into an open schism among the friends of the reformation in these provinces, which the lapse of time has rather confirmed than diminished.^d

^b Regenvolscius, *loc. cit.* lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 120.

^c Leger, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. chap. xxxiii. p. 205, 206. Abr. Sculetii *Annales Renovati Evangelii*, p. 294. Dan. Gerdes, *Hist. Renovati Evangelii*, tom. ii. p. 401.

^d Pauli Debrenzi *Historia Eccles. Reform. in Hungar. et Transylvan.* lib. ii. p. 64, 72, 88. *Unschuld. Nachricht.* A. 1738, p. 1076, Georg. Haneri *Historia Eccles. Transylv.* published at Francfort in 12mo. in the year 1694.

XXVI. After the solemn publication of the famous Form of Concord, of which an account has been already given, many German churches, of the Lutheran communion, dissolved their original bonds, and embraced the doctrine and discipline of Calvin.

Of the Lutheran churches that embraced Calvinism.

Among these we may place the churches of Nassau, Hanau, and Isenburg, with several others of less note. In the year 1595 the princes of Anhalt, influenced by the counsels of Wolfgang Amlingius, renounced also the profession of Lutheranism, and introduced into their dominions the religious tenets and rites of Geneva; this revolution however produced a long and warm controversy between the Lutherans and the inhabitants of the principality.^a The doctrines of the Calvinist or reformed church, more especially those that relate to the eucharist, were also introduced into Denmark, toward the conclusion of this century; for, in this kingdom, the disciples and votaries of Melancthon; who had always discovered a strong propensity to a union between the protestant churches, were extremely numerous, and they had at their head Nicholas Hemmingius, a man eminent for his piety and learning. But the views of this divine, and the schemes of his party being discovered much sooner than they expected, by the vigilant defenders of the Lutheran cause, their plans were disconcerted,^b and the progress of Calvinism was successfully opposed by the Lutheran ministers, seconded by the countenance and authority of the sovereign.^c

XXVII. It must not however be imagined, that the different nations that embraced the communion of the Calvinist church adopted, at the same time, without exception, all its tenets, rites, and institutions. This universal conformity was indeed ardently

The diversity that reigned among the various branches of the reformed church.

^a See for an account of this matter the German work of Bechman, which is thus entitled, *Histoire des Huses Anhalt*, vol. ii. p. 133, and that of Kraft, which bears the title of *Ausfertliche Historie von dem Exorcismo*, p. 498, 497. ¶ Though the princes professed Calvinism, and introduced Calvinist ministers in all the churches, where they had the right of patronage, yet the people were left free in their choice; and the noblemen and their vassals, that were attached to Lutheranism, had secured to them the unrestrained exercise of their religion. By virtue of a convention made in 1679, the Lutherans were permitted to erect new churches. The Zerbst line, with the greatest part of its subjects, professed Lutheranism; but the three other lines, with their respective territories, are Calvinists.

^b Erici Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesie Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. iii. p. 57.

^c ¶ That is, for our author consistently with truth can mean no more, the designs that were formed to render Calvinism the national and established religion, proved abortive. It is certain, however, that Calvinism made a very considerable progress in Denmark, and has still a great number of votaries in that kingdom.

desired by the Helvetic doctors; but their desires, in this respect, were far from being accomplished. The English, as is sufficiently known, rejected the forms of ecclesiastical government and religious worship that were adopted by the other reformed churches, and could not be persuaded to receive, as public and national articles of faith, the doctrines that were propagated in Switzerland in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's supper and the divine decrees.^q The protestants in Holland, Bremen, Poland, Hungary, and the palatinate, followed indeed the French and Helvetic churches in their sentiments concerning the eucharist, in the simplicity of their worship, and in their principles of ecclesiastical polity; but not in their notions of predestination, which intricate doctrine they left undefined, and submitted to the free examination and private judgment of every individual.^r It may farther be affirmed, that before the synod of Dort,^s no reformed church had obliged its members, by any special law, or article of faith, to adhere to the doctrine of the church of Geneva relating to the primary causes of the salvation of the elect, or the ruin of the reprobate. It is true indeed that in the places now mentioned, the greatest part of the reformed doctors fell by degrees, of their own accord, into the Calvinistical opinion

^q It is true indeed that the doctrine of Zuingle, who represented the bread and wine as nothing more than the external signs of the death of Christ, was not adopted by the church of England; but the doctrine of Calvin was embraced by that church, and is plainly taught in the twenty-eighth article of its faith. As to what relates to the doctrine of the divine decrees, Dr. Mosheim is equally mistaken. The seventeenth article of the church of England is, as bishop Burnet candidly acknowledges, framed according to St. Augustine's doctrine, which scarcely differs at all from that of Calvin, and, though it be expressed with a certain latitude that renders it susceptible of a mitigated interpretation, yet it is very probable, that those who penned it were patrons of the doctrine of absolute decrees. The very cautions, that are subjoined to this article, intimate that Calvinism was what it was meant to establish. It is certain, that the Calvinistical doctrine of predestination prevailed among the first English reformers, the greatest part of whom were, at least, *sablapsarians*; in the reign of queen Elizabeth, this doctrine was predominant, but after that period it lost ground imperceptibly, and was renounced by the church of England in the reign of king Charles I. Some members of that church still adhered, nevertheless, to the tenets of Calvin, and maintained, not only that the thirty-nine articles were Calvinistical, but also affirmed, that they were not susceptible of being interpreted in that latitude for which the Arminians contended. These episcopal votaries of Calvinism were called doctrinal puritans. See Burnet's Exposition of the Seventeenth Article, &c. and Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 579.

^r See Grotii *Apolog. eorum, qui Hollandia ante mutationem, A. 1618, præfuerunt*, cap. ii. p. 54, ed. Paris, 1640, in 12mo.

^s It was in this famous synod, that was assembled in the year 1618, and of which we shall have occasion to give a more ample account in the history of the following century, that the doctrine of Calvin was fixed as the national and established religion of the Seven United Provinces.

concerning these intricate points ; and this was principally owing, no doubt, to the great reputation of the academy of Geneva, which was generally frequented, in this century, by those among the reformed who were candidates for the ministry.

XXVIII. The books of the Old and New Testament are regarded by the reformed churches as the only sources of divine truth ; it must however be observed, that to their authority, the church of England adds that of the writings of the fathers during the first five centuries.' The reformed and the Lutherans agree in maintaining that the holy Scriptures are infallible in all things ; that in matters of which the knowledge is necessary to salvation, they are clear, full, and complete ; and also that they are to be explained by themselves, and not either by the dictates of human reason, or the decisions of the ancient fathers. Several of the doctors among the former have indeed employed too freely the sagacity of their natural understanding, in explaining those divine mysteries that are contained in the gospel ; and this circumstance has induced many to imagine, that the reformed adopted two sources of religion, two criterions of divine truth, viz. the *holy Scriptures*, and *human reason*. But perhaps it will be found, that in this respect, doctors of *both* communions have sometimes gone too far, being led on by the spirit of controversy, and animated with the desire of victory. For, if we except the singular tenets of some individuals, it may be affirmed with truth, that the Lutherans and the reformed are unanimous in the matter now under consideration. They both maintain, that *contradictory propositions cannot be the objects of faith* ; and consequently that all doctrines that contain ideas and notions that are repugnant to, and mutually destroy each other, must be false and incredible. It is true indeed, that the reformed sometimes use this principle in a contentious manner, to

The doctrine
adopted by the
reformed
churches.

☞ There is nothing in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which implies its considering the writings of the fathers of the first five centuries, as an authoritative criterion of religious truth. There is indeed a clause in the Act of Uniformity, passed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, declaring that her delegates, in ecclesiastical matters, should not determine any thing to be heresy, but what was adjudged so by the authority of Scripture, or by the first four general councils ; and this has perhaps misled Dr. Mosheim in the passage to which this note refers. Much respect indeed, and perhaps too much, has been paid to the fathers ; but that has been always a matter of choice and not of obligation.

overturn certain points of the Lutheran system, which they have thought proper to reject.*

XXIX. The reformed, if by this denomination we understand those who embrace the sentiments of Calvin, differ entirely from the Lutherans in the following points;

The points in which the reformed and Lutherans disagree.

1. In their notions of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The Lutherans affirm that the body and blood of Christ are *materially present* in this sacrament, though in an incomprehensible manner; and that they are *really exhibited* both to the righteous and the wicked, to the worthy and to the unworthy receiver. The reformed hold, on the contrary, that the man Christ is only present in this ordinance by the external signs of bread and wine; though it must, at the same time, be observed, that this matter is differently explained and represented in the writings of their doctors.

2. In their doctrine of the eternal decrees of God, respecting man's salvation. The Lutherans maintain, that the *divine decrees* respecting the salvation or misery of men are founded upon a *previous knowledge* of their sentiments and characters; or in other words, that God, foreseeing from all eternity the faith or incredulity of different persons, had reserved eternal happiness for the faithful, and eternal misery for the unbelieving and disobedient. The reformed entertain different sentiments concerning this intricate point. They consider the divine decrees as *free and unconditional*, and as founded on the will of God, which is limited by no superior order, and which is above all laws.

3. Concerning some religious rites and institutions, which the reformed consider as bordering upon superstition, or tending at least to promote it; while the Lutherans view them in another light, and represent all of them as *tolerable* and some of them as useful. Such are the use of images in the churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of wafers in the administration of the Lord's supper, the form of exorcism in the celebration of baptism, and other ceremonies of like moment. The reformed doctors insist on the abolition of

* Our author has here undoubtedly in view the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, which supposes the same *extended body* to be *totally presented* in different places at one and the same time. To call this a gross and glaring contradiction, seems rather the dictate of common sense, than the suggestion of a contentious spirit.

all these rites and institutions ; and that upon this general principle, that the discipline and worship of the Christian church ought to be restored to their primitive simplicity, and freed from the human inventions and additions that were employed by superstition, in the times of ignorance, to render them more striking to the deluded multitude.

xxx. The few heads of difference, between the two communions, which have been now briefly pointed out, have furnished an inexhaustible fund of controversy to the contending parties, and been drawn out into a multitude of intricate questions, and subjects of debate, that by consequences fairly or injudiciously deduced, have widened the scene of contention, and extended to almost all the important truths of religion. Thus the debate concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist, opened to the disputants a large field of inquiry, in which the nature and fruits of the institutions called sacraments, the majesty and glory of Christ's humanity, together with the communication of the divine perfections to it, and that inward frame of spirit that is required in the worship that is addressed to the divine Saviour, were carefully examined. In like manner, the controversy, which had for its object the divine decrees, led the doctors, by whom it was carried on, into the most subtle and profound researches concerning the nature of the divine attributes, particularly those of *justice* and *goodness* ; the doctrine of *fate* or *necessity* ; the connexion between *human liberty* and *divine prescience* ; the extent of God's love to mankind, and of the benefits that arise from the merits of Christ as mediator ; the operations of that divine spirit or power that rectifies the wills and sanctifies the affections of men ; the perseverance of the *elect* in their covenant with God, and in a state of salvation, and other points of great moment and importance. The subject of debate, that was drawn from the use of certain external rites and ceremonies in religious worship, was also productive of several questions and inquiries. For beside the researches into the origin and antiquity of certain institutions, to which it gave occasion, it naturally led to a discussion of the following important questions ; viz. "What are the special marks that characterize things indifferent ? How far is it lawful to comply with the demands of an adversary, whose opposition is only directed against things

The moment and importance of these differences.

esteemed indifferent in their own nature? What is the extent of Christian liberty? Whether or no it be lawful to retain, in condescension to the prejudices of the people, or with a view to their benefit, certain ancient rites and institutions, which, although they carry a superstitious aspect, may nevertheless be susceptible of a favourable and rational interpretation?"

XXXI. It has always been a question, much debated among protestants, and more especially in England and Holland, where it has excited great commotions and tumults, "to whom the right of governing the church, and the power of deciding in religious matters, properly belong?" This controversy has been determined in favour of those who maintain, that the power of deciding, in matters of religious doctrine, discipline, and government, is, by the appointment of Christ himself, vested in the church, and therefore ought by no means to be intrusted with, or exercised by the civil magistrate; while, at the same time, they grant that it is the business of the latter to assist the church with his protection and advice, to convoke and preside in its synods and councils, to take care that the clergy do not attempt to carry on any thing that may be prejudicial to the interests of the state, and by his authority to confirm the validity, and secure the execution of the ecclesiastical laws enacted by the church under his inspection. It is true, that from the time of Henry VIII. the kings of England consider themselves as supreme heads of the church, and that in relation to its spiritual as well as its temporal concerns; and it is plain enough, that on the strength of this important title, both Henry VIII. and his son Edward assumed an extensive authority and jurisdiction in the church, and looked upon their spiritual power as equal to that which had been unworthily enjoyed by the Roman pontiff." But queen Elizabeth receded considerably from these high pretensions, and diminished the spiritual power of her successors, by declaring that the jurisdiction of the kings of England extended only to the ministers of religion, and not to religion itself; to the rulers of the church, and not to the church itself; or, in other words, that the persons of the clergy were alone subject to their civil authority.* Accordingly,

To whom the right of governing the church belongs.

History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 11.

Élément aux deux Ouvrages pour la Defense de la validité des Ordres.
iv. p. 426.

we see that the constitution of the church of England resembles perfectly that of the state, and that there is a striking analogy between the civil and ecclesiastical government established in that country. The clergy consisting of the upper and lower houses of convocation, are immediately assembled by the archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of an order from the sovereign, and propose in these meetings, by common consent, such measures as seem necessary to the well being of the church; these measures are laid before the king and parliament, and derive from their approbation and authority the force of laws.⁷ But it must be acknowledged, that this matter has given occasion to much altercation and debate; nor has it been found easy to fix the extent of the jurisdiction and prerogatives of these great bodies in a manner conformable to their respective pretensions, since the king and his council explain them in one way, and the clergy, more especially those who are zealous for the spiritual supremacy and independency of the church, understand them in another. The truth of the matter is plainly this, that the ecclesiastical polity in England has never acquired a stable and consistent form, nor been reduced to clear and certain principles. It has rather been carried on and administered by ancient customs and precedent, than defined and fixed by any regular system of laws and institutions.

xxxii. If it was not an easy matter to determine in what hands the power of deciding affairs of a religious nature was to be lodged, it was no less difficult to fix the form of ecclesiastical government in which this power was to be administered. Many vehement disputes were kindled on this subject, which neither the lapse of time, nor the efforts of human wisdom, have been able to bring to an amicable issue. The republic of Geneva, in consequence of the counsels of Calvin, judged it proper that the particular affairs of each church should be directed by a body of elders, or presbyters, all invested

The form of ecclesiastical government among the reformed.

☞ This must be understood with many restrictions, if it can be at all admitted. The whole tenor of queen Elizabeth's reign showed plainly that she did not pretend to less power in religious matters than any of her predecessors.

☞ y Jo. Cosinus, *De Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religione et Disciplina*, in the learned Thomas Smith's *Vitæ Eruditiss. Vtorum*, published at London in 4to. in the year 1707. See also Dav. Wilkins, *De Veteri et Moderna Synodi Anglic. Constitutione*, tom. i. *Concil. Magn. Britan.* p. 7. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 2, 3, 15, 132.

with an equal degree of power and authority; that matters of a more public and important nature were to be submitted to the judgment of an assembly, or synod composed of elders chosen as deputies by the churches of a whole province or district; and that all affairs of such extensive influence and high moment, as concerned the welfare of the sacred community in general, should be examined and decided, as in times of old, by a general assembly of the whole church. This form of ecclesiastical government, the church of Geneva adopted for itself,* and left no entreaties or methods of persuasion unemploy'd that might recommend it to the other reformed churches with which they lived in fraternal communion. But it was obstinately rejected by the English clergy, who regarded as sacred and immutable that ancient form of spiritual government, according to which a certain district or diocess is committed to the care and inspection of one ruler or bishop, to whom the presbyters of each church are subject, as also the deacons are to the presbyters; while those affairs that concern the general interests of the church are treated in an assembly of bishops, and of such ecclesiastics as are next to them in rank and dignity. This form of episcopal polity was, with some small exceptions, adopted by the Bohemian and Moravian brethren,† who were become one of the reformed churches; but it was highly displeasing to those among the protestants, who had embraced the sentiments and disci-

□ z The account Dr. Mosheim gives here and above, § xii. of this chapter, of the form of ecclesiastical government established by Calvin at Geneva, is far from being accurate. There are but two ecclesiastical bodies in that republic, viz. the venerable company of the pastors and professors, and the consistory; for a just description of which, see the judicious Mr. Keate's Short Account of the Ancient History, present Government, and Laws of the Republic of Geneva, printed for Doddsley in the year 1761, p. 110, 112, 121, 124. I would only remark, that what this sensible author observes, with respect to the consistory, p. 124, of his interesting performance, belongs principally, if not wholly, to the venerable company. Dr. Mosheim seems to have been led into this mistake, by imagining that the ecclesiastical form of government established in Scotland, where indeed all church affairs are managed by consistorial, provincial, and national assemblies, or, in other words, by presbyteries, synods, and general synods, was a direct transcript of the hierarchy of Geneva. It is also probable, that he may have been deceived by reading in Neal's History of the Puritans, that the Scottish reformers approved of the discipline of the reformed churches of Geneva and Switzerland, and followed their plan of ecclesiastical government. But he ought to have observed, that this approbation and imitation related only to the democratical form of the church of Geneva, and the parity of its ministers. Be that as it may, the plan of government, which our historian here supposes to have place at Geneva, is in reality that which is observed in Scotland, and of which no more than the first and fundamental principles were taken from the discipline of Calvin. The small territory of Geneva would not admit of such a form of ecclesiastical parity as Dr. Mosheim here describes.

* See *Epist. de Ordin. et Successione Episcop. in urbate Fratrum Bohem. conservata.* in Christ. Matth. Pfaffii *Institution, Juris Eccles.* p. 410.

pline of Calvin. The dissensions, occasioned by these different schemes of ecclesiastical polity, were every way adapted to produce a violent schism in the church; and that so much the more, as each of the contending parties pretended to derive their respective plan from the injunctions of Christ and the practice of his disciples. And, in effect it divided the English nation into two parties, who, during a long time, treated each other with great animosity and bitterness, and whose feuds, on many occasions, proved detrimental to the civil interests and prosperity of the nation. This schism however which did such mischief in England, was, by the prudence and piety of a few great and excellent divines, confined to that country, and prevented from either becoming universal, or interrupting the fraternal union that prevailed between the church of England and the reformed churches abroad. The worthy men that thus set bounds to the influence of these unhappy divisions, found great opposition made, by the suggestions of bigotry, to their charitable purpose. To maintain however the bonds of union between the episcopal church of England, and the presbyterian churches in foreign countries, they laid down the following maxim, which, though it be not universally adopted, tends nevertheless to the preservation of external concord among the reformed, viz. "that Jesus Christ has left upon record no express injunctions with respect to the external form of government, that is to be observed in his church; and consequently that every nation hath a right to establish such a form as seemeth conducive to the interests, and suitable to the peculiar state, circumstances, and exigencies of the community, provided that such an establishment be in no respect prejudicial to truth, or favourable to the revival of superstition."^b

xxxiii. It was the opinion of Calvin, not only that flagitious and profligate members were to be cut off from the sacred society, and excluded from the communion of the church, but also that men of dissolute and licentious lives were punishable by the laws of the state, and the arm of the civil magistrate. In this he differed entirely from Zuingle, who, supposing that all authority, of every kind, was lodged in the hands of the

The state of church discipline.

^b See Spanhemii Opera, tom. ii. lib. viii. ix. p. 1055. This was the general opinion of the British divines that lived in the earliest period of the reformation, and was first abandoned to archbishop Whitgift. See Neal's History of the Puritans, tom. iii. p. 140.

magistrate alone, would not allow to the ministers of the church the power of excluding flagitious offenders from its communion, or withholding from them the participation of its sacraments.^c But the credit and influence of Calvin were so great at Geneva, that he accomplished his purpose, even in the face of a formidable opposition from various quarters. He established the severest rules of discipline to correct the licentious manners of the times, by which he exposed himself to innumerable perils from the malignity and resentment of the dissolute, and to perpetual contests with the patrons of voluptuousness and immorality. He executed moreover these rules of discipline with the utmost rigour, had them strengthened and supported by the authority of the state, excluded obstinate offenders from the communion of the church, by the judicial sentence of the *consistory*, and even went so far as to procure their banishment from the city; not to mention other kinds of punishment, of no mild nature, which at his desire were inflicted upon men of loose principles and irregular lives.^d The clergy in Switzerland were highly pleased with the form of church government that had been established at Geneva, and ardently desirous of a greater degree of power to restrain the insolence of obstinate sinners, and a larger share of authority in the church, than they were intrusted with by the ecclesiastical constitution of Zuingle. They devoutly wished that the discipline of Calvin might be followed in their cantons, and even made some attempts for that purpose. But their desires and their endeavours were equally

c See a remarkable letter of Rud. Gualtieri, in Fueslin's *Centuria I. Epistolarum s. Reformatoibus Helveticis scriptarum*, p. 478, where he expresses himself thus; "Excommunicationem neque Zuinglius...neque Bullingerus unquam probarunt, et...obstituerunt iis qui eam aliquando voluerunt introducere...Basileam quidem Oecolampadius, multum dissuadente Zuinglio, instituerat...sed adeo non durabilis fuit illa constitutio, ut Oecolampadius illam abrogavit," &c. See also p. 90.

d Of all the undertakings of Calvin, there was none that involved him in so much trouble, or exposed him to such imminent danger, as the plan he had formed, with such resolution and fortitude, of purging the church, by the exclusion of obstinate and scandalous offenders, and inflicting severe punishments on all such as violated the laws, enacted by the church, or by the consistory, which was its representative. See *The Life of Calvin*, composed by Beza, and prefixed to his letters. Spon's *Histoire de Geneve*, and particularly the notes, tom. ii. p. 45, 65. Calvin's Letters, and more especially those addressed to *Jaques de Bourgogne*, published at Amsterdam, in 8vo. in the year 1744, p. 126, 127, 132, 153, 157. The party at Geneva, which Calvin called the sect of libertines, because they defended the licentious customs of ancient times, the erection of stewes, and such like matters, not only by their discourse and their actions, but even by force of arms, was both numerous and powerful. But the courage and resolution of this great reformer gained the ascendant, and triumphed over the opposition of his enemies.

vain; for the cantons of Berne, Zurich, and Basil, distinguished themselves among the others in opposing this change, and would by no means permit the bounds, that Zuingle had set to the jurisdiction of the church, to be removed, nor its power and authority to be augmented in any respect.*

XXXIV. All the various branches of learning, whether sacred or profane, flourished among the reformed during this century, as appears evidently by the great number of excellent productions which have been transmitted to our times. Zuingle indeed seemed disposed to exclude philosophy from the pale of the church;† but in this inconsiderate purpose he had few followers, and the succeeding doctors of the Helvetic church were soon persuaded of the necessity of philosophical knowledge, more especially in controversies and researches of a theological kind. Hence it was, that in the year 1588, an academy was founded at Geneva by Calvin, whose first care was to place in this new seminary a professor of philosophy for the instruction of youth in the principles of reasoning. It is true indeed that this professor had a very limited province assigned him, being obliged to confine his instructions to a mere interpretation of the precepts of Aristotle, who at this time was the oracle of all the public schools,‡ and whose philosophical principles and method were exclusively adopted by all the other reformed academies; though it is certain, that the philosophy of Ramus was, for some time, preferred by many of the doctors of Basil to that of the Stagirite.‡

The state of learning among the reformed.

XXXV. The reformed church, from its very infancy, produced a great number of expositors of Scripture, whose learned and excellent commentaries deserve a memorable place in the history of theolo-

The interpreters and commentators of Scripture.

* See the account of the tumults and commotions of Lausanne, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. p. 119. The disputes that were carried on, upon this occasion, in the palatinate, which adopted the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva, are recorded by Altingius, in his *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* and by Stovius, in his *Hist. Eccles. Palat. German.* p. 212.

† Zuingle, in the dedication of his book, *De vera et falsa Religione*, to Francis I. king of France, expresses himself in the following terms; "Philosophie interdictum est a Christi Scholis; at isti, Sorbonista, fecerunt eam celestis verbi magistrum."

‡ Beza, in his *Epistola Theologica*, ep. xxxvi. p. 156, speaks thus; "Certum nobis ac constitutum est, et in ipsis tradendis logicis et in ceteris explicandis disciplinis ab Aristoteli sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere."

§ See Casp. Brandtii *Vita Jacobi Arminii*, p. 12, 13, 22.

¶ Dr. Mosheim pays a tribute to these great men of the reformed church, that seems to be extorted by justice, with a kind of effort, from the spirit of party. He says,

gical science. The exposition that Zuingle has given of the greatest part of the books of the New Testament is far from being destitute of merit.¹ He was succeeded by Bullinger, Oecolampadius, and Musculus, and also by others, who, though inferior to these great men in erudition and genius, deserve nevertheless a certain degree of approbation and esteem. But the two divines who shone with a superior and unrivalled lustre in this learned list of sacred expositors, were John Calvin, and Theodore Beza. The former composed an excellent commentary on almost all the books of holy writ; and the latter published a Latin version of the New Testament, enriched with theological and critical observations, which has passed through many editions, and enjoys at this day a considerable part of the reputation and applause with which it was crowned at its first appearance. It must be acknowledged to the honour of the greatest part of these commentators, that, wisely neglecting those allegorical significations, and mystical meanings that the irregular fancies of former expositors had attributed to the terms of holy writ, they employed their whole diligence and industry in investigating the literal sense, the full energy of the words of Scripture, in order to find out the true intention of the sacred writer, it must however be observed, on the other hand, that some of these interpreters, and more especially Calvin, have been sharply censured for applying to the temporal state and circumstances of the Jews, several prophecies that point to the Messiah, and to the Christian dispensation in the most evident and palpable manner, and thus removing some of the most striking arguments in favour of the divinity of the gospel.¹

XXXVI. The state of theology, and the revolutions it underwent among the Helvetic and the other reformed churches, were pretty much the same with what it met with among the Lutherans.

The theological doctrine of the reformed church.

that Zuingle's labours are not contemptible; that Calvin attempted an illustration of the sacred writings; that the New Testament of Beza has not, even at this day, entirely lost the reputation it formerly enjoyed. This is faint praise; and therefore the translator has, without departing from the tenor of the author's phraseology, animated a little the coldness of his panegyric.

It was not only on the books of the New Testament that Zuingle employed his very learned and excellent labours. He expounded the book of Genesis together with the twenty-four first chapters of Exodus, and gave new versions of the book of Psalms, of the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

¹ See *Ægidii Hunnii Calvinus Judaizans*, published at Wittemberg, in 8vo. in the year 1595, which was refuted by David Pareus, in a book published the same year, under the title *Calvinus Orthodoxus*.

Zuingli was one of the first reformed doctors who reduced that sacred science into a certain sort of order, in his book *Concerning True and False Religion*, which contained a brief exposition of the principal doctrines of Christianity. This production was followed by one much more comprehensive in its contents, and perfect in its kind, composed by Calvin, and entitled *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which held in the reformed churches the same rank, authority, and credit, that the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon obtained among us.^a The example of Calvin animated the doctors of his communion, and produced a great number of writers of commonplace divinity, some more, others less voluminous, among which *Musculus*, *Peter Martyr*, and *Piscator* particularly excelled. The most ancient of these writers are, generally speaking, the best, on account of their simplicity and clearness, being untainted with that affectation of subtilty, and that scholastic spirit, that have eclipsed the merit of many a good genius. Calvin was a model in this respect, more especially in his *Institutes*; a work remarkable for the finest elegance of style, and the greatest ease and perspicuity of expression, together with the most perfect simplicity of method, and clearness of argument. But this simplicity was soon effaced by the intricate science of the schools. The philosophy of Aristotle, which was taught in almost all the seminaries of learning, and suffered much from falling into bad hands, insinuated itself into the regions of theology, and rendered them barren, thorny, intricate, and gloomy, by the enormous multitude of barbarous terms, captious questions, minute distinctions, and useless subtilties, that followed in its train.^a

¶ The reader must not forget that the learned author of this history is a Lutheran.

It must however be acknowledged, that the scholastic method of teaching theology seems to have first infected our (the Lutheran) church, though the contagion spread itself soon after among the reformed doctors. It was certainly very recent in Holland at the time of the famous synod of Dort. In this assembly Maccovius, professor at Franeker, a man deeply versed in all the mysteries of the scholastic philosophy, was accused of heresy by his colleague Sibrand Lubbert. When the matter was examined, the synod gave it as their opinion, that Maccovius was unjustly accused of heresy; but that, in his divinity lectures, he had not followed that simplicity of method, and clearness of expression, that are commendable in a public teacher of Christianity; and that he rather followed the subtle manner of the scholastic doctors, than the plain and unaffected phraseology of the inspired writers. The decision of the synod is expressed by Walter Balcanqual, in the acts of that ecclesiastical assembly that are subjoined to his letters to sir Dudley Carleton, in the following words; "Maccovium... nullius hærescos reum teneri... peccasse eum, quod quibusdam ambiguis et obscuris scholasticis phrasibus usus sit; quod scholasticum docendi modum

XXXVII. The reformed doctors of this century generally concluded their treatises of didactic theology with a delineation of the moral duties that are incumbent upon Christians, and the rules of practice that are prescribed in the gospel. This method was observed by Calvin, and was followed, out of respect for his example, by almost all the divines of his communion, who looked upon him as their model and their guide. This eminent man, toward the conclusion of his Institutes, speaks of the power of the magistrate, and the ends of civil government; and in the last chapter gives the portraiture of the Life and Manners of a True Christian, but in a much more concise manner than the copiousness, dignity, and importance of the subject seemed to require. The progress of morality among the reformed was obstructed by the very same means that retarded its improvement among the Lutherans. It was neglected amidst the tumult of controversy; and while every pen was drawn to maintain certain systems of doctrine, few were employed in cultivating or promoting that noblest of all sciences, which has virtue, life, and manners for its objects.

This master science, which Calvin and his associates had left in a rude and imperfect state, was first reduced into some kind of form, and explained with a certain degree of accuracy and precision, by William Perkins,* an

confer in Belgicis academiis introducere... Monendum esse eum, ut cum spiritu sancto loquatur, non cum Bellarmino aut Suarezio."* These admonitions produced but little effect on Maccovius, as appears by his theological writings, which are richly seasoned with scholastic wit and intricate speculations. He therefore appears to have been the first who introduced the subtleties of philosophy into the theological system of the reformed churches in Holland. He was not however alone in this attempt, but was seconded by the acute Mr. William Ames, minister of the English church at the Hague, and several others of the same scholastic turn. This method of teaching theology must have been in use among almost all the reformed doctors before the synod of Dort, if we give credit to Episcopius, who, in the last discourse he addressed to his disciples at Leyden, tells them that he had carefully avoided this scholastic divinity; and that this was the principal cause that had drawn on him the vehement hatred and opposition of all the other professors and teachers of theology. His words are as follow; "Videbam veritatem multarum et maximarum rerum in ipsa scriptura sacra, elaboratis humana industria phrasibus, ingeniosis vocularum fictionibus, locorum communium, artificiosis texturis, exquisitis terminorum ac formularum inventionibus adeo involutam, perplexam et intricatam redditam esse, ut Oedipo sæpe opus esset ad Sphingem illam theologicam enodandam. Ita est, ut hinc primæ lacrymæ—Reducendam itaque terminorum apostolicorum et cuius obviorem simplicitatem semper sequendam putavi, et sequestrandam, quas academici et scholæ tanquam proprias sibi vendicant, logicas, philosophicasque speculationes et dictiones." See Philippi Limborchii *Vita Episcopii*, p. 123, 124.

☞ Mr. William Perkins was born at Marston in Warwickshire, in the first year

* See the *Acta Synodi Dord.* in Hale's *Golden Remains*, p. 161, and Philippi Limborchii *Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ. Collect.* p. 574.

English divine, as the reformed doctors universally allow. He was seconded in this laudable undertaking by Telinius, a native of Holland, whose writings were composed in the Dutch language. It was by a worthy and pious spirit of emulation, excited by the example of these two doctors, that William Ames, a native of Scotland, and professor of divinity at Franeker,^p was engaged to compose a complete Body of Christian Morality.^q These writers were succeeded by others, who still threw a farther light on this important science.

XXXVIII. The reformed church was less disturbed, during this century, by sects, divisions, and theological disputes than the Lutheran, which was often a prey to the most unhappy dissensions. This circumstance is looked upon by the former as a matter of triumph, though it may be very easily accounted for by all such as are acquainted with the history of the reformed church.^r We have however in the writings of Calvin, an account, and also a refutation, of a most pernicious sect that

The contents
of Calvin with
the spiritual
libertines.

of queen Elizabeth, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He was one of the most famous practical writers and preachers of his age. His puritanical and nonconforming principles exposed him to the cognizance [of the high commission court; but his peaceable behaviour and eminent reputation, in the learned world, procured him an exemption from the persecutions that fell upon his brethren. His works, which were printed in three volumes, folio, afford abundant proofs of his piety and industry, especially when it is considered that he died in the forty-fourth year of his age.

☞ p Dr. William Ames, educated at Cambridge, under Mr. Perkins, fled from the persecution of archbishop Bancroft, and was invited by the states of Friesland to the divinity chair in the university of Franeker, which he filled with great reputation during the space of twelve years, after which he removed to Rotterdam, at the invitation of an English church there, and became their pastor. He was at the synod of Dort, and informed king James's ambassador at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that assembly. Beside his controversial writings against the Arminians, he published the following; 'Medulla Theologiæ,' the work here referred to by Dr. Mosheim; 'Manductio Logica;' 'Cases of Conscience;' 'Analysis on the Book of Psalms;' 'Notes on the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter,' &c. These productions are not void of merit, considering the times in which they were written.

☞ q In the dedication and preface of his famous book *De Conscientia et ejus jure*, Dr. Ames observes, *Præfat. p. 2.* that an excessive zeal for doctrine had produced an unhappy neglect of morality, "Quod hæc pars prophetiæ, i. e. morality, hæc tenus minus fuerit exulta, hoc inde fuit, quod primipilares nostri perpetuo in acie adversus hostes pugnare, fidem propugnare, et arcem ecclesiæ purgare, necessitate quadam cogebantur, ita ut agros et vineas plantare et rigare non potuerint ex voto, sicut bello fervente usu venire solet." The address to the students of Franeker, which is subjoined to this book, under the title of *Parænesis ad Studiosos*, &c. deserves to be perused, as it confirms farther what has been already observed with respect to the neglect of the science of morality. "Theologi," says he, "præclare se instructos putant ad omnes officii sui partes, si dogmata tantum intelligant. Neque tamen omnia dogmata scrutantur, sed illa sola, quæ præcipue solent agitari et in controversiam vocari."

☞ r Dr. Mosheim ought to have given us a hint of his manner of accounting for this, to avoid the suspicion of having been somewhat at a loss for a favourable solution.

sprung up in that church, and produced troubles of a more deplorable kind, than any that happened in our community.' This odious sect, which assumed the denominations of libertines and spiritual brethren and sisters, arose in Flanders, was headed by Pockesius, Ruffus, and Quintin, got a certain footing in France, through the favour and protection of Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I. and found patrons in several of the reformed churches.' Their doctrine, as far as it can be known by the writings of Calvin and its other antagonists, for these fanatics published no account of their tenets that is come to my knowledge, amounted to the following propositions; "That the Deity was the sole operating cause in the mind of man, and the immediate author of all human actions; that, consequently, the distinctions of good and evil, that had been established with respect to these actions, were false and groundless, and that men could not, properly speaking, commit sin; that religion consisted in the union of the spirit, or rational soul, with the Supreme Being; that all those who had attained this happy union, by sublime contemplation and elevation of mind, were then allowed to indulge, without exception or restraint, their appetites and passions; that all their actions and pursuits were then perfectly innocent; and that, after the death of the body, they were to be united to the Deity." These extravagant tenets resemble, in such a striking manner, the opinions of the beguards, or brethren of the free spirit, that it appears to me, beyond all doubt, that the libertines, or spirituals now under consideration, were no more than a remnant of that ancient sect. The place of their origin confirms this hypothesis; since it is well known, that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Flanders almost swarmed with licentious fanatics of this kind.

XXXIX. We must not confound, as is frequently done, with these fanatics, another kind of libertines whom Calvin had to combat, and who gave him much trouble and perplexity during the whole course of his life and ministry, I mean the libertines of Geneva. These were rather a cabal of rakes than a sect

And with the
libertines of
Geneva.

[?] Why all these comparisons? Our author seems, on some occasions, to tinge his historical relation with the spirit of party.

t See Calvini "Instructio adversus fanaticam et furiosam sectam Libertinorum, qui spirituales vocant, in Tractibus ejus Theologicis."

of fanatics. For they made no pretences to any religious system, but pleaded only for the liberty of leading voluptuous and immoral lives. This cabal was composed of a certain number of licentious citizens, who could not bear the severe discipline of Calvin, who punished with rigour not only dissolute manners, but also whatever carried the aspect of irreligion and impiety. This irregular troop stood forth in defence of the licentiousness and dissipation that had reigned in their city before the reformation, pleaded for the continuance of those brothels, banquetings, and other entertainments of a sensual kind, which the regulations of Calvin were designed to abolish, and employed all the bitterness of reproach and invective, all the resources of fraud and violence, all the powers of faction, to accomplish their purpose." In this turbulent cabal there were several persons, who were not only notorious for their dissolute and scandalous manner of living, but also for their atheistical impiety and contempt of all religion. Of this odious class was Gruet, who attacked Calvin with the utmost animosity and fury, calling him bishop *asculanensis*, the new pope, and branding him with other contumelious denominations of a like nature. This Gruet denied the divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, the difference between moral good and evil, and rejected, with disdain, the doctrines that are held the most sacred among Christians; for which impieties he was at last brought before the civil tribunals, in the year 1550, and was condemned to death."

XL. The opposition that was made to Calvin did not end here. He had contests of another kind to sustain against those who could not relish his theological system, and more especially, his melancholy and discouraging doctrine in relation to *eternal* and *absolute decrees*. These adversaries felt, by a disagreeable experience, the warmth and violence of his haughty temper, and that impatience of contradiction that arose from an over jealous concern for his honour, or rather for his unrivalled supremacy. He would not suffer them to remain at Geneva; nay, in the heat of the controversy, being carried away by the impetuosity of his pas-

Calvin's disputes with Castilio;

^u Spon's *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 44, in the notes of the editor, in the edition in 12mo. published at Geneva in 1730.

^w Id. tom. ii. p. 47, in the notes.

sions, he accused them of crimes, from which they have been fully absolved by the impartial judgment of unprejudiced posterity.^x Among these victims of Calvin's unlimited power and excessive zeal, we may reckon Sebastian Castalio, master of the public school at Geneva, who, though not exempt from failings,^y was nevertheless a man of probity, and was also remarkable for the extent of his learning, and the elegance of his taste. As this learned man could not approve of all the measures that were followed, nor indeed of all the opinions that were entertained by Calvin and his colleagues, and particularly that of absolute and unconditional predestination, he was deposed from his office in the year 1544, and banished the city. The magistrates of Basil received nevertheless this ingenious exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university.^z

XLII. A like fate happened to Jerom Bolsec, a French monk of the Carmelite order, who, though much inferior to Castalio in genius and learning, was nevertheless judged worthy of esteem, on account of the motive that brought him to Geneva; for it was a conviction of the excellence of the protestant religion that engaged him to abandon the monastic retreats of superstition, and to repair to this city, where he followed the profession of physic. His imprudence however was great, and was the principal cause of the misfortunes that befell him. It led him, in the year 1551, to lift up his voice in the full congregation, after the conclusion of divine worship, and to declaim, in the most indecent manner, against the doctrine of absolute decrees; for which he was cast into prison, and soon after, sent into banishment. He then returned to the place of his nativity, and to the communion of Rome, and published the most bitter and slanderous libels, in which the reputation, conduct, and morals of Calvin and Beza

x At this day, we may venture to speak thus freely of the rash decision of Calvin, since even the doctors of Geneva, as well as those of the other reformed churches, ingenuously acknowledge, that the eminent talents and excellent qualities of that great man were accompanied with great defects, for which, however, they plead indulgence, in consideration of his services and virtues. See the notes to Spon's *Histoire de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 110, as also the preface to Calvin's *Letters to Jaques de Bourgogne*, p. 19.

y See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Castalio, in which the merit and demerit of that learned man seem to be impartially and accurately examined.

z See Uytenbogard's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Dutch, part ii. p. 70—73, where that author endeavours to defend the innocence of Castalio. See also Colomesii *Italia Orientalis*, p. 99. Bayle's *Dict.* tom. i. p. 792.

were cruelly attacked.^a From this treatment of Bolsec arose the misunderstanding between Calvin and Jaques de Bourgogne, a man illustrious by his descent from the dukes of Burgundy, who was Calvin's great patron and intimate friend, and who had settled at Geneva with no other view than to enjoy the pleasure of conversing with him. Jaques de Bourgogne had employed Bolsec as his physician, and was so well satisfied with his services, that he endeavoured to support him, and to prevent his being ruined by the enmity and authority of Calvin. This incensed the latter to such a degree, that he turned the force of his resentment against this illustrious nobleman, who, to avoid his vengeance, removed from Geneva, and passed the remainder of his days in a rural retreat.^b

XLII. Bernardin Ochinus, a native of Sienna, and before his conversion, general of the order of Capuchins, was, in the year 1549, banished from Switzerland, and with Ochinus. in consequence of a sentence passed upon him by the Helvetic church. This proselyte, who was a man of a fertile imagination, and a lively and subtile turn of mind, had been invited to Zurich as pastor of the Italian church established in that city. But the freedom, or rather the licentiousness of his sentiments, exposed him justly to the displeasure of those who had been his patrons and protectors. For, among many other opinions very different from those that were commonly received, he maintained that the law, which confined a husband to one wife, was susceptible of exceptions in certain cases. In his writings also he propagated several notions that were repugnant to the theological system of the Helvetic doctors, and pushed his inquiries into many subjects of importance with a boldness and freedom that were by no means suitable to the genius and spirit of the age in which he lived. Some have however undertaken his defence, and have alleged in his behalf, that the errors he maintained at the time of his banishment, when worn out with age, and oppressed with poverty, he was rather an object of compassion, than of resentment, were not of such a heinous nature as to justify so severe a punishment. However that may have been,

^a See Bayle's *Diction.* at the article Bolsec. Spon's *Hist. de Geneve*, tom. ii. p. 55, in the notes. *Biblioth. Raisonnee*, tom. xxxii. p. 446, tom. xxxiv. p. 409.

^b See 'Lettres de Calvin a Jaques de Bourgogne,' preface, p. 8. 'La Bibliotheque Raisonnee,' tom. xxiv. p. 444, tom. xxxiv. p. 406.

this unfortunate exile retired into Poland, where he embraced the communion of the antitrinitarians and anabaptists,^c and ended his days in the year 1564.^d

XLIII. It is remarkable enough, that those very doctors, who animadverted with such severity upon all those who dared to dissent from any part of their theological system, thought proper nevertheless to behave with the greatest circumspection, and the most pacific spirit of mildness, in a long controversy that was carried on with such animosity between the puritans and the abettors of episcopacy in England. For if, on the one hand, they could not but stand well affected to the puritans, who were steadfast defenders of the discipline and sentiments of the Helvetic church; so, on the other, they were connected with the episcopal doctors by the bonds of Christian communion and fraternal love. In this critical situation, their whole thoughts were turned toward reconciliation and peace; and they exhorted their brethren, the puritans, to put on a spirit of meekness and forbearance toward the episcopal church, and not to break the bonds of charity and communion with its rulers or its members. Such was the gentle spirit of the doctors in Switzerland toward the church of England, notwithstanding the severe treatment the greatest part of the reformed had received from that church, which constantly insisted on the divine origin of its government and discipline, and scarcely allowed the other reformed communities the privileges, or even the denomination of a true church. This moderation of the Helvetic doctors was the dictate of prudence. They did not think it expedient to contend with a generous

^c Boverii *Annales Capucinarum*. Together with a book, entitled *La guerre Seraphique, ou Histoire des perils qu'a couru la barbe des Capuchins*, livr. ii. p. 147, livr. iii. p. 190, 230. *Observationes Halenses, Latina*, tom. iv. *Observ.* xx. p. 406; tom. v. *Observ.* i. p. 3. Bayle's *Diction.* at the article Ochinus. *Christ. Sandii Biblioth. Antitrinitar.* p. 4. Nicéron, *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des hommes illustres*, tom. xix. p. 166.

^d Ochinus did not leave the accusation of his adversaries without a reply; he published in Italian, Five books of Apology for his character and conduct, which were printed, together with a Latin translation of them, by Seb. Castalio, without the date of the year. The Geneva edition of this apology bears date 1554, and is in 8vo. There is a German edition in 4to. published, according to Vogtius, *Catal. lib. rar.* p. 430, in the year 1556. That copy in the Jena library bears date 1559. See Mylius's *Memor. Acad. Jenens.* C. 6, p. 432. Beza, in his letter to Dudithius, insults the memory of Ochinus, and pretends to justify the severity with which he was treated, in such a taunting and uncharitable manner, as does him little credit. See his *Epist. Theolog. Geneva*, 1575, in 12mo. epist. i. p. 10, and ep. 81. What the writers of the Romish church have laid to the charge of Ochinus, may be seen in the life of cardinal Commendou, written by Gratiani, bishop of Amelia, and published in a French translation by the eloquent Flechier, bishop of Nismes, B. 2, C. 9, p. 138—149. N.

and flourishing people, nor to incur the displeasure of a mighty queen, whose authority seemed to extend not only to her own dominions, but even to the United Provinces, which were placed in her neighbourhood, and, in some measure, under her protection. Nor did the apprehensions of a general schism in the reformed church contribute a little to render them meek, moderate, and pacific. It is one thing to punish and excommunicate a handful of weak and unsupported individuals, who attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the state by the introduction of opinions which, though neither highly absurd, nor of dangerous consequence, have yet the demerit of novelty; and another to irritate, or promote divisions in a flourishing church, which, though weakened more or less by intestine feuds, is yet both powerful and respectable in a high degree. Beside, the dispute between the church of England and the other reformed churches did not, as yet, turn upon points of doctrine, but only on the rites of external worship, and the form of ecclesiastical government. It is, however, to be observed, that in process of time, nay, soon after the period now under consideration, certain religious doctrines were introduced into the debate between the two churches that contributed much to widen the breach, and to cast the prospect of reconciliation at a distance.^d

XLIV. That the reformed church abounded, during this century, with great and eminent men, justly celebrated for their illustrious talents and universal learning, is too well known to stand in need of any proof. Beside Calvin, Zuingle, and Beza, who exhibited to the republic of letters very striking instances of genius and erudition, we may place in the list of those who have gained an immortal name by their writings, *Cæcolampadius*, Bullinger, Farel, Viret, Martyr, Bibliander, Musculus, Pellican, Lavater, Hospinian, Ursinus, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Szegedinus, and

Many persons of eminent genius and learning among the reformed.

^d All the protestant divines of the reformed church, whether puritans or others, seemed indeed, hitherto, of one mind about the doctrines of faith. But toward the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, there arose a party, which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing the received opinions concerning predestination, perseverance, freewill, effectual grace, and the extent of Christ's redemption. These are the doctrines to which Dr. Mosheim alludes in this passage. The clergy of the episcopal church began to lean toward the notions concerning these intricate points, which Arminius propagated some time after this; while, on the other hand, the puritans adhered rigorously to the system of Calvin. Several episcopal doctors remained attached to the same system, and all these abettors of Calvinism, whether episcopal or presbyterian, were called *doctrinal puritans*.

many others, whose names and merits are recorded by the writers of philological history, and particularly by Melchior Adam, Anthony Wood, and Daniel Neal, the learned and industrious author of the History of the Puritans.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE ANABAPTISTS OR MENNONITES.

I. THE true origin of that sect which acquired the denomination of Anabaptists,^e by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived that of Mennonites,

The origin of the Anabaptists obscure.

^e The modern Mennonites reject the denomination of anabaptists, and also disavow the custom of repeating the ceremony of baptism, from whence this denomination is derived. They acknowledge, that the ancient anabaptists practised the repetition of baptism to those who joined them from other Christian churches; but they maintain, at the same time, that this custom is at present abolished by far the greatest part of their community. See Herm. Schyn, *Historia Mennonitarum plenior Deductio*, cap. ii. p. 32. But here, if I am not much mistaken, these good men forget that ingenuous candour and simplicity, of which, on other occasions, they make such ostentation, and have recourse to artifice in order to disguise the true cause and origin of the denomination in question. They pretend, for instance, that the anabaptists, their ancestors, were so called from their baptizing a second time all adult persons, who left other churches to enter into their communion. But it is certain, that the denomination in question was given them, not only on this account, but also, and indeed principally, from the following consideration: that they did not look upon those who had been baptized in a state of infancy, or at a tender age, as rendered, by the administration of this sacrament, true members of the Christian church; and therefore insisted upon their being rebaptized in order to their being received into the communion of the anabaptists. It is likewise certain, that all the churches of that communion, however they may vary in other respects, and differ from each other in their tenets and practices, agree nevertheless in this opinion, and, as yet, persevere obstinately in it. In a more especial manner are the ancient Flemish anabaptists entitled to this denomination. For they not only rebaptize the children that have been already baptized in other churches, but even observe the same method with respect to persons that are come to years of reason and discretion. Nay, what is still more remarkable, the different sects of anabaptists deal in the same manner one with another; each sect rebaptizes the person that enter into its communion, although they have already received that sacrament in another sect of the same denomination; and the reason of this conduct is, that each sect considers its baptism alone as pure and valid. It is indeed to be observed, that there is another class of anabaptists, called Waterlandians, who are more moderate in their principles, and wiser in all respects than those now mentioned, and who do not pretend to rebaptize *adult* persons, who have already been baptized in other Christian churches, or in other sects of their own denomination. This moderate class are however, with propriety, termed anabaptists, on account of their rebaptizing such as had received the baptismal rite in a state of infancy or childhood. The patrons of this sect seem indeed very studious to conceal a practice, which they cannot deny to take place among them: and their eagerness to conceal it, arises from an apprehension of reviving the hatred and severities which formerly pursued them. They are afraid, lest by acknowledging the truth, the modern Mennonites should be considered as the descendants of those flagitious and fanatical anabaptists of Munster, whose enormities rendered their very name odious to all true Christians. All this appears evident from the following passage in Schyn's *Historia Mennonitarum plenior Deductio*, tom. ii. p. 32, where that author pretend-

from the famous man, to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hid in the remote depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, extremely difficult to be ascertained.^f This uncertainty will not appear surprising, when it is considered, that this sect started up, all of a sudden, in several countries, at the same point of time, under leaders of different talents and different intentions, and at the very period when the first contests of the reformers with the Roman pontiffs drew the attention of the world, and employed the pens of the learned, in such a manner, as to render all other objects and incidents almost matters

to prove, that his brethren are unjustly stigmatized with the odious denomination of anabaptists. His words are: "Anabaptismus ille plane obsolevit et a multis retro annis neminem ejuscunq; sectæ Christianæ fidei, *juxta mandatum Christi* baptizatum, dum ad nostras Ecclesias transire cupit, rebaptizaverunt," i. e. "That species of anabaptism, with which we are charged, exists no longer, nor has it happened, during the space of many years past, that any person professing Christianity, of whatever church or sect he may have been, and who had been previously baptized according to the commandment of Christ, has been rebaptized upon his entering into our communion." This passage would, at first sight, induce an inattentive reader to imagine, that there is no such thing among the modern Mennonites, as the custom of rebaptizing those who enter into their community. But the words which we have marked in italics, *juxta mandatum Christi*, i. e. according to the commandment of Christ, discovers sufficiently the artifice and fraud that lie hid in this apology; for the anabaptists maintain, that there is no commandment of Christ in favour of infant baptism. Moreover, we see the whole fallacy exposed by what the author adds to the sentence already quoted: "Sed illum etiam *adultorum* baptismum ut sufficientem agnoscunt." Nevertheless this author, as if he had perfectly proved his point, concludes with an air of triumph, that the odious name of anabaptists cannot be given, with any propriety, to the Mennonites at this day: "Quare," says he, "verissimum est, illud odiosum nomen Anabaptistarum illis non convenire." In this however he is certainly mistaken; and the name in question is just as applicable to the modern Mennonites, as it was to the sect from which they descend, since the best and wisest of the Mennonites maintain, in conformity with the principles of the ancient anabaptists, that the baptism of infants is destitute of validity, and consequently are very careful in rebaptizing their proselytes, notwithstanding their having been baptized in their tender years, in other Christian churches. Many circumstances persuade me, that the declarations and representations of things given by the modern Mennonites are not always worthy of credit. Unhappily instructed by the miseries and calamities in which their ancestors were involved, they are anxiously careful to conceal entirely those tenets and laws that are the distinguishing characteristics of their sect; while they embellish what they cannot totally conceal, and disguise with the greatest art such of their institutions, as otherwise might appear of a pernicious tendency, and might expose them to censure.

^f The writers for and against the anabaptists are amply enumerated by Casper Sagittarius, in his *Introductio ad Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 826, and Christ. M. Pfaffius, in his *Introduct. to Histor. Literar. Theologia*, part ii. p. 349. Add to these a modern writer, and a Mennonite preacher, Herman Schyn, who published at Amsterdam in 8vo. in the year 1729, his *Historia Mennonitar.* and, in 1729, his *Plenior deductio Histor. Mennonit.* These two books, though they do not deserve the title of a History of the Mennonites, are nevertheless useful, in order to come at a thorough knowledge of the affairs of this sect; for this author is much more intent upon defending his brethren against the accusations and reproaches with which they have been loaded, than careful in tracing out the origin, progress, and revolutions of their sect. And indeed after all the Mennonites have not much reason to boast, either of the extraordinary learning or dexterity of this their patron; nay, it is even to be imagined, that they may easily find a more able defender. For an accurate account of the Mennonite historians, and their confessions of faith, see Jo. Koetheri *Bibliotheca Theol. Symbolicæ*, p. 461.

of indifference. The modern Mennonites not only consider themselves as the descendants of the Waldenses, who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Roman church, but pretend, moreover, to be the purest offspring of these respectable sufferers, being equally averse to all principles of rebellion, on the one hand, and all suggestions of fanaticism on the other.* Their adversaries, on the contrary, represent them as the descendants of those turbulent and furious Anabaptists, who, in the sixteenth century, involved Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and more especially the province of Westphalia, in such scenes of blood, perplexity, and distress; and allege, that, terrified by the dreadful fate of their associates, and also influenced by the moderate counsels and wise injunctions of Mennon, they abandoned the ferocity of their primitive enthusiasm, and were gradually brought to a better mind. After having examined these two different accounts of the origin of the Anabaptists with the utmost attention and impartiality, I have found that neither of them are exactly conformable to truth.

II. It may be observed in the first place, that the Mennonites are not entirely mistaken when they boast of their descent from the Waldenses, Petrobrusians, and other ancient sects, who are usually considered as *witnesses of the truth*, in the times of universal darkness and superstition. Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrine, which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites had maintained, some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner, viz: "That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church he had established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions, which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressors." This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities that are to be found in the religious doctrine

The most probable account of the origin of the Anabaptists.

* See Herm. Schyn, *Plenior Deducio Histor. Mennon.* cap. i. p. 2, as also a Dutch work, entitled Galenus Abrahamson, *Verdediging der Christenen, die Doopgesinde genaemd worden*, p. 29.

and discipline of the Mennonites; and it is most certain, that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved of by many of those, who, before the dawn of the reformation, entertained the notion already mentioned, relating to the visible church of Christ.^b There were however different ways of thinking among the different members of this sect, with respect to the methods of attaining to such a perfect church establishment as they had in view. Some, who were of a fanatical complexion on the one hand, and were persuaded, on the other, that such a visible church, as they had modelled out in fancy, could not be realized by the power of man, entertained the pleasing hope, that God, in his own good time, would erect to himself a holy church exempt from every degree of blemish and impurity, and would set apart for the execution of this grand design, a certain number of chosen instruments, divinely assisted and prepared for this work, by the extraordinary succours of his Holy Spirit. Others, of a more prudent and rational turn of mind, entertained different views of this matter. They neither expected stupendous miracles nor extraordinary revelations; since they were persuaded, that it was possible, by human wisdom, industry, and vigilance, to purify the church from the contagion of the wicked, and to restore it to the simplicity of its original constitution, provided that the manners and spirit of the primitive Christians could but recover their lost dignity and lustre.

III. The drooping spirits of these people, who had been dispersed through many countries, and persecuted every where with the greatest severity, were revived when they were informed that Luther, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had successfully attempted the reformation of the church. Then they spoke with openness and freedom, and the enthusiasm of the fanatical, as well as the prudence of the wise, discovered themselves in their natural colours. Some of them imagined, that the time was now come in which God himself was to dwell with his servants in an extraordinary manner, by celestial succours,

^b See, for an account of the religious sentiments of the Waldenses, Limborch's excellent History of the Inquisition, translated into English by the learned Dr. Samuel Chandler, book i. chap. viii. It appears from undoubted testimonies, that the Wickliffites and Hussites did not differ extremely from the Waldenses, concerning the point under consideration. See also Lydiæ *Waldensia*, and Allix's *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, ch. 22—26, p. 211—230. N.

and to establish upon earth a kingdom truly spiritual and divine. Others, less sanguine and chimerical in their expectations, flattered themselves nevertheless, with the fond hopes of the approach of that happy period, in which the restoration of the church, which had been so long expected in vain, was to be accomplished, under the divine protection, by the labours and councils of pious and eminent men. This sect was soon joined by great numbers, and as usually happens in sudden revolutions of this nature, by many persons whose characters and capacities were very different, though their views seemed to turn upon the same object. Their progress was rapid; for, in a very short space of time, their discourses, visions, and predictions, excited commotions in a great part of Europe, and drew into their communion a prodigious multitude, whose ignorance rendered them easy victims to the illusions of enthusiasm. It is however to be observed, that as the leaders of this sect had fallen into that erroneous and chimerical notion, that the new kingdom of Christ, which they expected, was to be exempt from every kind of vice, and from the smallest degree of imperfection and corruption, they were not satisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by Luther. They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views, and consequently undertook a more perfect reformation, or to express more properly their visionary enterprise, they proposed to found a new church, entirely spiritual, and truly divine.

iv. It is difficult to determine, with certainty, the particular spot that gave birth to that seditious and pestilential sect of anabaptists, whose tumultuous and desperate attempts were equally pernicious to the cause of religion, and the civil interests of mankind. Whether they first arose in Switzerland, Germany, or the Netherlands, is as yet a matter of debate, whose decision is of no great importance.¹ It is most probable, that several persons of this odious class made their appearance, at the same time, in different countries; and we may fix this period soon after the dawn of the reformation in Germany, when Luther arose to set bounds to the ambition of Rome. This

The first motions of the anabaptists.

¹ Foeslin has attempted to examine, whether the anabaptists first arose in Germany or Switzerland, in a German work, entitled *Beiträge zur Schweizerisch Reformad. Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 190, tom. ii. p. 64, 65, 265, 327, 328, tom. iii. p. 323, but without success.

appears from a variety of circumstances, and especially from this striking one, that the first Anabaptist doctors of any eminence, were, almost all, heads and leaders of particular and separate sects. For it must be carefully observed, that though all these projectors of a new, unspotted, and perfect church, were comprehended under the general denomination of Anabaptists, on account of their opposing the baptism of infants, and their rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of childhood in other churches, yet they were, from their very origin, subdivided into various sects, which differed from each other in points of no small moment. The most pernicious faction of all those that composed this motley multitude, was that which pretended that the founders of the new and *perfect* church, already mentioned, were under the direction of a divine impulse, and were armed against all opposition by the power of working miracles. It was this detestable faction that, in the year 1521, began their fanatical work, under the guidance of Munzer, Stubner, Storck, and other leaders of the same furious complexion, and excited the most unhappy tumults and commotions in Saxony and the adjacent countries. They employed at first the various arts of persuasion, in order to propagate their doctrine. They preached, exhorted, admonished, and reasoned in a manner that seemed proper to gain the multitude, and related a great number of visions and revelations with which they pretended to have been favoured from above. But when they saw that these methods of making proselytes were not attended with such a rapid success as they fondly expected, and that the ministry of Luther, and other eminent reformers, was detrimental to their cause, they then had recourse to more expeditious measures, and madly attempted to propagate their fanatical doctrine by force of arms. Munzer and his associates assembled, in the year 1525, a numerous army, composed, for the most part, of the peasants of Swabia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony, and at the head of this credulous and deluded rabble, declared war against all laws, government, and magistrates of every kind, under the chimerical pretext, that Christ was now to take the reins of civil and ecclesiastical government into his own hands, and to rule alone over the nations. But this seditious crowd was routed and dispersed, without much difficulty, by the elector of Saxony, and other princes; Munzer, their

ringleader, ignominiously put to death, and his factious counsellors scattered abroad in different places.*

v. This bloody defeat of one part of these seditious and turbulent fanatics did not produce that effect upon the rest that might naturally have been expected ; it rendered them indeed more timorous, but it did not open their eyes upon this delusion. It is certain, that even after this period, numbers of them, who were infected with the same odious principles that occasioned the destruction of Munzer, wandered about in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, and excited the people to rebellion by their seditious discourses. They gathered together congregations in several places, foretold, in consequence of a divine commission, the approaching abolition of magistracy, and the downfall of civil rulers and governors ; and, while they pretended to be ambassadors of the Most High, insulted, on many occasions, the Majesty of heaven, by the most flagitious crimes. Those who distinguished themselves by the enormity of their conduct in this infamous sect, were Lewis Hetzer, Balthazar Hubmeyer, Felix Mentz, Conrad Grebel, Melchior Hoffman, and George Jacob, who, if their power had seconded their designs, would have involved all Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, in tumult and bloodshed.¹ A great part of this rabble seemed really delirious ; and nothing more extravagant or more incredible can be imagined than the dreams and visions that were constantly arising in their disordered brains. Such of them as had some sparks of reason left, and had reflection enough to reduce their notions into a certain form, maintained, among others, the following points of doctrine : “ That the church of Christ ought to be exempt from all sin ; that all things ought to be in common among the faithful ; that all usury, tithes, and tribute, ought to be entirely abolished ; that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil ; that every Christian was invested with a power to preach the gospel, and consequently,

* See Seckendorf, *Histor. Lutheranismi*, lib. i. p. 192, 304, lib. ii. p. 13. Steidan, *Commentar.* lib. v. p. 47. Joach. Camerarii *Vita Melancthonis*, p. 44.

¹ See Ja. Bapt. Otti *Annales Anabaptist.* p. 21. Jo. Hornbeckii *Summa controvers.* lib. v. p. 332. Anton. Matthæi *Analect. veteris ævi*, tom. iv. p. 629, 677, 679. Bernard. Knapachii *Austria Evangel.* tom. ii. p. 41. Jo. Georg. Schelhorn, in *Actis ad Histor. Eccles. pertinentibus*, tom. i. p. 100. Godofr. Arnotti *Historia Hæretica*, lib. xvi. cap. xxi. p. 727. As also the German work of Fucelin, entitled *Beztr. en zu der Schweizer Reform. Geschichte.*

that the church stood in no need of ministers or pastors; that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were absolutely useless; and that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions."^m

It would betray however a strange ignorance, or an unjustifiable partiality, to maintain, that even all those that professed, in general, this absurd doctrine, were chargeable with that furious and brutal extravagance, which has been mentioned as the character of too great a part of their sect. This was by no means the case; several of these enthusiasts discovered a milder and more pacific spirit, and were free from any other reproach, than that which resulted from the errors they maintained, and their too ardent desire of spreading them among the multitude. It may still further be affirmed with truth, that many of those who followed the wiser class of Anabaptists, nay, some who adhered to the most extravagant factions of that sect, were men of upright intentions and sincere piety, who were seduced into this mystery of fanaticism and iniquity, by their ignorance and simplicity on the one hand, and by a laudable desire of reforming the corrupt state of religion on the other.

vi. The progress of this turbulent sect in almost all the countries of Europe, alarmed all that had any concern for the public good. Kings, princes, and sovereign states, exerted themselves to check these rebellious enthusiasts in their career, by issuing out, first severe edicts to restrain their violence, and employing, at length, capital punishments to conquer their obstinacy.* But here a maxim, already verified by repeated experience, received a new degree of confirmation; for the conduct of the Anabaptists, under the pressures of persecution, plainly showed the extreme difficulty of correcting or influencing,

Severe punishments inflicted on the Anabaptists.

^m This account of the doctrine of the Anabaptists is principally taken from the learned Fueslin already quoted.

ⁿ It was in Saxony, if I am not mistaken, and also in the year 1526, that penal laws were first enacted against this fanatical tribe. These laws were renewed frequently in the years 1527, 1528, 1534. See a German work of the learned Kappius, entitled 'Nachlass von Reformationen Urkunden,' part i. p. 176. Charles V. incensed at the increasing impudence and iniquity of these enthusiasts, issued out against them severe edicts, in the years 1527 and 1529. See Otthi *Annales Anabapt.* p. 45. The magistrates of Switzerland treated, at first, with remarkable lenity and indulgence, the anabaptists that lived under their government; but when it was found that this lenity rendered them still more enterprising and insolent, it was judged proper to have recourse to a different manner of proceeding. Accordingly the magistrates of Zurich denounced capital punishment against this riotous sect in the year 1525.

by the prospect of suffering, or even by the terrors of death, minds that are either deeply tainted with the poison of fanaticism, or firmly bound by the ties of religion. In almost all the countries of Europe, an unspeakable number of these unhappy wretches preferred death, in its worst forms, to a retraction of their errors. Neither the view of the flames that were kindled to consume them, nor the ignominy of the gibbet, nor the terrors of the sword, could shake their invincible, but ill-placed constancy, or make them abandon tenets that appeared dearer to them than life, and all its enjoyments. The Mennonites have preserved voluminous records of the lives, actions, and unhappy fate of those of their sect, who suffered death for the crimes of rebellion or heresy, which were imputed to them.^o Certain it is, that they were treated with severity; but it is much to be lamented that so little distinction was made between the members of this sect, when the sword of justice was unsheathed against them. Why were the innocent and the guilty involved in the same fate? Why were doctrines purely theological, or at worst, fanatical, punished with the same rigour that was shown to crimes inconsistent with the peace and welfare of civil society? Those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and their excluding the unrighteous from the external communion of the church, ought undoubtedly to have met with milder treatment than what was given to those seditious incendiaries, who were for unhinging all government and destroying all civil authority. Many suffered for errors they had embraced with the most upright intentions, seduced by the eloquence and fervour of their doctors, and persuading themselves that they were contributing to the advancement of true religion. But, as the greatest part of these enthusiasts, had communicated to the multitude their visionary notions concerning the new spiritual kingdom that was soon to be erected, and the abolition of magistracy and civil government that was to be the immediate effect of this great revolution, this rendered the very name of Anabaptists unspeakably odious, and made it always excite the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. It is true indeed that many Anabaptists suffered death, not on ac-

^o See Zoach. Christ. Jehring, *Prefat. ad Historiam Mennonitarum*, p. 3.

count of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged to be *incurable* heretics; for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of re-baptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies. It is nevertheless certain, that the greatest part of these wretched sufferers owed their unhappy fate to their rebellious principles and tumultuous proceedings, and that many also were punished for their temerity and imprudence, which led them to the commission of various crimes.

VII. There stands upon record a most shocking instance of this, in the dreadful commotions that were excited at Munster, in the year 1533, by certain Dutch anabaptists, that chose that city as the scene of their horrid operations, and committed in it such deeds as would surpass all credibility, were they not attested in a manner that excludes every degree of doubt and uncertainty. A handful of madmen who had got into their heads the visionary notion of a new and spiritual kingdom, soon to be established in an extraordinary manner, formed themselves into a society, under the guidance of a few illiterate leaders chosen out of the populace. And they persuaded, not only the ignorant multitude, but even several among the learned, that Munster was to be the seat of this new and heavenly Jerusalem, whose ghostly dominion was to be propagated from thence to all the ends of the earth. The ringleaders of this furious tribe were John Matthison, John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, one Gerhard, with some others, whom the blind rage of enthusiasm, or the still more culpable principles of sedition, had embarked in this extravagant and desperate cause. They made themselves masters of the city of Munster, deposed the magistrates, and committed all the enormous crimes, and ridiculous follies, which the most perverse and infernal imagination could suggest.* John Bockhold was proclaimed king and legislator of this new hierarchy; but his reign was transitory, and his end deplorable. For the city of

The anabaptists of Munster.

* J. Bockholdt, or Bockleson, alias John of Leyden, who headed them at Munster, ran stark naked in the streets, married eleven wives at the same time, to show his approbation of polygamy, and entitled himself king of Sion: all which was but a very small part of the pernicious follies of this mock monarch.

Munster was, in the year 1596, retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign, count Waldeck, the New Jerusalem of the anabaptists destroyed, and its mock monarch punished with a most painful and ignominious death.* The disorders occasioned by the anabaptists at this period, not only in Westphalia, but also in other places, showed too plainly to what horrid lengths the pernicious doctrines of this wrongheaded sect were adapted to lead the inconsiderate and unwary; and therefore it is not at all to be wondered, that the secular arm employed rigorous measures to extirpate a faction, which was the occasion, nay, the source of unspeakable calamities in so many countries.†

VIII. While the terrors of death, in the most dreadful forms, were presented to the view of this miserable sect,

↳ See Simon.

* See Anton. Corvini 'Narratio de miserabili Monaster. Anabapt. excidio,' published first at Wittenberg in the year 1536. Casp. Sagittar. 'Introduct. in Histor. Ecclesiast.' tom. i. p. 537, and 835. Herm. Hamelmann. 'Historia Renati Evangelii in Urbe Monaster. in Operib. Genealogico Historicia,' p. 1203. The elegant Latin poem of Bolandus in elegiac verse, entitled 'Jo. Fabricii Bolandi Motus Monasteriens. Libri Decem.' Colon. 1546, in 8vo. Herm. Kerzenbrock, 'Histor. Belli Monaster.' Dan. Gerdes, 'Miscellan. Groningens. Nov.' tom. ii. p. 377. This latter author speaks also of Bernard Rothman, an ecclesiastic of Munster, who had introduced the reformation into that city, but afterward was infected with the enthusiasm of the anabaptists; and though in other respects, he had shown himself to be neither destitute of learning nor virtue, yet enlisted himself in this fanatical tribe, and had a share in their most turbulent and furious proceedings.

↳ For The scenes of violence, tumult, and sedition, that were exhibited in Holland by this odious tribe, were also terrible. They formed the design of reducing the city of Leyden to ashes, but were happily prevented, and severely punished. John of Leyden, the anabaptist king of Munster, had taken it into his head that God had made him a present of the cities of Amsterdam, Deventer, and Wesel; in consequence thereof, he sent bishops to these three places, to preach his gospel of sedition and carnage. About the beginning of the year 1535, twelve anabaptists, of whom five were women, assembled at midnight in a private house at Amsterdam. One of them, who was a tailor by profession, fell into a trance, and after having preached and prayed during the space of four hours, stripped himself naked, threw his clothes into the fire, and commanded all the assembly to do the same, in which he was obeyed without the least reluctance. He then ordered them to follow him through the streets in this state of nature, which they accordingly did, howling and bawling out, wo! wo! the wrath of God! the wrath of God! wo to Babylon! When, after being seized and brought before the magistrates, clothes were offered them to cover their indecency, they refused them obstinately, and cried aloud, *we are the naked truth*. When they were brought to the scaffold, they sang and danced, and discovered all the marks of enthusiastic phrasy. These tumults were followed by a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, formed by Van Geelen, an envoy of the mock king of Munster, who had made a very considerable number of proselytes, against the magistrates of Amsterdam, with a design to wrest the government of that city out of their hands. This incendiary marched his fanatical troop to the town-house on the day appointed, drums beating, and colours flying, and fixed there his head-quarters. He was attacked by the burghers, assisted by some regular troops, and headed by several of the burgomasters of the city. After an obstinate resistance he was surrounded, with his whole troop, who were put to death in the severest and most dreadful manner, to serve as examples to the other branches of the sect, who were exciting commotions of a like nature in Friesland, Groningen, and other provinces and cities in the Netherlands.

† Ger. Brandt, *Histor. Reform. Belgicæ*, tom. i. lib. in p. 119.

and numbers of them were executed every day, without a proper distinction being made between the innocent and the guilty, those that escaped the severity of justice, were in the most discouraging situation that can well be imagined. On the one hand, they beheld, with sorrow, all their hopes blasted by the total defeat of their brethren at Munster; and, on the other, they were filled with the most anxious apprehensions of the perils that threatened them on all sides. In this critical situation they derived much comfort and assistance from the counsels and zeal of Menno Simon, a native of Friesland, who had formerly been a popish priest, and, as he himself confesses, a notorious profligate. This man went over to the Anabaptists, at first, in a clandestine manner, and frequented their assemblies with the utmost secrecy; but in the year 1536, he threw off the mask, resigned his rank and office in the Romish church, and publicly embraced their communion. About a year after this, he was earnestly solicited by many of the sect to assume, among them, the rank and functions of a public teacher; and as he looked upon the persons, from whom this proposal came, to be exempt from the fanatical phrensy of their brethren at Munster, though, according to other accounts, they were originally of the same stamp, only rendered somewhat wiser by their sufferings, he yielded to their entreaties. From this period to the end of his days, that is, during the space of twenty-five years, he travelled from one country to another, with his wife and children, exercising his ministry under pressures and calamities of various kinds that succeeded each other without interruption, and constantly exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the severity of the laws. East and West Friesland, together with the province of Groningen, were first visited by this zealous apostle of the Anabaptists; from thence he directed his course into Holland, Gelderland, Brabant, and Westphalia, continued it through the German provinces that lie on the coasts of the Baltic sea, and penetrated so far as Livonia. In all these places his ministerial labours were attended with remarkable success, and added to his sect a prodigious number of proselytes. Hence, he is deservedly looked upon as the common chief of almost all the Anabaptists, and the parent of the sect that still subsists under that denomination. The success of this missionary will not appear very sur-

prising to those who are acquainted with his character, spirit, and talents, and who have a just notion of the state of the Anabaptists at the period of time now under consideration. Menno was a man of genius; though, as his writings show, his genius was not under the direction of a very sound judgment. He had the inestimable advantage of a natural and persuasive eloquence, and his learning was sufficient to make him pass for an oracle in the eyes of the multitude. He appears moreover to have been a man of probity, of a meek and tractable spirit, gentle in his manners, pliable and obsequious in his commerce with persons of all ranks and characters, and extremely zealous in promoting practical religion and virtue, which he recommended by his example, as well as by his precepts. A man of such talents and dispositions could not fail to attract the admiration of the people, and to gain a great number of adherents wherever he exercised his ministry. But nowhere could he expect a more plentiful harvest than among the Anabaptists, whose ignorance and simplicity rendered them peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, and who, having been long accustomed to leaders that resembled frenetic bacchanals more than Christian ministers, and often deluded by odious impostors, who involved them in endless perils and calamities, were rejoiced to find at length a teacher, whose doctrine and manners seemed to promise them more prosperous days.*

ix. Menno drew up a plan of doctrine and discipline of a much more mild and moderate nature than that
His doctrine. of the furious and fanatical Anabaptists already mentioned, but somewhat more severe, though more clear and consistent, than the doctrine of some of the wiser branches of that sect, who aimed at nothing more than the restoration of the Christian church to its primitive purity.

* Menno was born at Witmarsum, a village in the neighbourhood of Colswert in Friesland, in the year 1505, and not in 1496, as most writers tell us. After a life of toil, peril, and agitation, he departed in peace in the year 1561, in the dutchy of Holstein, at the country seat of a certain nobleman, not far from the city of Oldesloe, who, moved with compassion at a view of the perils to which Menno was exposed, and the snares that were daily laid for his ruin, took him, together with certain of his associates, into his protection, and gave him an asylum. We have a particular account of this famous anabaptist in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. ii. p. 835. See also Herm. Schyn, *Fleuder Deduct. Histor. Mennon.* cap. vi. p. 116. The writings of Menno, which are almost all composed in the Dutch language, were published in folio, at Amsterdam, in the year 1651. An excessively diffuse and rambling style, frequent and unnecessary repetitions, an irregular and confused method, with other defects of equal moment, render the perusal of these productions highly disagreeable.

Accordingly, he condemned the plan of ecclesiastical discipline, that was founded on the prospect of a new kingdom, to be miraculously established by Jesus Christ on the ruins of civil government, and the destruction of human rulers, and which had been the fatal and pestilential source of such dreadful commotions, such execrable rebellions, and such enormous crimes. He declared publicly his dislike of that doctrine which pointed out the approach of a marvellous reformation in the church by the means of a new and extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit. He expressed his abhorrence of the licentious tenets which several of the Anabaptists had maintained, with respect to the lawfulness of polygamy and divorce; and, finally, considered as unworthy of toleration, those fanatics who were of opinion that the Holy Ghost continued to descend into the minds of many chosen believers, in as extraordinary a manner as he did at the first establishment of the Christian church; and that he testified this peculiar presence to several of the faithful, by miracles, predictions, dreams, and visions of various kinds. He retained indeed the doctrines commonly received among the Anabaptists in relation to the baptism of infants, the millennium, or thousand years reign of Christ upon earth, the exclusion of magistrates from the Christian church, the abolition of war, and the prohibition of oaths enjoined by our Saviour, and the vanity, as well as the pernicious effects of human science. But while Menno retained these doctrines in a general sense, he explained and modified them in such a manner, as made them resemble the religious tenets that were universally received in the protestant churches; and this rendered them agreeable to many, and made them appear inoffensive even to numbers who had no inclination to embrace them. It however so happened, that the nature of the doctrines considered in themselves, the eloquence of Menno, which set them off to such advantage, and the circumstances of the times, gave a high degree of credit to the religious system of this famous teacher among the Anabaptists, so that it made a rapid progress in that sect. And thus it was in consequence of the ministry of Menno that the different sorts of Anabaptists agreed together in excluding from their communion the fanatics that dishonoured it, and in renouncing all tenets that were detrimental to

the authority of civil government, and, by an unexpected coalition, formed themselves into one community."

u These facts show us plainly how the famous question concerning the origin of the modern anabaptists may be resolved. The Mennonites oppose, with all their might, the account of their descent from the ancient anabaptists, which we find in so many writers, and would willingly give the modern anabaptists a more honourable origin. See Schyn, *Histor. Mennonitar.* cap. viii. ix. xxi. p. 223. The reason of their zeal in this matter is evident. Their situation has rendered them timorous. They live, as it were, in the midst of their enemies, and are constantly filled with an uneasy apprehension, that some day or other, malevolent zealots may take occasion, from their supposed origin, to renew against them the penal laws, by which the seditious anabaptists of ancient times suffered in such a dreadful manner. At least they imagine that the odium, under which they lie, will be greatly diminished, if they can prove, to the satisfaction of the public, the falsehood of that generally received opinion, that "the Mennonites are the descendants of the anabaptists," or, to speak more properly, "the same individual sect, purged from the fanaticism that formerly disgraced it, and rendered wiser than their ancestors, by reflection and suffering."

After comparing diligently and impartially together what has been alleged by the Mennonites and their adversaries in relation to this matter, I cannot see what it is, properly, that forms the subject of their controversy; and if the merits of the cause be stated with accuracy and perspicuity, I do not see how there can be any dispute at all about the matter now under consideration; for, in the

First place, if the Mennonites mean nothing more than this; that Menno, whom they considered as their parent and their chief, was not infected with those odious opinions which drew the just severity of the laws upon the anabaptists of Munster; that he neither looked for a new and spotless kingdom that was to be miraculously erected on earth, nor excited the multitude to depose magistrates, and abolish civil government; that he neither deceived himself, nor imposed upon others, by fanatical pretensions to dreams and visions of a supernatural kind; if, I say, this be all that the Mennonites mean, when they speak of their chief, no person, acquainted with the history of their sect, will pretend to contradict them. Nay, even those who maintain that there was an immediate and intimate connexion between the ancient and modern anabaptists, will readily allow to be true all that has been here said of Menno. Secondly, if the anabaptists maintain, that such of their churches as received their doctrine and discipline from Menno, have not only discovered, without interruption, a pacific spirit and an unlimited submission to civil government, abstaining from every thing that carried the remotest aspect of sedition, and showing the utmost abhorrence of wars and bloodshed, but have even banished from their confessions of faith and their religious instructions, all those tenets and principles that led on the ancient anabaptists, to disobedience, violence, and rebellion; all this again, will be readily granted. And if they allege, in the third place, that even the anabaptists, who lived before Menno, were not all so delirious as Munzer, nor so outrageous as the fanatical part of that sect, that rendered their memory eternally odious by the enormities they committed at Munster; that on the contrary many of these ancient anabaptists abstained religiously from all acts of violence and sedition, followed the pious examples of the ancient Waldenses, Henricians, Petrobrussians, Hassites, and Wickliffites, and adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno, as soon as that new parent arose to reform and patronize the sect, all this will be allowed without hesitation.

But, on the other hand, the Mennonites may assert many things in defence of the purity of their origin which cannot be admitted by any person who is free from prejudice, and well acquainted with their history. If they maintain, 1st, that none of their sect descended by birth, from those anabaptists, who involved Germany and other countries in the most dreadful calamities, or that none of these furious fanatics adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno, they may be easily refuted by a great number of facts and testimonies, and particularly by the declarations of Menno himself, who glories in his having conquered the ferocity, and reformed the lives and errors of several members of this pestilential sect. Nothing can be more certain than this fact, viz. that the first Mennonite congregations were composed of the different sorts of anabaptists already mentioned, of those who had been always inoffensive and upright, and of those who, before their

x. To preserve a spirit of union and concord in a body composed of such a motley multitude of dissonant members, required more than human power; and Menno neither had, nor pretended to have, supernatural succours. Accordingly, the seeds of dissension were, in a little time, sown among this people. About the middle of this century, a warm contest, concerning excommunication was excited by several anabaptists, headed by Leonard Bowenson and Theodore Philip; and its fruits are yet visible in that divided sect. These men carried the discipline of excommunication to an enormous degree of severity and rigour. They not only maintained, that open transgressors, even those who sincerely deplored and lamented their fault, should, without any previous warning or admonition, be expelled from the communion of the church; but were also audacious enough to pretend to exclude the persons, thus excommunicated, from all intercourse with their wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, children, and relations. The same persons, as might naturally be expected from this sample of their severity, were harsh and rigid in their manners, and were for imposing upon their brethren a course of moral discipline, which was difficult and austere in the highest degree. Many of the anabaptists protested against this, as unreasonable and unnecessary; and thus the community was,

The origin of the sects that have started up among the anabaptists.

conversion by the ministry of Menno, had been seditious fanatics. Nor can the acknowledgment of this incontestable fact be a just matter of reproach to the Mennonites, or be more dishonourable to them, than it is to us, that our ancestors were warmly attached to the idolatrous and extravagant worship of paganism or popery. Again; it will not be possible for us to agree with the Mennonites, if they maintain, *secondly*, that their sect does not retain, at this day, any of those tenets, or even any remains of those opinions and doctrines, which led the seditious and turbulent Anabaptists of old to the commission of so many and of such enormous crimes. For, not to mention Menno's calling the Anabaptists of Munster his *brethren*, a denomination indeed somewhat softened by the epithet of *erring*, which he joined to it, it is undoubtedly true, that the doctrine concerning the nature of *Christ's kingdom*, or the *church of the New Testament*, which led, by degrees, the ancient Anabaptists to those furious acts of rebellion that have rendered them so odious, is by no means effaced in the minds of the modern Mennonites. It is indeed weakened and modified in such a manner as to have lost its noxious qualities, and to be no longer pernicious in its influence; but it is not totally renounced nor abolished. I shall not now inquire how far even the reformed and milder sect of Menno has been, in time past, exempt from tumults and commotions of a grievous kind, nor shall I examine what passes at this day among the Anabaptists in general, or in particular branches of that sect; since it is certain, that the more eminent communities of that denomination, particularly those that flourish in North Holland, and the places adjacent, behold fanatics with the utmost aversion, as evidently from this circumstance, among others, that they will not suffer the people called Quakers to enter into their communion.

all of a sudden, divided into two sects; of which the one treated transgressors with lenity and moderation, while the other proceeded against them with the utmost rigour. Nor was this the only difference that was observable in the conduct and manners of these two parties; since the latter was remarkable for the sordid austerity that reigned in their rules of life and practice; while the former, considering more wisely the present state of human nature, were less severe in their injunctions, and were not altogether regardless of what is called decent, agreeable, and ornamental in life and manners. Menno employed his most vigorous efforts to heal these divisions, and to restore peace and concord in the community; but when he perceived that his attempts were vain, he conducted himself in such a manner as he thought the most proper to maintain his credit and influence among both parties. For this purpose he declared himself for neither side, but was constantly trimming between the two, as long as he lived; at one time, discovering an inclination toward the austere anabaptists; and at another seeming to prefer the milder discipline and manners of the more moderate brethren. But in this he acted in opposition to the plainest dictates of prudence; and accordingly, the high degree of authority he enjoyed rendered his inconstancy and irresolution not only disagreeable to both parties, but also the means of inflaming, instead of healing their divisions.*

xi. These two sects are to this very day distinguished by the denominations of *fine* and *gross*,^x or, to express the distinction in more intelligible terms, into *rigid* and *moderate* anabaptists. The former observe, with the most religious accuracy, veneration, and precision, the ancient doctrine, discipline, and precepts of the purer sort of anabaptists; the latter depart much more from the primitive sentiments, manners, and institutions of their sect, and approach nearer to those of the protestant churches. The gross or moderate anabaptists consisted, at

The rigid and moderate anabaptists.

* See the *Historia Bellarum et Certaminum qua, ab A. 1615, inter Mennonites contigunt*, which was published by an anonymous Mennonite. See also a German work, entitled Sim. Fred. Rues, *Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Mennoniten*, published in Sro. at Jena, in the year 1743.

^x The terms *fine* and *gross* are a literal translation of *groden* and *feinem*, which are the German denominations used to distinguish these two sects. The same terms have been introduced among the protestants in Holland; the *fine* denoting a set of people, whose extraordinary, and sometimes fanatical devotion, resembles that of the English methodists; while the *gross* is applied to the generality of Christians, who ordinary pretensions to uncommon degrees of sagacity and devotion.

first, of the inhabitants of a district in North Hollaud, called Waterland, and hence their whole sect was distinguished by the denomination of Waterlandians.' The fine or rigid part of that community were, for the most part, natives of Flanders, and hence their sect acquired the denomination of Flamingians, or Flandrians. But new dissensions and contests arose among these rigid Anabaptists, not indeed concerning any point of doctrine, but about the manner of treating persons that were to be excommunicated, and other matters of inferior moment. Hence a new schism arose, and they were subdivided into two sects, distinguished by the appellations of Flandrians and Frieslanders, who differed from each other in their manners and discipline. To these were added a third, who took the name of their country, like the two former, and were called Germans; for the Anabaptists of Germany passed in shoals into Holland and the Netherlands. But in process of time, the greatest part of these three sects came over, by degrees, to the moderate community of the Waterlandians, with whom they lived in the strictest bonds of peace and union. Those among the rigid Anabaptists, who refused to follow this example of moderation, are still known by the denomination of the Old Flemings, or Flandrians, but are few in number, when compared with the united congregations of the milder sects now mentioned.

XII. No sooner had the ferment of enthusiasm subsided among the Mennonites, than all the different sects, into which they had been divided, unanimously agreed to draw the whole system of their religious doctrine from the Holy Scriptures alone. To give a satisfactory proof of the sincerity of their resolution in this respect, they took care to have confessions drawn up, in which their sentiments concerning the Deity, and the manner of serving him, were expressed in the terms and phrases of holy writ. The most ancient, and

The source from which the Mennonites drew their doctrine.

See Frid. Spanhemii *Elenchus Controvers. Theol. Opp.* tom. iii. p. 772. The Waterlandians were also called *Johannites*, from John de Ries, who was of great use to them in many respects, and who, assisted by Lubert Gerrard, composed their Confession of Faith in the year 1590. This confession, which far surpasses both in point of simplicity and wisdom all the other confessions of the Mennonites, has passed through several editions, and has been lately republished by Herman Schyn, in his *Histor. Mennon.* cap. vii. p. 172. It was also illustrated in an ample commentary, in the year 1686, by Peter Joannis, a native of Holland, and pastor among the Waterlandians. It has, however, been alleged, that this famous production is by no means the general confession of the Waterlandians, but the private one only of that particular congregation, of which its author was the pastor. See *Rucs, Nachrichten*, p. 93, 94.

also the most respectable of these confessions, is that which we find among the Waterlandians. Several others, of later date, were also composed, some for the use of large communities, for the people of a whole district, and which were consequently submitted to the inspection of the magistrate; others designed only for the benefit of private societies.* It might not perhaps be amiss to inquire, whether all the tenets received among the Mennonites are faithfully exhibited and plainly expressed in these confessions, or whether several points be not there omitted which relate to the internal constitution of this sect, and would give us a complete idea of its nature and tendency. One thing is certain, that whoever peruses these confessions with an ordinary degree of attention, will easily perceive, that those tenets which appear detrimental to the interests of civil society, particularly those that relate to the prerogatives of magistracy, and the administration of oaths, are expressed with the utmost caution, and embellished with the greatest art, to prevent their bearing an alarming aspect. At the same time, the more discerning observer will see, that these embellishments are intended to disguise the truth, and that the doctrine of the Anabaptists, concerning the critical points above mentioned, are not represented, in their public confessions, in their real colours.

XIII. The ancient Anabaptists, who trusted in an extraordinary direction of the Holy Spirit, were under the pretended influence of so infallible a guide, little solicitous about composing a system of religion, and never once thought of instilling into the minds of the people just sentiments of the Deity. Hence the warm dissensions that arose among them, concerning matters of the highest consequence, such as the divinity of Christ, polygamy, and divorce. Menno and his disciples made some attempts to supply this defect. But nevertheless we find,

Their religion was late reduced into a system.

* See an account of these confessions in Schyn's *Plenior. Deduct. Hist. Mennon.* cap. iv. p. 78, 115, where he maintains, that "these confessions prove as great a uniformity among the Mennonites, in relation to the great and fundamental doctrines of religion, as can be pretended to by any other Christian community." But should the good man even succeed in persuading us of this boasted uniformity, he will yet never be able to make his assertion go down with many of his own brethren, who are to this day quarrelling about several points of religion, and who look upon matters, which appear to him of little consequence, as of high moment and importance to the cause of true piety. And indeed how could any of the Mennonites, before this present century, believe what Schyn here affirms, since it is well known, that they disputed about matters which he treats with contempt, as if they had been immediately connected with their eternal interests.

after his time, that the Mennonites, more especially those of the rigid class, carried the freedom of their religious speculations to such an excessive height, as bordered upon extravagance. This circumstance alone, were there no other, proves that the heads of this sect employed the smallest part of their zeal to prevent the introduction and propagation of error; and that they looked upon sanctity of life and manners alone, as the essence of true religion. The Waterlandians indeed, and after them, the other anabaptists, were obliged, at length, to draw up a summary of their doctrine, and to lay it before the public, in order to remove the odium that was cast upon them on account of their bold tenets, and their extravagant disputes, which were likely to involve them in the greatest calamities. But these confessions of the Mennonites were, in reality, little more than a method of defence, to which they were reduced by the opposition they met with, and must therefore be rather considered as an expedient to avert the indignation of their enemies, than as articles of doctrine, which all of them, without exception, were obliged to believe. For we do not find among the Mennonites, a part of the modern Waterlandians excepted, any injunction, which expressly prohibits individuals from entertaining or propagating religious opinions different from the public creed of the community. And indeed when we look attentively into the nature and constitution of this sect, it will appear to have been, in some measure, founded upon this principle, that practical piety is the essence of religion, and that the surest and most infallible mark of the true church is the sanctity of its members; it is at least certain, that this principle was always universally adopted by the anabaptists.

xiv. If we are to form our judgment of the religion of the Mennonites from their public creeds and confessions, we shall find that though it varies widely from the doctrine of the Lutherans, yet in most things it differs but little from that of the reformed church. They consider the sacraments in no other light, than as signs or symbols of the spiritual blessings administered in the gospel; and their ecclesiastical discipline seems to be almost entirely the same with that of the presbyterians. There are however peculiar tenets, by which they are distinguished from all other religious communities, and these

The religion
of the Mennonites.

may be reduced under three heads. For it is observable, that there are certain doctrines, which are held in common by all the various sects of the Mennonites; others, which are only received in some of the more eminent and numerous sects of that community, such were the sentiments of Menno, which hindered him from being universally acceptable to the anabaptists; and others, again, which are only to be found among the more obscure and inconsiderable societies of that denomination. These last indeed appear and vanish alternately, with the transitory sects that adopt them, and therefore do not deserve to employ our attention any farther in this place.

xv. The opinions that are held in common by the Mennonites seem to be all derived from this leading and fundamental principle, that "the kingdom which Christ established upon earth is a visible church or community, into which the holy and the just are alone to be admitted, and which is consequently exempt from all those institutions and rules of discipline, that have been invented by human wisdom, for the correction and reformation of the wicked."

This fanatical principle was frankly avowed by the ancient Mennonites; their more immediate descendants however began to be less ingenuous; and in their public confessions of faith, they either disguised it under ambiguous phrases, or expressed themselves as if they meant to renounce it entirely. To renounce it entirely was impossible, without falling into the greatest inconsistency, and undermining the very foundation of those doctrines that distinguished them from all other Christian societies." And

a That they did not renounce it entirely, is evident from their own *creeds and confessions*, even from those in which the greatest caution has been employed to conceal the principles that rendered their ancestors odious, and to disguise whatever might render themselves liable to suspicion. For example, they speak in the most pompous terms concerning the dignity, excellence, utility, and divine origin, of civil magistrates; and I am willing to suppose that they speak their real sentiments in this matter: But when they proceed to give reasons that prevent their admitting magistrates into their communion, they discover unwarily the very principles which they are otherwise so studious to conceal. Thus, in the thirtieth article of the Waterlandian confession, they declare, that "Jesus Christ has not comprehended the institution of civil magistracy in his spiritual kingdom, in the church of the New Testament, nor has he added it to the offices of his church; the Latin words are; "Potestatem hanc politicam Dominus Jesus in regno suo spirituali, ecclesia Novi Testamenti, non instituit, neque hanc officii ecclesie sue adjunxit." Hence it appears, that the Mennonites look upon the Church of the New Testament as a holy republic, inaccessible to the wicked, and consequently exempt from those institutions and laws that are necessary to oppose the progress of iniquity. Why then do they not speak plainly, when they deliver their doctrine concerning the nature of the church, instead of affecting ambiguity and evasions?

yet it is certain that the present Mennonites, as they have in many other respects departed from the principles and maxims of their ancestors, so have they given a striking instance of defection in the case now before us, and have almost wholly renounced this fundamental doctrine of their sect, relating to the nature of the Christian church. A dismal experience has convinced them of the absurdity of this chimerical principle, which the dictates of reason, and the declarations of Scripture, had demonstrated sufficiently; but without effect. Now, that the Mennonites have opened their eyes, they seem to be pretty generally agreed about the following tenets; first, that there is an *invisible* church, which is universal in its extent, and is composed of members from all the sects and communities that bear the Christian name; secondly, that the mark of the true church is not, as their former doctrine supposed, to be sought for in the unspotted sanctity of all its members, since they acknowledge that the visible church is promiscuously composed of the righteous and the wicked, but in the knowledge of the truth, as it was delivered by Christ, and in the agreement of all the members of the church in professing and defending it.

XVI. Notwithstanding all this, it is manifest, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the religious opinions which still distinguish the Mennonites from all other Christian communities, flow directly from the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists concerning the nature of the church. It is in consequence of this doctrine that "they admit none to the sacrament of baptism but persons that are come to the full use of their reason;" because infants are incapable of binding themselves by a solemn vow to a holy life, and it is altogether uncertain whether or not, in maturer years, they will be saints or sinners. It is in consequence of the same doctrine that "they neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the functions of magistracy;" for where there are no malefactors, magistrates are useless. Hence do they pretend also "to deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and consider war, in all its shapes, as unchristian and unjust;" for as those who are *perfectly holy* can neither be provoked by injuries, nor commit them, they do not stand in need of the force of arms, either for the purposes of resentment or defence. It is still the same principle that excites in them the utmost aversion

Their peculiar tenets or doctrines.

to the execution of justice, and more especially to capital punishments; since, according to this principle, there are no transgressions nor crimes in the kingdom of Christ, and consequently no occasion for the arm of the judge. Nor can it be imagined, that they should refuse to confirm their testimony by an oath upon any other foundation than this, that the *perfect* members of a holy church can neither dissemble nor deceive. It was certainly then the ancient doctrine of the Anabaptists, concerning the sanctity of the church, that gave rise to the tenets now mentioned, and that was the source of that rigid and severe discipline, which excited such tumults and divisions among the members of that community.

XVII. The rules of moral discipline, that were formerly observed by the Mennonites, were rigorous and austere in the highest degree, and thus every way conformable to the fundamental principle, which has been already mentioned as the source of all their peculiar tenets. It is somewhat doubtful whether these rules still subsist and are respected among them; but it is certain, that in the times of old their moral precepts were very severe. And indeed it could not well be otherwise; for, when these people had once got it into their heads, that sanctity of manners was the *only* genuine mark of the true church, it may well be imagined that they would spare no pains to obtain this honourable character for their sect; and that, for this purpose, they would use the strictest precautions to guard their brethren against disgracing their profession by immoral practices. Hence it was that they unanimously, and no doubt justly, exalted the rules of the gospel, on account of their transcendent purity. They alleged that Christ had promulgated a new law of life, far more perfect than that which had been delivered by Moses and the prophets; and they excluded from their communion all such as deviated, in the least, from the most rigorous rules of simplicity and gravity in their looks, their gestures, their clothing, and their table; all whose desires surpassed the dictates of mere necessity; nay, even all who observed a certain decorum in their manners, and paid a decent regard to the innocent customs of the world. But this primitive austerity is greatly diminished in the more considerable sects of the Mennonites, and more especially among the Waterlandians and Germans. The opulence they have acquired, by their industry and commerce, has relaxed

Their system
of morality.

their severity, softened their manners, and rendered them less insensible of the sweets of life ; so that at this day the Mennonite congregations furnish their pastors with as much matter of censure and admonition as any other Christian community.^b There are however still some remains of the abstinence and severity of manners that prevailed formerly among the anabaptists ; but these are only to be found among some of the smaller sects of that persuasion, and more particularly among those who live remote from great and populous cities.

XVIII. The particular sentiments and opinions that divided the more considerable societies of the Mennonites, were those that follow : 1. Menno denied that Christ derived from his mother the body he assumed ; and thought, on the contrary, that it was produced out of nothing, in the womb of that blessed virgin, by the creating power of the Holy Ghost.^c This opinion is yet firmly maintained by the ancient Flemings, or rigid anabaptists ; but has long since been renounced by all the other sects of that denomination.^d 2. The more aus-

The singular tenets of some sects.

b It is certain, that the Mennonites in Holland, at this day, are, in their tables, their equipages, and their country seats, the most luxurious part of the Dutch nation. This is more especially true of the Mennonites of Amsterdam, who are very numerous and extremely opulent.

c This is the account that is given of the opinion of Menno by Herman Schyn, in his *Plenior. Deduct. Hist. Mennonit.* p. 164, 165, which other writers represent in a different manner. After an attentive perusal of several passages in the writings of Menno, where he professedly handles this very subject, it appears to me more than probable that he inclined to the opinion attributed to him in the text, and that it was in this sense only, that he supposed Christ to be clothed with a divine and celestial body. For that may, without any impropriety, be called celestial and divine which is produced immediately, in consequence of a creating act, by the Holy Ghost. It must, however, be acknowledged, that Menno does not seem to have been unchangeably wedded to this opinion. For in several places he expresses himself ambiguously on this head, and even sometimes falls into inconsistencies. From hence perhaps it might not be unreasonable to conclude, that he renounced indeed, the common opinion concerning the origin of Christ's human nature : but was pretty much undetermined with respect to the hypothesis, which, among many that were proposed, it was proper to substitute in its place. **¶** See Fueslini *Centuria I. Epistolar. a Reformatore. Helveticis scriptar.* p. 393. Be that as it may, Menno is generally considered as the author of this opinion concerning the origin of Christ's body, which is still embraced by the more rigid part of his followers. It appears probable, nevertheless, that this opinion was much older than his time, and was only adopted by him with the other tenets of the Anabaptists. As a proof of this, it may be observed, that Bolandus, in his poem, entitled *Mohus Nonasteriensis*, lib. x. v. 49, plainly declares, that many of the Anabaptists of Munster, who certainly had not been instructed by Menno, held this very doctrine in relation to Christ's incarnation :

"Esse, Christum, Deum statuerunt illi, sed copore carnem,
Humanam summo sustinuisse negant ;
At Divinam mentem, tenuis quasi succo canalis,
Per Mariam corpus virginis lae ferunt."

d Many writers are of opinion that the Waterlandians, of all the other Anabaptists, showed the strongest propensity to adopt the doctrine of Menno, relating to the origin of Christ's body. See *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, p. 223. *Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous*

tere Mennonites, like their forefathers, not only animadvert, with the most unrelenting severity, upon actions manifestly criminal, and evidently repugnant to the divine laws, but also treat in the same manner the smallest marks of an internal propensity to the pleasures of sense, or of a disposition to comply with the customs of the world. They condemn, for example, elegant dress, rich furniture, every thing, in a word, that looks like ornament, or surpasses the bounds of absolute necessity. Their conduct also to offenders is truly merciless; for they expel them from the church without previous admonition, and never temper the rigour of their judgments by an equitable consideration of the infirmities of nature in this imperfect state. The other Mennonites are by no means chargeable with this severity toward their offending brethren; they exclude none from their communion but the obstinate contemners of the divine laws; nor do they proceed to this extremity even with regard to such, until repeated admonitions have proved ineffectual to reform them. 3. The more rigid Mennonites look upon those that are excommunicated as the pests of society, who are to be avoided on all occasions, and to be banished from all the comforts of social intercourse. Neither the voice of nature, nor the ties of blood, are allowed to plead in their behalf, or to procure them the smallest degree of indulgence. In such a case the exchange of good offices, the sweets of friendly conversation, and the mutual effusions of tenderness and love are cruelly suspended, even between parents and children, husbands and wives, and also in all the other endearing relations of human life. But the more moderate branches of this community have wisely rejected this unnatural discipline, and look upon the honour and sanctity of the church to be sufficiently vindicated, when its members avoid a close and particular intimacy with those who have been expelled from its communion. 4. The rigid anabaptists enjoin it as an obligation upon their disciples, and the members of their community, to wash the feet of their guests as a token of brotherly love and affection, and in obedience to the example of Christ, which they suppose, in this case, to

les Peuples du Monde, tom. iv. p. 200. But that these writers are mistaken, is abundantly manifest from the public Confession of Faith of the Waterlandians, composed by Ries. See also, for a further refutation of this mistake, Herrn. Schyn, *Deductio Plentor. Histor. Mennonit.* p. 165.

have the force of a positive command; and hence they are sometimes called *podoniptæ*. But the other Mennonites deny that Christ meant, in this instance of his goodness and condescension, to recommend this custom to the imitation of his followers, or to give his example, in this case, the authority of a positive precept.

XIX. The Anabaptists, however divided on other subjects, were agreed in their notions of learning and philosophy, which, in former times, they unanimously considered as the pests of the Christian church, and as highly detrimental to the progress of true religion and virtue. Hence it happened, that among a considerable number of writers, who in this century employed their pens in the defence of that sect, there is none whose labours bear any inviting marks of learning or genius. The rigid Mennonites persevere still in the barbarous system of their ancestors, and neglecting totally the improvement of the mind, and the culture of the sciences, devote themselves entirely to trade, manual industry, and the mechanic arts. The Waterlandians indeed are honourably distinguished from all the other Anabaptists in this, as well as in many other respects. For they permit several members of their community to frequent the public universities, and there to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, antiquities, and more especially of physic, whose usefulness and importance they do not pretend to deny; and hence it happens, that in our times, so many pastors among the Mennonites assume the title and profession of physicians. Nay more; it is not unusual to see Anabaptists of this more humane and moderate class engaged even in philosophical researches, on the excellence and utility of which their eyes are at length so far opened as to make them acknowledge their importance to the well being of society. It was no doubt in consequence of this change of sentiment, that they have erected, not long ago, a public seminary of learning at Amsterdam, in which there is always a person of eminent abilities chosen as professor of philosophy. But, though these moderate Anabaptists acknowledge the benefit which may be derived to civil society from the culture of philosophy and the sciences, yet they still persevere so far in their ancient prejudices, as to consider theology as a system that has no connexion with them; and consequently, they are of opinion,

The state of learning and philosophy among the Anabaptists.

that, in order to preserve it pure and untainted, the utmost caution must be used not to blend the dictates of philosophy with the doctrines of religion. It is further to be observed, that in the present times, even the Flemish or rigid Anabaptists begin gradually to divest themselves of their antipathy to learning, and allow their brethren to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, and the other sciences.

xx. That simplicity and ignorance, of which the ancient Anabaptists boasted, as the guardians of their piety and the sources of their felicity, contributed principally to those divisions and schisms that reigned among them, from even their first rise, in a degree unknown and unexperienced in any other Christian community. This will appear evident to such as inquire, with the smallest attention, into the more immediate causes of their dissensions. For it is observable, that their most vehement contests had not for their object any difference in opinion concerning the doctrines or mysteries of religion, but generally turned upon matters relating to the conduct of life, on what was lawful, decent, just, and pious, in actions and manners, and what, on the contrary, was to be considered as criminal or unseemly. These disputes were a natural consequence of their favourite principles, that holiness of life, and purity of manners, were the authentic marks of the true church. But the misfortune lay here, that being ignorant themselves, and under the guidance of persons whose knowledge was little superior to theirs, they were unacquainted with the true method of determining, in a multitude of cases, what was pious, laudable, and lawful, and what was impious, unbecoming, and criminal. The criterion they employed for this purpose, was neither the decision of right reason, nor the authority of the divine laws, accurately interpreted; since their ignorance rendered them incapable of using these means of arriving at the truth. They judged therefore of these matters by the suggestions of fancy, and the opinions of others. But as this method of discerning between right and wrong, decent and indecent, was extremely uncertain and precarious, and could not but produce a variety of decisions, according to the different feelings, fancies, tempers, and capacities of different persons, hence naturally arose diversity of sentiments, debates, and contests of various kinds. These de-

Their division
into a multi-
tude of sects.

bates produced schisms and divisions, which are never more easily excited, nor more obstinately fomented and perpetuated, than where ignorance, the true source of bigotry, prevails.

xxi. The Mennonites, after having been long in an uncertain and precarious situation, obtained a fixed and unmolested settlement in the United Provinces, under the shade of a legal toleration procured for them by William, prince of Orange, the glorious founder of Belgic liberty. This illustrious chief, who acted from principle in allowing liberty of conscience and worship to Christians of different denominations, was moreover engaged, by gratitude, to favour the Mennonites, who had assisted him, in the year 1572, with a considerable sum of money, when his coffers were almost exhausted.* The fruits however of this toleration, were not immediately enjoyed by all the Anabaptists that were dispersed through the different provinces of the rising republic; for, in several places, both the civil magistrates and the clergy made a long and obstinate opposition to the will of the prince in this matter; particularly in the province of Zealand and the city of Amsterdam, where the remembrance of the plots the Anabaptists had laid, and the tumults they had excited, was still fresh in the minds of the people.† This opposition indeed was in a great measure conquered before the conclusion of this century, partly by the resolution and influence of William the First, and his son Maurice, and partly by the exemplary conduct of the Mennonites, who manifested their zealous attachment to the republic on several occasions, and redoubled, instead of diminishing, the precautions that might remove all grounds of suspicion to their advantage, and take from their adversaries every pretext which could render their opposition justifiable. But it was not before the following century, that their liberty and tranquillity were fixed upon solid foundations, when, by a Confession of Faith, published in the year 1626, they cleared themselves from the imputation of those pernicious and detestable errors that had been laid to their charge.‡

The first solid settlement of the Mennonites in the United Provinces.

* See Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie in de Nederlande*, vol. i. p. 525, 526. *Ceremonies et Coutumes de tous les Peuples du Monde*, tom. iv. p. 201.

† Brandt, *loc. cit.* book xi. p. 555, 586, 597, 609, 610, book xiv. p. 790, book xvi. p. 811.

‡ See Herm. Schyn, *Plenior. Deductio Histor. Mennonit.* cap. iv. p. 79.

XXII. The sect, in England, which rejects the custom of baptizing infants, are not distinguished by the title of Anabaptists, but by that of Baptists. It is however probable, that they derive their origin from the German and Dutch Mennonites; and that, in former times, they adopted their doctrine in all its points. That indeed is by no means the case at present; for the English Baptists differ, in many things, both from the ancient and modern Mennonites. They are divided into two sects. One of which is distinguished by the denomination of *general* or *Arminian* Baptists, on account of their opposition to the doctrine of absolute and unconditional decrees; and the other by that of *particular* or *Calvinistical* Baptists, from the striking resemblance of their religious system to that of the Presbyterians, who have Calvin for their chief.^b The Baptists of this latter sect settled chiefly at London, and in the towns and villages adjacent; and they have departed so far from the tenets of their ancestors, that, at this day, they retain no more of the peculiar doctrines and institutions of the Mennonites, than the administration of Baptism by immersion, and the refusal of that sacrament to infants, and those of tender years. And consequently they have none of those scruples relating to oaths, war, and the functions of magistracy, that still remain among even the most rational part of the modern Mennonites. They observe in their congregations the same rules of government, and the same method of worship, that are followed by the Presbyterians, and their community is under the direction of men eminent for their piety and learning.ⁱ From their Confession of Faith, that was published in the year 1649, it appears plainly, that their religious sentiments were the same then that they are at this day.^k

XXIII. The *general* Baptists, or as they are called by some the Antipædobaptists are dispersed in great numbers through several counties of England, and are, for the most part, persons of mean condition, and almost totally destitute of learning and knowledge. This latter circumstance will appear less surprising, when it is considered, that like the ancient Mennonites, they profess a contempt of erudition and science. There is much

^b See Whiston's Memoirs of his Life and Writings, vol. ii. p. 461.

ⁱ See a German work, composed by Ant. William Bohm, under the title of the History of the Reformation in England, p. 151, 473, 536, 1152.

^k *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. vi. p. 2.

latitude in their system of religious doctrine, which consists in such vague and general principles, as render their communion accessible to Christians of almost all denominations. And, accordingly, they tolerate, in fact, and receive among them persons of every sect, even Socinians and Arians; nor do they reject any from their communion who profess themselves Christians, and receive the holy Scriptures as the source of truth, and the rule of faith.¹ They agree with the particular baptists in this circumstance, that they admit to baptism adult persons only, and administer that sacrament by dipping or total immersion; but they differ from them in another respect, even in their repeating the administration of baptism to those who had received it, either in a state of infancy, or by aspersion, instead of dipping; for if the common accounts may be believed, the particular baptists do not carry matters so far. The following sentiments, rites, and tenets, are also peculiar to the former; 1. After the manner of the ancient Mennonites, they look upon their sect as the only true Christian church, and consequently shun, with the most scrupulous caution, the communion of all other religious societies. 2. They dip only once, and not three times, as is practised elsewhere, the candidates for baptism, and consider it as a matter of indifference, whether that sacrament be administered in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in that of Christ alone. 3. They adopt the doctrine of Menno with respect to the millennium, or thousand years' reign of the saints with Christ upon earth; and 4, many of them embrace his particular opinion concerning the origin of Christ's body.^m 5. They look upon the precept of the apostles, prohibiting the use of blood, and things strangled,ⁿ as a law that was designed to be in

¹ This appears evidently from their Confession of Faith, which appeared first in the year 1660, was republished by Mr. Whiston, in the Memoirs of his Life, vol. ii. p. 561, and is drawn up with such latitude, that with the removal and alteration of a few points,^{*} it may be adopted by Christians of all denominations.† Mr. Whiston, though an Arian, became a member of this baptist community, which, as he thought, came nearest to the simplicity of the primitive and apostolic age. The famous Mr. Emlyn, who was persecuted on account of his Socinian principles, joined himself also to this society, and died in their communion.

☞ ^m To wit, that the body of Jesus was not derived from the substance of the blessed Virgin, but created in her womb by an omnipotent act of the Holy Spirit.

ⁿ Acts xv. 29.

☞ ^{*} Viz. Those relating to universal redemption, the perseverance of the saints, election and reprobation, which are illustrated entirely on Arminian principles, and consequently cannot be embraced by rigid Calvinists; nor to mention the points relating to baptism, which are the distinctive marks of this sect.

☞ [†] Our author does not certainly mean to include Roman catholics in this large class, for then his assertion would not be true.

force in all ages and periods of the church. 6. They believe that the soul, from the moment that the body dies until its resurrection at the last day, remains in a state of perfect insensibility. 7. They use the ceremony of extreme unction. And, to omit matters of a more trifling nature, 8, several of them observe the Jewish as well as the Christian sabbath.^o These baptists have three different classes of ecclesiastical governors, bishops, elders, and deacons; the first of these, among whom there have been several learned men,^p they modestly call messengers,^q as St. John is known to have styled that order in the book of the *Revelation*.

XXIV. Before we conclude the history of the anabaptists, it may not be improper to mention a very singular and ridiculous sect that was founded by David George, a native of Delft, and a member of that community. This enthusiast, after having laid the foundation of the sect of the Davidists, or David Georgians, deserted the anabaptists, and removed to Basil in Switzerland, in the year 1544. where he changed his name, and by the liberality and splendour that attended his opulence, joined to his probity and purity of manners, acquired a very high degree of esteem, which he preserved till his death. The lustre of his reputation was however but transitory; for soon after his decease, which happened in the year 1556, his son-in-law, Nicholas Blesdyck, charged him with having maintained the most blasphemous and pestilential errors. The senate of Basil, before whom this accusation was brought, being satisfied with the evidence by which it was supported, pronounced sentence against the deceased heretic, and ordered his body to be dug up and to be publicly burnt. And indeed nothing more horribly impious and extravagant can possibly be conceived, than the sentiments and tenets of this fanatic, if they were really such as they have been represented, either by his accusers or his historians. For he is said to have given himself out for the Son of God, the Fountain of divine wisdom, to have denied the existence of angels, good and evil, of heaven and hell, and to have rejected the doctrine of a future judgment;

^o These accounts of the doctrine of the baptists are taken from Wall's History of Infant Baptism; and from the second volume of Whiston's Memoirs of his Life, p. 465, &c.
^p See Whiston's Memoirs of his Life, tom. ii. p. 466, as also Crosby's History of the English Baptists, published in four volumes 8vo. in the year 1728.

^q St. John calls them the angels of the churches; the word *angel*, in Greek *αγγελος*, signifies properly an envoy or messenger.

and he is also charged with having trampled upon all the rules of decency and modesty with the utmost contempt.^r In all this, however, it is very possible, that there may be much exaggeration. The enthusiast in question, though a man of some natural genius, was nevertheless totally destitute of learning of every kind, and had something obscure, harsh, and illiberal in his manner of expression, that gave too much occasion to an unfavourable interpretation of his religious tenets. That he had both more sense and more virtue than is generally imagined, appears manifestly not only from his numerous writings, but also from the simplicity and candour that were visible in the temper and spirit of the disciples he left behind him, of whom several are yet to be found in Holstein, Friesland, and other countries.* He deplored the decline of vital and practical religion, and endeavoured to restore it among his followers; and in this he seemed to imitate the example of the more moderate anabaptists. But the excessive warmth of an irregular imagination threw him into illusions of the most dangerous and pernicious kind, and seduced him into a persuasion that he was honoured with the gift of divine inspiration, and had celestial visions constantly presented to his mind. Thus was he led to such a high degree of fanaticism, that, rejecting as mean and useless the external services of piety, he reduced religion to contemplation, silence, and a certain frame or habit of soul, which it is equally difficult to define and to understand. The soaring mystics and the visionary quakers may therefore, if they please, give David George a distinguished rank in their enthusiastical community.

xxv. Henry Nicholas, a Westphalian, one of the intimate companions of this fanatic, though somewhat different from him in the nature of his enthusiasm, and also in point of genius and character, founded a sect in Holland, in the year 1555, which he called the *family of love*. The principles of this sect were

The family
of love found-
ed by Henry
Nicholas.

^r See Nic. Blesdyckii *Historia Davidis Georgii a Jacobo Revio edita*; as also the life of the same fanatic, written in the German language, by Stolterforth. Among the modern writers, see Arnold's *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, tom. i. p. 750, tom. ii. p. 534 and 1183, in which there are several things that tend to clear the character of David. See also Henr. Mori *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*, sect. xxiii. p. 23. And the documents I have published in relation to this matter, in the *History of Servetus*, p. 425.

* See Jo. Molleri *Introduct. in Histor. Chersonens. Cimbrica*, part ii. p. 116, et *Cimbrica Literata*, tom. i. p. 422.

afterward propagated in England, and produced no small confusion in both nations. The judgment that has been formed with respect to David George may be applied with truth, at least in a great measure, to his associate Nicholas, who perhaps would have prevented a considerable part of the heavy reproaches with which he has been loaded, had he been endowed with a degree of genius, discernment, and knowledge, sufficient to enable him to express his sentiments with perspicuity and elegance. Be that as it may, the character, temper, and views of this man may be learned from the spirit that reigned in his flock.' As to his pretensions, they were indeed visionary and chimerical; for he maintained that he had a commission from heaven, to teach men that the essence of religion consisted in the feelings of divine love; that all other theological tenets, whether they related to objects of faith, or modes of worship, were of no sort of moment; and consequently, that it was a matter of the most perfect indifference, what opinions Christians entertained concerning the divine nature, provided their hearts burned with the pure and sacred flame of piety and love. To this his main doctrine, Nicholas may have probably added other odd fancies, as always is the case with those innovators, who are endued with a warm and fruitful imagination; to come however at a true notion of the opinions of this enthusiast, it will be much wiser to consult his own writings, than to depend entirely upon the accounts and refutations of his adversaries."

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE SOCINIANS.

I. THE Socinians are said to have derived this denomination from the illustrious family of the Sozzini, which flourished a long time at Sienna in Tus-

The denomination and origin of this sect.

t See Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa controvers.* lib. vi. p. 393. Arnold Kircher und Ketzler *Historie*, p. 746. Bohm's *History of the Reformation in England*, written in German, book iv. ch. v. p. 541.

u The most learned of all the authors who wrote against the family of *leae*, was Dr. Henry More, in his *Grand Explanation of the Mystery of Godliness*, &c. book vi. chap. 12—18. George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers, inveighed also severely against this seraphic family, and called them a motley tribe of fanatics, because they took oaths, danced, sung, and made merry. See Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, book iii. p. 80.

cany, and produced several great and eminent men, and among others Lælius and Faustus Sozinus, who are commonly supposed to have been the founders of this sect. The former was the son of Marianus, a famous lawyer, and was himself a man of uncommon genius and learning; to which he added, as his very enemies are obliged to acknowledge, the lustre of a virtuous life, and of unblemished manners. Being forced to leave his country, in the year 1547, on account of the disgust he had conceived against popery, he travelled through France, England, Holland, Germany, and Poland, in order to examine the religious sentiments of those who had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and thus at length to come at the truth. After this he settled at Zurich, where he died in the year 1562, before he had arrived at the fortieth year of his age.* His mild and gentle disposition rendered him averse from whatever had the air of contention and discord. He adopted the Helvetic confession of faith, and professed himself a member of the church of Switzerland; but this did not engage him to conceal entirely the doubts he had formed in relation to certain points of religion, and which he communicated, in effect, by letter, to some learned men, whose judgment he respected, and in whose friendship he could confide.† His sentiments were indeed propagated, in a more public manner, after his death; since Faustus, his nephew and his heir, is supposed to have drawn, from the papers he left behind him, that religious system upon which the sect of the Socinians was founded.

II. It is however to be observed, that this denomination does not always convey the same ideas, since it is susceptible of different significations, and is, in effect, used sometimes in a more strict and proper, and at others in a more improper and extensive sense. For, according to the usual manner of speaking, all are termed Socinians, whose sentiments bear a certain affinity to the system of Socinus; and they are more especially ranked in that class, who either boldly deny, or artfully explain away, the doctrines that assert the divine na-

The term Socinian bears different significations.

* Cloppenburg, *Dissertatio de origine et progressu Socinianismi*, Jo. Hornbeck, *Summa Controversiarum*, p. 563. Jo. Hear. Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 417.

† Zanchius, *Præf. ad Libr. de tribus Elohim.* Beza, *Epist. Volum. ep.* lxxxi. p. 167. Certain writings are attributed to him by Sandius, in his *Bibliotheca Antitrinitar.* p. 81. but it is very doubtful whether he was the real author of them or not.

ture of Christ, and a trinity of persons in the godhead. But, in a strict and proper sense, they only are deemed the members of this sect, who embrace wholly, or with a few exceptions, the form of theological doctrine which Faustus Socinus either drew up himself, or received from his uncle, and delivered to the unitarian brethren, or Socinians, in Poland and Transylvania.*

III. The origin of Socinianism may be traced to the earliest period of the reformation. For scarcely had that happy revolution in the state of religion taken place, when a set of men, fond of extremes, and consequently disposed to look upon as erroneous whatever had hitherto been taught and professed in the church of Rome, began to undermine the doctrine of Christ's divinity, and the other truths that are connected with it, and proposed reducing the whole of religion to practical piety and virtue. The efforts of these men were opposed with united zeal and vigilance, by the Romish, reformed, and Lutheran churches; and their designs were so far disconcerted, as to prevent their forming themselves and their followers into a regular and permanent sect. So early as the year 1524, the divinity of Christ was openly denied by Lewis Hetzer, one of the wandering and fanatical Anabaptists who, about three years afterward, was put to death at Constance.† There were not wanting, among the first Anabaptists, several persons who entertained the opinions of Hetzer; though it would be manifestly unfair to lay these opinions to the charge of the whole community. But it was not only from that quarter that erroneous opinions

* We have hitherto no complete or accurate history either of the sect called Socinians, or of Lælius and Faustus Socinus, its founders; nor any satisfactory account of those who laboured principally with them, and after them, in giving a permanent and stable form to this community. For the accounts we have of the Socinians, and their principal doctors, from Hornbeck,* Calovius,† Cloppenburg,‡ Sandius,§ Lubieniecus,|| and Lenterbach,¶ are far from being proper to satisfy the curiosity of those, who desire something more than a vague and superficial knowledge of this matter. The History of Socinianism, that was published at Paris by Lami in the year 1723, is a wretched compilation from the most commonplace writers on that subject; it is also full of errors, and is loaded with a variety of matters that have no sort of relation to the history of Socinus, or to the doctrine he taught. The very learned and laborious La Croze promised, in his *Dissertations Historiques*, tom. i. p. 142, a complete history of Socinianism, from its origin to the present times, but did not fulfil this interesting engagement.

† *Sandii Bibliotheca Antitrinitaria*. Jo. Bapt. Ottius, *Annal. Anabaptist.* p. 58. *Breitingeri Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 391, tom. vi. p. 100, 479.

* In his *Socinianism. Confutat.* vol. i. † In his *Opera Antisociniani*. ‡ In his *Dissertat. de origine et progressu Socinianismi*, tom. ii. opp. § In his *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*. || In his *Historia Reformationis Polonicae*. ¶ In his *Ariano Socinismus*, published in German at Francfort in the year 1725.

were propagated in relation to the points already mentioned; others seemed to have been seized with the contagion, and it manifested itself from day to day in several countries. John Campanus, a native of Juliers, disseminated at Wittemberg, and other places, various tenets of an heretical aspect; and taught, among other things, that the *Son was inferior to the Father*, and that the *Holy Ghost* was not the title of a *divine person*, but a *denomination* used to denote the *nature* of the *Father* and of the *Son*; and thus did this innovator revive, in a great measure, the errors of the ancient Arians.^a A doctrine of a similar kind was propagated, in the year 1530, in Switzerland, Augsburg, and among the Grisons, by a person whose name was Claudius, who, by his opposition to the doctrine of Christ's divinity, excited no small commotions in these countries.^b But none of these new teachers were so far encouraged by the number of their followers, or the indulgence of their adversaries, as to be in a condition to form a regular sect.

iv. The attempts of Michael Servetus,^c or Servetus, a Spanish physician, were much more alarming to those who had the cause of true religion at heart, than the feeble and impotent efforts of the innovators now mentioned. This man, who has made such a noise in the world, was born at Villa Neuva, in the kingdom of Arragon, distinguished himself by the superiority of his genius, and had made a considerable progress in various branches of science. In the years 1531 and 1532, he published, in Latin, his Seven Books concerning the errors that are contained in the doctrine of the Trinity, and his Two Dialogues on the same subject, in which he attacked, in the most audacious manner, the sentiments adopted by far the greatest part of the Christian church, in relation to the divine nature, and a trinity of persons in the Godhead. Some years after this he travelled into France, and, after

^a See the Dissertation de Joh. Campano, *Antitrinitario*, in the *Amantissimas Litterarum* of the very learned Schelhornius, tom. xi. p. 1—92.

^b See Schelhornii *Dissert. Epistol. de Mino Celso Senensi Claudio item Allobrage, homine Fœnatio et SS. Trinitatis hoste*, Ulmæ, 1748, in 4to. Jac. Breitingeri *Museum Helvetic.* tom. vii. p. 667. Jo. Hallerius, *Epistol.* in Jo. Conrad. Fueslin, *Centuri Epistolar. Viror. Eruditor.* p. 140.

^c By taking away the last syllable of this name, I mean the Spanish termination *de*, there remains *Serve*, which, by placing differently the letters that compose it, makes *Reves*. Servetus assumed this latter name in the title pages of all his books. He also called himself sometimes *Michael Villanovanus*, or *Villanovanus* alone, after the place of his nativity, omitting the name of his family.

a variety of adventures, settled at Vienne in Dauphine, where he applied himself, with success, to the practice of physic. It was here, that letting loose the reins of his warm and irregular imagination, he invented that strange system of theology, which was printed, in a clandestine manner, in the year 1553, under the title of Christianity restored. The man seemed to be seized with a passion for reforming, in his way, and many things concurred to favour his designs, such as the fire of his genius, the extent of his learning, the power of his eloquence, the strength of his resolution, the obstinacy of his temper, and an external appearance at least of piety, that rendered all the rest doubly engaging. Add to all this, the protection and friendship of many persons of weight, in France, Germany, and Italy, which Servetus had obtained by his talents and abilities, both natural and acquired; and it will appear that few innovators have set out with a better prospect of success. But notwithstanding these signal advantages, all his views were totally disappointed by the vigilance and severity of Calvin, who, when Servetus had escaped from his prison at Vienne, and was passing through Switzerland, in order to seek refuge in Italy, caused him to be apprehended at Geneva, in the year 1553, and had an accusation of blasphemy brought against him before the council.^d The issue of this accusation was fatal to Servetus, who, adhering resolutely to the opinions he had embraced, was, by a public sentence of the court, declared an obstinate heretic, and in consequence thereof condemned to the flames. For it is observable, that at this time, the ancient laws that had been enacted against heretics by the emperor Frederic II. and had been so frequently renewed after his reign, were still in vigour at Geneva. It must however be acknowledged, that this learned and ingenious sufferer was worthy of a better fate; though it is certain, on the other hand, that his faults were neither few nor trivial; since it is well known that his excessive arrogance was accompanied with a malignant and contentious spirit, an invincible obstinacy of temper, and a considerable portion of fanaticism.^e

^d This accusation was brought against Servetus by a person who lived in Calvin's family as a servant; and this circumstance displeased many.

^e Dr. Mosheim refers the reader here, in a note, to an ample and curious history of Servetus, composed by him in the German language, of which the first edition was published at Helmstadt, in 4to. in the year 1748, and the second, with considerable

v. The religious system that Servetus had struck out of a wild and irregular fancy, was indeed singular in the highest degree. The greatest part of it was The doctrine of Servetus. a necessary consequence of his peculiar notions concerning the *universe*, the *nature of God*, and the *nature of things*, which were equally strange and chimerical. Thus it is difficult to unfold, in a few words, the doctrine of this unhappy man; nor indeed would any detail render it intelligible in all its branches. He took it into his head that the true and genuine doctrine of Christ had been entirely lost, even before the council of Nice; and he was moreover of opinion, that it had never been delivered with a sufficient degree of precision and perspicuity in any period of the church. To these extravagant assertions he added another still more so, even that he himself had received a commission from above to reveal anew this divine doctrine, and to explain it to mankind. His notions, with respect to the Supreme Being, and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, were obscure and chimerical beyond all measure, and amounted in general to the following propositions: "That the Deity, before the creation of the world, had produced within himself two *personal representations*, or *manners of existence*,¹ which were to be the *medium* of intercourse between him and mortals, and by whom, consequently, he was to reveal his will, and to display his

additions, at the same place, the year following. Those who are not acquainted with the German language, will find a full account of this singular man, and of his extraordinary history, in a Latin dissertation, composed under the inspection of Dr. Mosheim, and published at Helmstadt under the following title: 'Historia Michaelis Serveti, quam, Præside Jo. Laur. Mosheimeo, Abbate, &c. placido Doctorum examini publice exposuit Henricus ab Allwarden.' There is an accurate history of this unhappy man in the first volume of the work, entitled 'Memoirs of Literature, containing a Weekly Account of the State of Learning, both at home and abroad.' This was composed by Monsieur de la Roche, and was afterward augmented by him, and translated into French in his *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. ii. part i. article vii. p. 76. There is also an account of Servetus given by Mackenzie, in the first volume of his 'Lives and Characters of the most eminent writers of the Scots nation,' which was published at Edinburgh in the year 1708. To these we may add An impartial History of Servetus, &c. written by an anonymous author, and published at London in 1724.

It is impossible to justify the conduct of Calvin in the case of Servetus, whose death will be an indelible reproach upon the character of that great and eminent reformer. The only thing that can be alleged, not to efface, but to diminish his crime, is, that it was no easy matter for him to divest himself at once of that persecuting spirit which had been so long nourished and strengthened by the popish religion in which he was educated. It was a remaining portion of the spirit of popery, in the breast of Calvin, that kindled his unchristian zeal against the wretched Servetus.

¹ These *representations* or *manners of existence*, Servetus also called *economies*, *dispensations*, *dispositions*, &c. for he often changed his terms in unfolding his visionary system.

mercy and beneficence to the children of men ; that these two representatives were the *Word* and the *Holy Ghost* ; that the former was united to the man Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary by an omnipotent act of the divine will ; and that, on this account, Christ might be properly called *God* ; that the *Holy Spirit* directed the course, and animated the whole system of nature ; and more especially produced in the minds of men wise counsels, virtuous propensities, and divine feelings ; and finally, that these two representations were to cease after the destruction of this terrestrial globe, and to be absorbed into the substance of the Deity, from whence they had been formed. This is, at least, a general sketch of the doctrine of Servetus, who however did not always explain his system in the same manner, nor take any pains to avoid inconsistencies and contradictions ; and who frequently expressed himself in such ambiguous terms, that it is extremely difficult to learn from them his true sentiments. His system of morality agreed in many circumstances with that of the Anabaptists ; whom he also imitated in censuring, with the utmost severity, the custom of infant baptism.

vi. The pompous plans of reformation, that had been formed by Servetus, were not only disconcerted, but even fell into oblivion, after the death of their author. He was indeed, according to vulgar report, supposed to have left behind him a considerable number of disciples ; and we find in the writings of the doctors of this century, many complaints and apprehensions that seem to confirm this supposition, and would persuade us that Servetus, had really founded a sect ; yet, when this matter is attentively examined, there will appear just reason to doubt, whether this man left behind him any one person that might properly be called his true disciple. For those who were denominated Servetians by the theological writers of this century, not only differed from Servetus in many points of doctrine, but also varied widely from him in his doctrine of the Trinity, which was the peculiar and distinguishing point of his theological system. Valentine Gentilis, a Neapolitan, who suffered death at Berne, in the year 1566, adopted the Arian hypothesis, and not that of Servetus, as many writers have imagined, for his only error consisted in this, that he considered the Son and the

Other Antitrinitarians.

Holy Ghost, as subordinate to the Father.^a Nearly allied to this, was the doctrine of Matthew Gribaldi, a lawyer, whom a timely death, in the year 1566, saved from the severity of an ecclesiastical tribunal, that was ready to pronounce sentence against him on account of his errors; for he supposed the divine nature divided into three eternal spirits, which were distinguished from each other, not only by number, but also by subordination.^b It is not so easy to determine the particular charge that was brought against Alciat, a native of Piedmont, and Sylvester Tellius, who were banished from the city and territory of Geneva, in the year 1559; nor do we know, with any degree of certainty, the errors that were embraced by Paruta, Leonardi, and others,^c who were ranked among the followers of Servetus. It is however more than probable, that none of the persons now mentioned were the disciples of Servetus, or adopted the hypothesis of that visionary innovator. The same thing may be affirmed with respect to Gonesius, who is said to have embraced the doctrine of that unhappy man, and to have introduced it into Poland;^d for, though he maintained some opinions that really resembled it in some of its points; yet his manner of explaining the mystery of the Trinity was totally different from that of Servetus.

vii. It is evident that none of the persons, now mentioned, professed that form or system of theological doctrine, that is properly called Socinianism, the origin of which is, by the writers of that sect,

Erroneous
accounts of
the origin of
Socinianism.

^a See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Gentilis*. Spon, *Hist. de Geneve*, livr. iii. tom. ii. p. 80. Sandii *Biblioth. Antitrinitar.* p. 26. Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part ii. chap. vi. p. 251. Fuesl. *Reformations Beytrage*, tom. v. p. 331.

^b Sandii *Biblioth. Antitrinit.* p. 17. Lamy, *loc. cit.* part ii. ch. vii. p. 257. Spon, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 85, not. Halerus, in *Museo Tigurino*, tom. ii. p. 114.

^c For an account of these, and other persons of the same class, see Sandius, Lamy, and also Lubieniecus, his *Historia Reformat. Polonica*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 96. There is a particular and ample account of Alciat given by Bayle, in the first volume of his *Dictionary*; see also Spon, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 85, 86.

^d This is affirmed upon the authority of Wissowatius and Lubieniecus; but the very words of the latter will be sufficient to show us upon what grounds. These words, *Hist. Reformat. Polon.* cap. vi. p. 111, are as follows: "Is Serveti sententiam de pre-eminencia patris in patriam attulit, eamque non dissimulavit," i. e. Gonesius introduced into Poland the opinion embraced by Servetus in relation to the pre-eminence of the Father, and was by no means studious to conceal it. Who now does not see, that if it was the pre-eminence of the Father that Gonesius maintained, he must have differed considerably from Servetus, whose doctrine removed all real distinction in the divine nature? The reader will do well to consult Sandius, *loc. cit.* p. 40, concerning the sentiments of Gonesius; since it is from this writer, that Lamy has borrowed the greatest part of what he has advanced in his *Histoire de Socinianisme*. tom. ii. chap. x. p. 278.

dated from the year 1546, and placed in Italy. These writers tell us, that in this very year, above forty persons, eminently distinguished by their learning and genius, and still more by their generous zeal for truth, held secret assemblies, at different times, in the territory of Venice, and particularly at Vicenza, in which they deliberated concerning a general reformation of the received systems of religion, and in a more especial manner, undertook to refute the peculiar doctrines that were afterward publicly rejected by the Socinians. They tell us further, that the principal members of this clandestine society, were Lælius, Socinus, Alciat, Ochinus, Paruta, and Gentilis; that their design was divulged, and their meetings discovered, by the temerity and imprudence of some of their associates; that two of them were apprehended and put to death; while the rest, being dispersed, sought a refuge in Switzerland, Germany, Moravia, and other countries, and that Socinus, after having wandered up and down in several parts of Europe, went into Poland, first in the year 1551, and afterward in 1558, and there sowed the seeds of his doctrine, which, in process of time grew apace, and produced a rich and abundant harvest.¹ Such is the account of the origin of Socinianism, that is generally given by the writers of that sect. To assert that it is, in every circumstance, fictitious and false, would perhaps be going too far; but, on the other hand, it is easy to demonstrate that the system of religion, commonly called Socinianism, was neither invented nor drawn up in those meetings at Venice and Vicenza that have now been mentioned.^m

¹ See the *Biblioth. Antitrinitar.* p. 18 and 25 of Sandius, who mentions some writings that are supposed to have been published by the clandestine society of pretended reformers at Venice and Vicenza; though the truth of this supposition is extremely dubious. Andr. Wissowatti *Narratio quomodo in Polonia Reformati ab Unitariis separati sunt*, which is subjoined to the *Biblioth.* of Sandius, p. 209, 210. The reader may likewise consult Lubieniecus, *Histor. Reformat. Polon.* lib. ii, cap. i. p. 38, who intimates, that he took this account of the origin of Socinianism from the manuscript *Commentaria* of Budzinus, and his Life of Lælius Socinus. See also Sam. Przypcovius, in *Vita Socini*.

^m See Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri *Historia Crypto Socinianismi Altorfina*, cap. ii. sect. xli. p. 391, note. This writer seems to think that the inquiries that have hitherto been made into this affair are by no means satisfactory; and he therefore wishes that some men of learning, equal the task, would examine the subject anew. This indeed were much to be wished. In the mean time, I shall venture to offer a few observations, which may perhaps contribute to cast some light upon this matter. That there was in reality such a society as is mentioned in the text, is far from being improbable. Many circumstances and relations prove sufficiently that immediately after the reformation had taken place in Germany, secret assemblies were held, and measures proposed, in several provinces that were still under the jurisdiction of Rome, with a view to combat the errors and superstition of the times. It is also, in

VIII. While therefore we reject this inaccurate account of the matter under consideration, it is incumbent upon us to substitute a better in its place; and indeed the origin and progress of the Socinian doctrine seem easy to be traced out by such as are acquainted

The real origin of Socinianism.

a more especial manner, probable, that the territory of Venice was the scene of these deliberations; since it is well known, that a great number of the Venetians at this time, though they had no personal attachment to Luther, approved nevertheless of his design of reforming the corrupt state of religion, and wished well to every attempt that was made to restore Christianity to its native and primitive simplicity. It is farther highly credible, that these assemblies were interrupted and dispersed by the vigilance of the papal emissaries, that some of their members were apprehended and put to death, and that the rest saved themselves by flight. All this is probable enough; but it is extremely improbable, nay utterly incredible, that all the persons, who are said to have been present at these assemblies, were really so. And I therefore adopt willingly the opinion of those who affirm, that many persons, who, in after times, distinguished themselves from the multitude, by opposing the doctrine of Trinity in Unity, were considered as members of the Venetian society, by ignorant writers, who looked upon that society as the source and nursery of the whole Unitarian sect. It is certain, for instance, that Ochinus is erroneously placed among the members of the famous society now mentioned; for, not to insist upon the circumstance, that it is not sufficiently clear whether he was really a Socinian or not, it appears undeniably, from the *Annales Capucinarum* of Boverius, as well as from other unquestionable testimonies, that he left Italy so early as the year 1543, and went from thence to Geneva. See a singular book, entitled 'La Guerre Seraphique ou l'Histoire des perils qu'a courus la Barbe des Capuchins,' liv. iii. p. 191, 216. What I have said of Ochinus may be confidently affirmed with respect to Lælius Socinus, who, though reported to have been at the head of the society now under consideration, was certainly never present at any of its meetings. For how can we suppose that a young man, only one and twenty years old, would leave the place of his nativity, repair to Venice or Vicenza, and that without any other view than the pleasure of disputing freely on certain points of religion? Or how could it happen, that a youth of such inexperienced years should acquire such a high degree of influence and authority, as to obtain the first rank, and the principal direction, in an assembly composed of so many eminently learned and ingenious men? Beside, from the Life of Lælius, which is still extant, and from other testimonies of good authority, it is easy to show, that it was the desire of improvement, and the hope of being aided in his inquiries after truth by the conversation of learned men in foreign nations, that induced him to leave Italy; and not the apprehension of persecution and death, as some have imagined. It is also certain, that he returned into his native country afterward, and, in the year 1551, remained some time at Sienna, while his father lived at Bologna. See his letter to Bullinger, in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. v. p. 489. Now surely it cannot easily be imagined, that a man in his senses would return to a country from whence, but a few years before, he had been obliged to fly, in order to avoid the terrors of a barbarous inquisition and a violent death.

But, waiving this question for a moment, let us suppose all the accounts we have from the Socinians, concerning this famous assembly of Venice and Vicenza, and the members of which it was composed, to be true and exact; yet it remains to be proved, that the Socinian system of doctrine was invented and drawn up in that assembly. This the Socinian writers maintain; and this, as the case appears to me, may be safely denied; for the Socinian doctrine is undoubtedly of much later date than this assembly. It also passed through different hands, and was, during many years, reviewed and corrected by men of learning and genius, and thus underwent various changes and improvements, before it was formed into a regular, permanent, and connected system. To be convinced of this, it will be sufficient to cast an eye upon the opinions, doctrines, and reasonings of several of the members of the famous society so often mentioned; which vary in such a striking manner, as show manifestly that this society had no fixed views, nor had ever agreed upon any consistent form of doctrine. We learn, moreover, from many circumstances in the life and transactions of Lælius

[*] Is such a supposition really so absurd? Is not a spirit of enthusiasm, or even an uncommon degree of zeal, adequate to the production of such an effect?

with the history of the church during this century. There were certain sects and doctors, against whom the zeal, vigilance, and severity of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, were united, and, in opposing whose settlement and progress, these three communions forgetting their dissensions, joined their most vigorous counsels and endeavours. The objects of their common aversion were the anabaptists, and those who denied the divinity of Christ, and a Trinity of persons in the Godhead. To avoid the unhappy consequences of such a formidable opposition, great numbers of both classes retired into Poland, from the persuasion that in a country whose inhabitants were passionately fond of freedom, religious liberty could not fail to find a refuge. However, on their first arrival, they proceeded with circumspection and prudence, and explained their sentiments with much caution and a certain mixture of disguise, not knowing surely what might happen, nor how far their opinions would be treated with indulgence. Thus they lived in peace and quiet during several years, mixed with the Lutherans and Calvinists, who had already obtained a solid settlement in Poland, and who admitted them into their communion, and even into the assemblies where their public deliberations were held. They were not however long satisfied with this state of constraint, notwithstanding the privileges with which it was attended; but, having insinuated themselves into the friendship of several noble and opulent families, they began to act with more spirit, and even to declare in an open manner, their opposition to certain doctrines that were generally received among Christians. Hence arose violent contests between them and the Swiss or reformed churches, with which they had

Socinus, that this man had not, when he left Italy, laid the plan of a regular system of religion; and it is well known, that, for many years afterward, his time was spent in doubting, inquiring, and disputing; and that his ideas of religious matters were extremely fluctuating and unsettled. So that it seems probable to me, that the man died in this state of hesitation and uncertainty, before he had reduced his notions to any consistent form. As to Gribaldi and Alciat, who have been already mentioned, it is manifest that they inclined toward the Arian system, and did not entertain such low ideas of the person and dignity of Jesus Christ, as those that are adopted among the Socinians. From all this it appears abundantly evident, that these Italian reformers, if their famous society ever existed in reality, which I admit here as a probable supposition, rather than as a fact sufficiently attested, were dispersed and obliged to seek their safety in a voluntary exile, before they had agreed about any regular system of religious doctrine. So that this account of the origin of Socinianism is rather imaginary than real, though it has been inconsiderately adopted by many writers. Fueslin has alleged several arguments against it in his German work, entitled *Reformations Beytragen*, tom iii: p. 327.

been principally connected. These dissensions drew the attention of the government, and occasioned, in the year 1565, a resolution of the diet of Petrikow, ordering the innovators to separate themselves from the churches already mentioned, and to form a distinct congregation or sect.* These founders of the Socinian church were commonly called Pinczovians, from the town in which the heads of their sect resided. Hitherto indeed they had not carried matters so far as they did afterward; for they professed chiefly the Arian doctrine concerning the divine nature, maintaining that the Son and the Holy Ghost were two distinct natures, begotten by God the Father, and subordinate to him.°

IX. The Unitarians, being thus separated from the other religious societies in Poland, had many difficulties to encounter, both of an internal and external kind. From without they were threatened with a formidable prospect arising from the united efforts of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, to crush their infant sect. From within they dreaded the effects of intestine discord, which portended the ruin of their community before it could arrive at any measure of stability or consistence. This latter apprehension was too well grounded; for as yet they had agreed upon no regular system of principles, which might serve as a centre and bond of union. Some of them chose to persevere in the doctrine of the Arians, and to proceed no further; and these were called Farnovians.* Others, more adventurous, went much greater lengths, and attributed to Christ almost no other rank or dignity than those of a divine messenger, and of a true prophet. A third class, distinguished by the denomination of Budneians,† went still further; declaring that Jesus Christ was born in

The progress
of Socinian-
ism.

* Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part i. chap. vi. &c. p. 16. *Stoinii Epitome Originis Unitariorum in Polonia*, apud Sandium, p. 183. Georg. Schomanni *Testamentum*, apud eundem, p. 194. Andr. Wissowatius *de Separatione Unitar. a Reformatis*, ibid. p. 211, 212. Lubieniecicus, *Historia Reformat. Polonica*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 111, cap. viii. p. 144, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 158.

° This will appear abundantly evident to all such as consult, with a proper degree of attention, the writers mentioned in the preceding note. It is unquestionably certain, that all those, who then called themselves *Unitarian brethren*, did not entertain the same sentiments concerning the Divine Nature. Some of the most eminent doctors of that sect adopted the notions relating to the *person* and *dignity* of Christ, that were, in after times, peculiar to the Socinians; the greatest part of them, however, embraced the Arian system, and affirmed, that our blessed Saviour was created before the formation of the world, by God the Father, to whom he was much inferior, nevertheless, in dignity and perfection.

¶ p For a more particular account of the *Farnovians*, see § xxii. of this chapter.

† q See the part of this chapter referred to in the preceding note.

an ordinary way, according to the general law of nature, and that consequently, he was no proper object of divine worship or adoration.' There were also among these people several fanatics, who were desirous of introducing into the society the discipline of the enthusiastic Anabaptists; such as a community of goods, an equality of ranks, and other absurdities of the same nature.' Such were the disagreeable and perilous circumstances in which the Unitarians were placed, during the infancy of their sect, and which, no doubt, rendered their situation extremely critical and perplexing. But they were happily extricated out of these difficulties by the dexterity and resolution of certain of their doctors, whose efforts were crowned with singular success, on account of the credit and influence they had obtained in Poland. These Unitarian doctors suppressed, in a little time, the factions that threatened the ruin of their community, erected flourishing congregations at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Luck, Smila, a town belonging to the famous Dudith,^u and in several other places both in Poland and Lithuania, and obtained the privilege of printing their productions, and those of their brethren, without molestation or restraint.^w All these advantages were crowned by a

^r *Vita Andr. Wisowetii* in Sandii *Biblioth. Antitrim.* p. 296. As also Sandius in *Sinone Budnæo*, p. 54.

^s Lubieniecii *Hist. Reform. Polon.* lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 240.

^t Mart. Adelt, *Historia Arrianismi Smiglienensis Ged.* 1741, in 8vo.

[^u This Dudith, who was certainly one of the most learned and eminent men of the sixteenth century, was born at Buda, in the year 1533; and after having studied in the most famous universities, and travelled through almost all the countries of Europe, was named to the bishopric of Tinia by the emperor Ferdinand, and made privy counselor to that prince. He had, by the force of his genius, and the study of the ancient orators, acquired such a masterly and irresistible eloquence, that in all public deliberations he carried every thing before him. In the council, where he was sent in the name of the emperor and of the Hungarian clergy, he spoke with such energy against several abuses of the church of Rome, and particularly against the celibacy of the clergy, that the pope, being informed thereof by his legates, solicited the emperor to recal him. Ferdinand complied; but, having heard Dudith's report of what passed in that famous council, he approved of his conduct, and rewarded him with the bishopric of Chonat. He afterward married a maid of honour of the queen of Hungary, and resigned his bishopric; the emperor however still continued his friend and protector. The papal excommunication was levelled at his head, but he treated it with contempt. Tired of the fopperies and superstitions of the church of Rome, he retired to Cracow, where he embraced the protestant religion publicly, after having been for a good while its secret friend. It is said, that he showed some inclination toward the Socinian system. Some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain that he afterward changed his sentiments in that respect. He was well acquainted with several branches of philosophy and the mathematics, with the sciences of physic, history, theology, and the civil law. He was such an enthusiastical admirer of Cicero, that he copied over three times, with his own hand, the whole works of that immortal author. He had something majestic in his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive.

^w Sandii *Bibliotheca Antitrim.* p. 201.

signal mark of liberality and munificence, they received from Jo. Sienienius, palatine of Padolia, who gave them a settlement in the city of Racow, which he had himself built, in the year 1569, in the district of Sandomir.* This extraordinary favour was peculiarly adapted to better the state of the Unitarians, who were hitherto dispersed far and wide in the midst of their enemies. And accordingly they now looked upon their religious establishment as permanent and stable, and presumed so far upon their good fortune, as to declare Racow the centre of their community, where their distant and dispersed members might unite their counsels, and hold their deliberations.

x. When they saw their affairs in this promising situation, the first thing that employed the attention and zeal of their doctors and spiritual rulers, was a translation of the bible into the Polish language, which was accordingly published in the year 1572. They had indeed before this, a Polish version of the sacred writings, which they had composed jointly with the Helvetic doctors in the year 1565, while they lived in communion with that church. But after the breach of that communion, and the order they had received to separate themselves from the reformed church, this version lost its credit among them, as it did not seem proper to answer their views.† After they had finished their new version, they drew up a summary of their religious doctrine, which was published at Cracow, in the year 1574, under the title of Catechism, or Confession of the Unitarians.‡ The system of religion

A summary view of the religion they professed.

x Sandius, *loc. cit.* p. 301. Lubieniecus, *loc. cit.* p. 339.

y See a German work of Ringeltaube, entitled *Von den Pöhlischen Bibeln*, p. 90, 113, 142, in which there is a further account of the Polish interpretations of the Bible composed by Socinian authors.

z From this little performance, and indeed from it alone, we may learn with certainty the true state of the Unitarian religion before Faustus Socinus; and nevertheless I do not find that it has been so much as once quoted, or even mentioned, by any of the Socinian writers, by any historians who have given an account of their sect, nor yet by any of the divines that have drawn the pen of controversy against their religious system. I am almost inclined to believe, that the Socinians, when in process of time they had gained ground, acquired more dexterity in the management of their affairs, and drawn up a new, specious, and artful summary of their doctrine, were prudent enough to desire that this primitive Catechism should disappear, that it might not furnish their adversaries with an occasion of accusing them of inconstancy in abandoning the tenets of their ancestors, nor excite factions and divisions among themselves, by inducing any of their people to complain that they had deviated from the ancient simplicity of their first founders. These reasons, very probably, engaged the Socinian doctors to buy up all the copies they could find of this original *Confession*, or *Catechism*, with a view to bury it in oblivion. It will not, therefore, be improper to give here some account of the form and matter of this first Socinian creed, which contained the doctrine of that sect before the *Racovian Catechism* was composed. This account will throw new light upon a period

that is contained in this Catechism is remarkable for its simplicity, and is neither loaded with scholastic terms nor

and branch of ecclesiastical history, that are highly interesting. The original Catechism, now under consideration, which is extremely rare, has the following title prefixed to it; 'Catechism, or Confession of Faith of the Congregation assembled in Poland, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, who was crucified and raised from the dead, Deuter. vi. 1 Year, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God, John viii. 54. It is my Father, of whom ye sa, that he is your God. Printed by Alexander Turobinus, born in the year of Christ, the Son of God, 1574,' in 12mo.^a We find, by a passage at the end of the Preface, that this curious Catechism was printed at Cracow; for it is said to have been published in that city, in the year 1574, after the birth of Christ. Now it is known that the Unitarians had at that time a printing-house at Cracow, which was soon after removed to Racow. Alexander Turobinus, who is said to have been the printer of this little production, is mentioned by Sandius, in his *Biblioth. Antitrim.* p. 51, under the denomination of Turobinczyk, which he undoubtedly derived from Turobin, a town in the palatine of Chelm, in Little or Red Russia, which was the place of his nativity. The author of this Catechism was the famous George Schoman, as has been evidently proved from a piece, entitled *Schomanni Testamentum*;^b and other circumstances, by Jo. Adam Mollerus, in his dissertation *De Unitariorum Catechesi et Confessione omnium.*^c The Preface, which is composed in the name of the whole congregation, begins with the following salutation; "To all those who thirst after eternal salvation, the little and afflicted flock in Poland, which is baptized in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, sendeth greeting: praying most earnestly that grace and peace may be shed upon them by the one Supreme God and Father, through his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified."^d After this general salutation, the prefacers give an account of the reasons that engaged them to compose and publish this Confession. The principal of these reasons was the reproaches and aspersions that were cast upon the Anabaptists, in several places; from which we learn that, at this time, the denomination of Anabaptists was given to those who, in after times, were called Socinians. The rest of this Preface is employed in beseeching the reader to be firmly persuaded, that the designs of the congregation are pious and upright, to read with attention, that he may judge with discernment, and "abandoning the doctrine of Babylon, and the conduct and conversation of Bodom, to take refuge in the ark of Noah," i. e. among the Unitarian Brethren.

In the beginning of the Catechism itself, the whole doctrine of Christianity is reduced to six points. The first relates to the Nature of God, and his Son Jesus Christ; the second to Justification; the third to Discipline; the fourth to Prayer; the fifth to Baptism; and the sixth to the Lord's Supper. These six points are explained at length in the following manner: each point is defined and unfolded, in general terms, in one question and answer, and is afterward subdivided into its several branches in various questions and answers, in which its various parts are illustrated and confirmed by texts of Scripture. From this it appears, at first sight, that the primitive state of Socinianism was a state of real infancy and weakness, that its doctors were by no means distinguished by the depth or accuracy of their theological knowledge, and that they instructed their flock in a superficial manner, by giving them only some vague notions of certain leading doctrines and precepts of religion. In their definitions of the Nature of God, with which this Catechism begins, the authors discover immediately their sentiments concerning Jesus Christ, by declaring that he, together with all other things, is subject to the Supreme Creator of the universe. It may also be observed, as a proof of the ignorance or negligence of these authors, that, in illustrating the nature and perfections of the Deity, they make not the least mention of his infinity, his omniscience, his immensity, his eternity, his omnipotence, his omnipresence, his spirituality, nor of those other perfections of the divine nature that surpass the comprehension of finite minds. Instead of this, they characterize the Supreme Being only by his wisdom, his

^a The original title runs thus: 'Catechesis et Confessio fidei cœtus per Poloniam congregati in nomine Jesu Christi, Domini nostri, crucifixi et resuscitati. Deut. vi. Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus noster Dominus est, Johannis viii. dicit Jesus: Quem vos dicitis vestrum esse Deum, est pater meus. Typis Alexandri Turubini, anno nati Jesu Christi. Anni .vi. 1574, in 12mo.

^b This Testament is published by Sandius, in his *Bibliotheca Antitrim.* p. 51.

^c The dissertation of Mollerus is to be found in a collection of pieces published by Bartholomæus under the following title: 'Forgesetzten nützlichen Anmerkungen von allerhand Materien,' part xxi p. 758.

^d 'omnibus salutem et æternam vitam gratis ac pœcem ab uno illo altissimo Deo patre, per unigenitum ejus filium Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum unum crucifixum, ex animo precatur cœtus cœtus et affluens per Poloniam in nomine ejusdem Jesu Christi Nazareni baptizatus.'

subtile discussions ; but it nevertheless breathes, in several places the spirit of Socinianism, and that even in those parts

immortality, his goodness, and unbounded dominion and empire over the creatures. By this it would seem, that even in this early period of Socinianism, the rulers of that sect had adopted it as a maxim, that nothing incomprehensible or mysterious was to be admitted into their religious system. Their erroneous notion concerning Jesus Christ is expressed in the following terms : " Our mediator before the throne of God is a man who was formerly promised to our fathers by the prophets, and in these latter days was born of the seed of David, and whom God the Father has made Lord and Christ ; that is, the most perfect prophet, the most holy priest, and the most triumphant king, by whom he created the new world, a by whom he has sent peace upon earth, restored all things, and reconciled them to himself ; and by whom also he has bestowed eternal life upon his elect ; to the end that, after the Supreme God, we should believe in him, adore and invoke him, hear his voice, imitate his example, and find in him rest to our souls." ^b It is here worthy of note, that, although they call Christ a *most holy priest*, and justify this title by citations from Scripture, yet they nowhere explain the nature of that priesthood, which they attribute to him. With respect to the Holy Ghost, they plainly deny his being a *divine person*, and represent him as nothing more than a divine quality, or virtue, as appears from the following passage : " The Holy Ghost is the energy or perfection of God, whose fulness God the Father bestowed upon his only begotten Son, our Lord, that we, becoming his adopted children, might receive of his fulness." ^c They express their sentiments concerning justification in the ensuing terms : " Justification consists in the remission of all our past sins, through the mere grace and mercy of God, in and by our Lord Jesus Christ, without our merit and works, and in consequence of a lively faith, as also in the certain hope of life eternal, and the true and unfeigned amendment of our lives and conversations, through the assistance of the divine spirit, to the glory of God the Father, and the edification of our neighbours." ^d As by this inaccurate definition, justification comprehends in it amendment and obedience, so in the explication of this point our authors break in upon the following one, which relates to discipline, and lay down a short summary of moral doctrine, which is contained in a few precepts, and expressed, for the most part, in the language of Scripture. There is this peculiarity in their moral injunctions, that they prohibit the taking of oaths, and the repelling of injuries. As to what regards ecclesiastical discipline, they define it thus : " Ecclesiastical discipline consists in calling frequently to the remembrance of every individual, the duties that are incumbent upon them ; in admonishing, first privately, and afterward, if this be ineffectual, in a public manner, before the whole congregation, such as have sinned openly against God, or offended their neighbour : and lastly, in excluding from the communion of the church the obstinate and impenitent, that, being thus covered with shame, they may be led to repentance, or if they remain unconverted, may be damned eternally." ^e By their further explication of the point relating to ecclesiastical discipline, we see how imperfect and incomplete their notions of that matter were. For they treat, in the first place, concerning the government of the church and its ministers, whom they divide into bishops, deacons, elders, and widows. After this they enumerate, at length, the duties of husbands and wives, old and young, parents and children, masters and servants, citizens and magistrates, poor and rich, and conclude with what relates to the admonishing of offenders, and their exclusion from the communion of the church, in case of obstinate impenitence. Their sentiments concerning prayer are, generally speaking, sound and rational. But in their notion of baptism they differ from

^a This expression is remarkable, for these doctors maintained that these declarations of Scripture, which represent the world as formed by Christ, do not relate to the visible world, but to the restoration of mankind to virtue and happiness by the Son of God. They invented this interpretation, to prevent their being obliged to acknowledge the divine glory and creating power of Christ.

^b " Est homo, mediator noster apud Deum, patribus olim per prophetas promissus, et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum prophetam, sanctissimum sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per quem mundum creavit, omnia restauravit, secum reconciliavit, pacificavit, et vitam eternam electis suis donavit ; ut in illum, post illum altissimum, credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, audiamus, pro modulo nostro imitatur, et, in illo, requiemus animabus nostris inveniamus."

^c " Spiritus sanctus est virtus Dei, cuius plenitudinem dedit Deus pater filio suo unigenito, Domino nostro, et ex ejus plenitudine nos adoptivi acciperemus."

^d " Justificatio est ex mera gratia, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sine operibus et meritis nostris, omnium præteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in viva fide remissio, vitæque eternæ indubitata expectatio et auxilio spiritus Dei vitæ nostræ non simulata, sed vera correctio, ad gloriam Dei patris nostri et edificationem proximorum nostrorum."

^e " Disciplina ecclesiastica est officii singularum frequens commemoratio et peccantium contra Deum et proximum primam privata, deinde etiam publica. coram toto castro, commonescitio, denique perducitur a communiore sanctorum alienatio, ut pudore suffusi convertantur, aut, si id soluit, æternam damnetur."

t which its authors look upon as most important and fundamental. Nor will this appear surprising to those who consider that the papers of Lælius Socinus, which undoubtedly left behind him in Poland, were in the hands of many; and that by the perusal of them, the Unitarians, who had formerly the upper hand in the community, were engaged to change their sentiments concerning the nature and mediation of Christ. It is true indeed that the denomination of *Socinian* was not as yet known. Those who were afterward distinguished by this name, passed in Poland, at the time of which we now speak,

Christian churches in this, that they make it to consist in immersion or dipping, immersion or rising again out of the water, and maintain that it ought not to be administered to any but adult persons. "Baptism," say they, "is the immersion into water; and the immersion of one who believes in the gospel, and is truly penitent, performed in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in the name of Jesus Christ; by which solemn act the person baptized publicly acknowledgeth, that he is freed from all his sins, through the mercy of God the Father, by the blood of Christ, and the operation of the Holy Spirit; to the end that, being ingrafted into the Church of Christ, he may mortify the old Adam, and be transformed into the image of the new and heavenly Adam, in the firm assurance of eternal life after the resurrection." The last point handled in this performance is the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of which the authors give an explication that will be readily adopted by those who embrace the doctrine of Zuingli on that head. At the end of this curious Catechism there is a piece, entitled *Oeconomia Christiana, seu Pastoratus Domesticus*, which contains a short instruction to heads of families, showing them how they ought to proceed in order to maintain and increase, in their houses, a spirit of piety; in which also devotion is assisted by forms of prayer, composed for morning, evening, and other occasions.

A copy of this Catechism, which is now before me, was given, in the year 1690, to Martin Chelmius, one of the most eminent and zealous Socinian doctors, to Mr. Christopher Heiligmier, as appears by a long inscription, written by the donor, at the front of the book. In this inscription Chelmius promises his friend other productions of the same kind, provided he receives the present one kindly, and concludes with these words of St. Paul: "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the strong."

This appears evidently from the following passage in Schoman's *Testamentum*, published by Sandius, in his *Bibliotheca Antiqua*, p. 194, 195. "Sub id fere tempus, A. 1566, hæcæditiis Lælii Socii quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei filium non esse secundam naturam personam, patri coessentialem et coæqualem sed hominum Jesum Christum, a Virgine Sancto conceptum, ex Virgine Maria natum, crucifixum, et resuscitatum; et nos commoniti, *sacras literas perscrutari*, persuasi sumus." These words show that the Unitarians, or Pinczovians, as they were sometimes called, had, before separation from the reformed church, in the year 1565, believed in a Trinity of kind or other; and had not gone so far as totally to divest Jesus Christ of his divinity. Schoman, now cited, was a doctor of great authority in this sect; and he tells himself, that, at the diet of Petricow, in the year 1565, he defended the unity of God against the reformed, who maintained the existence of a threefold Deity. He learned, nevertheless, from himself, that it was not till the year 1566 that a perusal of the papers of Lælius Socinius had engaged him to change his sentiments, and to deny the divine personality of Christ. What then are we to conclude from hence? The issue is plainly this; that, before the year last mentioned, he and his Pinczovian were not Socinians but Arians only.

Baptismus est hominis Evangelio credentis et presentiam agentis in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi in aquam immersio et emeritio, qua publice profitetur, se gratiam salutis in sanguine Christi, opera Spiritus Sancti, ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, et, in corpore et sanguine, mortificat veterem Adamum et transformetur in Adamum illum coelestem, certus, se post resurrectionem consequitur esse vitam æternam."

under the name of *anabaptists*, because they admitted to baptism adult persons only, and also rebaptized those that joined them from other Christian churches.^b

XI. The dexterity and perseverance of Faustus Socinus gave a new face to the sect of the unitarians, of which he became the zealous and industrious patron. He was a man of true genius, but of little learning; firm in his purposes, and steady in his measures; much inferior in knowledge to his uncle Lælius, while he surpassed him greatly in courage and resolution. This eminent sectary, after having wandered through several countries of Europe, settled, in the year 1579, among the unitarians in Poland, and at his arrival there suffered many vexations and much opposition from a considerable number of persons, who looked upon some of his tenets as highly erroneous. And indeed it is evident, that the religious system of Faustus Socinus, which he is said to have drawn from the papers of his uncle Lælius, was much less remarkable for its simplicity than that of the unitarians. He triumphed however at last, over all the difficulties that had been laid in his way, by the power of his eloquence, the spirit and address that reigned in his compositions, the elegance and gentleness of his manners, the favour and protection of the nobility, which he had acquired by his happy talents and accomplishments, and also by some lucky hits of fortune that favoured his enterprises. By seizing the occasions when it was prudent to yield, and improving the moments that demanded bold resistance and firm resolution, he stemmed dexterously and courageously the torrent of opposition, and beheld the unitarians submitting to his doctrine, which they had before treated with indignation and contempt. They, in effect, laid aside all feuds and controversies, and formed themselves into one community under his superintendency and direction.^c

The proceedings of Faustus Socinus.

^b This the Unitarians acknowledge, in the Preface of their Catechism, as we have observed above; and it is confirmed by the writer of the *Epistola de Vita Andr. Wisnowski*, which is subjoined to the *Bibliotheca Antitria*. of Sandius. This writer tells us, that his sect were distinguished by the denominations of anabaptists and Ariane; but that all other Christian communities and individuals in Poland were promiscuously call *chrześciani*, from the word *chrześć*, which signifies baptism.

^c See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Socinus, tom iv. p. 2741. Sandii *Biblioth. Antitria*. p. 64. Sam. Przypocpii *Vita Socini*, which is prefixed to the works of Socinus. Lamy, *Histoire du Socinianisme*, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 101, part ii. chap. xxii. p. 375, &c.

XII. Thus did Socinus introduce a considerable change into the ancient unitarian system, which before his time was ill digested, ill expressed, and chargeable in many places with ambiguity and incoherence. He disguised its inconsistencies, gave it an air of connexion, method, and elegance, and defended it with much more dexterity and art than had ever been discovered by its former patrons.^d And accordingly the affairs of the unitarians put on a new face. Under the auspicious protection of such a spirited and insinuating chief, the little flock that had hitherto been destitute of strength, resolution, and courage, grew apace, and, all of a sudden, arose to a high degree of credit and influence. Its number was augmented by proselytes of all ranks and orders. Of these, some were distinguished by their nobility, others by their opulence, others by their address, and many by their learning and eloquence. All these contributed, in one way or another, to increase the lustre, and to advance the interests of this rising community, and to support it against the multitude of adversaries, which its remarkable prosperity and success had raised up against it from all quarters; the rich maintained it by their liberality, the powerful by their patronage and protection, and the learned by their writings. But now the system of the unitarians, being thus changed and new modelled, required a new confession of

The unitarian religion changed by Socinus.

^d Hence it appears that the modern Unitarians are very properly called Socinians. For certainly the formation and establishment of that sect were entirely owing to the labours of Lælius and Faustus Socinus. The former indeed, who was naturally timorous and irresolute, died at Zurich, in the year 1562, in the communion of the reformed church, and seemed unwilling to expose himself to danger, or to sacrifice his repose, by founding a new sect, that is, by appearing professedly and openly in this enterprise. Beside, many circumstances concur to render it highly probable, that he did not finish the religious system of which he had formed the plan, but died, on the contrary, in a state of uncertainty and doubt with respect to several points of no small importance. But, notwithstanding all this he contributed much to the institution of the sect now under consideration. For he collected the materials that Faustus afterward digested and employed with such dexterity and success. He secretly and imperceptibly excited doubts and scruples in the minds of many, concerning several doctrines generally received among Christians; and, by several arguments against the divinity of Christ, which he left behind him committed to writing, he so far seduced, even after his death, the Arians in Poland, that they embraced the communion and sentiments of those, who looked upon Christ as a mere man, created immediately like Adam, by God himself. What Lælius had thus begun, Faustus carried on with vigour, and finished with success. It is indeed difficult, nay, scarcely possible, to determine precisely, what materials he received from his uncle, and what tenets he added himself; that he added several is plain enough. This difficulty arises from hence, that there are few writings of Lælius extant, and of those that bear his name, some undoubtedly belong to other authors. We learn however, from Faustus himself, that the doctrine he propagated, with respect to the *person* of Christ, was, at least the greatest part of it, broached by his uncle Lælius.

faith to make known its principles, and give a clear and full account of its present state. The ancient Catechism, which was no more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was therefore laid aside, and a new form of doctrine was drawn up by Socinus himself. This form was corrected by some, augmented by others, and revised by all the Socinian doctors of any note; and, having thus acquired a competent degree of accuracy and perfection, was published under the title of the Catechism of Racow, and is still considered as the Confession of Faith of the whole sect. An unexpected circumstance crowned all the fortunate events that had happened to this sect, and seemed to leave them nothing further to desire; and this was the zealous protection of Jacobus a Sienna, to whom Racow belonged. This new patron, separating himself from the reformed church, in the year 1600, embraced the doctrine and communion of the Socinians, and about two years after erected, in his own city, which he declared their metropolis, a public school, designed as a seminary for their church, to form its ministers and pastors.

XIII. From Poland, the doctrine of Socinius made its way into Transylvania, in the year 1563, and that principally by the credit and influence of George Blandrata, a celebrated physician, whom Sigismund, at that time sovereign of the country, had invited to his court, in order to the restoration of his health. Blandrata was a man of uncommon address, had a deep knowledge of men and things, and was particularly acquainted with the manners, transactions, and intrigues of courts. He had brought with him a Socinian minister, whose name was Francis David, who seconded his efforts with such zeal, that, by their united solicitations and labours, they engaged the prince, and the greatest part of the nobility, in their cause, infected almost the whole province with their errors, and obtained, for the ministers and members of their communion, the privilege of professing and propagating their doctrines in a public manner. The *Batori* indeed, who were afterward chosen dukes of Transylvania, were by no means prejudiced in favour of the Socinians; but that sect was grown so powerful by its num-

The propa-
gation of So-
cinianism in
Transylvania
and Hunga-
ry.

e See *Wissowatii Narratio de Separatione Unitariorum a Reformatis*, p. 214. Labien-
iecus, *Histor. Reformat. Polon.* lib. iii. c. xii. p. 240.

bers and its influence, that they could not, in prudence, attempt to suppress it.' Such also was the case with the successors of the *Batori*; they desired ardently to extirpate this society, but never could bring this desire into execution; so that to this day the Socinians profess their religion publicly in this province, and indeed in it alone; and relying on the protection of the laws, and the faith of certain treatises that have been made with them, have their churches and seminaries of learning, and hold their ecclesiastical and religious assemblies, though exposed to perpetual dangers and snares from the vigilance of their adversaries.^g About the same time the Socinians endeavoured to form settlements in Hungary^h and Austria;ⁱ but these attempts were defeated by the united and zealous opposition both of the Roman catholic and reformed churches.

XIV. No sooner had the Socinians obtained a solid and happy settlement at Racow, but the dictates of zeal and ambition suggested to them views of a still more extensive nature. Encouraged by the protection of men in power, and the suffrages of men of learning and genius, they began to lay several plans for the enlargement of their community, and meditated nothing less than the propagation of their doctrine through all the states of Europe. The first step they took toward the execution of this purpose, was the publication of a considerable number of books, of which some were designed to illustrate and defend their theological system, and others to explain, or rather to pervert, the sacred writings into a conformity with their peculiar tenets. These books, which were composed by the most subtile and artful doctors of the sect, were printed at Racow, and dispersed with the utmost industry and zeal through different countries.^k They also sent missionaries to several places toward the

^g See Sandii *Biblioth. Antitrinitar.* p. 28 and 55. Pauli Debrezeni *Historia Ecclesie Reformate in Hungaria*, p. 147. Mart. Schmeizelii *De Statu Eccles. Lutheranae in Transylvania*, p. 55. Lamy, *Hist. du Socinianisme*, part i. chap. xiii. p. 46. Salig, *Histor. Aug. Confessionis*, vol. ii. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 847.

^h Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri *Historia Crypto Socinismi Altorfina*, cap. ii. p. 357, 359.

ⁱ Debrezeni *Histor. Eccles. Reform. in Hungaria*, p. 169.

^j Henr. Spondani *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A. 1568, n. xxiv. p. 704.*

^k A considerable number of these books were republished together, in the year 1656, in one great collection, consisting of six volumes in folio, under the title of *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*. There are indeed in this collection many pieces wanting, which were composed by the most eminent leaders of the sect; but what is there published is nevertheless sufficient to give the attentive reader a clear idea of the doctrine of the Socinians, and of the nature of their institution as a religious community.

conclusion of this century, as appears evident from authentic records, in order to make proselytes, and to erect new congregations. These missionaries sowed every way qualified to gain credit to the cause in which they had embarked, as some of them were distinguished by the lustre of their birth, and others by the extent of their learning, and the power of their eloquence; and yet, notwithstanding these uncommon advantages, they failed, almost every where, in their attempts. A small congregation was founded at Dantzic, which subsisted, for some time, in a clandestine manner, and then gradually dwindled to nothing.¹ The first attempts to promote the cause of Socinianism in Holland, were made by a person whose name was Erasmus Johannis.^m After him Christopher Ostorod, and Andrew Voidiovius, who were the main pillars of the sect, used their utmost endeavours to gain disciples and followers in that country; nor were their labours wholly unsuccessful, though the zeal of the clergy, and the vigilance of the magistrates, prevented their forming any regular assemblies, and thus effectually checked their progress,ⁿ and hindered their party from acquiring any considerable degree of strength and stability.^o Socinianism did not meet with a better reception in Britain than in Holland. It was introduced into Germany by Adam Neuser, and other emissaries, who infected the palatinate with its errors, having entered into a league with the Transylvanians, at the critical period when the affairs of the Unitarians, in Poland, carried a dubious and unpromising aspect. But this pernicious league was soon detected, and the schemes of its authors entirely blasted and disconcerted; upon which Neuser went into Turkey, and enlisted among the Janizaries.^p

¹ Gustav. Georg. Zeltneri *Hist. Crypto Socinismi Altorfani*, p. 199.

^m Sandius, *Bibliotheca Antitrinit.* p. 87.

ⁿ In Brandt, in his *History of the Reformation of the Netherlands*, tells us, that Ostorod and Voidiovius were banished, and that their books were condemned to be burnt publicly by the hands of the common hangman. Accordingly the pile was raised, the executioner approached, and the multitude was assembled, but the books did not appear. The magistrates, who were curious to peruse their contents, had quietly divided them among themselves and their friends.

^o Zeltnerus, *Hist. Crypto Socinismi*, &c. p. 31 and 176.

^p Burch Gott. Struvii, *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* cap. viii. § liii. p. 214. Altling. *Hist. Eccles. Palat.* in Miegii *Monum. Palat.* p. 266—337. La Croze, *Dissertationes Historiques*, tom. i. p. 101, 127, compared with Bern. Raupachius, his *Presbyterologia Austriaca*, p. 113, where there is an account of John Mattheus, who was concerned in these troubles.

xv. Although the Socinians profess to believe that all our knowledge of divine things is derived solely from the Holy Scriptures ; yet they maintain in reality, that the sense of Scripture is to be investigated and explained by the dictates of right reason, to which, of consequence, they attribute a great influence in determining the nature, and unfolding the various doctrines of religion. When their writings are perused with attention, they will be found to attribute more to reason, in this matter, than most other Christian societies. For they frequently insinuate artfully, nay sometimes declare plainly, that the sacred penmen were guilty of several mistakes, from a defect of memory, as well as a want of capacity ; that they expressed their sentiments without either perspicuity or precision, and rendered the plainest things obscure by their pompous and diffuse Asiatic style ; and that it was therefore absolutely necessary to employ the lamp of human reason to cast a light upon their doctrine, and to explain it in a manner conformable to truth. It is easy to see what they had in view by maintaining propositions of this kind. They aimed at nothing less than the establishment of the following general rule, viz : that the history of the Jews and of Jesus Christ was indeed to be derived from the books of the Old and New Testament, and that it was not lawful to entertain the least doubt concerning the truth of this history, and the authenticity of these books in general ; but that the particular doctrines which they contain, were, nevertheless, to be understood, and explained in such a manner as to render them conformable to the dictates of reason. According to this representation of things, it is not the Holy Scripture, which declares clearly and expressly what we are to believe concerning the nature, counsels, and perfections of the Deity ; but it is human reason, which shows us the system of religion that we ought to seek in, and deduce from, the divine oracles.

xvi. This fundamental principle of Socinianism will appear more dangerous and pernicious, when we consider the sense in which the word *reason* was understood by this sect. The pompous title of *right reason* was given, by the Socinians, to that measure of intelligence and discernment, or, in other words, to that faculty of comprehending and judging, which we derive

The main principle of Socinianism.

The dangerous consequences of this principle.

from nature. According to this definition, the fundamental rule of the Socinians necessarily supposes, that no doctrine ought to be acknowledged as true in its nature, or divine in its origin, all whose parts are not level to the comprehension of the human understanding; and that, whatever the holy Scriptures teach concerning the perfections of God, his counsels and decrees, and the way of salvation, must be modified, curtailed, and filed down, in such a manner, by the transforming power of art and argument, as to answer the extent of our limited faculties. Those who adopt this singular rule, must at the same time, grant that the number of religions must be nearly equal to that of individuals. For as there is a great variety in the talents and capacities of different persons, so what will appear difficult and abstruse to one, will seem evident and clear to another; and thus the more discerning and penetrating will adopt as divine truth, what the slow and superficial will look upon as unintelligible jargon. This consequence does not at all alarm the Socinians, who suffer their members to explain, in very different ways, many doctrines of the highest importance, and permit every one to follow his particular fancy in composing his theological system, provided they acknowledge, in general, the truth and authenticity of the history of Christ, and adhere to the precepts the gospel lays down for the regulations of our lives and actions.

XVII. In consequence of this leading maxim, the Socinians either reject without exception, or change and accommodate to their limited capacities, all those doctrines relating to the nature of God and of Jesus Christ, the plan of redemption, and the eternal rewards and punishments unfolded in the gospel, which they either cannot comprehend, or consider as attended with considerable difficulties. The sum of their theology is as follows; "God, who is infinitely more perfect than man, though of a similar nature in some respects, exerted an act of that power by which he governs all things; in consequence of which an extraordinary person was born of the Virgin Mary. That person was Jesus Christ, whom God first translated to heaven by that portion of his divine power, which is called the *Holy Ghost*; and having instructed him fully there in the knowledge of his will, counsels, and designs, sent him again into this sublunary world, to pro-

The sum and substance of Socinianism.

mulgate to mankind a new rule of life, more excellent than that under which they had formerly lived, to propagate divine truth by his ministry, and to confirm it by his death.

“Those who obey the voice of this Divine Teacher, and this obedience is in the power of every one whose will and inclination leads that way, shall one day be clothed with new bodies, and inhabit eternally those blessed regions where God himself immediately resides. Such, on the contrary as are disobedient and rebellious, shall undergo most terrible and exquisite torments, which shall be succeeded by annihilation, or the total extinction of their being.”

The whole system of Socinianism, when stripped of the embellishments and commentaries with which it has been loaded and disguised by its doctors, is really reducible to the few propositions now mentioned.

XVIII. The nature and genius of the Socinian theology has an immediate influence upon the moral system of that sect, and naturally leads its doctors to confine their rules of morality and virtue to the *external* actions and duties of life. On the one hand, they deny the influence of a divine spirit and power upon the minds of men; and on the other, they acknowledge, that no mortal has such an empire over himself as to be able to suppress or extinguish his sinful propensities and corrupt desires. Hence they have no conclusion left, but one; and that is, to declare all such true and worthy Christians whose *words* and *external actions* are conformable to the precepts of the divine law. It is at the same time remarkable, that another branch of their doctrine leads directly to the utmost severity in what relates to life and manners, since they maintain that the great end of Christ's mission upon earth was to exhibit to mortals a new law, distinguished from all others by its unblemished sanctity and perfection. Hence it is that a great number of the Socinians have fallen into the fanatical rigour of the ancient anabaptists, and judged it absolutely unlawful to repel injuries, to take oaths, to inflict capital punishments on malefactors, to oppose the despotic proceedings of tyrannical magistrates, to acquire wealth by honest industry, and other things of that nature. But in this there is something extremely singular, and they are here indeed inconsistent with themselves. For while, in matters of doctrine, they take the greatest liberty with

The moral doctrine of the Socinians.

the expressions of Scripture, and pervert them in a violent manner, to the defence of their peculiar tenets, they proceed quite otherwise, when they come to prescribe rules of conduct from the precepts of the gospel; for then they understand these precepts literally, and apply them without the least distinction of times, persons, and circumstances.

xix. It must carefully be observed, that the Catechism of Racow, which most people look upon as the great standard of Socinianism, and as an accurate summary of the doctrine of that sect, is, in reality, no more than a collection of the popular tenets of the Socinians, and by no means a just representation of the secret opinions and sentiments of their doctors.^q The writings therefore of these learned men must be perused with attention, in order to our knowing the hidden reasons and true principles from whence the doctrines of the Catechism are derived. It is observable beside, that in this Catechism, many Socinian tenets and institutions, which might have contributed to render the sect still more odious, and to expose its internal constitution too much to public view, are entirely omitted; so that it seems to have been less composed for the use of the Socinians themselves, than to impose upon strangers, and to mitigate the indignation which the tenets of this community had excited in the minds of many.^r Hence it never obtained, among the Socinians, the authority of a public confession or rule of faith; and hence the doctors of that sect were authorized to correct and contradict it, or to substitute another form of doctrine in its place. It is also observable, that the most eminent writers and patrons of the Socinians gave no clear or consistent account of the sentiments of that sect in relation to ecclesiastical discipline and government, and the form of public worship. All that we know is, that they follow in these matters, generally speaking, the customs received in the protestant churches.^s

^q We have an account of the authors of this famous *Catechism*, and of the various success it met with, in the *Commentatio de Catechesi Racoviensi*, published by Jo. And. Schmidius, in the year 1707. See also Koechleri *Biblioth. Theolog. Symbolica*. A new edition of the Catechism itself, with a solid refutation of the doctrine it contains, was published in 8vo. at Francfort and Leipsic, in the year 1739, by the learned George Lewis Oeder.

^r This appears evident enough from their presenting a Latin translation of this Catechism to James I. King of Great Britain, and a German one to the academy of Wittenberg.

^s This is manifest from a work composed by Peter Morscovius, or Morscowsky, un-

XX. The first founders and patrons of this sect were eminently distinguished by their learning and genius. Their successors, however, did not follow their steps in this respect, nor keep up the reputation they had universally obtained. The unitarians in Poland seem to have had little ambition of science. They gave no encouragement to learning or talents; and appeared little solicitous of having in their community subtle doctors and learned disputants. But when they perceived, on the one hand, that the success of their community required as able defenders, as they had learned and ingenious adversaries; and were so lucky, on the other, as to obtain the privilege of erecting seminaries of learning at Racow and Lublin, they then changed their sentiments with respect to this matter, and became sensible of the necessity under which they lay, to encourage in their community a zeal for the sciences. This zeal increased greatly from the time that Faustus Socinus undertook the restoration of their declining credit, and put himself at the head of their tottering sect. At that time, many persons, distinguished by their birth, education, and talents, embraced its doctrine, and contributed to promote the love of science among its members. Then the youth were taught the rules of eloquence and rhetoric, and instructed in the important branches of oriental, Greek, and Latin literature. Nay, even the secret paths of philosophy were opened, though their treasures were disclosed only to a few, who were selected for that purpose from the multitude. The Racovian doctors, in compliance with the spirit and taste of the age, chose Aristotle as their guide in philosophy, as appears evidently from the Ethics of Crelius, and other literary records of these times.

XXI. Notwithstanding this progress of philosophy among the Socinians, their doctors seemed to reject its succours in theology with obstinacy and disdain. They declare, in numberless places of their writings, that both in the interpretation of Scripture, and in

Their method of proceeding in theology.

der the following title; 'Politia Ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agenda vocant, sive forma Regiminis exterioris Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem, per filium ejus Unigenitum in Spiritu Sancto, confitentur.' This work, which is divided into three books, was composed in the year 1642, and published in 4to. at Nuremberg, but a few years ago, by the learned George Lewis Oeder. It is mentioned by Sandius, in his *Biblioth. Antitrinit.* p. 142, who says that it was drawn up for the use of the Belgic churches.

explaining and demonstrating the truths of religion in general, clearness and simplicity are alone to be consulted, and no regard paid to the subtilities of philosophy and logic. And indeed had their doctors and interpreters followed, in practice, this rule that they have laid down with so much ostentation in theory, they would have saved their adversaries, and perhaps themselves, much trouble. But this is by no means the case. For, in the greatest part of their theological productions, their pretended simplicity is frequently accompanied with much subtilty, and with the most refined intricacies of scientific art. And what is still more inexcusable, they reason with the greatest dexterity and acuteness concerning those subjects, which, as they surpass the reach of the human understanding, are generally received, among other Christians, as *facts*, confirmed by the most respectable *testimony*, and consequently as matters of pure *faith*, while they discover little sagacity, or strength of judgment, in those discussions which are within the sphere of reason, and are properly amenable to its tribunal. They are acute where they ought to be silent, and they reason awkwardly where sagacity and argument are required. These are certainly great inconsistencies; yet they proceed from one and the same principle, even the maxim universally received in this community, that all things that surpass the limits of human comprehension are to be entirely banished from the Christian religion."

XXII. It has been already observed, that the Unitarians had no sooner separated themselves from the reformed churches in Poland, than they became a prey to intestine divisions, and were split into several factions. The points of doctrine that gave rise to these divisions, related to the dignity of Christ's nature and character, the unlawfulness of infant baptism, the personality of the Holy Ghost, to which were added several alterations, concerning the duties of life, and the rules of conduct that were obligatory on Christians. The sects, produced by these divisions, were not all equally obstinate. Some of them entertained pacific dispositions, and seemed inclined toward a reconciliation. But two, particularly, maintained tenaciously their sentiments, and persisted in their separation; these were the *Budnœans* and the *Farnovians*. The former were so called

The divisions of the Socinians, and their intestine controversies.

Budnœans.

from their leader Simon Budnæus, a man of considerable acuteness and sagacity, who, more dexterous than the rest of his brethren in deducing consequences from their principles, and perceiving plainly the conclusions to which the peculiar principles of Lælius Socinus naturally led, denied flatly all kinds of religious worship to Jesus Christ. Nor did Budnæus stop here; in order to give a more specious colour to this capital error, and to maintain it upon consistent grounds, he asserted that Christ was not begotten by an extraordinary act of divine power, but that he was born, like other men, in a natural way. This hypothesis, however conformable to the fundamental principles of Socinianism, appeared intolerable and impious to the greatest part of that community. Hence Budnæus, who had gained over to his doctrine a great number of proselytes in Lithuania, and Russian Poland, was deposed from his ministerial functions, in the year 1584, and publicly excommunicated with all his disciples. It is said however that he afterward abandoned his peculiar and offensive sentiments, and was again readmitted to the communion of that sect.*

XXIII. This heretical doctrine, which had created so much trouble to Budnæus, was soon after adopted by Francis Davides, a Hungarian, who was the superintendent of the Socinian churches in Transylvania, and who opposed with the greatest ardour and obstinacy, the custom of offering up prayers and divine worship to Jesus Christ. Several methods were used to reclaim him from this offensive error. Blandrata employed all the power of his eloquence for this purpose, and to render his remonstrances still more effectual, sent for Faustus Socinus, who went accordingly into Transylvania, in the year 1573, and seconded his arguments and exhortations with the utmost zeal and perseverance. But Davides remained unmoved, and was in consequence of this obstinate adherence to his error, thrown into prison, by Christopher Bathory, prince of Transylvania; where he

The sentiments of Budnæus embraced by Davides and Francken.

* See Sandii *Biblioth. Antitritit.* p. 54, 55. *Epist. de vita Wissowatti*, p. 226. Ringeltaube's German Dissertation on the Polish Bible, p. 144, 152. Samuel Crellius, the most learned Socinian of our times, looks upon Adam Neuser,* who was banished on account of his erroneous sentiments, to have been the author of this doctrine, which is so derogatory from the dignity of Jesus Christ. See Crellii *Thesaur. Epistol. Crozian.* tom. i. p. 111.

* See § xiv. of this chapter.

died, in the year 1579, in an advanced age.* This his unhappy fate did not however extinguish the controversy to which his doctrine had given rise. For he left behind him disciples and friends, who strenuously maintained his sentiments, stood firm against the opposition that was made to them, and created much uneasiness to Socinus and his followers in Lithuania and Poland. The most eminent of these were Jacob Palæologus, of the isle of Chio, who was burnt at Rome, in the year 1585; Christian Francken, who had disputed in person with Socinus; and John Summer,† who was master of the academy of Clausenburg.‡ This little sect is branded, by the Socinian writers, with the ignominious appellation of *semijudaizers*.§

u Sandius, *Biblioth. Antitrinit.* p. 55, 56. Faust. Socin. *Oper.* tom. i. p. 353, 395, tom. ii. p. 713, 771, where there is an account of his conference and dispute with Francis Davides. Sten. Lubieniecii *Histor. Reform. Polonica*, lib. iii. c. xi. 228.

w See Sandius, *loc. cit.* p. 57, 58. The dispute between Socinus and Francken is related at large in the Works of the former, tom. ii. p. 767.

[x Clausenburg, otherwise Coloswar, is a town in Transylvania, extremely populous and well fortified. The Socinians have here a public school and a printing house; and their community in this place is very numerous. Till the year 1603, they were in possession of the cathedral, which was then taken from them and given to the Jesuits, whose college and church they had pulled down.

y Faustus Socinus wrote a particular treatise against the semijudaizers, which is published in the second volume of his Works, p. 804. It is, however, worthy of observation, that the motive which engaged Socinus and his friends to employ so much pains and labour in the suppression of this faction, was not a persuasion of the pernicious tendency of its doctrines or peculiar notions. On the contrary Socinus himself expressly acknowledges, that this controversy turns upon matters of very little importance, by declaring it as his opinion, that praying or offering up divine worship to Christ, is not necessary to salvation. Thus, in his answer to Wujcek, *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 533, he expresses himself in the following manner. "The Christian, whose faith is so great as to encourage him to make his addresses habitually and directly to the Supreme Being, and who standeth not in need of the comfort that flows from the invocation of Christ his brother, who was tempted in all things like as he is, that a Christian is not obliged to call upon the name of Jesus, by prayer or supplication."¶ According therefore to the opinion of Socinus, those who lay aside all regard to Christ as an intercessor, and addressed themselves directly to God alone, have a greater measure of faith than others. But, if this be so, why did he oppose with such vehemence and animosity the sentiment of Davides, who in effect did no more than exhort all Christians to address themselves directly and immediately to the Father? Here there appears to be a striking inconsistency. We find also Lubieniecicus, in his *Histor. Reformat. Polonica*, lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 228, speaking lightly enough of this controversy, and representing it as a matter of very little moment; whence he says, that in Transylvania there was much ado about nothing.† From all this then it appears manifest, that Socinus and his followers were more artful than ingenuous in their proceedings with respect to Davides. They persecuted him and his followers, lest by tolerating his doctrine, they should increase the odium under which they already lay, and draw upon themselves anew the resentment of other Christian churches, while, in their private judgment, they looked upon this very doctrine and its professors, as worthy of toleration and indulgence.

* "Quod si quis tanta est fide præditus, ut ad Deum ipsum perpetuo recta accedere audeat, nec consolatione, quæ ex Christi Fratris sui per omnia tentati invocatione proficiscitur, indigeat, hic non opus habet, ut Christum invocet."

† "Fluctus in simpulo excitatos esse."

XXIV. The Farnovians were treated by the Socinians with much more indulgence. They were neither excluded from the communion of the sect, nor obliged to renounce their peculiar tenets; they were only exhorted to conceal them prudently, and not to publish or propagate them in their discourses from the pulpit. This particular branch of the Socinian community, was so called from Stanislaus Farnovius, or Farnesius, who was engaged by Gonesius to prefer the Arian system to that of the Socinians, and consequently asserted, that Christ had been engendered, or produced out of nothing, by the Supreme Being, before the creation of this terrestrial globe. It is not so easy to say, what his sentiments were concerning the Holy Ghost; all we know of that matter is, that he warned his disciples against paying the tribute of religious worship to that divine Spirit.^a Farnovius separated from the other Unitarians, in the year 1568, and was followed, in this schism, by several persons eminent on account of the extent of their learning and the influence of their rank, such as Martin Czechovicus, Neimoiovius, Stanislaus Wisnowius, John Falcon, George Schoman, and others. They did not however form themselves into a stable or permanent sect. The lenity and indulgence of the Socinians, together with the dexterity of their disputants, brought many of them back into the bosom of the community they had deserted, and considerable numbers were dispersed or regained by the prudence and address of Faustus Socinus. So that at length the whole faction, being deprived of its chief, who died in the year 1615, was scattered abroad, and reduced to nothing.^b

^a *Epistola de Vita Wissowatii*, p. 226. Erasmus Jobannia, as we are informed by Sandius, *Biblioth. Antitrinit.* p. 87, was admitted professor of divinity in the Socinian academy of Clausenburg, on condition, that in his public discourses, he should never say any thing of Christ's having existed before the Virgin Mary.

^b Sandius, *Biblioth.* p. 52, et passim.

We omit here an enumeration of the more famous Socinian writers who flourished in this century, because the greatest part of them have already been mentioned in the course of this history. The rest may be easily collected from Sandius.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

I. THE arduous attempts made by the pontiffs, in the preceding century, to advance the glory and majesty of the see of Rome, by extending the limits of the Christian church, and spreading the gospel through the distant nations, met with much opposition; and, as they were neither well conducted nor properly supported, their fruits were neither abundant nor permanent. But in this century the same attempts were renewed with vigour, crowned with success, and contributed not a little to give a new degree of stability to the tottering grandeur of the papacy. They were begun by Gregory XV. who, by the advice of his confessor Narni, founded at Rome, in the year 1622, the famous Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and enriched it with ample revenues. This congregation, which consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary,* is designed to propagate and maintain the religion of Rome in all parts and corners of the world. Its riches and possessions were so prodigiously augmented by the munificence of Urban VIII. and the liberality of an incredible number of donors, that its funds are, at this day, adequate to the most expensive and magnificent undertakings. And indeed the enterprises of this congregation are great and extensive. By it a vast number of missionaries are sent to the remotest parts of the world; books of various kinds published, to facilitate the study of foreign and barbarous languages; the sacred writings and

The college
De Propaganda
Fide founded
at Rome.

* Such is the number of members belonging to this congregation as they stand in the original bull of Gregory XV. see *Bullarium Roman.* tom. iii. p. 479, edit. Luxemburg. Cerri mentions the same number, in his *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 259. But a different account is given by Aymon, in his *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, part iii. chap. iii. p. 279, for he makes this congregation to consist of eighteen cardinals, one of the pope's secretaries, one apostolical protonotary, one referendary, and one of the assessors, or secretaries of the inquisition.

other pious productions sent abroad to the most distant corners of the globe, and exhibited to each nation and country in their own language and characters; seminaries founded for the sustenance and education of a prodigious number of young men, set apart for the foreign missions; houses erected for the instruction and support of the pagan youths that are yearly sent from abroad to Rome, that they may return from thence into their respective countries, and become the instructors of their blinded brethren; not to mention the charitable establishments that are designed for the relief and support of those who have suffered banishment, or been involved in other calamities, on account of their steadfast attachment to the religion of Rome, and their zeal for promoting the glory of its pontiff. Such are the arduous and complicated schemes, with the execution of which this congregation is charged; but these, though the principal, are not the only objects of its attention; its views, in a word, are vast, and its exploits almost incredible. Its members hold their assemblies in a splendid and magnificent palace, whose delightful situation adds a singular lustre to its beauty and grandeur.^b

II. To this famous establishment, another less magnificent indeed, but highly useful, was added, in the year 1627, by pope Urban VIII. under the denomination of a college, or seminary for the propagation of the faith. This seminary is set apart for the instruction and education of those who are designed for the foreign missions; and they are here brought up, with the greatest care, in the knowledge of all the languages and sciences that are necessary to prepare them for propagating the gospel among the distant nations. This excellent foundation was due to the zeal and munificence of John Baptist Viles, a Spanish nobleman, who resided at the court of Rome, and who began by presenting to the pontiff all his ample possessions, together with his house, which was a noble, and beautiful structure, for this pious and generous purpose. His liberality excited a spirit of pious emulation, and is followed with zeal even to this day. The seminary was at first commit-

The college pro propaganda, &c. instituted by Urban VIII.

^b The authors, who have given an account of this congregation, are mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Luz Evangelii toti orbis exortiens*, cap. xxxiii. p. 566. Add to these, Dorotheus Ascanius, *De Montibus Pietatis Ecclesie Roman.* p. 522, where there is a complete list of the books that have been published by this congregation, from its first institution until the year 1667.

ted by Urban to the care and direction of three canons of the patriarchal churches ; but this appointment was afterward changed, and ever since the year 1641, it is governed by the congregation founded by Gregory XV.^c

III. The same zealous spirit reached France, and produced there several pious foundations of a like nature. In the year 1663, the Congregation of Priests of the Foreign Missions was instituted by royal authority, while an association of bishops and other ecclesiastics founded the Parisian seminary for the Missions abroad, designed for the education of those who were set apart for the propagation of Christianity among the Pagan nations. From hence, apostolical vicars are still sent to Siam, Tonquin, Cochin China, and Persia, bishops to Babylon, and missionaries to other Asiatic nations ; and all these spiritual envoys are supported by the ample revenues and possessions of the congregation and seminary.^d These priests of the foreign missions,^e and the apostles they send into foreign countries, are almost perpetually involved in altercations and debates with the Jesuits and their missionaries. The former are shocked at the methods that are ordinarily employed by the latter in converting the Chinese and other Asiatics to the Christian religion. And the Jesuits, in their turn, absolutely refuse obedience to the orders of the apostolical vicars and bishops, who receive their commission from the congregation above mentioned ; though this commission be issued out with the consent of the pope, or the College de Propaganda Fide residing at Rome. There was also another religious establishment formed in France, during this century, under the title of the Congregation of the Holy Sacrament, whose founder was Autherius, bishop of Bethlehem, and which, in the year 1644, received an order from Urban VIII. to have always a number of ecclesiastics ready to exercise their ministry among the pagan nations, whenever they should be called upon by the pope, or the Congregation de Propaganda, for that purpose.^f It would be endless to mention other

Congregations and colleges of the same nature founded in France.

^c Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires*, tom. viii. cap. xii. p. 78. Urb. Cerri *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 293, where however the first founder of this college is called, by mistake, Vives.

^d See the *Gallia Christiana Benedictinorum*, tom. vii. p. 1024. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. chap. xii. p. 84.

^e These ecclesiastics are commonly called in France, *Messieurs des Missions Etrangeres*.

^f Helyot, *loc. cit.* cap. xiii. p. 87, 100.

associations of less note, that were formed in several countries for promoting the cause of Christianity among the darkened nations ; as also the care taken by the Jesuits, and other religious communities, to have a number of missionaries always ready for that purpose.

iv. These congregations and colleges sent forth those legions of missionaries, who, in this century covered, in a manner, the whole face of the globe, and converted to the profession of Christianity at least, if not to its temper and spirit, multitudes of persons in the fiercest and most barbarous nations. The religious orders that make the greatest figure in these missions, are the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Capuchins, who, though concerned in one common cause, agree nevertheless very ill among themselves, accusing each other publicly and reciprocally, and that with the most bitter reproaches and invectives, of want of zeal in the service of Christ, nay, of corrupting the purity of the Christian doctrine to promote their ambitious purposes. But none are so universally accused of sinister views and unworthy practices, in this respect, as the Jesuits, who are singularly odious in the eyes of all the other missionaries, and are looked upon as a very dangerous and pernicious set of apostles by a considerable part of the Romish church. Nor indeed can they be viewed in any other light, if the general report be true, that instead of instructing their proselytes in the genuine doctrines of Christianity, they teach them a corrupt system of religion and morality that sits easy upon their consciences, and is reconcilable with the indulgence of their appetites and passions; that they not only tolerate, but even countenance, in these new converts, several profane opinions and superstitious rites and customs ; that, by commerce, carried on with the most rapacious avidity, and various other methods little consistent with probity and candour, they have already acquired an overgrown opulence, which they augment from day to day ; that they burn with the thirst of ambition, and are constantly gaping after worldly honours and prerogatives ; that they are perpetually employing the arts of adulation, and the seductions of bribery, to insinuate themselves into the friendship and protection of men in power ; that they are deeply involved in civil affairs, in the cabals of courts, and the intrigues of politicians ; and finally, that they fre-

Missionaries multiply more especially those of the Jesuits.

quently excite intestine commotions and civil wars, in those states and kingdoms, where their views are obstructed or disappointed, and refuse obedience to the Roman pontiff, and to the vicars and bishops that bear his commission. These accusations are indeed grievous, but they are perfectly well attested, being confirmed by the most striking circumstantial evidence, as well as by a prodigious number of unexceptionable witnesses. Among these we may reckon many of the most illustrious and respectable members of the church of Rome, whose testimony cannot be imputed to the suggestions of envy, on the one hand, nor considered as the effect of temerity or ignorance on the other; such are the cardinals, the members of the *congregation de propaganda fide*, and even some of the popes themselves. These testimonies are supported and confirmed by glaring facts, even by the proceedings of the Jesuits in China, Abyssinia, Japan, and India, where they have dishonoured the cause of Christianity, and hurt the interest of Rome, in the most sensible manner by their corrupt practices.^g

v. The Jesuits exhausted all the resources of their peculiar artifice and dexterity to impose silence upon their accusers, to confound their adversaries, and to give a specious colour to their own proceedings. But all their stratagems were ineffectual. The court of Rome was informed of their odious frauds; and this information was by no means looked upon as groundless. Many circumstances concur to prove this, and among others the conduct of the congregation at Rome, by which the foreign missions are carried on and directed. For it is remarkable, that, during many years past, the Jesuits have been much less employed by that congregation, than in former times, and are also treated, on almost every occasion, with a degree of circumspection that manifestly implies suspicion and diffidence. Other religious orders have evidently gained the ascendant they formerly held; and in the nice and critical affairs of the church, and more especially in what relates to the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, much more confidence is placed in the austere sobriety, poverty, industry, and patience of the Capu-

The Jesuits ill
looked upon.

^g The reader will find an ample relation of these facts, supported by a cloud of witnesses, in the preface to the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, published at Utrecht in the year 1741.

chins and Carmelites, than in the opulence, artifice, genius, and fortitude of the disciples of Loyola. On the other hand, it is certain, that if the Jesuits are not much trusted, they are however more or less feared; since neither the powerful congregation now mentioned, nor even the Roman pontiffs themselves, venture to reform all the abuses, which they silently disapprove or openly blame, in the conduct of this insidious order. This connivance, however involuntary, is become a matter of necessity. The opulence of the Jesuits is so excessive, and their credit and influence are grown so extensive and formidable, in all those parts of the world that embrace the religion of Rome, that they carry their insolence so far as to menace often the pontiff on his throne, who cannot, without the utmost peril, oblige them to submit to his orders, where they are disposed to be refractory. Nay more, the decisions of the pope are frequently suggested by this powerful society, and it is only in such a case that the society treats them with unlimited respect. When they come from any other quarter, they are received in a very different manner by the Jesuits, who trample upon some of them with impunity, and interpret others with their usual dexterity, in such a manner, as to answer the views and promote the interests of their ambitious order. Such at least are the accounts that are generally given of their proceedings; accounts, which, though contradicted by them, are nevertheless supported by striking and palpable evidence.

VI. The rise of these dissensions between the Jesuits and the other Roman missionaries is owing to the methods of conversion used by the former, which are entirely different from those that are employed by the latter. The crafty disciples of Loyola, judge it proper to attack the superstition of the Indian nations by artifice and stratagem, and to bring them only gradually, with the utmost caution and prudence, to the knowledge of Christianity. In consequence of this principle, they interpret and explain the ancient doctrines of paganism, and also those that Confucius taught in China, in such a manner as to soften and diminish, at least in appearance, their opposition to the truths of the gospel; and whenever they find, in any of the religious systems of the Indians, tenets or precepts that bear even the faintest resemblance of certain doctrines or precepts of Christianity, they em-

The methods of converting practised by the Jesuits procure them enemies.

ploy all their dexterity and zeal to render this resemblance more plausible and striking, and to persuade the Indians that there is a great conformity between their ancient theology and the new religion they are exhorted to embrace. They go still further; for they indulge their proselytes in the observance of all their national customs and rites, except such as are glaringly inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the Christian worship. These rites are modified a little by the Jesuits, and are directed toward a different set of objects, so as to form a sort of coalition between paganism and Christianity. To secure themselves an ascendant over the untutored minds of these simple Indians, they study their natural inclinations and propensities, comply with them on all occasions, and carefully avoid whatever may shock them. And as in all countries the clergy, and men of eminent learning, are supposed to have a considerable influence on the multitude, so the Jesuits are particularly assiduous in courting the friendship of the Indian priests, which they obtain by various methods, in the choice of which they are far from being scrupulous. But the protection of men in power is the great object they principally aim at, as the surest method of establishing their authority, and extending their influence. And hence they study all the arts that can render them agreeable or useful to great men; hence their application to the mathematics, physic, poetry, to the theory of painting, sculpture, architecture, and the other elegant arts; and hence their perseverance in studying men and manners, the interests of princes and the affairs of the world, in order to prepare them for giving counsel in critical situations, and suggesting expedients in perplexing and complicated cases. It would be endless to enumerate all the circumstances that have been complained of in the proceedings of the Jesuits. These that have been now mentioned, have ruined their credit in the esteem of the other missionaries, who consider their artful and insidious dealings as every way unsuitable to the character and dignity of the ambassadors of Christ, whom it becomes to plead the cause of God with an honest simplicity, and an ingenuous openness and candour, without any mixture of dissimulation or fraud. And accordingly we find the other religious orders, that are employed in the foreign missions, proceeding in a very different method in the exercise of their ministry. They

attack openly the superstitions of the Indians, in all their connexions and in all their consequences, and are studious to remove whatever may seem adapted to nourish them. They show little regard to the ancient rites and customs, in use among the blinded nations, and little respect for the authority of those by whom they were established. They treat with a certain indifference and contempt the pagan priests, grandees, and princes, and preach, without disguise, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, while they attack without hesitation or fear, the superstitions of those nations they are called to convert.

VII. These missionaries of the court of Rome spread the fame of the Christian religion through the greatest part of Asia during this century. To begin with India; it is observable that the ministerial labours of the *Jesuits*, *Theatins*, and *Augustinians* contributed to introduce some rays of divine truth, mixed indeed with much darkness and superstition, into those parts of that vast region that had been possessed by the Portuguese before their expulsion from thence by the Dutch. But of all the missions that were established in these distant parts of the globe, none has been more constantly and universally applauded than that of Madura, and none is said to have produced more abundant and permanent fruit. It was undertaken and executed by Robert de Nobili,^b an Italian Jesuit, who took a very singular method of rendering his ministry successful. Considering, on the one hand, that the Indians beheld with an eye of prejudice and aversion all the Europeans, and on the other, that they held in the highest veneration the order of *brachmans*, as descended from the gods; and that, impatient of other rulers, they paid an implicit and unlimited obedience to them alone, he assumed the appearance and title of a *brachman*, that had come from a far country, and by besmearing his countenance and imitating that most austere and painful method of living that the *Sanianes* or penitents observe, he at length persuaded the credulous people, that he was in reality a member of that venerable order.¹ By this strata-

Christianity
propagated in
India.

^b Others call this famous missionary Robert de Nobilibus.

ⁱ Urban Cerri, *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

☞ Nobili, who was looked upon by the Jesuits as the chief apostle of the Indians after Francis Xavier, took incredible pains to acquire a knowledge of the religion, customs, and language of Madura, sufficient for the purposes of his ministry. But this was not all; for, to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who

gem, he gained over to Christianity twelve eminent brachmans, whose example and influence engaged a prodigious number of the people to hear the instructions, and to receive the doctrine, of this famous missionary. On the death of Robert, this singular mission was for some time at a stand, and seemed even to be neglected.^k But it was afterward renewed, by the zeal and industry of the Portuguese Jesuits, and is still carried on by several missionaries of that order, from France and Portugal, who have inured themselves to the terrible austerities that were practised by Robert, and that are thus become, as it were, the appendages of that mission. These fictitious *brachmans*, who boldly deny their being Europeans or Franks,^l and only give themselves out for inhabitants of the northern regions, are said to have converted a prodigious number of Indians to Christianity; and if common report may be trusted to, the congregations they have already founded in those countries grow larger and more numerous from year to year. Nor indeed do these accounts appear, in the main, unworthy of credit;^m though we must not be too ready to

treated his character of Brachman as an impostor, he produced an old dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, showing that the brachmans of Rome were of much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome descended, in a direct line, from the god *Brama*. Nay, father Jouvenci, a learned Jesuit, tells us, in the history of his order, something yet more remarkable; even that Robert de Nobili, when the authenticity of his smoky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared upon oath, before the assembly of the brachmans of Madura, that he, Nobili, derived really and truly his origin from the god *Brama*. Is it not astonishing that this reverend father should acknowledge, is it not monstrous that he should applaud, as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud? See Jouvenci *Histoire des Jesuites*. Norbert, *Memoires Historiques sur les Missions de Malab.* tom. ii. p. 145.

^k Urban Cerri, *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 173.

^l The Indians distinguish all the Europeans by the general denomination of Franks, or, as they pronounce the word, *Pranghis*.

^m The Jesuits seem to want words to express the glory that has accrued to their order from the remarkable success and the abundant fruits of this famous mission, as also the dreadful sufferings and hardships their missionaries have sustained in the course of their ministry. See the *Lettres curieuses et edificantes ecrites des Missions Etrangeres*, tom. i. p. 9, 32, 46, 50, 55, where father Martin observes, p. 9, that this mission surpasses all others; that each missionary baptizes at least a thousand converts every year, p. 11, that nevertheless, baptism is not indiscriminately administered, or granted with facility and precipitation to every one that demands it, p. 12, that those who present themselves to be baptized, are accurately examined until they exhibit sufficient proofs of their sincerity, and are carefully instructed during the space of four months in order to their reception; that after their reception, they live like angels rather than like men; and that the smallest appearance of mortal sins is scarcely, if ever, to be found among them. If any one is curious enough to inquire into the causes that produce such an uncommon degree of sanctity among these new converts, the Jesuits allege the two following; the first is modestly drawn from the holy lives and examples of the missionaries, who, p. 15, pass their days in the greatest austerity and in acts of mortification that are terrible to nature, see tom. xii. p. 206, tom. xv. p. 211; who are not allowed, for instance, the use of bread, wine, fish, or flesh; but are obliged to be satisfied with water and vegetables, dressed in the most insipid and disgusting manner, and whose clothing, with the

receive, as authentic and well attested, the relations that have been given of the intolerable hardships and sufferings that have been sustained by these *Jesuit brachmans* in the cause of Christ. Many imagine, and not without good foundation, that their austerities are, generally speaking, more dreadful in appearance than in reality; and that, while they outwardly affect an extraordinary degree of self-denial, they indulge themselves privately in a free and even luxurious use of the creatures, have their tables delicately served, and their cellars exquisitely furnished, in order to refresh themselves after their labours.

VIII. The knowledge of Christianity was first conveyed to the kingdoms of Siam, Tongking, and Kochinchina, by a mission of Jesuits, under the direction of Alexander of Rhodes, a native of Avignon,* whose instructions were received with uncommon docility by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of these countries. An account of the success of this spiritual expedi-

In the kingdoms of Siam, Tonquin, &c.

other circumstances of life, are answerable to their miserable diet. The *second* cause of this unusual appearance, alleged by the Jesuits, is the situation of these new Christians, by which they are cut off from all communication and intercourse with the Europeans, who are said to have corrupted, by their licentious manners, almost all the other Indian proselytes to Christianity. Add to all this, other considerations, which are scattered up and down in the *Letters* above cited, tom. i. p. 16, 17, tom. ii. p. 1, tom. iii. p. 217, tom. v. p. 2, tom. vi. p. 119, tom. ix. p. 126. Madura is a separate kingdom, situated in the midst of the Indian peninsula beyond the Ganges.* There is an accurate map of the territory comprehended in the mission of Madura, published by the Jesuits in the xvth tome of the *Lettres curieuses et edifiantes*, p. 60. The French Jesuits set on foot, in the kingdom of Carnate and in the adjacent provinces, a mission like that of Madura, *Lettres Cur.* tom. v. p. 3, 240; and toward the conclusion of this century other missionaries of the same order formed an enterprise of the same nature in the dominions of the king of Marava, tom. ii. p. 1, tom. x. p. 79. The Jesuits themselves however acknowledge, tom. vi. p. 3, 15, 66, 107, that this latter establishment succeeded much better than that of Carnate. The reason of this may perhaps be, that the French Jesuits, who founded the mission of Carnate, could not endure, with such constancy and patience, the austere and mortified manner of living which an institution of this nature required, nor imitate the rigid self-denial of the brachmans, so well as the missionaries of Spain and Portugal. Be that as it may, all these missions, that formerly made such a noise in the world, were suspended and abandoned, in consequence of a papal mandate, issued out in the year 1744, by Benedict XIV. who declared his disapprobation of the mean and perfidious methods of converting the Indians that were practised by the Jesuits, and pronounced it unlawful to make use of frauds or insidious artifices in extending the limits of the Christian church. See Norbert *Memoires Historiques pour les Missions Orientales*, tom. i. and iv. Mammachius has given an account of this matter, and also published the mandate of Benedict, in his *Orig. et Antiq. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 245. See also Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits, &c.* translated from the *Lettres edifiantes, &c.* vol. i. p. 4, 9, 2d edit.

n See the Writings of Alexander de Rhodes, who was undoubtedly a man of sense and spirit, and more especially his *Travels*, which were published in 4to. at Paris, in the years 1666 and 1682.

[*] * This is a mistake. Madura is in the Indian peninsula within the Ganges, and not beyond it. Its principal produce is rice, which is one of the principal instruments made use of by the rich Jesuits in the conversion of the poor Indians.

tion being brought to Alexander VII. in the year 1658, determined that pontiff to commit this new church to the inspection and government of a certain number of bishops, and chose for this purpose some French priests out of the congregation of foreign missions to carry his orders to the rising community, and to rule over it as his representatives and vicegerents. But the Jesuits, who can bear no superiors, and scarcely an equal, treated these pious men with the greatest indignity, loaded them with injuries and reproaches, and would not permit them to share their labours, nor to partake of their glory.° Hence arose, in the court of Rome, a long and tedious contest, which served to show, in the plainest manner, that the Jesuits were ready enough to make use of the authority of the pope, when it was necessary to promote their interests, or to extend their influence and dominion; but that they did not hesitate, on the other hand, to treat the same authority with indifference and contempt in all cases, where it appeared in opposition to their private views and personal interests. After this, Lewis XIV. sent a solemn embassy,°

o There were several pamphlets and memorials published at Paris, in the years 1666, 1674, and 1681, in which these French missionaries, whom the Jesuits refused to admit as fellow-labourers in the conversion of the Indians, relate, in an eloquent and affecting strain, the injuries they had received from that jealous and ambitious order. The most ample and accurate narration of that kind was published at Paris, in the year 1688, by Francis Pallu, whom the Pope had created bishop of Heliopolis. The same matter is largely treated in the *Galla Christiana* of the learned Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 1027, and a concise account of it is also given by Urban Cerri, in his *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 199. This latter author, though a secretary of the congregation de *propaganda fide*, yet inveighs with a just severity and a generous warmth against the perfidy, cruelty, and ambition of the Jesuits, and laments it as a most unhappy thing, that the *Congregation*, now mentioned, has not power enough to set limits to the rapacity and tyranny of that arrogant society. He further observes, toward the end of his narrative, which is addressed to the pope, that he was not at liberty to reveal all the abominations which the Jesuits had committed, during the course of this contest, but, by the order of his holiness, was obliged to pass them over in silence. His words are; *Votre Saintete a ordonnee, qu'elles demourassent sous le secret*. See also on this subject, Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. viii. chap. xii. p. 84.

¶ The French bishops of Heliopolis, Berytus, and Metelopolis, that had been sent into India about the year 1663, had prepared the way for this embassy, and by an account of the favourable dispositions of the monarch, then reigning at Siam, had encouraged the French king to make a new attempt for the establishment of Christianity in these distant regions. A fixed residence had been formed at Siam for the French missionaries, together with a seminary for instructing the youth in the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all settlements, or camps, as they are called, at the capital. A church was also erected there, by the king's permission, in the year 1667, and that prince proposed several questions to the missionaries, which seemed to discover a propensity to inform himself concerning their religion. The bishop of Heliopolis, who had gone back to Europe on the affairs of the mission, returned to Siam in the year 1673, with letters from Lewis XIV. and pope Clement IX. accompanied with rich presents, to thank his Siamese majesty for the favours bestowed on the French bishops. In a private audience to which he was admitted, he explained, in answer to a question proposed to him by the king of Siam, the mo-

in the year 1684, to the king of Siam, whose prime minister, at that time, was a Greek Christian, named Constantine Faulkon, a man of an artful, ambitious, and enterprising spirit. The design of this embassy was to engage the pagan prince to embrace Christianity, and to permit the propagation of the gospel in his dominions. The ambassadors were attended by a great retinue of priests and Jesuits, some of whom were well acquainted with those branches of science that were agreeable to the taste of the king of Siam. It was only however among a small part of the people, that the labours of these missionaries were crowned with any degree of success; for the monarch himself, and the great men of his kingdom remained unmoved by their exhortations, and deaf to their instructions.⁴ The king indeed, though he chose to persevere in

tive that had engaged the French bishops to cross so many seas, and the French king to send his subjects to countries so far from home, observing, that "a strong desire in his prince to extend the kingdom of the true God, was the sole reason of their voyage." Upon this we are told, that the king of Siam offered a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built to the honour of Lewis the Great, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside; and declared afterward, in a public assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all his subjects at liberty to embrace the Romish faith. All this raised the hopes of the missionaries to a very high pitch; but the expectations they derived from thence of converting the king himself were entirely groundless, as may be seen from a very remarkable declaration of that monarch in the following note. See the *Relation des Missions et des Voyages des Evêques François*, passim.

¶ q When Monsieur De Chaumont, who was charged with this famous embassy, arrived at Siam, he presented a long memorial to the monarch of that country, intimating how solicitous the king of France was to have his Siamese majesty of the same religion with himself. Chaw Naraya, for so was the latter named, who seems to have always deceived the French by encouraging words, which administered hopes that he never intended to accomplish, answered this memorial in a very acute and artful manner. After asking who had made the king of France believe that he entertained any such sentiments, he desired his minister Faulkon to tell the French ambassador, "That he left it to his most Christian majesty to judge, whether the change of a religion that had been followed in his dominions, without interruption, for 2229 years, could be a matter of small importance to him, or a demand with which it was easy to comply; that beside, he was much surprised to find the king of France concern himself so zealously and so warmly in a matter, which related to God, and not to him; and in which, though it related to God, the Deity did not seem to meddle at all, but left it entirely to human discretion." The king asked, at the same time, "Whether the true God, that created heaven and earth, and had bestowed on mankind such different natures and inclinations, could not, when he gave to men the same bodies and souls, have also, if he had pleased, inspired them with the same religious sentiments, and have made all nations live and die in the same laws." He added, "that since order among men, and unity in religion, depend absolutely on Divine Providence, who could as easily introduce them into the world, as that diversity of sects that prevails in it, it is natural to conclude from thence, that the true God takes as much pleasure to be honoured by different modes of religion and worship, as to be glorified by a prodigious number of different creatures, who praise him every one in his own way." He moreover asked, "Whether that beauty and variety, which we admire in the order of nature, be less admirable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming in the wisdom of God. However that be," continued the king of Siam, "since we know that God is the absolute master of the world, and that we are persuaded nothing comes to pass contrary to his will, I resign my person and dominions into the arms of his providence, and beseech his eternal wisdom to dispose thereof according to his good will and pleasure."

the religion of his ancestors, yet discovered a spirit of condescension and toleration, toward the conductors of this mission; and his favourite Constantine had secretly invited the French to Siam, to support him in his authority, which was beheld with an envious eye by several of the *grandees*. So that as long as this prince and his minister lived, the French still retained some hopes of accomplishing their purpose, and of converting the inhabitants of Siam to the faith. But these hopes entirely vanished in the year 1688, when in a popular sedition, excited and fomented by some prince of the blood, both king and minister were put to death; and then the missionaries returned home.

IX. China, the most extensive and opulent of all the Asiatic kingdoms, could not but appear to the missionaries and their constituents an object worthy ^{in China} of their pious zeal and ghostly ambition. And accordingly a numerous tribe of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, set out, about the commencement of this century, with a view to enlighten that immense region with the knowledge of the gospel. All these, however they differ in other matters, agree in proclaiming the astonishing success of their ministerial labours. It is nevertheless certain, that the principal honour of these religious exploits belongs to the Jesuits, who with a peculiar degree of dexterity and address, removed the obstacles that were the most adapted to retard the progress of Christianity, among a people whose natural acuteness and pride were accompanied with a superstitious attachment to the religion and manners of their ancestors. These artful missionaries studied the temper, character, taste, inclinations, and prejudices of the Chinese with incredible attention; and, perceiving that their natural sagacity was attended with an ardent desire of improvement in knowledge, and that they took the highest pleasure in the study of the arts and sciences, and more especially in the mathematics, they lost no occasion of sending for such members of their order, as, beside their knowledge of mankind, and prudence in transacting business, were also masters of the different

See Tachard, *Prem. Voyage de Siam*, p. 218; as also the *Journal of the Abbe Choisi*, who was employed in that embassy.

r An account of this embassy, and of the transactions of both ambassadors and missionaries, is given by Tachard, Chaumont, and La Loubert. The relations however of the author last mentioned, who was a man of learning and candour, deserve undoubtedly the preference.

branches of learning and philosophy. Some of these learned Jesuits acquired, in a very short space of time, such a high degree of credit and influence by their sagacity and eloquence, the insinuating sweetness and facility of their manners, and their surprising dexterity and skill in all kinds of transactions and affairs, that they came at length to the knowledge of the emperor, were loaded by him with the most honourable marks of distinction, and were employed in the most secret and important deliberations and affairs of the cabinet. Under the auspicious protection of such powerful patrons, the other missionaries, though of a lower rank and of inferior talents, were delivered from all apprehension of danger in the exercise of their ministry, and thus encouraged to exert themselves with spirit, vigour, and perseverance, in the propagation of the gospel, in all the provinces of that mighty empire.

x. This promising aspect of things was clouded, for some time, when Xunchi, the first Chinese emperor of the Mogul race, died, and left a son under age, as his only heir. The grandees of the empire, to whose tuition and care this young prince was committed, had long entertained an aversion to Christianity, and only sought for a convenient occasion of venting their rage against it. This occasion was now offered, and greedily embraced. The guardians of the young prince abused his power to execute their vindictive purposes, and, after using their utmost efforts to extirpate Christianity wherever it was professed, they persecuted its patrons, more especially the Jesuits, with great bitterness, deprived them of all the honours and advantages they had enjoyed, and treated them with the utmost barbarity and injustice. John Adam Schaal, their chief, whose advanced age and extensive knowledge, together with the honourable place he held at court, seemed to demand some marks of exemption from the calamities that pursued his brethren, was thrown into prison, and condemned to death, while the other missionaries were sent into exile. These dismal scenes of persecution were exhibited in the year 1664; but about five years after this gloomy period, when Kanghi assumed the reins of government, a new face of things appeared. The Christian cause, and the labours of its ministers, not only resumed their former credit and vigour, but in process of time, gained

The progress
of Christianity
in China.

ground, and received such distinguished marks of protection from the throne, that the Jesuits usually date from this period the commencement of the golden age of Christianity in China. The new emperor, whose noble and generous spirit was equal to the uncommon extent of his genius, and to his ardent curiosity in the investigation of truth, began his reign by recalling the Jesuits to his court, and restoring them to the credit and influence which they had formerly enjoyed. But his generosity and munificence did not stop here; for he sent to Europe for a still greater number of the members of that order, such of them particularly as were eminent for their skill in the arts and sciences. Some of these he placed in the highest offices of the state, and employed in civil negotiations and transactions of the greatest importance. Others he chose for his private friends and counsellors, who were to assist him with their advice in various matters, and to direct his philosophical and mathematical studies. These private friends and counsellors were principally chosen from among the French Jesuits. Thus the order was raised, in a little time, to the very summit of favour, and clothed with a degree of authority and lustre to which it had not hitherto attained. In such a state of things, it is but natural to conclude, that the Christian religion would not want powerful patrons, nor its preachers be left destitute and unsupported. And accordingly, a multitude of spiritual labourers from all parts of Europe repaired to China, allured by the prospect of a rich, abundant, and glorious harvest. And indeed the success of their ministry seemed to answer fully the extent of their expectations; since it is well known, that, with very little pains, and still less opposition, they made a prodigious number of converts to the profession of the gospel. The triumph of Christianity seemed to be complete, when, in the year 1692, the emperor, from an excessive attachment to the Jesuits, issued out that remarkable edict, by which he declared, that the Christian religion was in nowise detrimental to the safety or interests of the monarchy, as its enemies pretended, and by which also

^s See Joach. Bouveti *Icon Regis Monarchæ Sinarum*, translated into Latin by the famous Leibnitz, and published in the year 1699, in the second part of his *Novissima Sinesia*. See also Du Halde's *Description de la Chine*, and the *Lettres édifiantes*, &c. in which the Jesuits give an account of the success of their missions. In these productions, the virtues and talents of this emperor, which seem indeed to be universally acknowledged, are described and celebrated with peculiar encomiums.

he granted to all his subjects an entire freedom of conscience, and a full permission to embrace the gospel. This triumph was still further confirmed, when the same prince, in the year 1700, ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuits within the precincts of the imperial palace.^t

XI. This surprising success of the Christian cause was undoubtedly owing to the dexterity and perseverance of the Jesuits, as even the greatest enemies of that artful order are obliged to acknowledge. But it is quite another question, whether this success was obtained by methods agreeable to the dictates of reason and conscience, and consistent with the dignity and genius of the Christian religion. This latter point has been long debated, with great animosity and vehemence, on both sides; and the contention is not yet ended. The adversaries of the Jesuits, whose opposition is as keen as their numbers are formidable, and more especially the Jansenists and Dominicans, assert boldly, that the success above mentioned was obtained by the most odious frauds, nay, even in many cases, by the most detestable crimes. They charge the Jesuits with having given a false exposition and a spurious account of the ancient religion of the Chinese, and with having endeavoured to persuade the emperor and the Chinese nobility, that the primitive theology of their nation, and the doctrine of their great instructor and philosopher Confucius, differed almost in nothing from the doctrine of the gospel. They are further charged with having invented a variety of historical fictions, in order to persuade the Chinese, who are vehemently attached to whatever carries the air of remote antiquity, that Jesus Christ had been known and worshipped in their nation many ages ago; and these fictions are supposed to have prejudiced the emperor in favour of Christianity, and to have engaged certain grandees of the

^t There is a concise but interesting account of these revolutions, given by Du Halde, in his *Description de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 128, and by the Jesuit Fontaney, in the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, tom. viii. p. 176. They are related in a more diffuse and ample manner by other writers. See Suarez, *De Libertate Religionem Christianam apud Sinas propaganda Narratio*, published in the year 1698, by Leibnitz, in the first part of his *Novissima Sinica*. The other authors who have treated this branch of history, are mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exorientis*, cap. xxxix. p. 668. See also an *Ecclesiastical History of China*, which I published in German, in the year 1742. ¶ This History was translated into English, and published in the year 1750, with this title: *Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China*.

kingdom not only to grant their protection and favour to the Jesuits, but even to become members of their society. Nor do the accusations brought against the disciples of Loyola end here; for they are said to have entirely lost sight of all the duties and obligations that are incumbent on the ministers of Christ, and the heralds of a spiritual kingdom, by not only accepting of worldly honours and places of civil authority and power, but even aspiring after them with all the ardour of an insatiable ambition, by boasting, with an arrogant vanity, of the protection and munificence of the emperor, by deserting the simplicity of a frugal and humble appearance, and indulging themselves in all circumstances of external pomp and splendour, such as costly garments, numerous retinues, luxurious tables, and magnificent houses. To all which it is added, that they employed much more zeal and industry in the advancement of human science, especially the mathematics, than in promoting Christian knowledge and virtue; and that they even went so far as to meddle in military matters, and to concern themselves both personally and by their counsels in the bloody scenes of war. While these heavy crimes are laid to the charge of those Jesuits, who, by their capacity and talents had been raised to a high degree of credit in the empire, the more obscure members of that same order, who were appointed more immediately to instruct the Chinese in the truths of the gospel, are far from being considered as blameless. They are accused of spending in the practice of usury, and in various kinds of traffic, the precious moments which ought to have been consecrated to the functions of their ministry, and of using low and dishonourable methods of advancing their fortunes, and insinuating themselves into the favour of the multitude. The Jesuits acknowledge that a part of these accusations are founded upon facts; but they give a specious colour to those facts, and use all their artifice and eloquence to justify what they cannot deny. Other articles of these complaints they treat as groundless, and as the fictions of calumny, that are invented with no other design than to cast a reproach upon their order. An impartial inquirer into these matters will perhaps find, that if, in several points the Jesuits defend themselves in a very weak and unsatisfactory manner, there are others, in which their misconduct seems to have been exag-

gerated by envy and prejudice in the complaints of their adversaries.

XII. The grand accusation that is brought against the Jesuits in China, is this: that they make an impious mixture of light and darkness, of Chinese superstition and Christian truth, in order to triumph with the greater speed and facility over the prejudices of that people against the doctrine of the gospel; and that they allow their converts to retain the profane customs and the absurd rites of their pagan ancestors. Ricci, who was the founder of the Christian church in that famous monarchy, declared it as his opinion, that the greatest part of those rites which the Chinese are obliged by the laws of their country to perform, might be innocently observed by the new converts. To render this opinion less shocking, he supported and explained it upon the following principle; that these rites were of a *civil* and not of a sacred nature; that they were invented from views of policy, and not for any purposes of religion; and that none but the very dregs of the populace in China, considered them in any other light.* This opinion was not only rejected by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were associated with the Jesuits in this important mission, but also by some even of the most learned Jesuits both in China and Japan, and particularly by Nicholas Lombard, who published a memorial, containing the reasons upon which his dissent was founded. This contest, which was long carried on in a private manner, was brought by the Dominicans before the tribunal of the pontiff, in the year 1645, and from that period continued to produce great divisions, commotions, and caballing in the church of Rome. Innocent X. in the year now mentioned, pronounced in favour of the Dominicans, and highly condemned the indulgence which the Jesuits had shown to the Chinese superstitions. But about eleven years after, this sentence, though not formerly reversed, was nevertheless virtually annulled by Alexander VII. at the instigation of the Jesuits, who persuaded that pontiff to allow the Chinese converts

An account of the principal charge brought against the Jesuits.

* See Mammachi *Origin. et Antiquit. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 373.

† See Chr. Kortholti *Præfatio ad Volumen II. Epistolar. Leibnitii.* sect. vi. p. 18, who has likewise subjoined to this work the pieces composed against the Jesuits by Lombard and Anthony de S. Maria, with the remarks of Leibnitz. There is also inserted in this collection, p. 413, an ample dissertation on the Chinese philosophy, drawn up by Leibnitz, who pleads therein the cause of the Jesuits.

the liberty of performing several of the rites to which they had been accustomed, and for which they discovered a peculiar fondness. This however did not hinder the Dominicans from renewing their complaints in the year 1661; and again, in 1674, under the pontificate of Innocent XI. though the power and credit of the Jesuits seemed to triumph over all their remonstrances. This fatal dispute, which had been suspended for several years in China, broke out there again, in the year 1684, with greater violence than ever; and then the victory seemed to incline to the side of the Dominicans in consequence of a decision pronounced in the year 1693, by Charles Maigrot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who acted as the delegate or vicar of the Roman pontiff, in the province of Fokien, and who was afterward consecrated titular bishop of Conon. This ecclesiastic, by a public edict, declared the opinions and practices of the Jesuits, in relation to the affairs of the Chinese mission, absolutely inconsistent with the purity and simplicity of the Christian religion. But the pope, to whose supreme cognizance and decision Maigrot had submitted this important edict, refused to come to a determination on either side, before the matter in debate had been carefully examined, and the reasons of the contending parties weighed with the utmost attention; and therefore, in the year 1699, he appointed a congregation of chosen doctors to examine and decide this tedious controversy. This resolution of the Roman pontiff was no sooner made public, than all the enemies of the Jesuits, in all quarters of the church of Rome, and more especially those who wished ill to the order in France, came forth with their complaints, their accusations, and invectives; and loaded the transactions and reputation of the whole society with the most bitter reproaches.* The Jesuits, on the other hand, were neither silent nor inactive. They attacked their adversaries with vigour, and defended themselves with dexterity and spirit.† But the conclusion of this cri-

☞ See the 'Lettres de Messieurs des Missions Etrangères au Pape, sur les Idolâtries et les Superstitions Chinoises;' 'Revocation de l'Approbation donnée en 1787, par M. Brisacier, Supérieur des Missions Etrangères, au Livre de la Défense des nouveaux Chrétiens et des Missionnaires de la Chine.' 'Deux Lettres d'un Docteur de l'Ordre de St. Dominique au R. P. Dez, Provincial des Jésuites, sur les cérémonies de la Chine.' These tracts are all printed together in one volume 12mo. without any date, or name of the place where published, though the treatises themselves are all dated 1700. N.

x Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 142. See the enumeration of other

tical and momentous contest belongs to the history of the following century.

XIII. If, in considering this controversy, which employed the ablest pens of the Romish church, we confine our attention to the merits of the cause, passing over what personally concerns the Jesuits, with some other questions of a minute and incidental kind, it will appear, that the whole dispute turns essentially upon two great points; the one relating to the Chinese notion of the Supreme Being; and the other to the nature of those honours, which that people offered to certain persons deceased.

The subject of the dispute between the Chinese missionaries reducible to two great points.

First point.

As to the first of these points, it is to be observed, that the Chinese call the supreme object of their religious worship, Tien and Shangti, which, in their language, signify the Heavens; and that the Jesuits employ the same terms when they speak of the true God, who is adored by the Christians. From hence it is inferred, that they make no sort of distinction between the supreme God of the Chinese, and the infinitely perfect Deity of the Christians; or, to express the same thing in other words, that they imagine the Chinese entertain the same notions concerning their Tien, or Heaven, that the Christians do concerning the God they adore. The question then relative to this first point is properly as follows: "Do the Chinese understand, by the denominations above mentioned, the visible and material Heavens? or are these terms, on the contrary, employed by them to represent the Lord of these Heavens, i. e. an eternal and all-perfect Being, who presides over universal nature, and from Heaven, the immediate residence of his glory, governs all things with unerring wisdom?" or, to express this question in fewer words, "do the Chinese mean, by their Tien, such a Deity as the Christians adore?" This question the Jesuits answer in the affirmative. They maintain, that the ancient Chinese philosophers, who had an accurate knowledge of the great principles of natural religion, represented the Supreme Being almost under the very same characters that

writers on the same subject, given by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbis æternis*, cap. xxxix. p. 666. See also Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 318. But the most ingenious patron of the Jesuits, on this occasion, was father Daniel, himself a member of that famous order; see his *Histoire Apologétique de la conduite des Jesuites de la Chine*, in the third volume of his *Opuscules*, p. 1.

are attributed to him by Christians ; and hence they not only allow their Chinese disciples to employ the terms already mentioned, in their prayers to the Deity, and in their religious discourse, but even use these terms themselves, when they pronounce the name of God in their public instructions, or in private conversation. The adversaries of the Jesuits maintain the negative of this question, regard the ancient philosophy of the Chinese as an impure source of blasphemy and impiety, and affirm, that it confounded the Divine Nature with that of the universe. They assert further, that the famous Confucius, whose name and writings are held in such veneration by the people of China, was totally ignorant of divine truth, destitute of religious principle, and traced the origin of all things that exist from an *internal* and *inevitable necessity*. This contest, concerning the first point that divided the Chinese missionaries, produced a multitude of learned dissertations on the manners, laws, and opinions of the ancient inhabitants of China, and gave rise to several curious discoveries. But all these were insufficient to serve the chief purpose they were designed to accomplish, since they were far from giving a satisfactory and clear decision of the matter in debate. It still remained a question, which were most to be believed, the Jesuits or their adversaries ? and the impartial inquirer, after long examination, thought it prudent to trust entirely to neither ; since if it appeared, on the one hand, that the Tien, or supreme God of the Chinese, was much inferior, in perfection and excellence, to the God of the Christians, it was equally evident, on the other, that this Chinese deity was looked upon by his worshippers as entirely distinct from the material Æther and the visible Heavens.

xiv. As to the other great point in dispute, it must be previously observed, that the ancient laws of China obliged the natives of that vast region to perform, annually, at a stated time, in honour of their ancestors, certain rites, which seem to be of a religious nature. Second point. It is to be observed further, that it is a custom among the learned to pay likewise, at stated times, to the memory of Confucius, whom the Chinese consider as the oracle of all wisdom and knowledge, certain marks of veneration, that have undoubtedly a religious aspect, and that are, more-

over, performed in a kind of temples erected to that great and illustrious philosopher. Hence then ariseth a second question, which is thus proposed ; “ Are those honours, that the Chinese in general pay to the memory of their ancestors, and which the learned, in particular, offer at the shrine of Confucius, of a civil or sacred nature ? Are they to be considered as religious offerings, or are they no more than political institutions, designed to promote some public good ? ” The Jesuits affirm, that the ancient Chinese lawgivers established these rites with no other view than to keep the people in order, and to maintain the tranquillity of the state ; and that the Chinese did not pay any religious worship either to the memory of Confucius, or to the departed souls of their ancestors, but only declared, by the performance of certain rites, their gratitude and respect to both, and their solemn resolution to imitate their virtues and follow their illustrious examples. From hence these missionaries conclude, that the Chinese converts to Christianity might be permitted to perform these ceremonies according to the ancient custom of their country, provided they understood their true nature, and kept always in remembrance the political views with which they were instituted, and the civil purposes they were designed to serve. By this specious account of things, the conduct of the Jesuits is, in some measure, justified. But let this representation be true or false, it will still remain evident, that, in order to render the Christian cause triumphant in China, some such concessions and accommodations as those of the Jesuits seem almost absolutely necessary ; and they who desire the *end*, must submit to the use of the *means*. The necessity of these concessions arises from this remarkable circumstance, that by a solemn law, of ancient date, it is positively declared, that no man shall be esteemed a good citizen, or be looked upon as qualified to hold any public office in the state, who neglects the observance of the rites and ceremonies now under consideration. On the other hand, the Dominicans, and the other adversaries of the Jesuits, maintain, that the rites in ques-

☞ y True ; if the *means* be not either criminal in themselves, pernicious in their consequences, or of such a nature as to defeat, in a great measure, the benefits and advantages proposed by the *end*. And it is a very nice and momentous question, whether the concessions pleaded for in behalf of the Chinese converts, by the Jesuits, are not to be ranked among the means here characterized. See the following note.

tion form an important branch of the Chinese religion; that the honours paid by the Chinese to Confucius, and to the souls of their ancestors, are not of a civil, but of a religious nature; and consequently, that all who perform these rites are chargeable with insulting the majesty of God, to whom alone all divine worship is due, and cannot be looked upon as true Christians. This account of matters is so specious and probable, and the consequences deducible from it are so natural and just, that the more equitable and impartial among the Jesuits have acknowledged the difficulties that attend the cause they maintain; and taking at length refuge in the plea of necessity, allege that certain evils and inconveniences may be lawfully submitted to, when they are requisite in order to the attainment of extensive, important, and salutary purposes.

xv. The ministerial labours of the Romish missionaries, and more especially of the Jesuits, were crowned The state of

☞ The public honours paid to Confucius twice a year, used to be performed before his statue erected in the great hall or temple that is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of tablet, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice, with the following inscription; "The Throne of the Soul of the most Holy and the most Excellent Chief Teacher Confucius." The *literati*, or learned, celebrate this famous festival in the following manner; the chief mandarin of the place exercises the office of priest, and the others discharge the functions of deacons, subdeacons, and so on. A certain sacrifice, called *Ci*, which consists of wine, blood, fruit, &c. is offered, after the worshippers have prepared themselves for this ceremony by fasting and other acts of abstinence and mortification. They kneel before the inscription, prostrate the body nine times before it, until the head touches the ground, repeat a great variety of prayers; after which the priest, taking in one hand a cup full of wine, and in the other a like cup filled with blood, makes a solemn libation to the deceased, and dismisses the assembly with a blessing. The rites performed by families, in honour of their deceased parents, are pretty much of the same nature.

Now, in order to know, with certainty, whether this festival and these rites be of a civil or religious nature, we have only to inquire, whether they be the same with those ceremonies that are performed by the Chinese, in the worship they pay to certain celestial and terrestrial spirits or *genii*, which worship is undoubtedly of a religious kind. The learned Leibnitz* undertook to affirm, that the services now mentioned were not of the same kind, and consequently, that the Jesuits were accused unjustly. But that great man does not appear to have examined this matter with his usual sagacity and attention; for it is evident from a multitude of relations every way worthy of credit, and particularly from the observations made on the Chinese missions by that learned and candid Franciscan, Antonio de S. Maria,† not only that Confucius was worshipped among the idols, and the celestial and terrestrial spirits of the Chinese, but that the oblations and ceremonies observed in honour of him, were perfectly the same with those that were performed as acts of worship to these idols and spirits. Those that desire a more ample account of this matter may consult the following authors; Budæi *Annal. Histor. Philos.* p. 287, where he treats *De superstizioso Demortuorum apud Sinenses Cultu*. Wolfii *Not. ad Casaubon.* p. 342. Nic. Charnos, *Annot. ad Maigrotti Historiam Cultus Sinenses*. But more especially Arnaud, *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, tom. iii. vi. vii. and a collection of historical relations published at Cologne, in 8vo. in the year 1700, under the following title; *Historia Cultus Sinarum, seu varis Scripta de Cultibus Sinarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos*, and P. P. S. I. *Controversiis*.

* See *Præf. Novissim. Sinarum*.

† See vol. ii. *Epp. Leibnitz.*

Christianity
in Japan.

in Japan with surprising success, toward the commencement of this century, and made an incredible number of converts to the Christian religion.* But this prosperous and flourishing state of the church was somewhat interrupted by the prejudices that the priests and grandees of the kingdom had conceived against the new religion, prejudices which proved fatal in many places, both to those who embraced it and to those who taught it. The cause of Christianity did not however suffer only from the virulence and malignity of its enemies; it was wounded in the house of its friends, and received, no doubt, some detriment from the intestine quarrels and contentions of those to whom the care of the rising church was committed. For the same scenes of fraternal discord, that had given such offence in the other Indian provinces, were renewed in Japan, where the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians were at perpetual variance with the Jesuits. This variance produced, on both sides, the heaviest accusations, and the most bitter reproaches. The Jesuits were charged, by the missionaries of the three orders now mentioned, with insatiable avarice, with showing an excessive indulgence

Two peculiar circumstances contributed to facilitate the progress of the Romish religion in Japan. The first was the uncharitable severity and cruelty of the Japanese priests, or *bonsas*, towards the sick and indigent, compared with the humanity, zeal, and beneficence of the missionaries. These *bonsas* represented the poor and infirm not as objects of pity, but as wretches loaded with the displeasure of the gods, and abandoned to present and future misery by the judgments of heaven; and inspired the rich with a contempt and abhorrence of them. The Christian religion, therefore, which declares that poverty and affliction are often surer marks of the divine favour than grandeur and prosperity, and that the transitory evils which the righteous endure here, shall be crowned with everlasting glory and felicity hereafter, was every way proper to comfort this unhappy class of persons, and could not but meet with a most favourable reception among them. Add to this, that the missionaries were constantly employed in providing them with food, physic, and habitations. A second circumstance that was advantageous to Christianity, that is, to such a form of Christianity as the popish missionaries preached in Japan, was a certain resemblance of analogy between it and some practices and sentiments that prevailed among the Japanese. These Indians look for present and future felicity only through the merits of Xaca Amida, and other of their deities, who after a long course of severe mortifications freely undertaken, and voluntarily also, put an end to their lives. They sainted many melancholy persons who had been guilty of suicide, celebrated their memories, and implored their intercession and good offices. They used processions, statues, candles, and perfumes, in their worship; as also prayers for the dead, and auricular confession; and had monasteries founded for certain devout persons of both sexes, who lived in celibacy, solitude, and abstinence; so that the Japanese religion was no bad preparation for popery. Beside these two circumstances, another may be mentioned, which we take from the letters of the Jesuits themselves, who inform us that the maritime princes of Japan were so fond of this new commerce with the Portuguese, that they strove who should oblige them most, and encourage the missionaries, less perhaps from a principle of zeal, than from views of interest. See Varenus, *Descript. Japon.* lib. iii. cap. vi. x. Modern Univ. History, vol. ix. p. 24. edit. 8vo.

both to the vices and superstitions of the Japanese, with crafty and low practices unworthy of the ministers of Christ, with an ambitious thirst after authority and dominion, and other misdemeanors of a like nature. These accusations were not only exhibited at the court of Rome, but were spread abroad in every part of Christendom. The disciples of Loyola were by no means silent under these reproaches; but, in their turn, charged their accusers with imprudence, ignorance of the world, obstinacy, asperity of manners, and a disgusting rusticity in their way of living, adding, that these circumstances rendered their ministry rather detrimental than advantageous to the cause of Christianity, among a people remarkable for their penetration, generosity, and magnificence. Such then were the contests that arose among the missionaries in Japan; and nothing but the amazing progress that Christianity had already made, and the immense multitude of those that had embraced it, could have prevented these contests from being fatal to its interests. As the case stood, neither the cause of the gospel, nor its numerous professors, received any essential damage from these divisions; and, if no other circumstance had intervened to stop its progress, an expedient might have probably been found out, either to heal these divisions, or at least to appease them so far as to prevent their noxious and fatal consequences.^b

xvi. But a new and dreadful scene of opposition arose in the year 1615, to blast the hopes of those who wished well to the cause of Christianity in Japan. For, in that year, the emperor issued out against the professors and ministers of that divine religion, a persecuting edict, which was executed with a degree of barbarity unparalleled in the annals of the Christian history. This cruel persecution raged, during the space of many years, with unrelenting fury, and only ended with the total extinction of Christianity throughout that mighty empire. That religion which had been suffered to make such a rapid and triumphant progress in Japan, was at length considered as detrimental to the interests of the monarchy, inconsistent with the good of the people, de-

Its downfall
and extirpa-
tion there.

^b See the writers on this subject enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbis ezoricens*, p. 678, as also Charlevoix, *Histoire de Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xi. p. 57.

rogatory from the majesty of their high priest, whom they revered as a person descended from the gods, and, on these accounts, was judged unworthy not only of protection, but even of toleration. This judgment was followed with the fatal order, by which all foreigners, that were Christians, and more especially the Spanish and Portuguese, were commanded to depart the kingdom; and the natives, who had embraced the gospel, to renounce the name and doctrine of Christ, on pain of death presented to them in the most dreadful forms. This tremendous order was the signal for the perpetration of such horrors as the most sanguine and atrocious imagination will scarcely be able to conceive. Innumerable numbers of the Japanese Christians of each sex, and of all ages, ranks, and stations, expired, with magnanimous constancy, amidst the most dreadful torments, rather than apostatize from the faith they had embraced. And here it may not be amiss to observe, that both the Jesuits and their adversaries in the missions expiated, in some measure, if I may so express myself, by the agonies they endured, and the fortitude with which they suffered, the faults they had committed in the exercise of their ministry. For it is well known, that the greatest part of them died magnanimously for the cause of Christ by the hands of the executioner, and that some of them even expired with triumphant feelings of satisfaction and joy.

Historians are not entirely agreed with respect to the real causes of this merciless persecution. The Jesuits consider it as owing, in part, to the imprudence of the Dominicans and Franciscans; while these latter impute it, in a great measure to the covetous, arrogant, and factious spirit of the Jesuits.^c Both parties accuse the English and Dutch of having excited in the emperor of Japan a strong

^c There is a concise and sensible account of this tedious dispute in the sixth discourse that is subjoined to the English edition of Kaempfer's History of Japan, § iv. p. 64—75. But it will also be proper to see what is said on the other side, by an author, who, in his long and circumstantial narration, has not omitted any incident, however minute, that tends, in the least, to disculpate the Jesuits, or to procure them indulgence; that author is Charlevoix; see his *Histoire Generale de Japon*, tom. ii. livr. xii. p. 136. The other historians that may be consulted, with utility on this subject, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti Orbi exortens*, cap. x. p. 678. Add to these the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Mens. Februar. p. 793, where there is not only a history of the commencement and progress of Christianity in Japan, but also an account of the lives and martyrdom of those who first suffered for the cause of the gospel in that kingdom. See likewise Mammachii *Origines et Antiquit. Christian.* tom. ii. p. 376.

prejudice against the Spaniards, Portuguese, and the Roman pontiff, to the end that they alone might engross the commerce of that vast monarchy, and be unrivalled in their credit among that powerful people. The English and Dutch allege, on the other hand, that they never attempted to undermine, by any false accusations, the credit of the Roman catholics in that kingdom, but only detected the perfidious plots the Spaniards had laid against it. Almost all the historians, who have given accounts of this country, unanimously inform us, that certain letters intercepted by the Dutch, and other circumstances of a very striking and alarming kind, had persuaded the emperor, that the Jesuits, as also the other missionaries, had formed seditious designs against his government, and aimed at nothing less than exciting their numerous disciples to rebellion, with a view to reduce the kingdom of Japan under the dominion of Spain.^d A discovery of this nature could not but make the most dreadful impressions upon a prince naturally suspicious and cruel, such as the emperor then reigning was; and indeed so it happened; for the moment he received this information, he concluded, with equal precipitation and violence, that he could not sit secure on his throne, while the smallest spark of Christianity remained unextinguished in his dominions, or any of its professors breathed under his government. It is from this remarkable period, that we must date the severe edict by which all Europeans are forbidden to approach the Japanese dominions, and in consequence of which all the terrors of fire and sword are employed to destroy whatever carries the remotest aspect or shadow of the Christian doctrine. The only exception to this universal law is made in favour of a handful of Dutch merchants, who are allowed to import annually a certain quantity of European commodities, and have a factory, or rather a kind of prison, allowed them in one of the extremities of the kingdom, where they are strictly watched, and rigorously confined from all communication with the natives, but what is essentially necessary to the commerce they are permitted to carry on.

^d The discoveries made by the Dutch were against the Portuguese, with whom they were then at war; so that instead of Spain, our author should have said Portugal. See Kaempfer, *loc. cit.* as also the Universal Modern History, vol. ix. p. 145, note a edit. 9vo.

XVII. The example of the Roman catholic states could not but excite a spirit of pious emulation in protestant countries, and induce them to propagate a still purer form of Christianity among those unhappy nations that lay grovelling in the darkness of paganism and idolatry. Accordingly, the Lutherans were, on several occasions, solicited by persons of eminent merit and rank in their communion, to embark in this pious and generous undertaking. Justinian Ernest, barou of Wells, distinguished himself by the zealous appearance he made in this good cause, having formed the plan of a society that was to be intrusted with the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and that was to bear the name of Jesus, the divine founder of the religion they were to promote.* But several circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of this pious design, among which we may reckon principally the peculiar situation of the Lutheran princes, of whom very few have either territories, forts, or settlements beyond the limits of Europe.

This was by no means the case with the princes and states who professed the reformed religion. The English and Dutch, more especially, whose ships covered the ocean, and sailed to the most distant corners of the globe, and who moreover in this century had sent colonies to Asia, Africa, and America, had abundant opportunities of spreading abroad the knowledge of Christianity among the unenlightened nations. Nor were these opportunities entirely neglected, or misimproved, notwithstanding the reports that have generally prevailed, of their being much more zealous in engrossing the riches of the Indians than in bringing about their conversion; though it may perhaps be granted, that neither of these nations exerted themselves, to the extent of their power, in this salutary undertaking. In the year 1647, the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts was committed, by an act of the English parliament, to the care and inspection of a society composed of persons of eminent rank and merit. The civil wars that ensued suspended the execution of the plans that were laid for carrying on this salutary work.

* See Molleri, *Cimbria Literata*, tom. iii. p. 75, as also a German work of the learned Arnold, entitled *Kirchen und Kelzer Historie*, part ii. book xvii. c. xv. § 23, p. 1066, part iii. cap. xv. § 18, p. 150.

In the year 1661, under the reign of Charles II. the work was resumed, and the society re-established. In the year 1701, this respectable society received singular marks of protection and favour from king William III. who enriched it with new donations and privileges.^f Since that period, even to the present time, it has been distinguished by ample marks of the munificence of the kings of England, and of the liberality of persons of all ranks and orders, and has been, and continues to be, eminently useful in facilitating the means of instruction to the nations that lie in pagan darkness, and more especially to the Americans. Nor are the laudable efforts of the United Provinces, in the advancement and propagation of Christian knowledge, to be passed over in silence; since they also are said to have converted to the gospel a prodigious number of Indians, in the islands of Ceylon and Formosa, the coasts of Malabar, and other Asiatic settlements, which they either had acquired by their own industry, or obtained by conquest from the Portuguese.^g Some historians perhaps may have exaggerated, in their relations, the numbers of proselytes made by the Dutch; it is nevertheless most certain, that as soon as that nation had got a sufficient footing in the East Indies, they laid with wisdom, and executed, at a great expense, various schemes for instructing the natives of those distant regions in the doctrines of the gospel.^h

XVIII. The inward parts of Africa remain still in the darkness of paganism, as they have been hitherto inaccessible to the most adventurous of the Europeans. But in the maritime provinces of that great peninsula, and more especially in those where the Portuguese have their settlements, there are several districts in which the religion of Rome has prevailed over the savage superstitions of that barbarous region. It is nevertheless acknowledged, by the more ingenuous historians, even among the Roman catholics, who have given accounts of the African colonies, that of the proselytes made there to

The African
missions.

^f See Humphreys's Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

^g See *Epist. de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Orientales ad Johan. Leusdenium accipitatus et Ultraject.* 1699, in 8vo. editas.

^h See Braun's *Veritable Religion des Hollandois*, p. 71, 267, &c. This Treatise, which was published at Amsterdam in the year 1675, was designed as an answer to a malignant libel of one Stoup, entitled *La Religion des Hollandois*, in which that writer proposed to persuade the world that the Dutch had almost no religion at all.

the gospel, a very small number deserve the denomination of Christians ; since the greatest part of them retain the abominable superstitions of their ancestors, and the very best among them dishonour their profession by various practices of a most vicious and corrupt nature. Any progress that Christianity made in these parts must be chiefly attributed to the zealous labours of the capuchin missionaries, who, in this century, suffered the most dreadful hardships and discouragements in their attempts to bring the fierce and savage Africans under the Christian yoke. These attempts succeeded so far, as to gain over to the profession of the gospel the kings of Benin and Awerri,ⁱ and also to engage the cruel and intrepid Anna Zingha, queen of Metamba, and all her subjects, to embrace, in the year 1652, the Christian faith.^h The African missions were allotted to this austere order by the court of Rome, and by the society *de propaganda fide*, for wise reasons ; since none were so proper to undertake an enterprise attended with such dreadful hardships, difficulties, and perils, as a set of men, whose monastic institute had rendered familiar to them the severest acts of mortification, abstinence, and penance, and thus prepared them for the bitterest scenes of trial and adversity. The capuchins also seem to have been alone honoured with this sacred, but arduous commission ; nor does it appear that the other orders beheld, with the smallest sentiment of envy, their dear-bought glory.

XIX. The extensive continent of America swarms with colonies from Spain, Portugal, and France,ⁱ all

The Ameri.

ⁱ Called by some Ouverne.

^h For a more ample account of this queen, and her conversion, Dr. Mosheim refers the reader, in his note r to Urban Cerri's *Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 322, and to the third and fourth volumes of father Labat's *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale*, in the former of which he tells us, there is a French translation of Ant. Gavazzi's account of Africa. All these citations are inaccurate. Cerri makes no mention of Zingha, nor of Metamba ; nor are they mentioned by Labat, in any of the five volumes of his Historical Relation, here quoted ; nor is Gavazzi's account translated in that work. In general, it may be observed, that the missions in Africa were greatly neglected by the Portuguese, and that the few missionaries sent thither were men absolutely void of learning, and destitute almost of every qualification that was necessary to the carrying on such an important undertaking. See Labat's preface to his *Relation Historique de l'Afrique Occidentale* ; as also the *Moderne Universal History*, vol. xiv. p. 16, 11, edit. 8vo.

ⁱ See the authors mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii Orbem Terrarum collustrans*, cap. xlviii. xlix. p. 769. There is a cursory account of the state of the Romish religion, in that part of America which is possessed by the European Roman catholics, in Urban Cerri's *Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 245.

which profess the Christian religion as it has been ^{can missions.} disfigured by the church of Rome. But it is abundantly known, that these colonists, more especially the Spaniards and Portuguese, are the most worthless and profligate set of men that bear the Christian name; and this fact is confirmed by the testimonies of several Roman Catholic writers of great merit and authority, who cannot be suspected of partiality in this matter. Nay, the clergy themselves are not excepted in this general condemnation; but as we learn from the same credible testimonies, surpass even the idolatrous natives in the ridiculous rites which they perform in the worship of God, as well as in the licentiousness of their manners, and the enormity of the crimes they commit without reluctance. Those of the ancient inhabitants of America, who either have submitted to the European yoke, or live near their colonies, have imbibed some faint knowledge of the Romish religion from the Jesuits, Franciscans, and other ecclesiastics; but these feeble rays of instruction are totally clouded by the gloomy suggestions of their native superstition, and the corrupt influence of their barbarous customs and manners. As to those Indians who live more remote from the European settlements, and wander about in the woods without any fixed habitation, they are absolutely incapable either of receiving or retaining any adequate notions of the Christian doctrine, unless they be previously reclaimed from that vagrant manner of life, and civilized by an intercourse with persons, whose humane and insinuating manners are adapted to attract their love, and excite their imitation. This the Jesuits, and other ecclesiastics of different orders in the church of Rome, who have been sent in later times to convert these wandering savages, have found by a constant and uniform experience." Hence the former have erected cities, and founded civil societies, cemented by government and laws, like the European states, in several Indian provinces both in South and North America; and it is on this account that they discharge the double functions of magistrates and doctors among these their new subjects and disciples, whose morals and sentiments, it is

m A great variety of facts are alleged as a proof of this, in the Letters, in which the French Jesuits gave their friends in Europe an account of the success and fruits of their mission, and which are regularly published at Paris.

said, they endeavoured to preserve pure and uncorrupted, by permitting few or no Europeans to approach them. These arduous and difficult attempts have furnished to the disciples of Loyola ample matter of boasting, and a lucky occasion of extolling the zeal, the dexterity, and industry of their order. But it has appeared, from relations worthy of credit, that these exploits of the Jesuits, in the internal and more inaccessible provinces of America, are not so much carried on with a view to the propagation of Christianity, as with an intention to gratify their own insatiable avarice and boundless ambition. And accordingly, they are reported to send yearly to the members of their order, in Europe, immense quantities of gold, drawn from several American provinces where they have power and property, but chiefly from Paraguay, which belongs to them alone.

¶ In That this was by no means the only, nor even the principal reason of cutting off all communication between the Indians and Europeans, will appear evident from the contents of the following note.

o While father Labat was at Rome, father Tamburini, at that time general of the Jesuits, asked him several questions relating to the progress of Christianity in America; to which, with equal courage and candour, he gave immediately this general answer; "That the gospel had made little or no real progress in that country: that he had never met with one adult person among the Americans who could be esteemed a true proselyte to Christianity; and that the missionaries could scarcely pretend to any other exploits of a spiritual kind, than their having baptized some children at the point of death!" He added, at the same time, "that, in order to make the Americans Christians, it was previously necessary to make them men." This bold Dominican, who had been himself a missionary in the American islands, had a great mind to give Tamburini some seasonable advice concerning the immense wealth and authority that the Jesuits had acquired in these parts of the world; but the cunning old man eluded artfully this part of the conversation, and turned it upon another subject. Labat gave, upon another occasion, a still greater proof of his undaunted spirit and presence of mind; for when, in an audience granted him by Clement VI. that pontiff praised in pompous terms, the industry and zeal of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in promoting the salvation of the Americans, and reproached the French with inactivity and indifference in a matter of such high importance, our resolute Dominican told him plainly, "that the Spaniards and Portuguese boasted of the success of their labours without any sort of foundation; since it was well known, that, instead of converts, they had only made hypocrites, all their disciples among the Indians having been forced, by the dread of punishment and the terrors of death, to embrace Christianity;" adding moreover, "that such as had received baptism, continued as open and egregious idolaters as they had been before their profession of Christianity."† To this account we might add the relations of a whole cloud of witnesses, whose testimonies are every way worthy of credit, and who declare unanimously the same thing. See among others a remarkable piece, entitled *Memoire touchant l'Établissement considerable des Peres Jesuites dans les Indes d'Espagne*, which is subjoined to Frezier's *Relation du Voyage de la Mer du Sud*, p. 577. See also *Voyage aux Indes Occidentales*, par Franc. Coreal, tom. ii. p. 67, 43, and Mammachius, *Orig. et Antiq. Christ.* tom. ii. p. 337. There is a particular account of the Jesuits of Paraguay, given by don Ulloa, in his *Voyage d'Amérique*, tom. i. p. 540; but this account is partial in their favour. They are also zealously and artfully defended in an account of the mission of Paraguay, published by Muratori in the year 1743. ¶ When Dr. Mosheim wrote this note, the important discovery that placed the ambitious, despotic, and rebellious

* See Labat, *Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. viii. p. 7. † Id. ib. tom. viii. p. 12.

xx. The cause of Christianity was promoted with more wisdom, and consequently with better success, in those parts of America where the English formed settlements during this century; and though it had the greatest ignorance, stupidity, and indolence to conquer, made in a little time a considerable progress. The English independents, who retired to America on account of their dissension from the established religion of

Protestant
missions in
America.

proceedings of the Jesuits in Paraguay in the plainest and most striking light, had not been yet made. The book of Muratori which was published at Venice, in the year 1743, and republished in a French translation at Paris in 1754,* deceived for some time the over credulous, nay, induced even the enemies of the Jesuits to suspect that their conduct at Paraguay was not so criminal as it had been represented. So that notwithstanding the accusations that had been brought against these missionaries by the writers mentioned by Dr. Mosheim; notwithstanding a memorial sent to the court of Spain in the year 1730, by don Martin de Barua, at that time Spanish governor of Paraguay, in which the Jesuits are charged with the most ambitious projects and the most rebellious designs, represented as setting up an independent government, accused of carrying on a prodigious trade, and other things of that nature; and notwithstanding the circumstantial evidence of various known facts that supported these accusations in the strongest manner; notwithstanding all this, the public was more or less deceived. The illusion however did not last long. In the year 1750, the courts of Madrid and Lisbon entered into a treaty for fixing the limits of their respective dominions in South America. The Jesuits, who had formed an independent republic in the heart of these dominions, composed of the Indians, whom they had gained by the insinuating softness and affected mildness, humility, and generosity of their proceedings, were much alarmed at this treaty. It was one of the fundamental laws of this new state, which was founded under the mask of a Christian mission, that neither bishop, governor, nor any officer, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, nay, nor even any individual, Spaniard or Portuguese, should be admitted into its territories, to the end that the proceedings and projects of the Jesuits might still remain an impenetrable secret. The members of their order were alone to be instructed in this profound and important mystery. The use of the Spanish language was prohibited throughout the extent of this new territory, in order to prevent more effectually all communication between the Indians and that nation. The Indians were trained to the use of arms, furnished with artillery, instructed in the art of war, taught to behold the Jesuits as their sovereigns and their gods, and to look upon all white people, except the Jesuits, as demons, atheists, and moreover, as their barbarous and mortal enemies. Such was the state of things, when, in the year 1752, the united troops of Spain and Portugal marched toward the eastern borders of the river Urugai, to make the exchanges of certain villages that had been agreed upon in the treaty above mentioned. Upon this the Jesuits, not being sufficiently prepared for their defence, demanded a delay of the execution of the treaty under various pretexts. This delay was granted; but as the Spanish general, Gomez Freire Andrade, perceived that these holy fathers employed this delay in arming the Indians, and confirming them in their rebellion, he wrote to his court, and received new orders from thence to proceed to the execution of the treaty. A war ensued between the Spaniards and Portuguese on one side, and the Indians, animated by the Jesuits, on the other, in which the Spanish general lost his life, and of which the other circumstances are well known. This was the real and original cause of the disgrace of the Jesuits at the court of Portugal. Those who desire a more particular account of this matter will find it in a famous pamphlet, drawn from an authentic memorial, published by the court of Lisbon, and printed at the Hague, in the year 1758, under the following title; *La Republique des Jesuites au Paraguay renversee, ou Relation Authentique de la Guerre que ces Religieux ont ose soutenir contre les Monarques d'Espagne et de Portugal en Amerique, pour y defendre les domaines dont ils avoient usurpe le Soverainete au Paraguay, sous pretexte de Religion.*

* Muratori's account of the mission of Paraguay was translated from the French edition into English, and published in 8vo. in the year 1750.

their country, claimed the honour of carrying thither the first rays of divine truth, and of beginning a work that has been since continued with such pious zeal and such abundant fruit ; and indeed this claim is founded in justice. Several families of this sect, that had been settled in Holland, removed from thence into America^p in the year 1620; in order, as they alleged, to transmit their doctrine pure and undefiled to future ages ; and there they laid the foundations of a new state.^q The success that attended this first emigration engaged great numbers of the people called puritans, who groaned under the oppression of the bishops, and the severity of a court, by which this oppression was authorized, to follow the fortunes of these religious adventurers ;^r and this produced a second emigration in the year 1629. But notwithstanding the success that in process of time crowned this enterprise, its first beginnings were unpromising, and the colonists, immediately after their arrival, laboured under such hardships and difficulties in the dreary and uncultivated wilds of this new region, that they could make but little progress in instructing the Indians ; their whole zeal and industry being scarcely sufficient to preserve the infant settlement from the horrors of famine. But toward the year 1633,^s things put on a better aspect ; the colony began to flourish, and the new comers, among whom the puritans Mayhew, Sheppard, and Elliot, made an eminent figure, had the leisure, courage, and tranquillity of mind, that were necessary to the execution of such an important and arduous design. All these devout exiles were remarkably zealous, laborious, and successful in the conversion of the Indians ; but none acquired such a shining reputation in this pious career, as John Elliot, who learned their language, into which he translated the Bible, and other instructive and edifying books, gathered together the wandering savages, and formed them into regular congregations, in-

^p This colony settled in that part of America that was afterward called New-Plymouth.

^q See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 128. As also a German work, entitled Ant. Wilh. Bohm, *Englische Reformations Historie*, b. vi. c. v. p. 807.

^r See Mather's History of New-England, p. 136. Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 208.

^s Dr. Mosheim says in the year 1623, but this is probably an error of the press ; since it is well known, that the emigration of Sheppard and Elliot happened between 1631 and 1634.

structed them in a manner suited to the dulness of their comprehension, and the measure of their respective capacities; and, by such eminent displays of his zeal, dexterity, and indefatigable industry, merited, after his death, the honourable title of the *apostle of the Indians*.*

The unexpected success that attended these pious attempts towards the propagation of Christian knowledge, drew the attention of the parliament and people of England; and the further advancement of this good cause appeared an object of sufficient importance to employ the deliberations, and to claim the protection of the great council of the nation. Thus was formed that illustrious society, which derives its title from the great purpose of its institution, even the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and which, in proportion to the increase of its number, influence, revenues, and prerogatives, has still renewed and augmented its efforts for the instruction of the pagans in all parts of the world, particularly those on the American continent. It is true, that after all its efforts, much is yet to be done; but it is also true, and must be acknowledged by all that have examined these matters with attention and impartiality, that much has been done, and that the pious undertakings of this respectable society have been followed with unexpected fruit. With respect to the province of Pennsylvania, which receives in its bosom, without distinction, persons of all sects and all opinions, we shall have occasion to speak of its religious state in another place. The American provinces that were taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, under the command of count Maurice of Nassau became immediately an object of the pious zeal of their new masters, who began, with great ardour and remarkable success, to spread the light of the gospel among the wretched inhabitants of those benighted regions.† But this fair prospect was afterward clouded in the year 1644, when the Portuguese recovered the territories they had lost. As to the Dutch colony that

* Hornebeckius, *De Conversione Indorum et Gentil.* lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 260. Crescentii Matheri *Epistola de Successu Evangelii apud Indos Occidentales ad Joh. Leusdenium, Traject* 1699, in 8vo. [† Increase Mather's Letter to Leusden is translated into English, and inserted in Cotton-Mather's *Life of Elliot*, p. 94, 3d London edit, and in his *History of New England*, book iii. p. 194. N.

† Jo. Henr. Hottingeri *Topographia Ecclesiastica*, p. 47. Janicon, *Etat Present des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 396. The same author gives an account of Surinam, and of the state of religion in that colony, chap. xiv. p. 407.

is settled in Surinam, we cannot say much, having never received the smallest information of any attempts made by them to instruct the neighbouring Indians in the knowledge of Christianity.*

XXI. Religion in general, and the Christian religion in particular, had many enemies to encounter in this century, though their number has been studiously diminished in the accounts of some, and greatly exaggerated in the representations of others. The English complain of the reign of Charles II. as the fatal period, when corruption of manners, and vice, in the most licentious and profligate forms, overran their nation, engendered a spirit of scepticism and infidelity, and formed a set of unhappy men, who employed all the wantonness of inconsiderate wit, all the sallies of imagination, and even all the force of real talent and genius, to extinguish a sense of religion in the minds of mankind. That this complaint is far from being groundless, appears on the one hand from the number of those writers among the English, whose productions were levelled either against all religion, or designed to confine the belief of men to natural religion alone; and on the other, from the still superior number of learned and ingenious treatises, in which the divinity, dignity, and intrinsic excellence of the gospel, were demonstrated and displayed in the most striking and conspicuous manner. But nothing is more adapted to confirm the accounts that have been given of the progress of infidelity and licentiousness at the period now under consideration, than the famous Lectures, founded by that illustrious ornament of religion and humanity, Mr. Robert Boyle, who, in the year 1691, consecrated a considerable part of his large fortune to the service of Christianity, by leaving, in his last will, a sum to be distributed, successively, to a number of learned divines, who were to preach, in their turns, eight sermons every year, in defence of natural and revealed religion.† This pious and honourable

* There are three churches in that settlement for the use of the colonists; but no attempt has been made to spread the knowledge of the gospel among the natives.

† See Ricotier's Preface to his French translation of Dr. Clarke's Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God. For an account of the pious, learned, and illustrious Mr. Boyle, see Buddgeil's Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the illustrious Family of the Boyles, published in 8vo. at London, in the year 1737. See also the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xii. p. 144. [† But, above all, the late learned Dr. Birch's *Life of Boyle*, published in 8vo. in the year 1744; and that very valuable Collection of Lives, the *Biographies Britannicæ*, article Boyle (Robert) note 2. See also article Hobbes, in the same collection. N.

task has been committed always to men of the most eminent genius and abilities, and is still undertaken with zeal, and performed with remarkable dignity and success: The discourses that have been delivered in consequence of this admirable institution have been always published; and they form at this day a large and important collection, which is known throughout all Europe, and has done eminent service to the cause of religion and virtue.*

XXII. The leader of the impious band in England, which, so early as the reign of Charles II. attempted to obscure the truth, and to dissolve the solemn obligations of religion, was Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, a man whose audacious pride was accompanied with an uncommon degree of artifice and address, whose sagacity was superior to his learning, and whose reputation was more owing to the subtilty and extent of his genius, than to any progress he had made either in sacred or profane erudition:† This man, notwithstanding the pernicious nature and tendency of his principles, had several adherents in England; and not only so, but has found, in foreign countries, more than one apologist; who, though they acknowledge that his sentiments were erroneous, yet deny that he went such an impious length as to introduce the disbelief, or to overturn the worship of a Supreme Being.‡ But if it should be granted, on the one hand, that Hobbes was not totally destitute of all sense of a Deity, nor of all impressions of religion; yet it must be allowed, on the other, by all who peruse his writings, with a proper degree of attention, that his tenets lead, by natural consequences, to a contempt of religion and of divine worship; and that, in some of his productions, there are visible marks of an extreme aversion to Christianity. It has indeed been said

Hobbes Rochester, &c.

* There is a complete list of these learned discourses in the *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. xv. part ii. p. 416. The late reverend Gilbert Burnet published in four volumes in 8vo. a judicious, comprehensive, and well-digested Abridgment of such of the Boyle's Lectures as had been preached before the year 1737. This abridgment, which has been translated into the French and German languages, comprehends the discourses of Bentley, Kidder, Williams, Gastrell, Harris, Bradford, Blackhall, Stanhope, Clarke, Gurdon, Hancock, Whiston, Turner, Butler, Woodward, Derham, Ibbot, Long, J. Clarke, Burnet, Berriman.

† See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Hobbes. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 641, last edition.

‡ Among the patrons and defenders of Hobbes, we may reckon Nic. Hier. Gundlingius, in his *Observationes Selectæ*, tom. i. n. ii. p. 30, and in his *Gundlingiana*, p. 304, and also Arnold, in his German work, entitled *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, part ii. b. xvii. c. xvi. § 25, p. 1062. These writers are refuted by the learned Budæus, in his *Thæsi de Atheismo et Superstitione*, cap. i. p. 187.

of him, that being advanced in years, he returned to a better mind, and condemned publicly the opinions and tenets he had formerly entertained ;^b but how far this recantation was sincere we shall not pretend to determine, since the reality of his repentance has been greatly questioned.

The same thing cannot be said of John Wilmot, earl of Rochesther, who had insulted the majesty of God, and trampled upon the truths of religion and the obligations of morality with a profane sort of phrensy, that far surpassed the impiety of Hobbes, but whose repentance and conversion were also as palpable as had been his folly, and much more unquestionable than the dubious recantation of the philosopher of Malmesbury. Rochester was a man of uncommon sagacity and penetration, of a fine genius, and an elegant taste ; but these natural talents were accompanied with the greatest levity and licentiousness, and the most impetuous propensity to unlawful pleasures. So that as long as health enabled him to answer the demands of passion, his life was an uninterrupted scene of debauchery :

^b This recantation of Hobbes depends upon the testimony of Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 646. This writer informs us, that Hobbes composed an apology for himself and his writings, in which he declared, that the opinions he had published in his *Leviathan* were by no means conformable to his real sentiments ; that he had only proposed them as a matter of debate, to exercise his mind in the art of reasoning ; that, after the publication of that book, he had never maintained them either in public or in private, but had left them entirely to the judgment and decision of the church ; more especially, that the tenets, in this and his other writings, that seemed inconsistent with the doctrines concerning God and religion that are commonly received, were never delivered by him as truths, but proposed as questions, that were to be decided by divines and ecclesiastical judges endued with a proper authority. Such is the account that Wood gives of the apology now under consideration ; but he does not tell us the year in which it was published, which is a proof that he himself had never seen it, nor does he inform us whether it appeared during the life of Hobbes, or after his death. As, indeed, it is placed in the catalogue of his writings, with a date posterior to the year 1683, it is natural to suppose that it was not published during his life, since he died in the year 1679. It is therefore no easy matter to determine what stress is to be laid upon this recantation of Hobbes, or what sentiments we are to form concerning his supposed repentance. That the apology, under consideration, exists, we do not pretend to deny ; but it may possibly have been composed by some of his friends, to diminish the odium, that, it was natural to think, his licentious principles would cast on his memory. But should it be granted, that it was drawn up and published by Hobbes himself, even this concession would contribute but little to save, or rather to recover, his reputation ; since it is well known, that nothing is more common among those who, by spreading corrupt principles and pernicious opinions, have drawn upon themselves the just indignation of the public, than, like Hobbes, to deceive the world by insidious and insincere declarations of the soundness of their belief, and the uprightness of their intention. It is thus that they secure themselves against the execution of the laws that are designed to fence religion, while they persevere in their licentious sentiments, and propagate them wherever they can do it with security.

^c See an account of his life and writings in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 654. His poetical genius is justly celebrated by Voltaire, in his *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, chap. xxxiv. vol. iv. of his works.

He was however so happy, in the last years of a very short life, as to see the extreme folly and guilt of his past conduct, in which salutary view he was greatly assisted by the wise and pathetic reasonings and exhortations of doctor Burnet, afterward bishop of Sarum. This conviction of his guilt produced a deep contrition and repentance, an ardent recourse to the mercy of God, as it is manifested in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and a sincere abhorrence of the offences he had committed against the best of Beings. In these pious sentiments he departed this life in the year 1680.^d

In this list we may also place Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, who died of a consumption at Naples, in the year 1703; not that this illustrious writer attacked openly and professedly the Christian religion, but that the most seducing strokes of wit and raillery, the most enchanting eloquence, and the charms of a genius, in which amenity, elegance, copiousness, and elevation were happily blended, rendered him one of its most dangerous, though secret enemies; nay, so much the more dangerous, because his opposition was carried on under a mask. His works have been published, and have passed through several editions. They are remarkable for beauty of diction, and contain very noble and sublime sentiments; but ought to be read with the utmost caution, as extremely dangerous to unexperienced, youthful, and unwary minds.* The

^d Bishop Burnet has given a particular account of this last and very affecting scene of the life of this nobleman, in a pamphlet written expressly on that subject, and entitled "Some Passages of the Life and Death of John, earl of Rochester, written, at his desire, on his death-bed, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D. containing more amply their conversations on the great Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion."

^e His works were first collected and published under the title of *Characteristics*, in three volumes in 8vo. in the year 1711, and since that time, have passed through several editions. See Le Clerc's account of them in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. xxiii. The learned and ingenious Leibnitz's *Critical Reflections on the Philosophy of lord Shaftesbury*; were published by Des Maizeaux, in the second volume of his *Recueil des diverses Pièces sur la Philosophie*, p. 245. There are some writers who maintain that this noble philosopher has been unjustly charged by the greatest part of the clergy, with a contempt for revealed religion; and it were to be wished, that the arguments they employed to vindicate him from this charge were more satisfactory and solid than they really are. But, if I am not much mistaken, whoever peruses his writings, and more especially his famous letter concerning enthusiasm, will be inclined to adopt the judgment that has been formed of him by the ingenious Dr. Berkley, late bishop of Cloyne, in his *Alciphron*, or the *Minute Philosopher*, vol. i. p. 300. Nothing is more easy than to observe, in the writings of lord Shaftesbury, a spirit of raillery, mingling itself with even those of his reflections upon religious subjects that seem to be delivered with the greatest seriousness and gravity. But, at the same time, this unseemly mixture of the solemn and the ludicrous renders it difficult for those, that are not well acquainted with his manner, to

brutal rusticity and uncouth turn of John Toland, a native of Ireland, who, toward the conclusion of this century, was rendered infamous by several injurious libels against Christianity, must naturally appear doubly disgusting, when compared with the amiable elegance and specious refinement of the writer now mentioned. However, as those writers, who flatter the passions by endeavouring to remove all the restraints that religion imposes upon their excessive indulgence, will never want patrons among the licentious part of mankind; so this man, who was not destitute of learning, imposed upon the ignorant and unwary; and notwithstanding the excess of his arrogance and vanity, and the shocking rudeness and ferocity of his manners, acquired a certain measure of fame. It is not

know whether the man is in jest or in earnest. It may also be added, that this author has perniciously endeavoured to destroy the influence and efficacy of some of the great motives that are proposed in the holy Scriptures to render men virtuous, by representing these motives as necessary, and even turning them into ridicule. He substitutes, in their place, their intrinsic excellence and beauty of virtue, as the great source of moral obligation, and the true incentive to virtuous deeds. But however alluring this sublime scheme of morals may appear to certain minds of a refined, elegant, and ingenious turn, it is certainly little adapted to the taste, the comprehension, and character of the multitude. Take away from the lower orders of mankind the prospect of reward and punishment, that leads them to virtue and obedience, by the powerful suggestions of hope and fear, and the great supports of virtue, and the most effectual motives to the pursuit of it, will be then removed with respect to them.

☞ Since Dr. Mosheim wrote this note, the very learned and judicious Dr. Leland published his *View of the principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England during the last and present Century, &c.* in which there is a full account of the free-thinkers and deists mentioned by our historian, and a review of the writings of the earl of Shaftesbury. This review merits a particular attention, as it contains an impartial account, an accurate examination, and a satisfactory refutation of the erroneous principles of that great man. Lord Shaftesbury, like all other eminent innovators, has been misrepresented both by his friends and his enemies. Dr. Leland has steered a middle course between the blind enthusiasm of the former, and the partial malignity of the latter. He points out, with singular penetration and judgment, the errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions of that illustrious author; does justice to what is good in his ingenious writings; separates carefully the wheat from the chaff; and neither approves nor condemns in the lump, as too many have done. In a more particular manner he has shown, with his usual perspicuity and good sense, that the being influenced by the hope of the reward promised in the gospel has nothing in it *disingenuous and slavish*, and is so far from being inconsistent with loving virtue for its own sake, that it tends, on the contrary, to heighten our esteem of its *amiable and worth*. The triumphant manner in which the learned Dr. Warburton has refuted Shaftesbury's representation of *raillery and ridicule* as a test of truth, is too well known to be mentioned here. See also Dr. Brown's *Three Essays on the Characteristics*, in which that sensible author treats of *ridicule*, considered as a *test of truth*; of the obligations of men to virtue, and of the necessity of religious principle, and of revealed religion and Christianity.

☞ Dr. Mosheim quotes here, in a short note, an account he had given of the *Life and Writings of Toland*, prefixed to his confutation of the Nazarenes of that contemptible author. He also quotes a life of Toland, prefixed to his posthumous works, printed in 8vo. at London, in 1726, by Des Maizeaux. Dr. Mosheim says, that this man was *not destitute of learning*. Should that be granted, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that this learning lay quite indigested in his head, and that the use he made of it in his works was equally injudicious and impudent. His conference

necessary to mention other authors of this class, who appeared in England during this century, but are long since consigned to oblivion; the reader may however add to those that have been already named, lord Herbert of Cherbury, a philosopher of some note, who if he did not absolutely deny the divine origin of the gospel, maintained

with M. Beausobre concerning the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, which was held at Berlin, in the year 1701, in the presence of the queen of Prussia, and in which he made such a despicable figure, is a proof of the former; and his writings, to all but half scholars and half thinkers, will be a proof, as long as they endure, of the latter. It is remarkable that, according to that maxim of Juvenal, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, Toland arrived only gradually, and by a progressive motion, at the summit of infidelity. His first step was Socinianism, which appeared in his book, entitled *Christianity not mysterious*. This book procured him hard treatment from the Irish parliament; and was answered by Mr. Brown, afterward bishop of Cork, who, unhappily, did not think good arguments sufficient to maintain a good cause, unless they were seconded by the secular arm, whose ill-placed succours he solicited with ardour. The second step that Toland made in the devious fields of religion, was in the publication of his *Amystor*, which, in appearance, was designed to vindicate what he advanced in his *Life of Milton*, to prove that king Charles I. was not the real author of the *Eikon Basilika*, but in reality, was intended to invalidate the Canon of the New Testament, and to render it uncertain and precarious. This piece, in as far as it attacked the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, was answered in a triumphant manner by Dr. Clarke, in his 'Reflections on that part of the Book called Amystor, which relates to the writings of the Primitive Fathers,' and the 'Canon of the New Testament;' by Mr. Richardson, in his learned and judicious 'Vindication of the Canon of the New Testament;' and by Mr. Jones, in his 'New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament.' These learned writers have exposed, in the most striking manner, the disingenuity, the blunders, the false quotations, the insidious fictions and ridiculous mistakes of Toland, who, on various accounts, may pass for one of the most harmless writers against the Christian religion. For an account of the *Adelantamen*, the *Nazareus*, the Letters to Serena, the *Pantisthemon*, and the other irreligious works of this author, with the excellent answers that have been made to them, see his life in the General Dictionary, or rather in Chaussepiere's Supplement to Bayle's Dictionary, entitled *Nouveaux Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, as this author has not only translated the articles added to Bayle's Dictionary by the English editors of that work, but has augmented and improved them by several interesting anecdotes drawn from the Literary History of the Continent.

Lord Herbert did not pretend to deny the divinity of the gospel; he even declared, that he had no intention to attack Christianity, which he calls, in express terms, the best religion, and which, according to his own confession, tends to establish the five great articles of that universal, sufficient, and absolutely perfect religion, which he pretends to deduce from reason and nature. But notwithstanding these fair professions, his lordship leaves no occasion of throwing out insinuations against all revealed religion, as absolutely uncertain, and of little or no use. But this same Deist, who was the first, and indeed the least contemptible of that tribe in England, has left upon record one of the strongest instances of fanaticism and absurdity that perhaps ever has been heard of, and of which he himself was guilty. This instance is preserved in a manuscript life of lord Herbert, drawn up from memorials penned by himself, which is now in the possession of a gentleman of distinction, and is as follows: that lord having finished his book *De Veritate*, apprehended that he should meet with much opposition, and was, consequently, dubious for some time whether it would not be prudent to suppress it. "Being thus doubtful," says his lordship, "in my chamber," at Paris, where he was ambassador in the year 1634, "one fair day in the summer, my easement being open toward the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring: I took my book *De Veritate* in my hands, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words; 'O thou Eternal God, author of this light that now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations; I do beseech thee of thine infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee to give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it.' What does the reader now think of this corner-stone of deism, who demands a superna-

at least that it was not essentially necessary to the salvation of mankind; and Charles Blount, who composed a book, entitled, *The Oracles of Reason*, and, in the year 1693, died by his own hand.¹

XXIII. Infidelity and even atheism showed themselves also on the continent during this century. In France, Julius Cesar Vanini, the author of two books, the one entitled, *The Amphitheatre of Providence*,^a and the other, *Dialogues concerning Nature*,^b was publicly burnt at Toulouse, in the year 1629, as an im-

tural revelation from heaven in favour of a book that was designed to prove all revelation uncertain and useless? But the absurdity does not end here, for our deist not only sought for this revelation, but also obtained it, if we are to believe him. Let us at least hear him. "I had no sooner, says he, spoken these words, but a loud, though yet gentle noise came forth from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth, which did so cheer and comfort me, that I took my petition as granted." Rare credulity this in an unbeliever! but these gentlemen can believe even against reason, when it answers their purpose. His lordship continues, "This, however, strange it may seem, I protest, before the Eternal God, is true; neither am I superstitiously deceived herein," &c. See Leland's *View of the Deistical Writers*, &c. vol. i. p. 470, &c.

h This is sufficiently known to those who have perused lord Herbert's book *De Cæsis Errorum*, as also his celebrated work *De Religion Gentilium*. This author is generally considered as the chief and founder of the sect or society that are called naturalists, from their attachment to natural religion alone. See Arnoldi *Historia Ecclesiastica et Heret.* part ii. p. 1083. The peculiar tenets of this famous Deist have been refuted by Musæus and Kortholt, two German divines of eminent learning and abilities. ¶ Gassendi also composed an answer to lord Herbert's book, *De Veritate*. In England it was refuted by Mr. Richard Baxter, in a treatise, entitled *More Reasons for the Christian Religion, and no Reason against it*. Mr. Locke, in *Essay on Human Understanding*, shows, with great perpicuity and force of evidence, that the five articles of natural religion proposed by this noble author are not, as he represents them, common notions, clearly inscribed by the hand of God in the minds of all men, and that a divine revelation is necessary to indicate, develope, and enforce them. Dr. Whitby has also treated the same matter amply in his learned work, entitled '*The Necessity and Usefulness of the Christian Revelation, by reason of the Corruptions of the Principles of Natural Religion among the Jews and Heathens*,' 8vo. 1075.

i See Chauffepied, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Crit.* though this author has omitted the mention of this gentleman's unhappy fate, out of a regard, no doubt, to his illustrious family. ¶ Mr. Chauffepied has done no more than translate the article Charles Blount from that of the English continuators of Bayle.

¶ k This book was published at Lyons in the year 1615, was approved by the clergy and magistrates of that city, and contains many things absolutely irreconcilable with Atheistical principles; its title is as follows; '*Amphitheatrum Eternæ Providentiæ, Divino Magicum, Christiano Physicum, Astrologico, Catholicum, adversus Veteres Philosophos, Atheos, Epicureos, Peripateticos, Stoicos, &c.*' This book has been esteemed innocent by several writers, impious by others; but, in our judgment, it would have escaped reproach, had Vanini published none of his other productions, since the impieties it may contain, according to the intention of its author, are carefully concealed. This is by no means the case of the book mentioned in the following note.

¶ l This book, concerning the Secrets of Queen Nature, the Goddess of Mortals, was published with this suspicious title at Paris, in the year 1616, and contains glaring marks of impiety and Atheism; and yet it was published with the king's permission, and the approbation of the Faculty of Theology at Paris. This scandalous negligence or ignorance is unaccountable in such a reverend body. The Jesuit Garasse pretends that the faculty was deceived by Vanini, who substituted another treatise in the place of that which had been approved. See a wretched book of Garasse, entitled *Doctrina Curiosa*, p. 200, as also Durand *Vie de Vanini*, p. 118.

Vanini, Rug-
ger, Lesly's
Kantzen.

pious and obstinate Atheist. It is nevertheless to be observed, that several learned and respectable writers consider this unhappy man rather as a victim to bigotry and envy, than as a martyr to impiety and Atheism, and maintain, that neither his life nor his writings were so absurd or blasphemous as to entitle him to the character of a despiser of God and religion.^m But if Vanini had his apologists, this was by no means the case of Cosmo Ruggeri, a native of Florence, whose Atheism was as impudent as it was impious, and who died in the most desperate sentiments of irreligion at Paris, in the year 1615, declaring, that he looked upon all the accounts that had been given of the existence of a Supreme Being, and of evil spirits, as idle dreams.ⁿ Casimir Leszynski, a Polish knight, was capitally punished, suffering death at Warsaw, in the year 1689, for denying the being and providence of God ; but whether or no this accusation was well founded, can only be known by reading his trial, and examining the nature and circumstances of the evidence that was produced against him.^o In Germany, a senseless and frantic sort of a man, called Matthew Knutzen, a native of Holstein, attempted to found a new sect, whose members, laying aside all consideration of *God and religion*, were to follow the dictates of *reason and conscience* alone, and from thence were to assume the title of *Conscientiarians*. But this wrongheaded sectary was easily obliged to abandon his extravagant undertakings ; and thus his idle attempt came to nothing.^p

xxiv. The most accurate and eminent of the Atheists of this century, whose system represented the Supreme Author of all things as a Being bound

Benedict
Spinoza.

^m See Budæus's *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, p. 120. The author of the *Apologia pro Vanino*, which appeared in Holland, in the year 1712, is Peter Frederic Arp, a learned lawyer, who, in his *Feris astivales seu Scriptorum eorum Historia*, p. 28, has promised a new edition of this apology, with considerable additions. We may also place among the defenders of Vanini, the learned Elias Frederic Heister, in his *Apologia pro Medicis*, sect. xviii. p. 93.

ⁿ See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Ruggeri.

^o See the German work of Arnold, entitled; *Ketzchen und Ketzer Historie*, p. 1077. There was formerly in the famous library of Uffenbach, a complete collection of all the papers relating to the trial of Leszynski, and a full account of the proceedings against him.

^p See Moller's *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 304, and *Isagege ad Historiam Chersones. Cimbr.* part ii. cap. vi. § viii. p. 164. La Croze, *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Hist.*, p. 400.

by the eternal and immutable laws of necessity or fate, was Benedict Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew. This man, who died at the Hague, in 1677, observed, in his conduct, the rules of wisdom and probity, much better than many who profess themselves Christians, nor did he ever endeavour to pervert the sentiments, or to corrupt the morals of those with whom he lived, or to inspire, in his discourse, a contempt of religion or virtue.^q It is true indeed that in his writings, more especially in those that were published after his death, he maintains openly, that God and the Universe are one and the same Being, and that all things happen by the eternal and immutable law of nature, i. e. of an all comprehending and infinite Being, that exists and acts by an *invincible necessity*. This doctrine leads directly to consequences equally impious and absurd; for if the principle now mentioned be true, each individual is his own God, or at least, a *part* of the universal Deity, and is therefore impeccable and perfect.^r Be that as it may, it

q The life of Spinoza has been accurately written by Colerus, whose performance was published at the Hague in 8vo. in the year 1706. But a more ample and circumstantial account of this singular man has been given by Lenglet du Fresnoy, and is prefixed to Boullainvillier's Exposition of the Doctrine of Spinoza, which was published at Amsterdam, under the title of Brussels, in 12mo. in the year 1731. See also Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Spinoza. [Lenglet du Fresnoy republished the work of Colerius, and added to it several anecdotes and circumstances, borrowed from a Life of Spinoza, written by an infamous profligate, whose name was Lucas, and who practised physic at the Hague. See below the notes x and y.

r The learned Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, lib. v. part iii. p. 119, and Jenichen, in his *Historia Spinoziani Lehnhofiani*, p. 58—72, has given us an ample list of the writers who have refuted the system of Spinoza. The real opinion which this subtle sophist entertained concerning the Deity, is to be learned in his *Ethicks*, that were published after his death, and not in his *Tractatus Theologicus Politicus*, which was printed during his life. For in this latter Treatise he reasons like one who was persuaded that there exists an eternal Deity, distinct from matter and the universe who has sent upon earth a religion designed, to form men to the practice of benevolence and justice, and has confirmed that religion by events of a wonderful and astonishing, though not of a supernatural kind. But in his *Ethicks*, he throws off the mask, explains clearly his sentiments, and endeavours to demonstrate, that the Deity is nothing more than the universe, producing a series of necessary movements or acts, in consequence of its own intrinsic, immutable, and irresistible energy. This diversity of sentiments that appears in the different productions of Spinoza, is a sufficient refutation of those, who, forming their estimate of his system from his *Tractatus Theologicus Politicus* alone, pronounce it less pernicious, and its author less impious, than they are generally supposed to be. But, on the other hand, how shall this diversity be accounted for? Are we to suppose that Spinoza proceeded to Atheism by gradual steps, or is it rather more probable, that, during his life, he prudently concealed his real sentiments? Which of these two is the case, it is not easy to determine; it appears however, from testimonies every way worthy of credit, that he never, during his whole life, either made, or attempted to make converts to irreligion; never said any thing in public that tended to encourage disrespectful sentiments of the Supreme Being, or of the worship that is due to him; nay, it is well known, on the contrary, that, when subjects of a reli-

is evident that Spinoza was seduced into this monstrous system by the Cartesian philosophy, of which he was a passionate admirer, and which was the perpetual subject of his meditation and study. Having adopted that general principle, about which philosophers of all sects are agreed; *that all realities are possessed by the Deity in the most eminent degree*; and having added to this principle, as equally evident, the opinion of Des Cartes, *that there are only two realities in nature, thought and extension, the one essential to spirit, and the other to matter*; the natural consequence of this was, that he should attribute to the Deity both these realities, even *thought and extension*, in an eminent degree; or, in other words, should represent them as *infinite and immense* in God. Hence the transition seemed easy enough to that enormous system which confounds *God* with the *universe*, represents them as one and the same Being, and supposes only one *substance* from whence all things proceed, and into which they all return. It is natural to observe here, what even the friends of Spinoza are obliged to acknowledge, that this system is neither attended with that luminous perspicuity, nor that force of evidence that are proper to make proselytes. It is too dark, too intricate, to allure men from the belief of those truths relating to the Deity, which the works of nature, and the plainest dictates of reason are perpetually enforcing upon the human mind. Accordingly, the followers of Spinoza tell us, without hesitation, that it is rather by the suggestions of a certain *sense*, than by the investigations of reason, that his doctrine is to be comprehended; and that it is of such a nature, as to be easily misunderstood even by persons of the greatest sagacity and penetration. The disci-

gious nature were incidentally treated in the course of conversation where he was present, he always expressed himself with the utmost decency on the occasion, and often with an air of piety and seriousness that was more adapted to edify than to give offence. See Des Maizeaux, *Vie de M. de S. Evremond*, p. 117, tom. i. of his works. This appears also evident from the Letters that are published in his posthumous works.

¶ The hypothesis of Des Cartes is not perhaps represented with sufficient accuracy and precision, by saying that he looked upon thought as essential to spirit, and extension as essential to matter; since it is well known, that this philosopher considered *thought* as the very *essence* or *substance* of the *soul*, and *extension* as the very *essence* and *substance* of matter.

† There is certainly no man so little acquainted with the character of Bayle, as to think him void of discernment and sagacity; and yet this most subtle metaphysician has been accused, by the followers of Spinoza, of misunderstanding and misrepresenting the doctrine of that pantheist, and consequently of answering it with very little solidity.

ples of Spinoza assume the denomination of Pantheists, choosing rather to derive their distinctive title from the nature of their doctrine, than from the name of their master." The most noted members of this strange sect were a physician, whose name was Lewis Meier,^a a cer-

See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Spinoza. This charge is brought against Bayle, with peculiar severity, by L. Meier, in his Preface to the posthumous Works of Spinoza, in which, after complaining of the misrepresentations that have been given of the opinions of that writer, he pretends to maintain, that his system was, in every point, conformable to the doctrines of Christianity. Boulainvilliers also, another of Spinoza's commentators and advocates, declares, in his preface to a book, whose perfidious title is mentioned below in note y, that all the antagonists of that famous Jew either ignorantly misunderstood, or maliciously perverted his true doctrine; his words are: "*Les Réfutations de Spinoza m'ont induit à juger, ou que leurs Auteurs n'avoient pas voulu mettre la doctrine, qu'ils combattent, dans une évidence suffisante, ou qu'ils l'avoient mal entendue,*" p. 153. But now, if this be true, if the doctrine of Spinoza be not only far beyond the comprehension of the vulgar, but also difficult to be understood, and liable to be mistaken and misrepresented by men of the most acute parts and the most eminent abilities, what is the most obvious conclusion deducible from this fact? It is plainly this, that the greatest part of the Spinozists, whose sect is supposed by some to be very numerous in Europe, have adopted the doctrine of that famous Atheist, not so much from a conviction of its truth founded on an examination of its intricate contents, as from the pleasure they take in a system that promises impunity to all transgressions that do not come within the cognizance of the civil laws, and thus lets loose the reins to every irregular appetite and passion. For it would be senseless, the highest degree, to imagine, that the pretended multitude of the Spinozists, many of whom never once dreamed of exercising their minds in the pursuit of truth, or accustoming them to philosophical discussion, should all accurately comprehend a system, which, according to their own accounts, has escaped the penetration and sagacity of the greatest geniuses.

^a Toland, unable to purchase himself a dinner, composed and published, in order to supply the sharp demands of hunger, an infamous and impious book under the following title; '*Pantheisticon; sive, Formulæ celebrandæ Societatis Socraticæ, in Tres Particulas divisæ; quæ Pantheistarum, sive sodalium continent, 1. Mores et Axiomata; 2. Numen et Philosophiam; 3. Libertatem et non fallentem legem neque fallendam,*' &c. The design of this book, which was published in 8vo. at London in the year 1720, appears by the title. It was intended to draw a picture of the licentious morals and principles of his brethren the Pantheists under the fictitious description of a Socratical society, which they are represented as holding in all the places where they are dispersed. In the Socratical, or rather Bacchanalian society, described in this pernicious work, the president and members are said to converse freely on several subjects. There is also a form or liturgy read by the president, who officiates as priest, and is answered by the assembly in suitable responses. He recommends earnestly to the members of the society the care of truth, liberty, and health; exhorts them to guard against superstition, that is, religion; and reads aloud to them, by way of lesson, certain select passages out of Cicero and Seneca, which seem to favour irreligion. His colleagues promise solemnly to conform themselves to his injunctions and exhortations. Sometimes the whole fraternity is so animated with enthusiasm and joy, that they all raise their voices together, and sing certain verses out of the ancient Latin poets, that are suitable to the laws and principles of their sect. See Des Maizeaux, *Life of John Toland*, p. 77. *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. viii. part ii. p. 285. If the pantheistical community be really such as it is here represented, it is not so much the duty of wise and good men to dispute with or refute its members, as it is the business of the civil magistrate to prevent such licentious and turbulent spirits from troubling the order of society, and seducing honest citizens from their religious principles, and the duties of their respective stations.

w This Meier was the person, who translated into Latin the pieces that Spinoza had composed in the Dutch language; who assisted him in his last moments, after having attempted, in vain, to remove his disorder; and who published his Posthumous Works with a Preface, in which, with great impudence and little success, he

tain person called Lucas,^z count Boulainvilliers,^y and some others, equally contemptible on account of their sentiments and morals.

endeavours to prove, that the doctrine of Spinoza differs in nothing from that of the Gospel. Meier is also the author of a well known treatise, thus entitled, *Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres, Eleutheropoli*, 1668, in 4to. in which the merit and authority of the sacred writings are examined by the dictates of philosophy, that is to say, of the philosophy of Mr. Meier.

x Lucas was a physician at the Hague, and was as famous for what he called his quintessences, as he was infamous on account of the profligacy of his morals. He left behind him a Life of Spinoza, from whence Lenglet du Fresnoy took all the additions that he made to the life of that Atheist written by Colerus. He also composed a work which is still handed about and bought, at an extravagant price, by those in whose judgment rarity and impiety are equivalent to merit. This work is entitled *L'Esprit de Spinoza*, and surpasses infinitely, in Atheistical profaneness, even those productions of Spinoza that are looked upon as the most pernicious; so far has this miserable writer lost sight of every dictate of prudence, and triumphed even over the restraints of shame.

y This fertile and copious, but paradoxical and inconsiderate writer, is abundantly known by his various productions relating to the History and Political State of the French Nation, by a certain prolix fable, entitled *The Life of Mahomet*, and by the adverse turns of fortune that pursued him. His character was so made up of inconsistencies and contradictions, that he was almost equally chargeable with superstition and Atheism; for though he acknowledged no other deity than the universe, or nature, yet he looked upon Mahomet as authorized, by a divine commission, to instruct mankind; and he was of opinion, that the fate of nations, and the destiny of individuals, could be foreknown by an attentive observation of the stars. Thus the man was, at the same time an Atheist and an astrologer. Now this medley of a man was greatly concerned in consequence, forsooth, of his ardent zeal for the *public good*, to see the *admirable doctrine of Spinoza* so generally misunderstood, and therefore he formed the *laudable design of expounding, illustrating, and accommodating it*, as is done with respect to the doctrines of the Gospel in books of piety to ordinary capacities. This design indeed he executed, but not so fortunately for his master as he might fondly imagine; since it appeared most evidently, from his own account of the system of Spinoza, that Bayle, and the other writers who had represented his doctrine as repugnant to the plainest dictates of reason, and utterly destructive of all religion, had judged rightly, and were neither misled by ignorance nor temerity. In short, the book of Boulainvilliers set the Atheism and impiety of Spinoza in a much more clear and striking light than ever they had appeared before. This infamous book, which was worthy of eternal oblivion, was published by Lenglet du Fresnoy, who, that it might be bought with avidity, and read without reluctance, prefixed to it the attracting, but perfidious title, of "A Refutation of the Errors of Spinoza;" adding indeed to it some separate pieces, to which this title may, in some measure, be thought applicable; the whole title runs thus; 'Refutation des Erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza, par M. de Fenelon, Archeveque de Cambray, par le Pere Lami benedictin, et par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers, avec la Vie de Spinoza, écrite par Jean Colerus, ministre de l'Eglise Luthérienne de la Haye, augmentée de beaucoup de particularités tirées d'une Vie Manuscrite de ce Philosophe, fait par un de ses Amis.' This friend was Lucas, the Atheistical physician, mentioned in the preceding note, 'a Bruxelles, chez Francois Foppens,' 1731, in 12mo. Here we see the poison and the antidote joined together, but the latter perfidiously distributed in a manner and measure every way insufficient to remove the noxious effects of the former; in a word, the wolf is shut up with the sheep. The account and defence of the philosophy of Spinoza, given by Boulainvilliers under the insidious title of a Refutation, takes up the greatest part of this book, and is placed first, and not last in order, as the title would insinuate. Beside, the whole contents of this motley collection are not enumerated in the title; for at the end of it we find a Latin treatise, entitled 'Certamen Philosophicum propugnata Veritatis divinæ et naturalis, adversus Jo. Bredenburgii principia, in fine annexa.' This philosophical controversy contains a Defence of the Doctrine of Spinoza, by Bredenburg; and a Refutation of that Defence by Isaac Orobio, a learned Jewish physician at Amsterdam, and was first published in 8vo. in the year 1703.

xxv. The progressive and flourishing state of the arts and sciences in the seventeenth century is abundantly known; and we see the effects, and enjoy the fruits, of the efforts then made for the advancement of learning. No branch of literature seemed to be neglected. Logic, philosophy, history, poetry, and rhetoric; in a word, all the sciences that belong to the respective provinces of reason, experience, observation, genius, memory, and imagination, were cultivated and improved with remarkable success throughout the Christian world. While the learned men of this happy period discovered such zeal for the improvement of science, their zeal was both inflamed and directed by one of the greatest and rarest geniuses that ever arose for the instruction of mankind. This was Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who, toward the commencement of this century, opened the paths that lead to true philosophy in his admirable works.^z It must be acknowledged indeed, that the rules he prescribes, to direct the researches of the studious, are not all practicable, amidst the numerous prejudices and impediments to which the most zealous inquirers are exposed in the pursuit of truth; and it appears plainly that this great man, to whose elevated and comprehensive genius all things seemed easy, was at certain times so far carried away by the vastness of his conceptions, as to require from the application and abilities of men more than they were capable of performing, and to desire the *end* without always examining whether the *means* of attaining it were possible. At the same time it must be confessed, that a great part of the improvements in learning, and of the progress in science that were made in Europe, during this century, was owing to the counsels and directions of this extraordinary man. This is more especially true of the improvements that were made in natural philosophy, to which noble science Bacon did such important service, as is alone sufficient to render his name immortal. He opened the eyes of those who had been led blindfold by the du-

The sciences cultivated and improved.

^z More especially in his treatise, *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum*, and in his *Novum Organum*. See the Life of that great man that is prefixed to the last edition of his Works, published by Millar, in four volumes in folio. *Bibliothèque Britannique*, tom. xv. p. 128. In Mr. Mallet's Life of Bacon, there is a particular and interesting account of his noble attempt to reform the miserable philosophy that prevailed before his time. See also Voltaire, *Mélanges de Littérature*, &c. in the fourth volume of his Works, chap. xiv. p. 225.

bious authority of traditionary systems, and the uncertain directory of hypothesis and conjecture. He led them to nature, that they might consult that oracle directly and near at hand, and receive her answers; and, by the introduction of experimental inquiry, he placed philosophy upon a new and solid basis. It was thus undoubtedly that he removed the prejudices of former times, which led men to consider all human knowledge as circumscribed within the bounds of Greek and Latin erudition, and an acquaintance with the more elegant and liberal arts; and thus, in the vast regions of nature, he opened scenes of instruction and science, which, although hitherto unknown or disregarded, were infinitely more noble and sublime, and much more productive of solid nourishment to the minds of the wise, than that kind of learning that was in vogue before his time.

xxvi. It is remarkable, in general, that the sciences of *natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy*, were carried in this century, in all the nations of Europe, to such a high degree of perfection, that they seemed to rise, all of a sudden, from the puny weakness of infancy to a state of full maturity. There is certainly no sort of comparison between the philosophers, mathematicians, and astronomers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former look like pigmies, when compared with the gigantic stature of the latter. At the head of these latter appears Galilei, the ornament of natural science in Italy, who was encouraged, in his astronomical researches and discoveries, by the munificence and protection of the grand dukes of Tuscany.^a After this arose in France Des Cartes and Gassendi, who left behind them a great number of eminent disciples; in Denmark Tycho Brahe; in England Boyle and Newton; in Germany Kepler, Hevelius, and Leibnitz; and in Switzerland the two Bernoulli. These philosophers of the first magnitude, if I may use that expression, excited such a spirit of emulation in Europe, and were followed by such a multitude of admirers and rivals, that, if we except those countries that had not yet emerged from a state of ignorance and barbarism, there was scarcely any nation that could not boast of possessing a profound mathematician, a

More especially
the mathema-
tics.

^a See Henman's *Acta Philosoph.* part xiv. p. 261, part xv. p. 467, part xvii. f

famous astronomer, or an eminent philosopher. Nor were the dukes of Tuscany, however distinguished by their hereditary zeal for the sciences, and their liberality to the learned, the only patrons of philosophy at this time ; since it is well known that the monarchs of Great Britain and France, Charles II. and Lewis XIV. honoured the sciences, and those that cultivated them, with their protection and encouragement. It is to the munificence of these two princes that the *Royal Society of London*, and the *Academy of Sciences* at Paris, owe their origin and establishment, their privileges, honours, and endowments ; and that we, of consequence, are indebted for the interesting discoveries that have been made by these two learned bodies, the end of whose institution is the study and investigation of nature, and the culture of all those arts and sciences that lead to truth, and are useful to mankind.^b These establishments, and the inquiries they were so naturally adapted to encourage and promote, proved not only beneficial, in the highest degree, to the civil interests of mankind, but were also productive of inestimable advantages to the cause of true religion. By these inquiries, the empire of superstition, which is always the bane of genuine piety, and often a source of rebellion and calamity in sovereign states, was greatly shaken ; by them the fictitious prodigies, that had so long held miserable mortals in a painful state of servitude and terror, were deprived of their influence ; by them natural religion was built upon solid foundations, and illustrated with admirable perspicuity and evidence ; as by them the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being were demonstrated with the utmost clearness and force from the frame of the universe in general, and also from the structure of its various parts.

xxvii. The improvements made in history, and more especially the new degrees of light that were
 History. thrown upon the ancient history of the church, were of eminent service to the cause of genuine Christianity. For thus the original sources and reasons of many ab-

^b The History of the Royal Society of London, was published by Dr. Sprat in 4to. in the year 1722.* See the *Biblioth. Anglaise*, tom. xi. p. 1. The History of the Academy of Paris has been composed by Fontenelle. The reader will find a comparison between these two learned bodies in the fourth volume of the Works of Voltaire, entitled *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, cap. xxvi. p. 317.

[F] * A much more interesting and ample history of this respectable society has lately been composed and published by Dr. Birch, its learned secretary.

surd opinions and institutions, which antiquity and custom had rendered sacred, were discovered and exposed in their proper colours; and innumerable errors, that had possessed and perplexed the anxious spirits of the credulous and superstitious multitude, were happily deprived of their authority and influence. Thus, of consequence, the cheerful light of truth, and the calm repose and tranquillity that attend it, arose upon the minds of many, and human life was delivered from the crimes that have been sanctified by superstition, and from the tumults and agitations in which it has so often involved unhappy mortals. The advantages that flowed from the improvement of historical knowledge are both innumerable and inestimable. By this many pious and excellent persons, whom ignorance or malice had branded with the ignominious title of heretics, were delivered from reproach, recovered their good fame, and thus were secured against the malignity of superstition. By this it appeared, that many of those religious controversies, which had divided nations, friends, and families, and involved so often sovereign states in bloodshed, rebellion, and crimes of the most horrid kind, were owing to the most trifling and contemptible causes, to the ambiguity and obscurity of certain theological phrases and terms, to superstition, ignorance, and envy, to ghostly pride and ambition. By this it was demonstrated, with the fullest evidence, that many of those religious rites and ceremonies, which had been long considered as of divine institution, were derived from the most inglorious sources, being either borrowed from the manners and customs of barbarous nations, or invented with a design to deceive the ignorant and credulous, or dictated by the idle visions of senseless enthusiasm. By this the ambitious intrigues of the bishops and other ministers of religion, who, by perfidious arts, had encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, usurped a considerable part of its authority and revenues, and held princes in subjection to their yoke by terrors of the church, were brought to light. And, to mention no more instances, it was by the lamp of history that those councils, whose decrees had so long been regarded as infallible and sacred, and revered as the dictates of celestial wisdom, were exhibited to the attentive observer as assemblies, where an odious mixture of ignorance and knavery very frequently presided. Our happy

experience, in these latter times, furnishes daily instances of the salutary effects of these important discoveries on the state of the Christian church, and on the condition of all its members. Hence flow that lenity and moderation that are mutually exercised by those who differ from one another in their religious sentiments; that prudence and caution that are used in estimating opinions and deciding controversies; that protection and support that are granted to men of worth, when attacked by the malice of bigotry; and that visible diminution of the errors, frauds, crimes, and cruelties, with which superstition formerly embittered the pleasures of human life, and the enjoyments of social intercourse.

XXVIII. Many of the doctors of this century applied themselves, with eminent success, to the study of Hebrew and Greek literature, and of the oriental languages and antiquities. And, as their progress in these kinds of erudition was rapid, so, in many instances, was the use they made of them truly excellent and laudable. For, by these succours, they were enabled to throw light on many difficult passages of the sacred writings that had been ill understood and injudiciously applied, and which some had even employed in supporting erroneous opinions, and giving a plausible colour to pernicious doctrines. Hence it happened, that many patrons and promoters of popular notions, and visionary and groundless fancies, were deprived of the fallacious arguments by which they maintained their errors. It cannot also be denied, that the cause of religion received considerable benefit from the labours of those, who either endeavoured to preserve the purity and elegance of the Latin language, or who, beholding with emulation the example of the French, employed their industry in improving and polishing the languages of their respective countries. For it must be evidently both honourable and advantageous to the Christian church to have always, in its bosom, men of learning, qualified to write and discourse upon theological subjects with precision, elegance, ease, and perspicuity, that so the ignorant and perverse may be allured to receive instruction, and also be able to comprehend with facility the instructions they receive.

XXIX. The rules of morality and practice, which were laid down in the sacred writings, by Christ and his apostles, assumed an advantageous form, received new illustrations, and were supported upon new

The study of eloquence and the languages.

The law of nature is studied with attention.

and solid principles, when that great system of law, that results from the constitution of nature, and the dictates of right reason, began to be studied with more diligence, and investigated with more accuracy and perspicuity than had been the case in preceding ages. In this sublime study of the law of nature, the immortal Grotius led the way in his excellent book Concerning the Rights of War and Peace; and such was the dignity and importance of the subject, that his labours excited the zeal and emulation of men of the most eminent genius and abilities,^c who turned their principal attention to this noble science. How much the labours of these great men contributed to assist the ministers of the gospel, both in their discourses and writings concerning the duties and obligations of Christians, may be easily seen by comparing the books of a practical kind that have been published since the period now under consideration, with those that were in vogue before that time. [There is scarcely a discourse upon any subject of Christian morality, how inconsiderable soever it may be, that does not bear some marks of the improvement which was introduced into the science of morals by those great men, who studied that science in the paths of nature, in the frame and constitution of rational and moral beings, and in the relations by which they are rendered members of one great family, under the inspection and government of one common and universal^d Parent.] It is unquestionably certain, that since this period the dictates of natural law, and the duties of Christian morality, have been more accurately defined; certain evangelical precepts, whose nature and foundations were but imperfectly comprehended in the times of old, more clearly illustrated; the superiority which distinguishes the morality of the gospel from that course of duty that is deducible from the mere light of nature more fully demonstrated; and those common notions and general principles, which are the foundations of moral obligation, and are every way adapted to dispel all doubts that may arise, and all controversies that may be started, concerning the nature of evangelical righteousness and virtue, established with greater evidence and certainty.

^c See Adam. Frid. Glafey, *Historia Juris Naturæ*; to which is subjoined his *Bibliotheca Juris Naturæ et Gentium*.

^d This sentence, beginning with *There is scarcely a discourse*, and ending with *Universal Parent*, is added by the translator.

lieve that the Deity governs the kingdom of grace by the same laws with which he rules the kingdom of nature; and hence it is that they employ chymical denominations to express the truths of religion. They all hold, that there is a sort of *divine energy*, or *soul*, diffused through the frame of the universe, which some call *Archæus*, others the *Universal Spirit*, and which others mention under different appellations. They all talk in the most obscure and superstitious manner, of what they call the *signatures of things*, of the power of the stars over all corporeal beings, and their particular influence upon the human race, of the efficacy of magic, and the various ranks and orders of demons. In fine, they all agree in throwing out the most crude, incomprehensible notions and ideas, in the most obscure, quaint, and unusual expressions.

XXXI. This controversy between the chymists and peripatetics was buried in silence and oblivion as soon as a new and more seemly form of philosophy was presented to the world by two great men, who reflected a lustre upon the French nation, Gassendi and Des Cartes. The former, whose profound knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was accompanied with the most engaging eloquence, and an acquaintance with all the various branches of solid erudition and polite literature, was canon of Digne, and professor of mathematics at Paris. The latter, who was a man of quality and bred a soldier, surpassed the greatest part of his contemporaries in acuteness, subtilty, and extent of genius, though he was much inferior to Gassendi in point of learning. In the year 1624, Gassendi attacked Aristotle, and the whole sect of his commentators and followers, with great resolution and ingenuity;¹ but the resentment and indignation which he drew upon himself from all quarters by this bold attempt, and the sweetness of his natural temper, which made him an enemy to dissension and contest, engaged him to desist, and to suspend an enterprise that, by opposing the prejudices, was so adapted to inflame the passions of the learned. Hence no more than two books of the work he had composed against the Aristotelians were made public; the other

¹ The title of his book against the Aristotelians is as follows; "Exercitationum paradoxicarum adversus Aristoteleos Libri VII. in quibus precipua totius Peripateticæ Doctrinæ fundamenta executiuntur, opiniones vero, aut ex vetustioribus obsolete, stabiliuntur."

five were suppressed.¹ He also wrote against Fludd, and by refuting him, refuted at the same time the Rosecrucian brethren; and here the Aristotelians seemed to behold his labours with a favourable eye. After having overturned several false and visionary systems of philosophy, he began to think of substituting something more solid and satisfactory in their place; and in pursuance of this design he proceeded with the utmost circumspection and caution. He recommended to others, and followed himself, that wise method of philosophical investigation, which, with a slow and timorous pace, rises from the objects of sense to the discussions of reason, and arrives at truth by assiduity, experiment, and an attentive observation of the laws of nature; or, to express the same thing in other words, Gassendi struck out that judicious method, which, by an attention to facts, to the changes and motions of the natural world, leads by degrees to general principles, and lays a solid foundation for rational inquiry. In the application of this method he had recourse chiefly to mathematical succours, from a persuasion that demonstration and certainty were the peculiar fruits of that accurate and luminous science. He drew no assistance from the science of metaphysics, which he overlooked from an opinion that the greatest part of its rules and decisions were too precarious to satisfy a sincere inquirer, animated with the love of truth.²

xxxii. Des Cartes followed a very different method in his philosophical researches. He abandoned the The Cartesian philosophy. mathematics, which he had at first looked upon as the tree of knowledge, and employed the science of abstract ideas, or metaphysics, in the investigation of truth. Having accordingly laid down a few plain general principles, which seemed to be deduced immediately from the nature of man, his first business was to form distinct notions of Deity, matter, soul, body, space, the universe, and the various parts of which it is composed. From these notions, examined with attention, compared and combined together according to their mutual relations, connexions, and resemblances, and reduced into a kind of system, he proceed-

¹ See Bougeroll, *Vie de Gassendi*, p. 17 and 23.

² See Gassendi's *Institutiones Philosophiæ*; a diffuse production, which takes up the two first volumes of his works, and in which his principal design is to show, that those opinions, of both the ancient and modern philosophers, which are deduced from metaphysical principles, have little solidity, and are generally defective in point of evidence and perspicuity.

ed still further, and made admirable use of them in reforming the other branches of philosophy, and giving them a new degree of stability and consistence. This he effected by connecting all his branches of philosophical reasonings in such a manner, that *principles* and *consequences* followed each other in the most accurate order, and that the latter seemed to flow from the former in the most natural manner. This method of pursuing truth could not fail to attract the admiration of many; and so indeed it happened; for no sooner had Des Cartes published his discoveries in philosophy, than a considerable number of eminent men, in different parts of Europe, who had long entertained a high disgust against the inelegant and ambiguous jargon of the schools, adopted these discoveries with zeal, declared their approbation of the new system, and expressed their desire that its author should be substituted in the place of the Peripatetics, as a philosophical guide to the youth in the public seminaries of learning. On the other hand, the Peripatetics, or Aristotelians, seconded by the influence of the clergy, who apprehended that the cause of religion was aimed at and endangered by these philosophical innovations, made a prodigious noise, and left no means unemployed to prevent the downfall of their old system, and to diminish the growing reputation of the new philosophy. To execute this invidious purpose with the more facility, they not only accused Des Cartes of the most dangerous and pernicious errors, but went so far, in the extravagancy of their malignity, as to bring a charge of atheism against him. This furious zeal of the Aristotelians will not appear so extraordinary, when it is considered, that they contended not so much for their philosophical system, as for the honours, advantages, and profits they derived from it. The Theosophists, Rosecrucians, and Chymists, entered into this contest against Des Cartes, but conducted themselves with more moderation than the Aristotelians, notwithstanding their persuasion that the Peripatetic philosophy, though chimerical and impious, was much less intolerable than the Cartesian system.¹ The consequences of this dispute were favourable to the progress of science; for the wiser part of the European philosophers, although they did not at all adopt the sentiments of Des Cartes, were nevertheless encouraged and

¹ See Baillet, *Vie de Des Cartes*. As also the General Dictionary at the article Des Cartes.

animated by his example to carry on their inquiries with more freedom from the restraints of tradition and personal authority than they had formerly done, and to throw resolutely from their necks that yoke of servitude under which Aristotle and his followers had so long kept them in subjection.

XXXIII. The most eminent contemporaries of Des Cartes applauded, in general, the efforts he made toward the reformation of philosophy, and that noble resolution with which he broke the shackles of magisterial authority, and struck out new paths, in which he proceeded, without a guide, in the search after truth. They also approved of his method of arising, with caution and accuracy, from the most simple, and, as it were, the primary dictates of reason and nature, to truths and propositions of a more complex and intricate kind, and of admitting nothing as truth that was not *clearly* and *distinctly* apprehend as such. They went still further, and unanimously acknowledged, that he had made most valuable and important discoveries in philosophy, and had demonstrated several truths which, before his time, were received upon no other evidence than that of tradition and conjecture. But these acknowledgments did not hinder some of those who made them with the greatest sincerity, from finding several essential defects in the philosophy of this great man. They looked upon his account of the causes and principles of natural things to be for the most part hypothetical, founded on fancy rather than experience. Nay, they attacked the fundamental principles upon which the whole system of his philosophy was built, such as his ideas of the Deity, of the universe, of matter and spirit, of the laws of motion, and other points that were connected with these. Some of these principles they pronounced uncertain; others of a pernicious tendency, and adapted to engender the most dangerous errors; others again they considered as directly contrary to the language of experience. At the head of these objectors was his own fellow-citizen Gassendi, who had made war before him upon the Aristotelians and Chymists; who in genius was his equal; in learning, by much his superior; and whose mathematical knowledge was most uncommon and extensive. This formidable adversary directed his first attacks against the metaphysical principles which supported the whole struc-

Gassendi the chief adversary of Des Cartes.

ture of the Cartesian philosophy. He then proceeded still further; and in the place of the physical system of Des Cartes, substituted one that resembled not a little the natural philosophy of Epicurus, though far superior to it in solidity, much more rational, consistent, and perfect, being founded not on the illusory visions of fancy, but on the testimony of sense and the dictates of experience." This new and sagacious observer of nature had not many followers, and his disciples were much less numerous than those of Des Cartes. But what he wanted in number was sufficiently compensated by the merit and reputation of those who adopted his philosophical system: for he was followed by some of the most eminent men in Europe, by persons distinguished in the highest degree, by their indefatigable application, and their extensive knowledge both of natural philosophy and mathematics. It is also observable, that he had but few disciples in his own country; but among the English, who in his time were remarkable for their application to studies of a physical and mathematical kind, a considerable number adopted his philosophical system. Nay, it is remarkable, that even those eminent philosophers and divines, such as Whichcot, Gale, Cudworth, and More, who entered the lists with Hobbes, whose doctrine came nearer to the principles of Gassendi than to the system of Des Cartes, and revived ancient Platonism in order to crush under its weight the philosopher of Malmesbury, placed Gassendi and Plato in the same class, and explained the sentiments of the latter in such a manner as to make them appear quite agreeable to the principles of the former."

XXXIV. From this period must be dated that famous schism that divided the philosophical world into two great sects, which, though almost agreed concerning those points that are of the greatest utility and importance in human life, differ widely about

Two leading philosophical sects, viz. the mathematical and metaphysical.

m See his *Disquisitio Metaphysica, seu Dubitationes et Instantiæ aduersus Cartesiani Metaphysicam, et Responsa*, which are published in the third volume of his works, p. 283. Bernier, a celebrated French physician, has given an accurate view of the philosophy of Gassendi in his abridgment of it, published in French at Lyons, in the year 1684, in eight volumes 12mo. this abridgment will give to the reader a clearer account of this philosophy than even the works of Gassendi himself, in which his meaning is often expressed in an ambiguous manner, and which are beside loaded with superfluous erudition. The life of Gassendi, accurately written by Bougerelle, a priest of the oratory, was published at Paris, in 1737. See *Biblioth. Francoise*, tom. xxvii. p. 353.

n See the Preface to the Latin translation of Cudworth's *Intellectual System*; as also the Remarks that are added to that translation. [F] Dr. Mosheim is the author of that Translation, and of these Remarks.

the principles of human knowledge, and the fundamental points from whence the philosopher must proceed in his search of truth. Of these sects the one may be properly called *metaphysical*, and the other *mathematical*. The metaphysical sect follows the system of Des Cartes: the mathematical one directs its researches by the principles of Gassendi. The former looks upon truth as attainable by abstract reasoning; the latter seeks after it by observation and experience. The follower of Des Cartes attributes little to the external senses, and much to meditation and discussion. The disciple of Gassendi, on the contrary, places little confidence in metaphysical discussion, and has principally recourse to the reports of sense, and the contemplation of nature. The former, from a small number of abstract truths, deduces a long series of propositions, in order to arrive at a precise and accurate knowledge of God and nature, of body and spirit; the latter admits these metaphysical truths, but at the same time denies the possibility of erecting, upon their basis, a regular and solid system of philosophy, without the aid of assiduous observation and repeated experiments, which are the most natural and effectual means of philosophical progress and improvement. The one, eagle like, soars, with an intrepid flight, to the first fountain of truth, and to the general relations and final causes of things; and descending from thence, explains by them the various changes and appearances of nature, the attributes and counsels of the Deity, the moral constitution and duties of man, the frame and structure of the universe. The other, more difficult and cautious, observes with attention, and examines with assiduity, the objects that are before his eyes; and arises gradually from them to the first cause and the primordial principles of things. The Cartesians suppose that many things are known by man with the utmost certainty; and hence their propensity to form their opinions and doctrines into a regular system. The followers of Gassendi consider man as in a state of ignorance with respect to an immense number of things, and consequently think it incumbent upon them to suspend their judgment, in a multitude of cases, until time and experience dispel their darkness; and hence it is also, that they consider a system as an attempt of too adventurous a nature, and by no means proportioned to the narrow extent of human knowledge; or at least they think, that the business of system-making ought

to be left to the philosophers of future times, who, by joining together the observations and experience of many ages, shall have acquired a more satisfactory and accurate knowledge of nature than has been yet attained.

These dissensions and contests concerning the first principles of human knowledge, produced various debates upon other subjects of the utmost moment and importance; such as the nature of God, the essence of matter, the elements, or constituent principles of bodies, the laws of motion, the manner in which the Divine Providence exerts itself in the government of the world, the frame and structure of the universe, the nature, union, and joint operations of soul and body. If we consider attentively the profound and intricate nature of these subjects, together with the limits, debility, and imperfections of the human understanding, we shall see too much reason to fear, that these contests will last as long as the present state of man.* The wise and the good, sensible of this, will carry on such debates with a spirit of mildness and mutual forbearance; and knowing that differences in opinions are inevitable where truth is so difficult of access, will guard against that temerity with which too many disputants accuse their antagonists of irreligion and impiety.†

* Voltaire published, in the year 1740, at Amsterdam, a pamphlet, entitled *La Méta-physique de Newton, ou Parallele des Sentimens de Newton et de Leibnitz*, which though superficial and inaccurate, may nevertheless be useful to those readers who have not application enough to draw from better sources, and are nevertheless desirous to know how much these two philosophical sects differ in their principles and tenets.

† It is abundantly known that Des Cartes, and his metaphysical followers, were accused by many of striking at the foundations of all religion; nor is this accusation entirely withdrawn, even in our times. See in the miscellaneous works of father Hardouin, his *Atheists unmasked*. Among these pretended Atheists, Des Cartes, with his two famous disciples Anthony le Grand and Silvan Regis hold the first rank; nor is father Malebranche, though he seems rather chargeable with fanaticism than Atheism, exempted from a place in this odious list. It is true Hardouin, who gives so liberally a place in the Atheistical class to these great men, was himself a visionary dreamer, whose judgment, in many cases, is little to be respected, but it is also true, that in the work now under consideration, he does not reason from his own whimsical notions, but draws all his arguments from those of the followers of Aristotle and Gassendi, who have opposed, with the greatest success and acuteness, the Cartesian system. Even Voltaire, notwithstanding the moderation with which he expresses himself, seems plainly enough to give his assent to the accusers of Des Cartes. On the other hand it must be observed that these accusers are censured in their turn by several modern metaphysicians. Gassendi, for example, is charged by Arnauld with overturning the doctrine of the soul's immortality in his controversy with Des Cartes, and by Leibnitz with corrupting and destroying the whole system of natural religion. See Des Maizeaux, *Recueil de diverses pieces sur la Philosophie*, tom. ii. p. 166.* Leibnitz has also ventured to affirm that sir Isaac Newton and his followers

‡ * If Dr. Mosheim refers to the second edition of Des Maizeaux *Recueil*, the page is inaccurately quoted; for it is at page 156 of the volume above mentioned, that Gassendi is censured by Leibnitz. It may be further observed, that the censure is not conveyed in such strong terms as those employed by our historian. Leibnitz says, that Gassendi appeared to hesitate and waver too much concerning the nature of the soul, and the principles of natural religion.

xxxv. All those who had either adopted without exception, the principles of Des Cartes, or who, without going so far had approved of the method and rules laid down by him for the investigation of truth, employed all their zeal and industry in correcting, amending, confirming, and illustrating, the metaphysical species of philosophy; and the number of its votaries was prodigious, particularly in France and in the United Provinces. But among the members of this philosophical sect there were some who aimed at the destruction of all religion, more especially Spinoza, and others, who, like Balthasar Becker,¹ made use of the principles of Des Cartes to overturn some doctrines of Christianity, and to pervert others. This circumstance proved disadvantageous to the whole sect, and brought it into disrepute in many places. The metaphysical philosophy fell however afterward into better hands, and was treated with great wisdom and acuteness by Malebranche, a man of uncommon eloquence and subtilty; and by Leibnitz, whose name is consigned to immortality as one of the greatest geniuses that have appeared in the world. Neither of these great men indeed adopted all the principles and doctrines of Des Cartes; but they both approved, upon the whole, of his philosophical method, which they enlarged, amended, and improved, by several additions and corrections, that rendered its procedure more luminous and sure. This is more especially true of Leibnitz, who, rejecting the suggestions of fancy, seemed to follow no other guides than reason and judgment; for Malebranche having received from nature a warm and exuberant imagination, was too much ruled by its dictates, and was thus often imperceptibly led into the visionary regions of enthusiasm.

The metaphysical or Cartesian philosophy improved and propagated with success.

xxxvi. The mathematical philosophy, already mentioned, was much less studied and adopted than

The progress

rob the Deity of some of his most excellent attributes, and sap the foundations of natural religion. In short, the controversial writings on both sides are filled with rash and indecent reproaches of this kind.

[1] q See for a farther account of the particular tenets and opinions of Becker, sect. ii. part ii. chap. ii. sect. xxxv. of this century.

r For an ample and interesting account of Malebranche and his philosophy, see Fontenelle's *Eloge des Academiciens de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, tom. i. p. 317, and for a view of the errors and defects of his metaphysical system, see Hardouin's *Atheists Unmasked*, in his *Oeuvres Melees*, p. 43. Fontenelle has also given an account of the life and philosophical sentiments of Leibnitz, in the work already quoted, vol. ii. p. 9; but a much more ample one has been published in German by Charles Gunther Lewis, in his *History of the Leibnitian Philosophy*. However, the genius and philosophy of this great man are best to be learned from his letters to Kortholt, published at Leipsic in three volumes.

of the mathe-
 matical sect.

the metaphysical system, and its followers in France, were very few in number. But it met with a favourable reception in Britain, whose philosophers perceiving, in its infant and unfinished features, the immortal lines of Verulam's wisdom, snatched it from its cradle, in a soil where it was ready to perish, cherished it with parental tenderness, and have still continued their zealous efforts to bring it to maturity and perfection. The Royal Society of London, which may be considered as the philosophical seminary of the nation, took it under their protection, and have neither spared expense nor pains to cultivate and improve it, and to render it subservient to the purposes of life. It owed, more especially, a great part of its progress and improvement to the countenance, industry, and genius of that immortal protector of science, the pious and venerable Mr. Boyle, whose memory will be ever precious to the worthy and the wise, the friends of religion, learning, and mankind. The illustrious names of Barrow, Wallis, and Locke, may also be added to the list of those who contributed to the progress of natural knowledge. Nor were the learned divines of the English nation, though that order has often excited the complaints of philosophers, and been supposed to behold, with a jealous and suspicious eye the efforts of philosophy as dangerous to the cause of religion, less zealous than the other patrons of science in this noble cause. On the contrary, they looked upon the improvement of natural knowledge not only as innocent, but as of the highest utility and importance; as admirably adapted to excite and maintain in the minds of men a profound veneration for the Supreme Creator and Governor of the world, and to furnish new supports to the cause of religion; and also as agreeable both to the laws and spirit of the gospel, and to the sentiments of the primitive church. And hence it was that those doctors, who, in the lectures founded by Mr. Boyle, attacked the enemies of religion, employed in this noble and pious attempt the succours of philosophy with the most happy and triumphant success. But the immortal man, to whose immense genius and indefatigable industry philosophy owed its greatest improvements, and who carried the lamp of knowledge into paths of nature that had been unexplored before his time, was sir Isaac Newton, whose name

It is Mr. Hume's account of this great man is extremely just, and contains some peculiar strokes that do honour to this elegant painter of minds. "In Newton," says

was revered, and his genius admired, even by his warmest adversaries. This great man spent, with uninterrupted assiduity, the whole of a long life in correcting, digesting, and enlarging, the new philosophy, and in throwing upon it the light of demonstration and evidence, both by observing the laws of nature, and by subjecting them to the rules of calculation; and thus he introduced a great change into natural science, and brought it to a very high degree of perfection. The English look upon it as an unquestionable proof of the solidity and excellence of the Newtonian philosophy, that its most eminent votaries were friends to religion, and have transmitted to posterity shining examples of piety and virtue; while, on the contrary, the Cartesian or metaphysical system has exhibited, in its followers, many flagrant instances of irreligion, and some of the most horrid impiety.

xxxvii. The two famous philosophical sects, now mentioned, deprived indeed all the ancient systems of natural science both of their credit and their disciples; and hence it might have been expected that they would have totally engrossed and divided between them the suffrages of the learned. But this was not the case; the liberty of thinking being restored by Des Cartes and Newton, who broke the fetters of prejudice, in which philosophical superstition had confined, in former times, the human understanding, a variety of sects sprung up, some trusting in their superior genius and sagacity, and others, more remarkable for the exuberance of their fancy than for the solidity of their judgment, pretended to strike out new paths in the unknown regions of nature, and new methods of investigating truth; but the number

Of the philosophers who adopt neither of these systems.

he, "this island may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius that ever arose for the ornament and instruction of the species. Cautious in admitting no principles, but such as were founded in experiment; but resolute to adopt every such principle, however new and unusual. From modesty ignorant of his superiority above the rest of mankind, and thence less careful to accommodate his reasonings to common apprehensions; more anxious to merit than acquire fame. He was, from these causes, long unknown to the world; but his reputation at last broke out with a lustre, which scarce any writer, during his own lifetime, had ever before attained. While Newton seemed to draw off the veil from some of the mysteries of nature, he showed, at the same time, the imperfections of the mechanical philosophy; and thereby restored her ultimate secrets to that obscurity, in which they ever did and ever will remain."

† The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, as also the other writings, whether philosophical, mathematical, or theological, of this great man, are abundantly known. There is an elegant account of his life, and his literary and philosophical merit, given by Fontenelle, in his *Eloge des Academiciens de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, tom. ii. p. 393—323. See also the *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. xv. part ii. p. 545, and *Biblioth. Raisonnee*, tom. vi. part ii. p. 478. ¶ See more especially the late learned and ingenious Mr. Maclaurin's Account of sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries, &c.

of their disciples was small, and the duration of their inventions transitory, and therefore it is sufficient to have barely mentioned them. There was another sort of men, whom mediocrity of genius, or an indolent turn of mind, indisposed for investigating truth by the exertion of their own talents and powers, and who, terrified at the view of such an arduous task, contented themselves with borrowing from the different sects such of their respective tenets as appeared most remarkable for their perspicuity and solidity, more especially those concerning which all the different sects were agreed. These they compiled and digested into a system, and pushed their inquiries no further. The philosophers of this class are generally termed *eclectics*. From these remarkable differences of sentiment and system that reigned among the jarring sects, some persons, otherwise distinguished by their acuteness and sagacity, took occasion to represent truth as unattainable by such a short-sighted being as man, and to revive the desperate and uncomfortable doctrine, shall I call it, or jargon, of the sceptics, that had been long buried in that silence and oblivion it so justly deserved. The most eminent of these cloudy philosophers were Sanchez, a physician of Toulouse, "de la Mothe le Vayer," Huet, bishop of Avranches,^u to whom we may add, without temerity, the famous Bayle,^v who, by the erudition and wit that abound in his voluminous works, has acquired such a distinguished reputation in the republic of letters.

^u There is still extant a famous book of this writer entitled, *De eo quod nihil scitur*, which, with the rest of his works and an account of his life, was published in 4to. at Tholouse, in the year 1636. See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Sanchez; as also Villemandi *Scepticismus debellatus*, cap. iv. p. 32.

^v See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Vayer.

^x Huet's book Concerning the Weakness of Human Reason, was published after his death, in French, at Amsterdam, in the year 1723, and lately in Latin. It appears, however, that this eminent writer had, long before the composition of this book, recommended the skeptical method of conducting philosophical researches, and looked upon this method as the best adapted to establish the truth of Christianity upon solid foundations. See the *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, lib. iv. p. 230, and *Demonstrat. Evangelica Præfat.* sect. iv. p. 9, where he commends their manner of proceeding, who, by skeptical arguments, invalidate all philosophical principles, before they begin to prove the truth of Christianity to those who doubt of its evidence. It is well known that the Jesuits, who were particularly favoured by Huet, have, on many occasions, employed this method to throw dust into the eyes of the protestants, and thus lead them blindfold into the Romish communion; and that they still continue to practise the same insidious instrument of seduction.

^y Every thing relating to the life and sentiments of Bayle is abundantly and universally known. His life, composed by Des Maizeaux, was published in the year 1732, at the Hague, in two volumes 8vo. The skepticism of this insidious and seducing writer was unmasked and refuted with great learning and force of argument, by the late Mr. Crousaz, in a voluminous French work, entitled *Traite du Pyrrhonisme*, of which Mr. Formey has given an elegant and judicious abridgment, under the title of *Triomphe de l'Evidence*.

SECTION II.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE MORE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

I. HIPPOLITO ALDOBRANDINI, under the papal name of Clement VIII. continued to rule the church of Rome at the commencement of this century, having been elected to that high dignity toward the conclusion of the preceding one. The eminent abilities and insidious dexterity of this pontiff, as also his ardent desire of extinguishing the protestant religion, and extending the limits of the Romish church, are universally acknowledged ; but it is much questioned, whether his prudence was equal to the arduous nature of his station as pontiff, and the critical circumstances of an incidental kind that arose during his administration.* He was succeeded in the year 1605 by Leo XI. of the house of Medicis, who died a few weeks after his election ; and thus left the papal chair open to Camillo Borghese, who filled it under the denomination of Paul V. This pontiff was of a haughty and violent spirit, jealous to excess of his authority, and insatiably furious in the execution of his vengeance upon such as encroached on his pretended prerogative, as appears in a striking manner by his rash and unsuccessful

The popes of this century.

* This pontiff had an edition of the Vulgate published, which was very different from that of pope Sixtus ; and this is one of the many instances of the *contrariety* of opinions that has prevailed among the *infallible* heads of the church of Rome.

contest with the Venetians.^b Gregory XV.^c who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1621, seemed to be of a milder disposition, though he was not less defective than his predecessor in equity and clemency toward those that had separated themselves from the church of Rome. An unjust severity against the friends of the reformation is indeed the general and inevitable character of the Roman pontiffs, for, without this, they would be destitute of the predominant and distinctive mark of the papacy. A pope, with sentiments of toleration and charity toward those who refuse a blind submission to his opinions and decisions, is a contradiction in terms. Urban VIII. whose family name was Maffei Barberini, and who, by his interest in the conclave, ascended the papal throne in the year 1623, was a man of letters, an eloquent writer, an elegant poet, and a generous and munificent patron of learning and genius;^d but nothing can equal the rigour and barbarity with which he treated all that bore the name of protestants. He may be indeed considered as

☞ ^b This contest arose partly from two edicts of the republic of Venice for preventing the unnecessary increase of religious buildings, and the augmentation of the enormous wealth of the clergy; and partly from the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes, who had not been delivered up to the pope at his requisition. It is not surprising that these proceedings of the Venetians, however just and equitable, should inflame the ambitious fury of a pontiff who called himself *vice God, the monarch of Christendom, and the supporter of papal omnipotence*. Accordingly Paul laid all the dominions of the republic under an interdict; while the Venetians, on the other hand, declared that unjust and tyrannical mandate null and void; and banished from their territory the Jesuits and Capuchins, who had openly disobeyed the laws of the state. Preparations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation not very honourable to the pope, was brought about by the mediation of Henry IV. of France. This controversy between the pope and the Venetians, produced several important pieces, composed by Sarpi, on the side of the republic, and by Baronius and Bellarmine in behalf of the pontiff. The controversy concerning the nature and limits of the pope's pretended supremacy is judiciously stated, and the papal pretensions accurately examined, by Sarpi, in his history of this tyrannical interdict, which, in Italian, occupies the fourth volume of his works, and was translated into Latin by William Bedell, of Cambridge. It was Paul V. that dishonoured his title of *holiness*, and cast an eternal stain upon his *infallibility*, by an express approbation of the doctrine of Suarez the Jesuit, in defence of the murder of kings.

☞ ^c His family name was Alexander Ludivisio.

☞ ^d See Leoni Allati *Opes Urbanae*, of which Fabricius published a second edition at Hamburg. This little work is a sort of *index*, or list of all the learned and eminent men that adorned Rome under the Pontificate of Urban VIII. and experienced the munificence and liberality of that Pontiff; and their number is far from being small. The Latin poems of Urban, which are not without a considerable portion of wit and elegance, have passed through several editions. ☞ These poems were composed while he was yet a cardinal. After his elevation to the pontificate, he published a remarkable edition of the Romish Breviary, and several Bulls; among which, that which abolishes the order of Female Jesuits and certain festivals, those relating to image worship and to the condemnation of Jansenius's *Augustinus*, and that which confers the title of *eminence* upon the cardinal legates, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the grand master of Malta, are the most worthy of notice.

a good and equitable ruler of the church, when compared with Innocent X. of the family of Pamfili, who succeeded him in the year 1644. This unworthy pontiff, to a profound ignorance of all those things which it was necessary for a Christian bishop to know, joined the most shameful indolence and the most notorious profligacy. For he abandoned his person, his dignity, the administration of his temporal affairs, and the government of the church, to the disposal of donna Olympia, a woman of corrupt morals, insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition. His zealous endeavours to prevent the peace of Westphalia, however odious they may appear, when considered in themselves, ought not to be reckoned among his personal crimes, since it is to be supposed, that any other pontiff, in his place, would have made the same attempts without hesitation or remorse. He was succeeded in the papal chair, in the year 1655, by Fabio Chigi, who assumed the title of Alexander VII. and who, though less odious than his predecessor, was nevertheless possessed of all the pernicious qualities that are necessary to constitute a true pope, and without which the papal jurisdiction and majesty cannot be maintained. The other parts of his character are drawn, much to his disadvantage, by several ingenious and eminent writers of the Romish church, who represent him as a man of a mean genius, unequal to great or difficult undertakings, full of craft and dissimulation, and chargeable with the most shameful levity and the greatest inconsistency of sentiment and conduct.* The two Clements, IX. and X. who were elected successively to the papacy in the years 1668 and 1669, were concerned in few transac-

[*] e This donna Olympia Maldachini was his brother's widow, with whom he had lived, in an illicit commerce, before his elevation to the pontificate, in which his holiness continued afterward.

f See the *Memoires du Cardinal de Rhets*, tom. iii. p. 102, tom. iv. p. 12, of the last edition published at Geneva. For an account of the disputes between this pontiff and the French, see Bougeant, *Histoire de la paix de Westphalie*, tom. iv. p. 56.

g See *Memoires du Cardinal de Rhets*, tom. iv. p. 16, 77. *Memoires de M. Joly*, tom. ii. p. 186, 210, 237. Arckenholtz, *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 125. The craft and dissimulation attributed to this pontiff really constituted an essential part of his character; but it is not strictly true that he was a man of a mean genius, or unequal to great and difficult undertakings. He was a man of learning, and discovered very eminent abilities at the treaty of Munster, where he was sent in the character of nuncio. Some writers relate, that while he was in Germany, he had formed the design of abjuring popery, and embracing the protestant religion; but was deterred from the execution of this purpose by the example of his cousin, count Pompey, who was poisoned at Lyons, on his way to Germany, after he had abjured the Romish faith. These writers add, that Chigi was confirmed in his religion by his elevation to the cardinalship. See Bayle, *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres*, Octob. 1688.

tions that deserve to be transmitted to posterity.^b This was not the case of Benedict Odeschalchi, who is known in the list of pontiffs by the denomination of Innocent XI. and was raised to that high dignity in the year 1677.^c This respectable pontiff acquired a very high and permanent reputation by the austerity of his morals, his uncommon courage and resolution, his dislike of the grosser superstitions that reigned in the Romish church, his attempts to reform the manners of the clergy, and to abolish a considerable number of those fictions and frauds that dishonour their ministry, and also by other solid and eminent virtues. But it appeared manifestly by his example, that those pontiffs, who respect truth and act from virtuous and Christian principles, may indeed form noble plans, but will never be able to bring them into execution, or at least to give them that measure of stability and perfection which is the object of their wishes. By his example and administration it appeared, that the wisest institutions, and the most judicious establishments, will be unable to stand firm, for any considerable time, against the insidious stratagems, or declared opposition of a deluded multitude, who are corrupted by the prevalence of licentious morals, whose imaginations are impregnated with superstitious fictions and fables, whose credulity is abused by pious frauds, and whose minds are nourished, or rather amused; with vain rites and senseless ceremonies.^d Be that as it may, all the wise and salutary regulations of Innocent XI. were suffered to go almost to ruin by the criminal indolence of Peter Ottoboni, who was raised to the head of the Romish church in the year 1689, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. A laudable attempt was made to revive them by Innocent XII. a man of uncommon merit and eminent talents, whose name was Pignatelli,

^b Clement IX. was of the family of Rospigliosi, and the family name of Clement X. was Altieri; see *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 126, 131. There are upon record several transactions of Clement IX. that do him honour and prove his dislike of Nepotism, and his love of peace and justice.

^c Some maintain, and with the strongest appearance of truth, that this pontiff had formerly been a soldier, though this report is treated as groundless by count Turzonico, in his dissertation *De suppositis militaribus Stipendiis Bened. Odeschalchi*. See an interesting account of this pontiff in Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Innocent XI.

^d See *Journal Universal*, tom. i. p. 441, tom. vi. p. 306. The present pope, Benedict XIV.* attempted, in the year 1743, the canonization of Innocent XI. but the king of France, instigated by the Jesuits, has always opposed this design, and that more especially on account of the misunderstandings that always subsisted between Lewis XIV. and Innocent, of which more hereafter.

* This note was written during the life of Benedict XIV.

and who, in the year 1691, succeeded Alexander in the papal chair; nor were his zealous endeavours absolutely destitute of success. But it was also his fate to learn, by experience, that the most prudent and resolute pontiffs are unequal to such an arduous task, such a Herculean labour, as the reformation of the church and court of Rome; nor were the fruits of this good pope's wise administration enjoyed long after his decease.¹ The pontiff, whose reign concluded this century, was John Francis Albani, who was raised to the head of the Romish church in the year 1699, and assumed the name of Clement XI. He surpassed in learning the whole college of cardinals, and was inferior to none of the preceding pontiffs in sagacity, lenity, and a desire at least to govern well; but he was very far from opposing, with a proper degree of vigour and resolution, the inveterate corruptions and superstitious observances of the church over which he presided; on the contrary, he inconsiderately aimed at, what he thought, the honour and advantage of the church, that is, the glory and interest of its pontiff, by measures that proved detrimental to both, and thus showed, in a striking example, that popes, even of the best sort, may fall imperceptibly into the greatest mistakes, and commit the most pernicious blunders, through an imprudent zeal for extending their jurisdiction, and augmenting the influence and lustre of their station.^m

II. The incredible pains that were taken by the pontiffs and clergy of the Romish church to spread their doctrine and to erect their dominion among the nations that lay in the darkness of paganism, have been already mentioned. We are therefore at present to confine our narration to the schemes they laid, the cabals they formed, and the commotions they excited, with an uninterrupted and mischievous industry, in

The attempts made by the church of Rome to oppress the protestants and ruin their cause.

¹ For an account of the character, morals, and election of Innocent XII. see the Letters of cardinal Noris, published in the fifth volume of his Works, p. 362, 363.

^m In the year 1752, there appeared at Padua, a Life of Clement XI. composed in French, by the learned and eloquent Mr. Laftau, bishop of Sisteron, in two volumes 8vo. The same year Mr. Reboulet, chancellor of Avignon, published in two volumes in 4to. his *Histoire de Clement XI.* These two productions, and more especially the latter, are written with uncommon elegance; but they both abound with historical errors, which the French writers, in general, are at too little pains to avoid. Beside, they are both composed rather in a strain of panegyric than of history. An attentive reader will however see without pain, even in these panegyrics, that Clement XI. notwithstanding his acknowledged sagacity and prudence, took several rash and inconsiderate steps, in order to augment the power, and multiply the prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs; and thus, through his own temerity, involved himself in various perplexities.

order to recover the possessions and prerogatives they had lost in Europe, to oppress the protestants, and to extinguish the light of the glorious reformation. Various were the stratagems and projects they formed for these purposes. The resources of genius, the force of arms, the seduction of the most alluring promises, the terrors of the most formidable threatenings, the subtle wiles of controversy, the influence of pious, and often of impious frauds, the arts of dissimulation, in short, all possible means, fair and disingenuous, were employed for the destruction of the reformed churches, but in most cases without success. The plan of a dreadful attack upon the friends of the reformation had been for some time laid in secret, and the bigoted and persecuting house of Austria was pitched upon to put it in execution. However, as injustice is seldom so insolent as not to seek for some pretexts to mask, or at least to diminish its deformity, so the church of Rome endeavoured beforehand to justify the persecution of which the flame was ready to break out. For this purpose the pens of the perfidious and learned Scioppius,* of the Jesuits Tanner, Possevin, Hager, Hederic, and Forer, jurists of Dilligen, were employed to represent the treaty of peace, made between Charles V. and the protestants of Germany, as unjust, null, and even rendered void by the protestants themselves, by their departing from, or at least perverting, by various changes and modifications, the Confession of Augsburg.° This injurious charge was proved groundless by several Lutheran doctors, who, of their own accord, defended their communion against this instance of popish calumny; but it was also refuted by public authority, even by the express order of John George, elector of Saxony. The task was committed to Matthew Hoe, who, in the year 1628 and 1631, published, in two volumes, an accurate and laborious defence of the protestants, entitled *Defensio Pupillæ Evangelicæ*. The mouth of calumny was not stopped by these performances. The accusers continued their clamours, multiplied their libels, and had recourse to the succours of indecent raillery and sarcasti-

[*] n Scioppius seems rather to merit the titles of *malevolent* and *furious* than that of *perfidious*, unless his turning papist be considered by Dr. Mosheim as an instance of perfidy. This is the intemperate and odious satyrist who was caned by the servants of the English ambassador at Madrid, for the invectives he had thrown out against king James I. in a book which was burnt by the hands of the common hangman at Paris.

° See Christ. Aug. Salig, *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. p. 768.

cal wit to cover, as well as they were able, the striking defects of a bad cause. On the other hand, the Lutheran writers exerted themselves in exposing the sophistry and refuting the arguments and invectives of their adversaries.

III. The first flames of that religious war, which the Roman pontiffs proposed to carry on by the arms of the Austrians and Spaniards, their servile and bigoted instruments, broke out in Austria, where, Commutations in Austria and Bohemia. about the commencement of this century, the friends of the reformation were cruelly persecuted and oppressed by their Roman Catholic adversaries.⁹ The solemn treaties and conventions, by which the religious liberty and civil rights of these protestants had been secured, were trampled upon and violated in the most shocking manner; nor had these unhappy sufferers resolution, vigour, or strength sufficient to maintain their privileges. The Bohemians, who were involved in the same vexations, proceeded in a different manner. Perceiving plainly that the votaries of Rome aimed at nothing less than to deprive them of that religious liberty that had been purchased by the blood of their ancestors, and so lately confirmed to them by an imperial edict, they came to a resolution of opposing force to force, and of taking up arms to defend themselves against a set of men, whom, in consequence of the violence they offered to conscience, they could look upon in no other light than as the enemies of their souls. Accordingly a league was formed by the Bohemian protestants, and they began to avenge with great spirit and resolution, the injuries that had been committed against their persons, their families, their religion, and their civil rights and privileges. But it must be confessed, that in this just attempt to defend what was dear to them as men and Christians, they lost sight of the dictates of equity and moderation, and carried their resentment beyond the bounds both of reason and religion. Their adversaries were struck with terror at a view of their intrepidity, but were not dismayed. The Bohemians therefore apprehending still further opposition and vexations from bigotry, animated by a spirit of ven-

⁹ Raspaehus, in his *Austria Evangelica*, a German work with a Latin title, has given an accurate account of this persecution and these commutations. The same learned and worthy author had formed the design of publishing an authentic and circumstantial relation of the sufferings of the protestants in Stiria, Moravia, and Corinthia, with an account of the perfidious snares that were laid for them, the whole drawn from unexceptionable records; but death prevented the execution of this design.

geance, renewed their efforts to provide for their security. The death of the emperor Matthias, which happened in the year 1619, furnished them, as they thought, a fair opportunity of striking at the root of the evil, and removing the source of their calamities, by choosing a sovereign of the reformed religion; for they considered themselves as authorized by the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, to reject any that pretended to the throne by virtue of an hereditary right, and to demand a prince, whose title to the crown should be derived from the free suffrages of the states. Accordingly Frederic V. elector palatine, who professed the reformed religion, was, in the year 1619, chosen king of Bohemia, and solemnly crowned at Prague.^q

iv. This bold step from which the Bohemians expected such signal advantages, proved to them a source of complicated misfortunes. Its consequences were fatal to their new sovereign, and to their own liberties and privileges; for by it they were involved in the most dreadful calamities, and deprived of the free exercise of the protestant religion, the security of which was the ultimate end of all the measures they had pursued. Frederic was defeated before Prague, by the imperial army, in the year 1620, and by this unfortunate battle was not only deprived of his new crown, but also of his hereditary dominions. Reduced thus to the wretched condition of an exile, he was obliged to leave his fruitful territories, and his ample treasures, to the merciless discretion of the Austrians and Bavarians, who plundered and ravaged them with the most rapacious barbarity. The defeat of this unfortunate prince was attended with dreadful consequences to the Bohemians, and more especially to those who, from a zeal for religious liberty and the interests of the reformation, had embarked in his cause. Some of them were committed to a perpetual prison, others banished for life; several had their estates and possessions confiscated; many were put to death; and the whole nation was obliged, from that fatal period, to embrace the religion of the victor, and bend their unwilling necks un-

^q Beside Caroli and Jagerus, who have composed the Ecclesiastical History of this century, see Burch. Gotth. Struvii *Syatagma Historie Germaniae*, p. 1487, 1510, 1523, 1538, as also the writers which he recommends. See also the *Histoire de Louis XIII.* composed by the learned and accurate Le Vassor, tom. iii. p. 223.

der the yoke of Rome. The triumph of the Austrians would neither have been so sudden nor so complete, nor would they have been in a condition to impose such rigorous and despotic terms on the Bohemians, had they not been powerfully assisted by John George I. elector of Saxony, who partly from a principle of hatred toward the *reformed*, and partly from considerations of a political kind, reinforced with his troops the imperial army. This invasion of the palatinate was the occasion of that long and bloody war that was so fatal to Germany, and in which the greatest part of the princes of Europe were, one way or another, unhappily engaged. It began by a confederacy formed between some German powers and the king of Denmark, in order to assert the rights of the elector palatinate, unjustly excluded from his dominions, against the despotic proceedings of the emperor. The confederates maintained, that the invasion of Bohemia, by this unhappy prince, was no just subject of offence to the emperor; and that the house of Austria, whose quarrel the emperor was not obliged by any means to adopt, was alone the sufferer in this case. However that may have been, the progress and issue of the war were unfavourable to the allies.

v. The success of the imperial arms filled the votaries of popery and Rome with the warmest transports of joy and exultation, and presented to their imaginations the most flattering prospects. They thought that the happy period was now approaching, when the whole tribe of heretics that had withdrawn their necks from the papal yoke, should either perish by the sword, or be reduced under the dominion of the church. The emperor himself seemed to have imbibed no small portion of

The progress of
the German
or Bohemian
war.

☞ By the *reformed*, as has been already observed, we are to understand the Calvinists, and also, in general, all protestants that are not of the Lutheran persuasion. And here we see a Lutheran elector drawing his sword to support the cause of popery and persecution against a people generously struggling for the protestant religion, and the rights of conscience.

☞ See the *Commentarii de Bello Bohemico Germanico*, ab A. C. 1617, ad A. 1630, in 4to. Abraham Scultet, *Narratio Apologetica de Curriculo Vitæ suæ*, p. 56. It is well known, that the Roman Catholics, and more especially Martin Becan, a Jesuit, persuaded Matthew Hoe, who was an Austrian by birth, and the elector's chaplain, to represent to his prince the cause of the elector palatine, which was the cause of the Reformed religion, as not only unjust, but also as detrimental to the interests of Lutheranism, and to recommend to him the cause and interests of the house of Austria. See *Unschuldige Nachricht*, A. 1747, p. 858. ☞ What Dr. Mosheim observes here may be true; but then it is as true, that Matthew Hoe must have been a great fool or a great knave, to listen to such insinuations, not only on account of their glaring absurdity, but also considering the persons from whom they came. This is the same Hoe that is mentioned above as a learned defender of the Lutheran faith.

this odious spirit, which was doubly prepared to convert or to destroy. The flame of ambition that burned within him, was nourished by the suggestions of bigotry. Hence he audaciously carried his arms through a great part of Germany, suffered his generals to vex with impunity, those princes and states which refused a blind obedience to the court of Rome, and showed plainly, by all his proceedings, that a scheme had been laid for the extinction of the Germanic liberty, civil and sacred. The elector of Saxony's zealous attachment to the emperor, which he had abundantly discovered by his warm and ungenerous opposition to the unfortunate Frederic, together with the lamentable discord that reigned among the German princes, persuaded the papal faction, that the difficulties which seemed to oppose the execution of their project, were far from being invincible. Accordingly, the persons concerned in this grand enterprise began to act their respective parts. In the year 1629, Ferdinand II. to give some colour of justice to this religious war, issued out the terrible restitution edict, by which the protestants were ordered to restore to the church of Rome all the possessions they had become masters of in consequence of the religious peace, concluded in the preceding century. This edict was principally owing to the suggestions of the Jesuits. That greedy and ambitious order claimed a great part of these goods and possessions as a recompense due to their labours in the cause of religion; and hence arose a warm contest between them and the ancient and real proprietors." This contest indeed was decided by the law of force. It was the depopulating soldier, who, sword in hand, gave weight and authority to the imperial edict, wresting out of the hands of the lawful possessor, without form of process, whatever the Romish priests and monks thought proper to claim, and treating the innocent and plundered sufferers with all the severity that the most barbarous spirit of oppression and injustice could suggest."

t See for an illustration of this matter, the authors mentioned by Struvius, in his *Synlogma Histor. Germaniæ*, p. 153.

u See Christ. Aug. Salig. *Histor. August. Confessionis*, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. iii. § xxv. p. 810.

[F v When the consequences of these iniquitous and barbarous proceedings were represented to this emperor, and he was assured that the country must be utterly ruined, in case the Bohemians, rendered desperate by his enormous cruelty and oppression, should exert themselves in defence of their liberties, and endeavour to repel force by force; he is reported to have answered, with great zeal and calmness, *Mabu-*

VI. Germany groaned under these dismal scenes of tumult and oppression, and looked about for succour in vain. The enemy encompassed her on all sides, and none of her princes seemed qualified to stand forth as the avenger of her injuries, or the asserter of her rights. Some were restrained from appearing in her cause by the suggestions of bigotry, others by a principle of fear, and others again by an ungenerous attention to their own private interest, which choked in their breasts all concern for the public good. An illustrious hero, whose deeds even envy was obliged to revere, and whose name will descend with glory to the latest ages, came forth nevertheless at this critical season: Gustavus Adolphus took the field, and maintained the cause of the Germanic liberties against the oppression and tyranny of the house of Austria. At the earnest request of the French court, which beheld with uneasiness the overgrown power of that aspiring house, he set sail for Germany, in the year 1629, with a small army; and, by his repeated victories, blasted, in a short time, the sanguine hopes which the pope and emperor had entertained of suppressing the protestant religion in the empire. These hopes indeed seemed to revive, in the year 1632, when this glorious asserter of Germanic liberty fell in the battle of Lutzen; but this unspeakable loss was, in some measure, made up in process of time, by the conduct of those who succeeded Gustavus at the head of the Swedish army. And accordingly the war was obstinately carried on in bleeding Germany, during many years, with various success, until the exhausted treasures of the contending parties, and the pacific inclinations of Christina, the daughter and successor of Gustavus, put an end to these desolations, and brought on a treaty of peace.

Gustavus Adolphus intervenes.

The conclusion of the thirty years war.

mus regnum vastatum, quam damnatum. See the *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesia, Bohemice*, &c. p. 152, a work published, probably in Holland, as would seem by the type, in the year 1648, in 24to. This little book contains an ample recital of the deplorable effects of lawless power, in human bigotry and bloodthirsty zeal; and proves, by numberless facts, that Dr. Mosheim had the strongest evidences for the account he gives of Ferdinand and his missionaries. It is impossible to reflect upon the sanguinary manner of such converters, without expressing, at the same time, a generous detestation and abhorrence of their unjust and violent proceedings. N.

w See Arckenholtz, *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 7—20, in which there are many very interesting anecdotes relating to the life, exploits, and death of Gustavus. The learned compiler of these Memoires has also thrown much light upon the history of this period, and of the peace that terminated this long and dreadful war.

VII. Thus, after a war of thirty years, carried on with the most unrelenting animosity and ardour, the wounds of Germany were closed, and the drooping states of Europe were revived, in the year 1648, by the peace of Westphalia, so called from the cities of Munster and Osnaburg, where the negotiations were held, and that famous treaty concluded. The protestants indeed did not derive from this treaty all the privileges they claimed, nor all the advantages they had in view; for the emperor, among other less important instances of obstinacy, absolutely refused to reinstate the Bohemian and Austrian protestants in their religious privileges, or to restore the Upper Palatinate to its ancient and lawful proprietor. But they nevertheless obtained by this peace, privileges and advantages which the votaries of Rome beheld with much displeasure and uneasiness; and it is unquestionably evident, that the treaty of Westphalia gave a new and remarkable degree of stability to the Lutheran and reformed churches in Germany. By this treaty the peace of Augsburg, which the Lutherans had obtained from Charles V. in the preceding century, was firmly secured against all the machinations and stratagems of the court of Rome; by the restitution edict, which commanded the protestants to restore to the Romish church the ecclesiastical revenues and lands they had taken possession of after that peace, was abrogated, and both the contending parties confirmed in the perpetual and uninterrupted possession of whatever they had occupied in the beginning of the year 1624. It would be entering into a very long detail, were we to enumerate the advantages that accrued to the protestant princes from this treaty.^x All this was a source of vexation to the court of Rome, and made its pontiff feel the severest pangs of disappointed ambition. He accordingly used various stratagems, without being very scrupulous in the

^x An account of this whole matter, sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the most inquisitive reader, may be found in that most elaborate and excellent work, compiled by the very learned and judicious John Godfrey de Meyern, under the following title; *Acta Pacis Westphalicae et Executionis ejus Norimbergensis*. See also the more compendious though valuable work of Adami, bishop of Hierapolis, entitled, *Relatio Historica de Pacificatione Osnaburgo Monasteriensi*; of which the illustrious author published a new edition at Leipsic, in the year 1737, more accurate and ample than the preceding one. We must not omit here the ingenious father Bougeant's elegant history of this treaty, which, though, chiefly drawn from the papers of the French ambassadors, is nevertheless, generally speaking, composed with accuracy, impartiality, and candour; it was published at Paris, in the year 1746, in six volumes 8vo. under the title of *Histoire de la paix de Westphalie*.

choice, in order to annul this treaty, or elude its effects; but his attempts were unsuccessful, since neither the emperor, nor the princes that had embarked in this cause, thought it advisable to involve themselves anew in the tumults of war, whose issue is so uncertain, and whose most fatal effects they had lately escaped with so much difficulty. The treaty therefore was executed in all its parts; and all the articles that had been agreed upon at Munster and Osnaburg were confirmed and ratified, in the year 1650, at Nuremberg.^y

VIII. A-ter this period, the court of Rome and its creatures were laid under considerable degree of restraint. They did not any longer dare to make war in an open and public manner upon the protestants, since the present state of things blasted all the hopes they had fondly entertained of extinguishing the light of the reformation, by destroying or reducing under their ghostly yoke the princes and states that had encouraged and protected it in their territories. But wherever they could exert the spirit of persecution with impunity, there they oppressed the protestants in the most grievous manner, and in defiance of the most solemn conventions, and of the most sacred obligations, encroached upon their rights, privileges, and possessions. Thus in Hungary, during the space of ten years,^z both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities and vexations.^a The injuries and insults they suffered at the hands of many orders of men, and more especially of the Jesuits, both before and after the period now under consideration, are not to be numbered. In Poland all those who ventured to differ from the pope, found, by a bitter experience, during the whole course of this century, that no treaty or convention that tended to set bounds to the authority or rapacity of the church, was held sacred, or even regarded at Rome. For many of these were ejected out of their schools, deprived of their churches, robbed

The protestants vexed and persecuted by Rome and its votaries.

^y Pope Innocent X. opposed to this treaty of peace, in the year 1651, a flaming bull, on which Hornbeck published at Utrecht, 1652, an ample and learned commentary, entitled *Examen Bullæ Papalis, qua Innocentius X. abrogare nititur Pacem Germaniæ*. This bull might perhaps have produced some effect upon the emperor and his allies, had it been properly gilded.

^z From 1671 to 1681.

^a See *Historia Diplomatica de Statu Religionis Evangelicæ in Hungaria*, p. 69. Pauli Debrezani *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ in Hungaria*, lib. ii. p. 447. Schelhornius, in *Museo Helveticæ*, tom. vii. p. 46—90.

of their goods and possessions under a variety of perfidious pretexts; nay, frequently condemned to the most severe and cruel punishments, without having been even chargeable with the appearance of a crime.^b The remains of the Waldenses, that lived in the valleys of Piedmont, were persecuted often with the most inhuman cruelty, and more especially in the years 1632, 1655, and 1685, on account of their magnanimous and steadfast attachment to the religion of their ancestors; and this persecution was carried on with all the horrors of fire and sword by the dukes of Savoy.^c In Germany, the same spirit of bigotry and persecution produced almost every where flagrant acts of injustice. The infractions of the famous treaty above mentioned, and of the Germanic liberty that was founded upon it, would furnish matter for many volumes;^d and all these infractions were owing to a preposterous and extravagant zeal for augmenting the authority, and extending the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. And indeed, as long as that church and its assuming pontiff shall persist in maintaining that they have a right to extend their lordly sceptre over all the churches of the Christian world, so long must those who have renounced their authority, but are more or less within their reach, despair of enjoying the inestimable blessings of security and peace. They will always be considered as rebellious subjects, against whom the greatest acts of severity and violence are lawful.

ix. The zealous instruments of the court of Rome accomplished at length in this century, what had often been attempted without success, by delivering Spain from the infidelity of the Moors, and France from the heresy of the protestants. The posterity of the Moors or Saracens, who had formerly been masters of a great part of Spain, had hitherto lived in that kingdom mixed with the other inhabitants of the country, and their number was still considerable. They were Christians, at least in their external profession and manners;

The Moors banished out of Spain, and the protestants persecuted in France.

^b See Ad. Regenzolschii *Historia Ecclesie Sclavoniae*, lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 216, 235, 253. The grievances which the Dissenters from the church of Rome suffered in Poland after Regenzolschius, may be learned from various Memorials that have been published in our times.

^c See Gilles *Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Vaudoises*, published at Geneva in 4to. in the year 1656, chap. xlviii. p. 339.

^d The histories of the grievances suffered by the protestants of Germany on account of their religion, that have been composed by Struvius and Hoffman, contain several details of this matter.

industrious also, and inoffensive ; and upon the whole, good and useful subjects ; but they were grossly suspected of a secret propensity to the doctrine of Mahomet, which was the religion of their ancestors. Hence the clergy beset the monarch with their importunate solicitations, and never ceased their clamorous remonstrances before a royal edict was obtained to drive the Saracens, whose numbers were prodigious, out of the Spanish territories. This imprudent step was highly detrimental to the kingdom of Spain, and its pernicious effects are more or less visible even at the present times ; but the church, whose interests and dominion are, in popish countries, considered as distinct from the interests and authority of state, and of a much more sublime and excellent nature, acquired new accessions of wealth and power by the expulsion of the Moors.* In proportion as the community lost, the church gained ; and thus the public good was sacrificed to the demands of bigotry and superstition.

In France, the persecuting spirit of the church of Rome exhibited scenes still more shocking. The protestants of that kingdom, commonly called Huguenots, after having groaned, for a long space of time, under various forms of cruelty and oppression, and seen multitudes of their brethren put to death by secret conspiracies, or open tyranny and violence, were at length obliged either to save themselves by a clandestine flight, or to profess, against their consciences, the Romish religion. This barbarous and iniquitous scene of French persecution, than which the annals of modern history present nothing more unnatural and odious, will find its place below, in the history of the reformed church.†

x. All the resources of inventive genius and refined policy, all the efforts of insinuating craft and audacious rebellion, were employed to bring back The court of Rome fills up its attempts upon England. Great Britain and Ireland under the yoke of Rome. But all these attempts were without effect. About the beginning of this century, a set of desperate and execrable wretches, in whose breasts the suggestions of bigotry and the hatred of the protestant religion had suppressed all the feelings of justice and humanity,

* See Michael Geddes's History of the Expulsion of the Moriscos out of Spain, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. i. p. 59.

† In the second chapter of the second part of this section.

were instigated by three Jesuits, of whom Garnet, the superior of the society in England, was the chief, to form the most horrid plot that is known in the annals of history. The design of this conspiracy was nothing less than to destroy, at one blow, James I. the prince of Wales, and both houses of parliament, by the explosion of an immense quantity of gunpowder, which was concealed, for that purpose, in the vaults that lay under the house of lords. The sanguinary bigots concerned in it imagined, that, as soon as this horrible deed was performed, they would be at full liberty to restore popery to its former credit, and substitute it in the place of the protestant religion.^g This odious conspiracy, whose infernal purpose was providentially discovered, when it was ripe for execution, is commonly known in Britain under the denomination of the *gunpowder treason*.^h

This discovery did not suspend the efforts and stratagems of the court of Rome, which carried on its schemes in the succeeding reign, but with less violence and more caution. Charles I. was a prince of a soft and gentle temper, and was entirely directed by the counsels of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a man who was neither destitute of learning nor good qualities, though he carried things to excessive and intolerable lengths through his warm and violent attachment to the ancient rites and ceremonies of the church; the queen, on the other hand, who was a princess of France; was warmly devoted to the interests of popery; and from all this it seemed probable enough, that, though treason and violence had failed, yet artifice and mild measures might succeed, and that a reconciliation might be brought about between England and Rome.ⁱ This pros-

^g There is a letter extant, written by Sir Everard Digby, one of the conspirators, to his wife, after his condemnation, which deserves an eminent place in the history of superstition and bigotry, and shows abundantly their infernal spirit and tendency. The following passage will confirm this judgment; "Now for my intention," says Digby, "let me tell you, that, if I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world; and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life but zeal to God's religion." See the Papers relating to the popish plot, published by the orders of secretary Coventry.

^h See Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, livr. xviii. tom. vii. p. 40. Jo. Hear. Heideggeri *Historia Papatatus*, Period. § vii. p. 211, 291, &c.

ⁱ Mr. Hume, speaking of Laud's learning and morals, expresses himself in the following manner; "This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise." See Hume's *History of Great Britain*, vol. v. p. 193.

^j See Urban Cerri, *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 315. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 194.

pect, which had smiled in the imaginations of the friends of popery, vanished entirely when the civil war broke out between the king and parliament. In consequence of these commotions, both the unfortunate Charles and his imprudent and bigoted counsellor Laud were brought to the scaffold; and Oliver Cromwell, a man of unparalleled resolution, dexterity, and foresight, and a declared enemy to every thing that bore even the most distant resemblance of popery, was placed at the helm of government, under the title of protector of the commonwealth of England.

The hopes of Rome and its votaries were nevertheless revived by the restoration of Charles II. and from that period grew more lively and sanguine from day to day. For that monarch, as appears from unquestionable authorities,^k had been initiated, during his exile, into the mysteries of popery, and had secretly embraced that religion, while his only brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, professed it openly, and had publicly apostatized from the protestant faith. Charles was not indeed a proper instrument for the propagation of any theological system. Indolent and voluptuous on the one hand, and inclined to infidelity and irreligion on the other, it was not from him that the Roman pontiff could expect that zeal and industry, that were necessary to force upon the English nation a religion so contrary to the tenor of the laws and the spirit of the people as popery was.^l This zeal was found in his bigoted

^k Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. book iii. p. 603, 606, Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 233, 237, 534. Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire de l'Angleterre*, livr. xliii. vol. ix. p. 160.

^l Such is the representation given of Charles II. by all historians; so that Dr. Mosheim is excusable in mistaking a part of this monarch's character, which was known to very few before him. Mr. Hume, whose history of the reign of that prince is a masterpiece in every respect, gave a like account of Charles, as fluctuating between deism and popery. But this eminent historian having had occasion, during his residence at Paris, to peruse the manuscript memoirs of king James II. which were written by himself, and are kept in the Scots college there, received from them new information with respect to the religious character of Charles; and was convinced that his zeal for popery went much farther than has been generally imagined. For it appears, with the utmost evidence, from these memoirs, that the king had laid with his ministry a formal plan for subverting the constitution in favour of popery; that the introduction of popery, as the established religion, was the great and principal object which Charles had in view when he entered into the French alliance, which was concluded at Versailles in the end of 1769, or beginning of 1670, by lord Arundel of Wardour. By this treaty, Lewis was to give Charles two hundred thousand pounds a year, in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to establish the Roman catholic religion in England; and to supply him also with six thousand men, in case of any insurrection. The division of the United Provinces between England and France, was another article of this treaty. But we are told, that the subversion of the protestant religion in England was the point that Charles had chiefly at heart; and that he insisted warmly on beginning with the execution of this part of the treaty: but the dutch-

successor James II. but it was accompanied with such excessive vehemence and imprudence, as entirely defeated its own purposes; for that inconsiderate monarch, by his passionate attachment to the court of Rome, and his blind obsequiousness to the unseasonable and precipitate counsels of the Jesuits who were the oracles of his cabinet, gave a mortal blow to that religion which he meant to promote, and fell from the throne whose prerogatives he was attempting to augment and extend. Immediately on his accession to the crown, he openly attempted to restore to its former vigour, both in England and Ireland, the authority of the Roman pontiff, which had been renounced and annulled by the laws of both realms; and that he might accomplish with the more facility this most imprudent purpose, he trampled upon those rites and privileges of his people, that had ever been held most respectable and sacred, and which he had bound himself, by the most solemn engagements, to support and maintain. Justly exasperated and provoked by repeated insults from the throne upon their religion and liberties, and alarmed with natural apprehensions of the approaching ruin of both; the English nation looked about for a deliverer, and fixed its views, in the year 1688, on William, prince of Orange, son-in-law to their despotic monarch, by whose wisdom and valour things were so conducted, that James was obliged to retire from his dominions, and to abdicate the crown; and the Roman pontiff, with all his adherents, were disappointed in the fond expectations they had formed of restoring popery in England.^m

XI. When the more prudent defenders and patrons of the Romish faith perceived the ill success that attended all their violent and sanguinary attempts to establish its authority, they thought it expedient to have recourse to softer methods; and instead of conquering the protestants by open force, proposed deluding them back into the church of Rome, by the insinuating influence of secret artifice. This way of proceeding

After methods are employed by Rome against the protestant cause.

of Orleans, in the interview at Dover, persuaded him to begin with the Dutch war. The king, says Mr. Hume, was so zealous a papist, that he wept for joy when he entertained the project of reuniting his kingdom to the catholic church. See the Corrections and Additions to Mr. Hume's History of Charles II. p. 238, in the note.

^m The circumstances of this famous and ever memorable revolution are accurately recorded by Burnet, in the second volume of his History of his own Times; and also by Rapin, in the tenth volume of his History of England. Add to these Neaf's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. ch. xi. p. 536.

was approved by many of the votaries of Rome ; but they were not all agreed about the particular manner of employing it, and therefore followed different methods. Some had recourse to the appointment of public disputations or conferences between the principal doctors of the contending parties ; and this from a notion, which past experience had rendered so vain and chimerical, that the adversaries of popery would either be vanquished in the debate, or at least be persuaded to look upon the Roman catholics with less aversion and disgust. Others declared it as their opinion, that all contest was to be suspended ; that the great point was to find out the proper method of reconciling the two churches ; and that, in order to promote this salutary purpose, as little stress as possible was to be laid upon those matters of controversy that had been hitherto looked upon as of the highest moment and importance. A different manner of proceeding was thought more advisable by a third set of men, who, from a persuasion that their doctors had more zeal than argument, and were much more eminent for their attachment to the church of Rome, than for their skill in defending its cause, prepared their combatants with greater care for the field of controversy, taught them a new art of theological war, and furnished them with a new and subtle method of vanquishing, or at least of perplexing, their heretical adversaries.

XII. There was a famous conference held at Ratisbon, in the year 1601, at the joint desire of Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and Philip Lewis, elector palatine, between some eminent Lutheran doctors on the one side, and three celebrated Jesuits on the other. The dispute turned upon the two great points, to which almost all the contests between the protestants and Roman catholics are reducible, even the rule of faith and the judge of controversies. In the year 1615, a conference was held at Newberg, between James Heilbronner, a learned Lutheran, and James Keller, a celebrated Jesuit, by the appointment of Wolfgang William, prince palatine, who had a little before that time embraced the Romish faith. But the most famous of all these conferences was that held in the year 1645, at Thorn, by the express order of Uladislaus IV. king of Poland, between several eminent doctors of the Romish, Lutheran, and reformed churches. This meeting, which was designed to heal the

Theological
conferences
held between
the doctors of
both churches.

division that reigned among these churches, and to find out some method of reconciling their differences, and bringing about their reunion, was thence called the *charitable conference*. Some time after this, Ernest, landgrave of Hesse, in order to give a plausible colour to his apostacy from the protestant religion, and make it appear to be the result of examination and conviction, obliged Valerianus Magnus, a learned Capuchin to enter the lists with Peter Habercorn, a reformed minister in the castle of Rheinfeldt. Beside these public conferences, there were others of a more private nature held, during this century, between the doctors of the contending churches. The most remarkable of these was the famous dispute between John Claude, the most learned of the reformed divines in France, and Jaques Benigne de Bossuet, whose genius and erudition placed him at the head of the Romish doctors in that country. This dispute, which was held in the year 1683, ended like all the rest. They all widened the breach instead of healing it. Neither of the contending parties could be persuaded to yield; on the contrary, they both returned from the field of controversy more rivetted in their own opinions, and more averse to those of their adversaries.

XIII. Those of the Roman Catholics, whose views were turned toward union and concord, did not omit the use of *pious artifice and stratagem*, in order to accomplish this salutary purpose. They endeavoured to persuade the zealous protestants and the rigid catholics, that their differences in opinion were less considerable, and less important, than they themselves imagined; and that the true way to put an end to their dissensions, and to promote their union, was not to nourish the flames of discord by disputes and conferences, but to see whether their systems might not be reconciled, and their apparent inconsistencies removed, by proper and candid explications. They imagined that an artful exposition of those doctrines of the church of Rome, that appeared the most shocking to the protestants, would tend much to

The methods of reconciliation employed by the Roman catholics.

n The reader who desires a more particular account of what passed in these conferences, may satisfy his curiosity by consulting the writers mentioned by Sagittarius, in his *Introduet. in Historiam Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 1569, 1561, 1592, 1596. An account of the conference between Claude and Bossuet was composed and published by each of these famous combatants. Bossuet's account was thus entitled; *Conférence avec M. Claude, sur la matière de l'Eglise*, Paris 1683, in 12mo. This account was answered by Claude, in his *Response au Livre de M. De Meaux, intitulé, Conférence avec M. Claude*, published at the Hague in 8vo. in the year 1683.

conquer their aversion to popery. Such was the general principle in which the Romish peacemakers agreed, and such the basis on which they proposed to carry on their pacific operations; but they differed so widely in their manner of applying this general principle, and pursued such different methods in the execution of this nice and perilous stratagem, that the event did not answer their expectations. In the way they proceeded, instead of promoting the desired union by their representations of things, by their exhortations and counsels, this union seemed to be previously necessary, in order to render their explications and exhortations acceptable, nay, even supportable; so little were the means proportioned to the end!

The first and most eminent of those who tried the force of their genius in this arduous enterprise was cardinal Richelieu, that great minister, who employed all the influence of promises and threatenings, all the powers of sophistry and eloquence, all the arts of persuasion, in order to bring back the French protestants into the bosom of the Romish church.* The example of this illustrious prelate was followed, but with less dignity and less influence, by Masenius, a German Jesuit,^p Volusius, a theologist of Mentz,^q Prætorius, a Prussian,^r Gibbon de Burg, an Irish doctor, who was professor at Erfurth,^s Marcellus, a Jesuit,^t and other divines of inferior note. But of all modern adepts in controversy, none pursued this method with such dexterity and art as Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, a man of true genius, directed by the most consummate circumspection and prudence. The famous exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith, that was drawn up by this subtle and insinuating author, was designed to show the protestants, that their reasons against returning to the bosom of the Romish church would be soon and easily removed, provided they would view the doctrines of that church in their

* Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 31, 32, new edit. Bayle's Dictionary; at the article Amyraut, note 1: at the article Beaulieu, note c; at the article Ferry, note 2; at the article Milletiere.

^p See Frid. Spanhemii *Structura ad Bossueti Expositionem Fidei Catholicæ*, tom. iii. opp. *Theolog.* part ii. p. 1042.

^q There is extant a book composed by this writer, under the following title; *Aureus Pacis religiosæ divinæ Veritatis antea Negant. 1685, 4to.*

^r In his *Tuba Pacis*, of which the reader may see a curious account in Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, for the year 1685, p. 1309.

^s In a treatise, entitled *Luthero Calvinismus schismaticus quadam sed reconciliabilis.*

^t The book of Marcellus, entitled *Sapientia pacifica*, was refuted by Seldius, at the express desire of the duke of Saxe Gotha.

true light, and not as they had been erroneously represented by the protestant writers." This notion was propagated, though with less dexterity and success, by Dezius, a Jesuit of Strasburg, who wrote a book expressly to prove, that there was little or no difference between the doctrine of the council of Trent, and that of the confession of Augsburg, than which no two systems can be more irreconcilably opposite." It is however remarkable, that all these pacific attempts to reunite the two churches, were made by the persons now mentioned on their own private authority; they were not avowed by the higher powers, who alone were qualified to remove, modify, or explain away those doctrines and rites of the Romish church, that shocked the protestants, and justified their separation. It is true indeed, that in the year 1686, this plan of reconciliation was warmly recommended by a person properly commissioned, or at least, who gave himself out for such. This pacificator was Christopher de Rohas, bishop of Timia, in the district of Bosnia; who, during several years, frequented, with these reconciling views, the courts of the protest-

v This book might furnish subject for a multitude of reflections. See a particular account of its history and its effects in Pfaff's *Historia Literaria Theologiae*, tom. ii. p. 162, and Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, tom. xi. p. 438. It is remarkable, that nine years passed before this book could obtain the pope's approbation. Clement XI. refused it positively. Nay, several Roman catholic priests were rigorously treated, and severely persecuted, for preaching the doctrine contained in the exposition of Bossuet, which was moreover formally condemned by the university of Louvain, in the year 1685, and declared to be *scandalous* and *pernicious*. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book, though by a late edict we learn, that the fathers of that theological seminary have changed their opinion on that head, and thus given a new instance of the variations that reign in the Romish church, which boasts so much of its uniformity in doctrinal matters. The artifice that was employed in the composition of this book, and the tricks that were used in the suppression and alteration of the first edition that was given of it, have been detected with great sagacity and evidence by the learned and excellent archbishop Wake, in the Introduction to his Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, &c. See also his two Defences of that Exposition, in which the perfidious sophistry of Bossuet is unmasked and refuted in the most satisfactory manner. There was an excellent answer to Bossuet's book published by M. De La Bastide, one of the most eminent protestant ministers in France. This answer the French prelate took no notice of during eight years; at the end of which he published an advertisement, in a new edition of his Exposition, which was designed to remove the objections of La Bastide. The latter replied in such a demonstrative and victorious manner, that the learned bishop, notwithstanding all his eloquence and art, was obliged to quit the field of controversy. See a very interesting account of this insidious work of Bossuet, and the controversies it occasioned, in the *Bibliothèque des Sciences*, published at the Hague, vol. xviii. p. 20. This account, which is curious, accurate, ample, and learned, was given partly on occasion of a new edition of the Exposition, printed at Paris in 1761, and accompanied with a Latin translation done by Fleury, and partly on occasion of Borigny's Life of Bossuet, published in the same year at Paris.

w This book is entitled *La Réunion des Protestans de Strasburg à l'Eglise Romaine*, published in 8vo. at Strasburg, in the year 1689. See Phil. Jac. Speneri *Consilia Theol. German.* part iii. p. 650, 662.

ant princes in Germany; intimated the assembling of a new council, that was to be more impartial in its decisions, and less restrained in its proceedings than the council of Trent; nay, went still further, and assured the protestants, that they should obtain without difficulty whatever rights, privileges, and immunities, they should think proper to demand from the Roman pontiff, provided they would acknowledge his paternal authority, and no longer refuse a profound submission to his mild and gentle empire. But the artifice and designs of this specious missionary were easily detected; the protestant doctors, and also their sovereigns, soon perceived that a fair and candid plan of reconciliation and union was not what the court of Rome had in view; but that a scheme was laid for restoring its pontiffs to their former despotic dominion over the Christian world.*

xiv. The Romish peacemakers found among the protestants, and more especially among those of the reformed church, certain doctors, who, by a natural propensity to union and concord, seconded perhaps, in some, by views of interest, or by the suggestions of ambition, were disposed to enter into their plan, and to assist them in the execution of it. These doctors maintained, that the points in debate between the two churches were not of sufficient importance to justify their separation. Among the French protestants, Lewis le Blanc and his disciples were suspected of an inclination to go too great lengths in this matter.⁷ The same accusation was brought, with fuller evidence, against Huisseaux, professor of divinity at Saumur, Milletiere, Le Fevre, and others of less note.⁸ Among the British divines, this excessive propensity to diminish the shocking absurdities of popery was less remarkable; William Forbes was the principal

Protestant
peacemakers.

x See Jo. Wolf. Jaegeri *Historia Ecclesiast. Sæculi xvii.* Christ. Eberhardi Weisman- ni *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæculi xvii.* p. 735. The reader will find, in the *Commercium Epistolicum Leibnitianum* of Gruberus,* an account of the particular conditions of reconciliation that were proposed, in the year 1660, to the German courts by the elector of Mentz, authorized, as it is alleged, by the Roman pontiff.

y See a particular and interesting account of Le Blanc in Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Beaulieu.

z See the above-mentioned Dictionary, at the article Milletiere. For an account of Huisseaux, and his pacific counsels, see Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iii. p. 14: Aymon, *Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformees en France*, tom. ii. p. 765. The labours of Le Fevre, father to the famous madam Dacier, in the same cause, are mentioned by Morhofius, in his *Polyhistor.* tom. i. p. 295.

* Tom. i. p. 411, 415, 428:

person who discovered an extreme facility to compose a considerable number of the differences that contributed to perpetuate the separation between the two churches.* With respect to the Dutch, it is abundantly known, how ardently the great and learned Grotius desired the reunion of all Christian churches in one general bond of charity and concord, and with what peculiar zeal he endeavoured to reform some enormities of the church of Rome, and to excuse others. But these, and all the other arbitrators, whose names and whose efforts in this pacific cause it would be tedious to mention, derived no other fruit from their, perhaps well-intended labours, than the displeasure of both the contending parties, and the bitter reproaches of their respective churches.

In the number of the protestant doctors who discovered an inconsiderate zeal for the reunion of these churches, many writers place George Calixtus, a man of eminent learning, and professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt. It is nevertheless certain, that this great man discovered and exposed the errors and corruptions of popery with a degree of learning and perspicuity that was scarcely surpassed by any writer of this century, and persisted steadfastly in maintaining, that the decrees and anathemas of the council of Trent had banished all hopes of a reconciliation between the protestant churches and the see of Rome. It is true indeed that Calixtus looked upon some of the controversies that divided the two communions with much more moderation and indulgence than was usual, and decided them in a manner that did not seem suited to the taste and spirit of the times; he was also of opinion, that the church of Rome had not destroyed the genuine principles of Christianity, but had only deformed them with its senseless fictions, and buried them under a heap of rubbish, under a motley multitude of the most extrava-

* See Forbes's *Considerationes modesta et pacifica Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, &c.* which were published in 8vo. at London, in the year 1658, and afterward, more correctly in Germany, under the inspection of John Fabricius, professor of divinity at Helmstadt. Forbes is mentioned by Grabe with the highest encomiums, in his *Nota ad Bulli Harmoniam Apostolicam*, p. 19, if we consider his probity, and the exemplary regularity of his life and conversation, he must be allowed to deserve the praise that is due to piety and good morals. Nevertheless, he had his infirmities, and the wisest part of the English doctors acknowledge, that his propensity toward a reconciliation with the church of Rome was carried too far. See Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 21. On this account he has been lavishly praised by the Roman catholic writers; see R. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iii. lett. xviii. p. 119. He was undoubtedly one of those who contributed most to spread among the English a notion whose truth falsehood we shall not here examine, that king Charles I. and archbishop Laud had formed the design of restoring popery in England.

gant and intolerable doctrines and ceremonies. It was undoubtedly on this account; that he has been ranked by some in the class of the imprudent peacemakers already mentioned.

xv. It was no difficult matter to defeat the purposes and ruin the credit of these pacific arbitrators, who, upon the whole, made up but a motley and ill-composed society, weakened by intestine discords. It required more dexterity, and greater efforts of genius, to oppose the progress and disconcert the sophistry of a set of men who had invented new methods of defending popery and attacking its adversaries. This new species of polemic doctors were called Methodists, and the most eminent of them arose in France, where a perpetual scene of controversy, carried on with the most learned among the Huguenots, had augmented the dexterity, and improved the theological talents of the Roman Catholic disputants. The Methodists, from their different manner of treating the controversy in question, may be divided into two classes. In the one we may place those doctors whose method of disputing with the Protestants was disingenuous and unreasonable, and who followed the examples of those military chiefs, who shut up their troops in intrenchments and strong holds, in order to cover them from the attacks of the enemy. Such was the manner of proceeding of the Jesuit Veron, who was of opinion, that the protestants should be obliged to prove the tenets of their church^b by plain passages of scripture, without being allowed the liberty of illustrating these passages, reasoning upon them, or drawing any conclusions from them.^c In the same class may be ranked Nihusius, an apostate from the protestant religion, the two Walenburgs, and other polemics, who, looking upon it as an easier matter to maintain their pretensions than to show upon what principles they were originally founded,

^b More especially the doctrines that peculiarly oppose the decrees and tenets of the council of Trent.

^c Musæus, *De Usu Principiorum Rationis in Controversiis Theologicis*, lib. i. c. iv. p. 25. G. Calixti *Digressio de Arte nova*, p. 125. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 276.

^d See a particular account of this vain and superficial doctor in Bayle's Dictionary, in the article Nihusius. His work, entitled *Ars nova dicto Sacrae Scripturae unico lucranda Pontificis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum delecta*, &c. was refuted in the most satisfactory manner by Calixtus, in his *Digressio in Arte Nova contra Nihusium*, a curious and learned work, which was published^e in 4to. at Helmsedt, in 1694.

^e That is to say, in other words, that they pleaded prescription in favour of popery.

* This piece originally made a part of the *Theologia Moralis* of Calixtus, but was afterwards published separately.

obliged their adversaries to prove all their assertions and objections, whether of an affirmative or negative kind, and confined themselves to the eager business of answering objections and repelling attacks. We may also place among this kind of Methodists cardinal Richelieu, who judged it the shortest and best way to attend little to the multitude of accusations, objections, and reproaches, with which the Protestants loaded all the various branches of the Romish government, discipline, doctrine, and worship, and to confine the whole controversy to the single article of the divine *institution* and *authority* of the church, which he thought it essential to establish by the strongest arguments, as the grand principle that would render popery impregnable.^f

The Methodists of the second class were of opinion, that the most expedient manner of reducing the Protestants to silence, was not to attack them by piecemeal, but to overwhelm them at once, by the weight of some general principle or presumption, some universal argument, which comprehended, or might be applied, to all the points contested between the two churches. They imitated the conduct of those military leaders, who, instead of spending their time and strength in sieges and skirmishes, endeavour to put an end to the war by a general and decisive action. This method if not invented,^g was at least improved and seconded by all the aids of eloquence and genius, by Nicolle, a celebrated doctor among the Jansenists;^h and it was follow-

pery, and acted like one who, having been for a long time in possession of an estate, refuses to produce his title, and requires that those who question it should prove its insufficiency or falsehood.

f For a more ample account of these methods of controversy, and of others used by the church of Rome, the curious reader may consult Frid. Spanheim, *Strictur. ad Expositionem Fidei Bossueti*, tom. iii. opp. part ii. p. 1037. Jo. Henr. Heidegger, *Hist. Papatu*, Period. vii. § cxxviii. p. 316. Walchii *Itroduct. ad Controvers. Theolog.* tom. ii. Weismanni *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, Sæc. xvii. p. 726.

g This method certainly was not the invention of Nicolle, for it seems to differ little, if at all, from the method of cardinal Richelieu. We may observe further, that Richelieu seems rather to belong to the second class of Methodists than to the first, where Dr. Mosheim has placed him.

h Nicolle is supposed to be the author of a book, entitled *Prejuges legitimes contre les Calvinistes*, which was first published at Paris, in 1671, passed afterward through several editions, and was answered in a satisfactory manner by several learned men.

It is very remarkable, that some of the principal arguments employed in this book against the protestants, are precisely the same that the deists make use of to show, that it is impossible for the general body of Christians to believe upon a rational foundation. The learned Claude, in his *Defence of the Reformation*, showed in a demonstrative manner, that the difficulties arising from the incapacity of the multitude to examine the grounds and principles of the protestant religion, are much less than those which occur to a papist, whose faith is founded, not on the plain word of God alone, but on the dictates of tradition, on the decrees of councils, and a variety of antiquated records that are beyond his reach. The protestant divine goes still further, and proves

ed by many of the disputants of the church of Rome, who were so fully persuaded of its irresistible influence, that they looked upon any one of the general points already mentioned as sufficient, when properly handled, to overturn the whole protestant cause. Hence it was, that some of these polemics rested the defence of popery upon the single principle of *prescription*; others upon the vicious lives of several of those princes who had withdrawn their dominions from the yoke of Rome; others again, upon the criminal nature of religious *schism*, with which they reproached the promoters of the reformation; and they were all convinced, that, by urging their respective arguments, and making good their respective charges, the mouths of their adversaries must be stopped, and the cause of Rome and its pontiff triumph.¹ The famous Bossuet stood foremost in this class, which he peculiarly adorned, by the superiority of his genius and the insinuating charms of his eloquence. His arguments indeed were more specious than solid, and the circumstances from which they were drawn were imprudently chosen. From the variety of opinions that take place among the protestant doctors, and the changes that have happened in their discipline and doctrine, he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the church founded by Luther was not the true church; and, on the other hand, from the perpetual sameness and uniformity that reign in the tenets and worship of the church of Rome, he pretended to prove its divine original.² Such an argument

that there are arguments in favour of Christianity and the protestant faith, that are intelligible by the lowest capacity, and, at the same time, sufficient to satisfy an upright and unprejudiced mind.

¹ Frid. Spanhemii *Diss. de Præscriptione in Rebus Fidei adversus novos Methodistas*, tom. iii. part ii. opp. p. 1079.

² This is the purpose of Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, which was published in 6vo. at Paris, in the year 1698, and is still considered by the Roman catholics as one of the strongest bulwarks of popery. Let them go on in their illusions, and boast of this famous champion and defender; but if they have any true zeal for the cause he defends, or any regard for the authority of the supreme head of their church, they will bury in oblivion that maxim of this their champion, that *the church, which he frequently modifies, varies, and changes its doctrines, is destitute of the direction of the Holy Spirit.* ¶ This observation of Dr. Mosheim's might be verified by numberless instances of variations in the doctrine and worship of Rome, that must strike every one who has any tolerable acquaintance with the history of that church. But, without going any farther than one single instance, we may observe, that Bossuet had a striking proof of the variations of his own church, in the different reception that his Exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith met with from different persons, and at different times. It was disapproved of by one pope, approved of by another: it was applauded by the archbishop of Rheims, and condemned by the university of Louvain; it was censured by the Sorbonne in the year 1671, and declared by the same society a true exposition of the catholic faith in the following century. For a full proof of the truth of these and other variations, see Wake's Exposition, &c. Le Clerc, *Bibl. Unite.*

must indeed surprise, coming from a man of learning, who could not be ignorant of the temporizing spirit of the Roman pontiffs, nor of the changes they had permitted in their discipline and doctrine, according to the genius of time and place, and the different characters of those whom they were desirous to gain over to their interests. It was still more surprising in a French prelate, since the doctors of that nation generally maintain, that the leaden age does not differ more from the age of gold, than the modern church of Rome differs from the ancient and primitive church of that famous city.

xvi. These various attempts of the votaries of Rome, though they gave abundant exercise to the activity and vigilance of the protestant doctors, were not however attended with any important revolutions, or any considerable fruits. Some princes, indeed, and a few learned men, were thereby seduced into the communion of that church, from whose superstition and tyranny their ancestors had delivered themselves and others; but these defections were only personal, nor was there any people or province either inclined or engaged to follow these examples. Among the more illustrious deserters of the protestant religion, were Christina, queen of Sweden,¹ a princess of great spirit and genius, but precipitate and vehement in almost all her proceedings, and preferring her ease, pleasure, and liberty to all other considerations;^m Wolfgang William, count palatine of the Rhine, Christian William, marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, prince of Hesse;ⁿ John Frederic, duke of Brunswick; and Frederic Augustus, king of Poland.

Deserters from the protestant to the Romish church.

tom. xi. p. 433, &c. General Dictionary, at the article Wake, in the note, and *Biblioth. des Sciences*, &c. tom. xviii. p. 29, &c.

¹ See Arkenholt, *Mémoires de la Reine Christine*, which contains a variety of agreeable and interesting anecdotes.

^m The candid and impartial writer, mentioned in the preceding note, has given an ample account of the circumstances that attended this queen's change of religion, and of the causes that might have contributed to determine her to a step so unexpected and inexcusable. It was neither the subtlety of Des Cartes, nor the dexterity of Canut, that brought about this event, as Baillet would persuade us. The true state of the case seems to have been this; Christina, having had her sentiments of religion in general considerably perverted by the licentious insinuations of her favourite Bourdelot, was by that means, prepared for embracing any particular religion that pleasure, interest, or ambition, should recommend to her. Upon this foundation the Jesuits Macedo, Malines, and Cassati, under the immediate protection of Pimentel, and encouraged by the courts of Rome, Spain, and Portugal, employed their labours and dexterity in the conversion of this princess, whose passion for Italy, together with that taste for the fine arts, and the precious remains of antiquity, that made her desirous of sojourning there, may have contributed not a little to make her embrace the religion of that country.

ⁿ This learned and well-meaning prince was engaged, by the conversation and im-

The learned men that embraced the communion of the church of Rome, were, baron Boineburg, secretary to the elector of Mentz, and an eminent patron of erudition and genius," Christopher Ranzow, a knight of Holstein," Casper Scioppius, Petrus Bertius, Christopher Besold, Ulric Hunnius, Nicholas Stenon, a Danish physician of great reputation in his profession, John Philip Pfeiffer, professor at Konigsburg, Lucas Holstenius, Petrus Lambechius, Henry Blumius, professor at Helmstadt, a man of learning and of excessive vanity,^q Daniel Nesselius, Andrew Frommius, Barthold Nihusius, Christopher Hellwigius, Matthew Prætorius, and a few others of inferior rank in the learned world. But these conversions, when considered with the motives that produced them, will be found, in *reality*, less honourable to the church of Rome than they are in *appearance*; for if in the list of princes and learned men above mentioned, we efface those whom the temptations of adversity, the impulse of avarice and ambition, the suggestions of levity, the effects of personal attachments, the power of superstition upon a feeble and irresolute mind, and other motives of like merit engaged to embrace the Romish religion, these proselytes will be reduced to a number too small to excite the envy of the protestant churches.^r

xvii. The Christian churches in the east, which were independent on the yoke of Rome, did not stand less firm and steadfast against the attempts of the papal missionaries than those of Europe. The pompous accounts which several Roman catholic

The Romish church interest loses ground in the east.

opportunities of Valerius Magnus, a celebrated monk of the Capuchin order, to embrace popery, in the year 1651. See Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 27, 35. *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 216. It is however to be observed, that this prince, together with Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunswick, and several others who went over to the church of Rome, did not go over to that church of Rome which is now exhibited to us in the odious forms of superstition and tyranny, but to another kind of church, which perhaps never existed but in their idea, and which at least has long ceased to exist. That this was the case appears evidently from the theological writings of prince Ernest.

^o This eminent man, who had more learning than philosophy, and who was more remarkable for the extent of his memory, than for the rectitude of his judgment, followed the example of the prince of Hesse, in the year 1653. See Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, in which his Letters and those of Coringius are published, tom. i. p. 33, 37, 39, 48, 56, 60, 70, 76, 93, &c.

^p See Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 520.

^q Blumius deserted from the protestant church in the year 1654. See Burckardi *Hist. Biblioth. Augusta*, part iii. p. 223, 233. Gruberi *Commercium Epistol. Leibnitianum*, tom. i. p. 41, 95, 135, 137, 379, 388, 410. In these letters he is called Florus, probably in allusion to his German name Blum, which signifies a flower.

^r See for a particular account of these proselytes to popery, Weisman's *Historia Eccles. Sac.* xvii. p. 738. Walikius's *Introductio in Controversias*, tom. ii. p. 728. Arnold's *Kirchen und Ketzer Historie*, part ii. p. 912, and other writers of civil and literary history.

writers have given of the wonderful success of these missionaries among the Nestorians and Monophysites, are little else than splendid fables, designed to amuse and dazzle the multitude; and many of the wisest and best of the Roman catholic doctors acknowledge, that they ought to be considered in no other light. As little credit is to be given to those who mention the strong propensity discovered by several of the heads and superintendents of the Christian sects in these remote regions, to submit to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff.* It is evident, on the contrary, that Rome, in two remarkable instances, suffered a considerable diminution of its influence and authority in the eastern world during this century. One of these instances was the dreadful revolution in Japan, which has been already related, and which was unhappily followed by the total extinction of Christianity in that great monarchy. The other was the downfall of popery by the extirpation of its missionaries in the empire of Abyssinia, of which it will not be improper, or foreign from our purpose, to give here a brief account.

About the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Jesuits renewed, under the most auspicious encouragement, the mission to Abyssinia that had been, for some time before that period, interrupted and suspended. For the emperor Susneius, who assumed the denomination of Seltam Segued, after the defeat of his enemies and his accession to the crown, covered the missionaries with his peculiar protection. Gained over to their cause, partly by the eloquence of the Jesuits, and partly by the hopes of maintaining himself upon the throne by the succours of the Portuguese, he committed the whole government of the church to Alphonso Mendez, a missionary from that nation; created him patriarch of the Abyssinians; and not only swore, in a public manner, allegiance to the Roman pontiff in the year 1626, but moreover obliged his subjects to abandon the religious rites and tenets of their ancestors, and to embrace the doctrine and

* See the remarks made by Chardin in several places of the last edition of his travels. See also what Urban Cerri, in his present state of the Church of Rome says of the Armenians and Copts. It is true indeed that among these sects the papal missionaries sometimes form congregations that are obedient to the see of Rome, but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable, and composed only of a handful of members. Thus the Capuchins, about the middle of the century now under consideration, founded a small congregation, among the Monophysites of Asia, whose bishop resides at Aleppo. See Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1408.

worship of the Romish church. But the new patriarch ruined, by his intemperate zeal, imprudence, and arrogance, the cause in which he had embarked, and occasioned the total subversion of the Roman pontiff's authority and jurisdiction, which had really been established upon solid foundations. For he began his ministry with the most inconsiderate acts of violence and despotism. Following the spirit of the Spanish inquisition, he employed formidable threatenings and cruel tortures to convert the Abyssinians; the greatest part of whom, together with their priests and ministers, held the religion of their ancestors in the highest veneration, and were willing to part with their lives and fortunes rather than forsake it. He also ordered those to be rebaptized, who, in compliance with the orders of the emperor, had embraced the faith of Rome, as if their former religion had been nothing more than a system of paganism. This the Abyssinian clergy looked upon as a shocking insult upon the religious discipline of their ancestors, as even more provoking than the violence and barbarities practised against those who refused to submit to the papal yoke. Nor did the insolent patriarch rest satisfied with these arbitrary and despotic proceedings in the church; he excited tumults and factions in the state, and, with an unparalleled spirit of rebellion and arrogance, encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, and attempted to give law to the emperor himself. Hence arose civil commotions, conspiracies, and seditions, which excited in a little time the indignation of the emperor, and the hatred of the people against the Jesuits, and produced at length, in the year 1631, a public *declaration* from the throne, by which the Abyssinian monarch annulled the orders he had formerly given in favour of popery, and left his subjects at liberty either to persevere in the doctrine of their ancestors, or to embrace the faith of Rome. This rational declaration was mild and indulgent

[] t The reader will recollect, that the Abyssinians differ but very little from the Copts in Egypt, and acknowledge the patriarch of Alexandria as their spiritual chief. They receive the Old and New Testament, the three first Councils, the Nicene Creed, and the Apostolical Constitutions. Their first conversion to Christianity is attributed by some to the famous primo minister of their queen Candace, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; it is, however, probable, that the general conversion of that great empire was not perfected before the fourth century, when Frumentius, ordained bishop of Axuma by Athanasius, exercised his ministry among them with the most astonishing success. They were esteemed a pure church before they fell into the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus; and even since that period they are still a purer church than that of Rome.

toward the Jesuits, considering the treatment their insolence and presumption had so justly deserved; but in the following reign much severer measures were employed against them. Basilides the son of Segued, who succeeded his father in the year 1692, no sooner ascended the throne than he thought it expedient to rid his dominions of these troublesome and despotic guests; and accordingly, in the year 1634, he banished from the territories of Ethiopia the patriarch Mendez, with all the Jesuits and Europeans that belonged to his retinue, and treated the Roman Catholic missionaries with excessive rigour and severity.* From this period the very name of Rome, its religion, and its pontiff, were objects of the highest aversion among the Abyssinians, who guarded their frontiers with the greatest vigilance and the strictest attention, lest any Jesuit or Romish missionary should steal into their territories *in disguise*, and excite new tumults and commotions in the kingdom. The Roman pontiffs indeed made more than one attempt to recover the authority they had lost by the ill success and misconduct of the Jesuits. They began by sending two Capuchin monks to repair their loss; but these unfortunate wretches were no sooner discovered than they were stoned to death. They afterward employed more artful and clandestine methods of reviving the missions, and had recourse to the influence and intercession of Lewis XIV. king of France, to procure admission for their emissaries into the Abyssinian empire; but, as far as we

* See Ludolf's *Histor. Æthiopia*, lib. iii. cap. xii. Geddes's Church History of Ethiopia, p. 233. La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme de l'Éthiopie*, p. 79. Lobo *Voyage d'Abysinie*, p. 116, 130, 144, with the additions of Le Grand, p. 173, and the fourth Dissertation that is subjoined to the second volume. In this dissertation Le Grand, himself a Roman catholic, makes the following remark upon the conduct of the patriarch Mendez; "It were to be wished," says he, "that the patriarch had never intermeddled in such a variety of affairs," by which mitigated expression the author means his ambitious attempts to govern in the cabinet as well as in the church, "nor carried his authority to such a height as to behave in Ethiopia as if he had been in a country where the inquisition was established; for by this conduct he set all the people against him, and excited in them such an aversion to the Roman catholics in general, and to the Jesuits in particular, as nothing has been hitherto able to diminish, and which subsists in its full force to this day." ¶ The third book of La Croze's History, which relates to the progress and ruin of this mission, is translated by Mr. Lockman into English, and inserted in The Travels of the Jesuits, vol. i. p. 309, &c. as also is Ponce's Voyage, mentioned in the following note.

w These projects are mentioned by Cerri, in his *Etat Present de l'Église Romaine*, p. 217. Le Grand, in his Supplement to Lobo's *Itinerarium Æthiopicum*, tom. i. p. 191.*

¶ * Father Lobo, who resided nine years in Ethiopia, has given an elegant and lively, though simple and succinct description of that vast empire, in his *Itinerarium Æthiopicum*. This itinerary was translated into French by M. Le Grand, and enriched by him with several curious anecdotes and dissertations. Hence Dr. Moabim sometimes quotes the *Itinerarium* under the title of *Voyage d'Abissinie*, referring to Le Grand's French translation of it.

have learnt; these attempts have hitherto proved unsuccessful, nor have the pontiffs or their votaries been as yet able to calm the resentment of that exasperated nation, or to conquer its reluctance against the worship and jurisdiction of the church of Rome.²

XVIII. Hitherto we have confined our views to the external state and condition of the church of Rome, and to the good or ill success that attended its endeavours to extend its dominion in the different parts of the world. It will be now proper to change the scene, to consider this church in its internal constitution, and to pass in review its polity, discipline, institutions, and doctrine. Its ancient form of government still remained; but its pontiffs and bishops lost, in many places, no small part of that extensive authority they had so long enjoyed. The halcyon days were now over, in which the papal clergy excited with impunity seditious tumults in the state, intermeddled openly in the transactions of government, struck terror into the hearts of sovereigns and subjects by

The papal authority loses ground.

The reader who would know what credit is to be given to what the Jesuits say of the attachment and veneration which the Asiatic and African Christians express for the church of Rome, will do well to compare the relations of Le Grand, who was a Roman catholic, and no enemy to the Jesuits, and who drew his relations from the most authentic records, with those of Poncet, a French physician, who went into Ethiopia in the year 1698, accompanied by father Bredevent, a Jesuit, who died during the voyage. This comparison will convince every ingenuous and impartial inquirer, that the accounts of the Jesuits are not to be trusted to, and that they surpass ancient Carthage itself in the art of deceiving. Poncet's Voyage is published in the fourth volume of the Jesuitical work, entitled *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes des Missions Etrangères*.

x Laftau and Roboulet, who have composed each a Life of pope Clement XI. tell us that the emperor of Abyssinia desired the Roman pontiff, in the year 1703, to send to his court missionaries and legates to instruct him and his people, and to receive their submission to the see of Rome. These biographers go still further, and assert that this monarch actually embraced the communion of Rome in the year 1712. But these assertions are idle fictions, forged by the Jesuits and their creatures. It is well known, on the contrary, that so lately as a very few years ago, the edict prohibiting all Europeans to enter into Ethiopia, was still in force, and was executed with the greatest severity. Even the Turks are included in this prohibition; and what is still more remarkable, the Egyptian Monophysites, who have once entered within the Abyssinian territories, are not allowed to return into their own country. All these facts are confirmed by a modern writer of the most unquestionable authority, the learned and worthy M. Maillet, the French consul-general in Egypt, and ambassador from Lewis XIV. to the emperor of Abyssinia, in his *Description d'Égypte*, part i. p. 325, which was published at Paris in 4to. in the year 1735. See also Le Grand's Supplement to Lobo's *Itinerarium*, which was published in the year 1728. This last mentioned author, after relating all the attempts that have been made in our times, by the French nation and the Roman pontiffs, to introduce Romish priests into Abyssinia, adds, that all such attempts must appear vain and chimerical to all those who have any knowledge of the empire of Abyssinia, and of the spirit and character of its inhabitants; his words are; *Toutes ces entreprises paroîtront chimériques à ceux qui connoîtront l'Abissinie et les Abissins*. It is highly probable that the new mission which is preparing at Rome for the empire of Abyssinia, will prove a new instance of the solidity of M. Le Grand's reflection.

the thunder of their anathemas, and, imposing burdensome contributions on the credulous multitude, filled their coffers by notorious acts of tyranny and oppression. The pope himself, though still honoured with the same pompous titles and denominations, found nevertheless frequently, by a mortifying and painful experience, that these titles had lost a considerable part of their former signification, and that the energy of these denominations diminished from day to day. For now almost all the princes and states of Europe had adopted that important maxim that had been formerly peculiar to the French nation; "That the power of the Roman pontiff is entirely confined to matters of a religious and spiritual nature, and cannot, under any pretext whatsoever, extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs." In the schools indeed, and colleges of Roman Catholic countries, and in the writings of the Romish priests and doctors, the majesty of the pope was still exalted in the most emphatic terms, and his prerogatives displayed with all imaginable pomp. The Jesuits also, who have been always ambitious of a distinguished place among the asserters of the power and pre-eminence of the Roman see, and who gave themselves out for the pope's most obsequious creatures, raised their voices, in this ignoble cause, even above those of the schools and colleges. Nay, even in the courts of sovereign princes, very flattering terms and high sounding phrases were sometimes used, to express the dignity and authority of the head of the church. But as it happens in other cases, that men's actions are frequently very different from their language, so was this observation particularly verified in the case of Rome's *holy father*. He was extolled in words, by those who despised him most in reality; and when any dispute arose between him and the princes of his communion, the latter respected his authority no further than they found expedient for their own purposes, and measured the extent of his prerogatives and jurisdiction, not by the slavish adulation of the colleges and the Jesuits, but by a regard to their own interests and independence.

xix. This the Roman pontiffs learned, by a disagreeable experience, as often as they endeavoured, during this century, to resume their former pretensions, to interpose their authority in civil affairs, and encroach upon the jurisdiction of sovereign states. The

The rupture
between Paul
V. and the Ve-
netians

conduct of Paul V. and the consequences that followed it, furnish a striking example that abundantly verifies this observation. This haughty and arrogant pontiff laid the republic of Venice under an interdict in the year 1606. The reasons alleged for this insolent proceeding, were the prosecution of two ecclesiastics for capital crimes; as also two wise edicts, one of which prohibited the erection of any more religious edifices in the Venetian territories, without the knowledge and consent of the senate; and the other the alienation of any lay possessions or estates in favour of the clergy, without the express approbation of the republic. The Venetian senate received this papal insult with dignity, and conducted themselves under it with becoming resolution and fortitude. Their first step was to prevent their clergy from executing the interdict, by an act prohibiting that cessation of public worship, and that suspension of the sacraments, which the pope had commanded in this imperious mandate. Their next step was equally vigorous; for they banished from their territories the Jesuits and Capuchin friars, who obeyed the orders of the pope, in opposition to their express commands. In the process of this controversy they employed their ablest pens, and particularly that of the learned and ingenious Paul Sarpi of the order of Servites, to demonstrate on the one hand, the justice of their cause, and to determine, on the other, after an accurate and impartial inquiry, the true limits of the Roman pontiff's jurisdiction and authority. The arguments of these writers were so strong and urgent, that Baronius, and the other learned advocates whom the pope had employed in supporting his pretensions and defending his measures, struggled in vain against their irresistible evidence. In the mean time all things tended toward a rupture, and Paul V. was gathering together his forces in order to make war upon the Venetians, when Henry IV. king of France, interposed as mediator,^y and concluded a peace between the contending parties, on conditions not very honourable to the ambitious pontiff.^z For

^y It must be observed here, that it was at the request of the pope, and not of the Venetians, that Henry IV. interposed as mediator. The Venetians had nothing to fear. Their cause was considered as the common cause of all the sovereign states of Italy; and the dukes of Urbino, Modena, and Savoy, had already offered their troops and services to the republic. But the rash pontiff, perceiving the storm that was gathering against him, took refuge in the French monarch's intercession.

^z Beside De Thou and other historians, see Daniel *Histoire de la France*, tom. x. p. 385. Heidegger's *Historia Papatus Period.* vii. sect. ccxx. p. 322. Jo. Wolfg. Jaegeri.

the Venetians could not be persuaded to repeal the edicts and resolutions they had issued out against the court of Rome upon this occasion, nor to recal the Jesuits from their exile.^a It is remarkable, that at the time of this rupture, the senate of Venice entertained serious thoughts of a total separation from the church of Rome, in which the ambassadors of England and Holland did all that was in their power to confirm them. But many considerations of a momentous nature intervened to prevent the execution of this design, which, as it would seem, had not the approbation of the sagacious and prudent Fra Paolo, notwithstanding his aversion to the tyranny and maxims of the court of Rome.^b

Historia Eccles. Sæc. xvii. Decenn. i. p. 108. More especially the writings of the famous Paul Sarpi, commonly called Fra Paolo, and of the other divines and canonists that defended the cause of the republic, deserve a careful and attentive perusal. For these writings were composed with such solidity, learning, and eloquence, that they produced remarkable effects, and contributed much to open the eyes of several princes and magistrates; and to prevent their submitting blindly and implicitly, as their ancestors had done, to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontiff. Among the most masterly pieces written in this cause, we must place Fra Paolo's *Istoria della cose passate entre Paul V. et la Republi di Venetia*, published in 4to. at Miranda, in the year 1624; and his *Historia Interdicti Veneti*, which was published in 4to. at Cambridge, in the year 1626, by bishop Bedell, who, during these troubles, had been chaplain to the English ambassador at Venice. Paul V. by forcing the Venetians to publish to the world, in these admirable productions, his arrogance and temerity on the one hand, and many truths unfavourable to the pretensions of the popes on the other, was the occasion of the greatest perplexities and oppositions that the court of Rome had to encounter in after times.

^a When the peace was made between the Venetians and the pope, in the year 1607, the Capuchins and the other ecclesiastics, that had been banished on account of their partiality to the cause of Rome, were all reinstated in their respective functions, except the Jesuits. These latter, however, were recalled in the year 1657, under the pontificate of Alexander VII. in consequence of the earnest and importunate requests of Lewis XIV. king of France, and several other princes, who gave the Venetians no rest until they readmitted these dangerous guests into their territories. It is nevertheless to be observed, that these Jesuits never recovered the credit and influence they had formerly enjoyed in that republic, nor at this present time, is there any people of the Romish communion, among whom their society has less power than among the Venetians, who have never yet forgot their rebellious behaviour during the quarrel now mentioned. See the *Voyage Historique en Italie, Allemagne, Suisse*, published at Amsterdam in 8vo. in the year 1736, tom. i. p. 291. It is further worthy of observation, that since this famous quarrel between the republic of Venice and the court of Rome, the bulls and rescripts of the popes have just as much authority in that republic as its senate judges consistent with the rules of wise policy, and the true interests and welfare of the community. For proof of this we need go no further than the respectable testimony of cardinal Henry Noris, who in the year 1676, wrote to Magliabecchi in the following terms: 'Poche Bulle passavano quelle acque verso, la parte del Adriatico, per le massime lasciate nel Testamento di Fra Paolo;' i. e. 'Few papal bulls pass the Po, or approach the coasts of the Adriatic sea; the maxims bequeathed to the Venetians by Fra Paolo render this passage extremely difficult.'

^b This design of the Venetians is particularly mentioned by Burnet in his *Life of bishop Bedell*, and by La Courayer, in his *Defense de la Nouvelle Traduction de l'Histotre du Concile de Trente*, published in 8vo. at Amsterdam in the year 1742, p. 35. This latter writer shows plainly, that Fra Paolo, though his sentiments differed in many points from the doctrine of the church of Rome, yet did not approve of all the tenets received by the protestants, nor suggest to the Venetians the design of renouncing the Romish faith.

XX. Had the Portuguese acted with the same wisdom and resolution that distinguished the Venetians, their contest with the court of Rome, which begun under the pontificate of Urban VIII. in the year 1641, and was carried on until the year 1666, would have been terminated in a manner equally disadvantageous to the haughty pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. The Portuguese, unable to bear any longer the tyranny and oppression of the Spanish government, threw off the yoke, and chose don John, duke of Braganza, for their king. Urban VIII. and his successors in the see of Rome, obstinately refused, notwithstanding the most earnest and pressing solicitations, both of the French and Portuguese, either to acknowledge don John's title to the crown, or to confirm the bishops whom this prince had named to fill the vacant sees in Portugal. Hence it happened, that the greatest part of the kingdom remained for a long time without bishops. The pretended vicar of Christ upon earth, whose character ought to set him above the fear of man, was so slavishly apprehensive of the resentment of the king of Spain, that, rather than offend that monarch, he violated the most solemn obligations of his station, by leaving such a number of churches without pastors and spiritual guides. The French, and other European courts, advised and exhorted the new king of Portugal to follow the noble example of the Venetians, and to assemble a national council, by which the new created bishops might be confirmed, in spite of the pope, in their respective sees. Don John seemed disposed to listen to their councils, and to act with resolution and vigour at this important crisis; but his enterprising spirit was checked by the formidable power of the inquisition, the incredible superstition of the people, and the blind zeal and attachment that the nation, in general, discovered for the person and authority of the Roman pontiff. Hence the popes continued their insults with impunity; and it was not before the peace concluded between Portugal and Spain, five and twenty years after this revolution, that the bishops nominated by the king were confirmed by the pope. It was under the pontificate of Clement IX. that an accommodation was brought about between the courts of Portugal and Rome. It must indeed be observed, to the honour of the Portuguese, that notwithstanding their superstitious attachment to the court of Rome,

The contest between the Roman pontiffs and the court of Portugal.

they vigorously opposed its ambitious pontiff in all his attempts to draw from this contest an augmentation of his power and authority in that kingdom; nor did the bishops permit, in their respective sees, any encroachment to be made, at this time, upon the privileges and rights enjoyed by their monarchs in former ages.^c

XXI. There had subsisted, during many preceding ages, an almost uninterrupted misintelligence between the French monarchs and the Roman pontiffs, which had often occasioned an open rupture, and which produced more than once that violent effect during this century. The greatest exertions of industry, artifice, and assiduous labour were employed by the popes, during the whole of this period, to conquer the aversion that the French had conceived against the pretensions and authority of the court of Rome, and to undermine imperceptibly, and enervate and destroy by degrees, the *liberties* of the Gallican church. In this arduous and important enterprise the Jesuits acted a principal part, and seconded, with all their dexterity and craft, the designs of the aspiring pontiffs. But these attempts and stratagems were effectually defeated and disconcerted by the parliament of Paris; while many able pens exposed the tyranny and injustice of the papal claims, Richer, Launoy, Petrus de Marca, Natalis Alexander, Ellis du Pin, and others, displayed their learning and talents in this contest, though with different degrees of merit. They appealed to the ancient decrees of the Gallican church, which they confirmed by recent authorities, and enforced by new and victorious arguments. It will naturally be thought, that these bold and respectable defenders of the rights and liberties both of church and state were amply rewarded, for their generous labours, by peculiar marks of the approbation and protection of the court of France. But this was so far from being always the case, that they received, on the contrary, from time to time, several marks of its resentment and displeasure, designed to appease the rage and indignation of the threatening pontiff, whom it was thought expedient to treat sometimes with artifice and caution. Rome however gained

^c See Geddes's History of the Pope's behaviour toward Portugal, from 1641 to 1666, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, tom. ii. p. 73—186. The cause of the Portuguese, in this quarrel, is defended with great learning and sagacity by a French writer, whose name was Bulliad, in a book, entitled *Pro Ecclesiis Lusitanis ad Clerum Gallicanum Libelli Duo*.

ed but little by this mild policy of the French court. For it has always been a prevailing maxim with the monarchs of that nation, that their prerogatives and pretensions are to be defended against the encroachments of the Roman pontiffs with as little noise and contention as possible; and that pompous memorials, and warm and vehement remonstrances, are to be carefully avoided, except in cases of urgent necessity.^d Nor do these princes think it beneath their dignity to yield, more or less, to time and occasion, and even to pretend a mighty veneration for the orders and authority of the pontiffs, in order to obtain from them by fair means, the immunities and privileges which they look upon as their due. But they are nevertheless constantly on their guard; and, as soon as they perceive the court of Rome taking advantage of their lenity to extend its dominion, and the lordly popes growing insolent in consequence of their mildness and submission, they then alter their tone, change their measures, and resume the language that becomes the monarchs of a nation that could never bear the tyranny and oppression of the papal yoke. All this appears evidently in the contests that arose between the courts of France and Rome, under the reign of Lewis XIV. of which it will not be improper to give here some interesting instances.^e

XXII. The first of these contests happened under the pontificate of Alexander VII. and was owing to the temerity and insolence of his Corsican guards, And more especially those of Lewis XIV. who, in the year 1662, insulted the French ambassador and his lady, the duke and dutchess of Crequi, at the instigation, as it is supposed, of the pope's nephew. Lewis demanded satisfaction for this insult offered to his representative; and on the pope's delaying to answer this demand, actually ordered his troops to file off for Italy, and to besiege the arrogant pontiff in his capital. The latter, terrified by these warlike preparations, implored the clemency of the incensed monarch, who granted his pardon and absolution to the humble pontiff, and concluded a

^d It is with a view to this, that Voltaire, speaking of the manner in which the court of France maintains its prerogatives against the Roman pontiff, says pleasantly, that "the king of France kisses the pope's feet, and ties up his hands."

^e The large note l of the original, in which Dr. Mosheim has examined that interesting question, viz. "Whether or no the papal authority gained or lost ground in France during the seventeenth century," is transposed by the translator into the text, and placed at the end of our author's account of Lewis XIV.'s quarrels with the pope where it comes in with the utmost propriety. See § xxiii.

peace with him at Pisa, in the year 1664, upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions. These conditions were, that the pope should send his nephew to Paris, in the character of a suppliant for pardon; that he should brand the Corsican-guards with perpetual infamy, and break them by a public edict; and should erect a pyramid at Rome, with an inscription destined to preserve the memory of this audacious instance of papal insolence, and of the exemplary manner in which it was chastised and humbled by the French monarch. It is however to be observed, that in this contest Lewis did not chastise Alexander, considered in his ghostly character as head of the church; but as a temporal prince, violating the law of nations. He however showed, on other occasions, that when properly provoked, he was as much disposed to humble papal as princely ambition, and that he feared the *head of the church* as little as the *temporal ruler* of the ecclesiastical state. This appeared evidently by the important and warm debate he had with Innocent XI. considered in his *spiritual* character, which began about the year 1678, and was carried on with great animosity and contention for several years after. The subject of this controversy was a *right*, called in France, *the regale*, by which the French king, upon the death of a bishop, laid claim to the revenues and fruits of his see, and discharged also several parts of the episcopal function, until a new bishop was elected. Lewis was desirous that all the churches in his dominions should be subject to the *regale*. Innocent pretended, on the contrary, that this claim could not be granted with such universality; nor would he consent to any augmentation of the prerogatives of this nature that had formerly been enjoyed by the kings of France. Thus the claims of the prince, and the remonstrances of the pontiff, both urged with warmth and perseverance, formed a sharp and violent contest, which was carried on, on both sides, with spirit and resolution. The pontiff sent forth his bulls and mandates. The monarch opposed their execution by the terror of penal laws, and the authority of severe edicts

f See Jaegeri *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xvi. Decenn. vii. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 180.* Voltaire, *Siecle de Lewis XIV. tom. i. p. 134, edit. de Dresde 1758.* Arckenholts, *Memoires de la Reine Christine, tom. ii. p. 73.*

¶ g The author means here undoubtedly the collation of all benefices, which became vacant in the diocess of a deceased bishop before the nomination of his successor. This right of collation, in such cases, was comprehended in the *regale*. See note i.

against all who dared to treat them with the smallest regard. When the pontiff refused to confirm the bishops that were nominated by the monarch, the latter took care to have them consecrated and inducted into their respective sees; and thus, in some measure, declared to the world, that the Gallican church could govern itself without the intervention of the Roman pontiff. Innocent XI. who was a man of a high spirit, and inflexibly obstinate in his purposes, did not lose courage at a view of these resolute and vigorous proceedings; but threatened the monarch with the divine vengeance, issued out bull after bull, and did every thing in his power to convince his adversaries, that the vigour and intrepidity, which formerly distinguished the lordly rulers of the Romish church, were not yet totally extinguished.^h This obstinacy however only served to add fuel to the indignation and resentment of Lewis. And accordingly, that monarch summoned the famous assembly of bishops,ⁱ which met at Paris, in the year 1682. In this convocation, the ancient doctrine of the Gallican church, that declares the power of the pope to be *merely* spiritual, and also inferior to that of a general council, was drawn up anew in four propositions,^j which were solemnly adopted by the whole assembly, and were proposed to the whole body of the clergy and to all the universities

^h See Jo. Henr. Heideggeri *Historia Papatus*, Period vii. § cccxii. p. 555. Voltaire *Siecle de Lewis XIV.* tom. I. p. 291, *edit. de Dresde* 1753. A great number of writers have either incidentally or professedly treated the subject of the *regale*, and have given ample accounts of the controversies it has occasioned. But none has traced out more circumstantially the rise and progress of this famous right than cardinal Henry Norris, in his *Istoria delle Investiture Ecclesiast.* p. 547, which is inserted in the fourth volume of his works.

ⁱ This assembly, which consisted of thirty-five bishops, and as many deputies of the second order, extended the *regale* to all the churches in France without exception. The bishops, at the same time, thought proper to represent it to the king as their humble opinion, that those ecclesiastics, whom he should be pleased to nominate, during the vacancy of the see, to benefices attended with cure of souls, were obliged to apply for induction and confirmation to the grand vicars appointed by the chapters.

^j These four propositions were to the following purpose.

1. That neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the church, or the bulls of the Roman pontiff.

2. That the decrees of the council of Constance, which maintained the authority of general councils as superior to that of the pope's, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican church.

3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances, which have been received in the Gallican church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4. That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infallible, unless they be attended with the consent of the church.

throughout the kingdom, as a sacred and inviolable rule. But even this respectable decision of the matter, which gave such a mortal wound to the authority of the pope, did not shake the constancy of its resolute pontiff. It forced him to silence.¹

Another contest arose, some time after the one now mentioned, between these two princes, whose mutual jealousy and dislike of each other contributed much to increase their divisions. This new dispute broke out in the year 1687, when Innocent XI. wisely resolved to suppress the franchises and the *right of asylum* that had formerly been enjoyed by the ambassadors residing at Rome, and had, on many occasions, proved a sanctuary to rapine, violence, and injustice, by procuring impunity to the most heinous malefactors. The marquis De Lavarduin refused, in the name of the French king, to submit to this new regulation; and Lewis took all the violent methods that pride and resentment could invent, to oblige the pontiff to restore to his ambassador the immunities above mentioned.² Innocent, on the other hand, persisted in his purpose, opposed the king's demands in the most open and intrepid manner, and could not be wrought upon by any consideration to give up, even in appearance, to his ambitious adversary. His death however put an end to this long debate,

the pope was far from keeping silence with respect to the famous propositions mentioned in the preceding note. As they were highly unfavourable to his authority, he endeavoured to have them refuted and opposed both in private and in public. The principal opinion for the papal cause, on this occasion, was cardinal Celestin Sfondrati's, the year 1684, published, under the feigned name of Eugenius Lombardus, and entitled *Regale Sacerdotium Romano Pontifici assertum, et quatuor propositionibus revocatum*. This treatise was printed in Switzerland, as appears evidently by the character form of the letters. A multitude of Italian, German, and Spanish doctors endeavoured to support the tottering majesty of the pontiff against the court of France: especially the learned Nicholas du Bois, professor at Louvain, whose writings in favour of the pope are mentioned by Bossuet. But all these papal champions were vanquished by the famous prelate last mentioned, the learned and eloquent bishop of Meaux, who, by the king's special order, composed that celebrated work, which appeared after in two volumes 4to. and in the year 1730, under the following title; *Defensio vis celeberrima, quam de Potestate Ecclesiastica sensit Clerus Gallicanus, xix. Julii. Luxemburgi*. The late publication of this work was owing to the desire of a reconciliation between the courts of France and Rome, after the death of Innocent XI. which reconciliation actually took place, and engaged Lewis XIV. to withdraw his work being put to the press.

This *right of asylum* extended much further than the ambassador's palace, and immunities the pope did not mean to violate: it comprehended a considerable ground, which was called a *quarter*, and undoubtedly gave occasion to great abuses.

The marquis De Lavardin began his embassy by entering Rome, surrounded by a great number of French soldiers.

Historia Ecclesiastica. Sæc. xvii. Decenn. ix. p. 19, *Legatio Lavardini*, which was published in 1688. But above all, *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. ii. p. 246. The queen took part in this contest, and adopted the cause of the French monarch.

which had proved really detrimental to both of the contending parties. His successors being men of a softer and more complaisant disposition, were less averse to the concessions that were necessary to bring about a reconciliation, and to the measures that were adapted to remove the chief causes of these unseemly contests. They were not indeed so far unmindful of the papal dignity, and of the interests of Rome, as to patch up an agreement on inglorious terms. On the one hand, the right of *asylum* was suppressed with the king's consent; on the other, the right of the *regale* was settled with certain modifications.* The four famous *propositions*, relating to the pope's authority and jurisdiction, were softened by the king's permission, in private letters addressed to the pontiff by certain bishops; but they were neither abrogated by the prince, nor renounced by the clergy; on the contrary, they still remain in force, and occupy an eminent place among the laws of the kingdom.

XXIII.^P Several protestant writers of eminent merit and learning, lament the accessions of power and authority which the Roman pontiffs are supposed to have gained in France during the course of this century. They tell us, with sorrow, that the Italian notions of the papal majesty and jurisdiction, which the French nation had in former ages looked upon with abhorrence, gained ground now, and had infected, not only the nobility and clergy, but almost all ranks and orders of men; and from hence they conclude, that the famous rights and liberties of the Gallican church have suffered greatly by the perfidious stratagems of the Jesuits. They are led into this opinion by certain measures that were taken by the French court, and which seemed to favour the pretensions of the Roman pontiff. They are confirmed in it by the declamations of the Jansenists, and other modern writers among the French, who complain of the high veneration that was paid to the papal bulls during this century; of the success of the Jesuits in instilling into the mind of the king and his counsellors the maxims of Rome, and an excessive attachment to its bishop; of the violence and ill treatment

Whether or
on the papal
authority
gained ground
in this century.

* See Fleury, *Institutions du Droit Ecclesiastique Francois*, which excellent work is translated into Latin. Dr. Mosheim refers to p. 454, of the Latin version.

¶ p This § xxiii. contains the ample note l, which is to be found at p. 890, of the original. It comes in here with more propriety.

that were offered to all those who adhered steadfastly to the doctrine and maxims of their forefathers ; and of the gradual attempts that were made to introduce the formidable tribunal of the inquisition into France. But it will perhaps appear, on mature consideration, that too much stress is laid by many, on these complaints ; and that the rights and privileges of the Gallican church were, in this century, and are actually at this day, in the same state and condition in which we find them during those earlier ages, of which the writers and declaimers above mentioned incessantly boast. It might be asked, where are the victories that are said to have been obtained over the French by the popes of Rome, and which some Protestant doctors, lending a credulous ear to the complaints of the Jansenists and appellants, think they perceive with the utmost clearness ? I am persuaded it would be difficult, if not impossible, to give a satisfactory answer in the affirmative to this question.

It is true indeed that as the transactions of government, in general, are now carried on in France with more subtilty, secrecy, and art, than in former times ; so, in particular, the stratagems and machinations of the Roman pontiffs have been opposed and defeated with more artifice, and less noise, than in those more rude and unpolished ages, when almost every contest was terminated by brutal force and open violence. The opposition between the court of France and the bishop of Rome still subsists ; but the manner of terminating their differences is changed ; and their debates are carried on with less clamour, though not certainly with less animosity and vigour, than in the times of old. This new and prudent manner of disputing is not agreeable to the restless, fiery, and impatient temper of the French, who have an irresistible propensity to noisy, clamorous, and expeditious proceedings ; and hence undoubtedly arise all the complaints that we have heard, and still hear, of the decline of the liberties of the Gallican church, in consequence of the growing influence and perfidious counsels of the Jesuits. If those however who are accustomed to make these complaints, would for a moment suspend their prejudices, and examine with attention the history, and also the present state of their country, they would soon perceive that their ecclesiastical liberties,^q instead of declining, or of being

^q It is not necessary to advertise the reader, that by these liberties are not meant, that rational and Christian liberty which entitles every individual to follow the

neglected by their monarchs, are maintained and preserved with more care, resolution, and foresight, than ever. It must indeed be acknowledged, that in France, there are multitudes of cringing slaves, who basely fawn upon the Roman pontiffs, exalt their prerogatives, revere their majesty, and, through the dictates of superstition, interest, or ambition, are ever ready to hug the papal chain, and submit their necks blindly to the yoke of those ghostly tyrants. But it may be proved by the most undoubted facts, and by innumerable examples, that these servile creatures of the pope abounded as much in France in former ages as they do at this day; and it must be also considered, that it is not by the councils of this slavish tribe that the springs of government are moved, or the affairs of state and church transacted. It must be further acknowledged, that the Jesuits had arrived at a very high degree of influence and authority, and sometimes have credit enough to promote measures that do not at all appear consistent with the rights of the Gallican church, and must consequently be considered as heavy grievances by the patrons of the ancient ecclesiastical liberty. But here it may be observed, on the one hand; that many such measures have been proposed and followed before the rise of the Jesuits; and, on the other, that many affairs of great consequence are daily transacted in a manner highly displeasing and detrimental to that society, and extremely disagreeable to the Roman pontiffs. If it be alleged, that those who defend with learning and judgment the ancient doctrines and maxims of the Gallican church scarcely escape public censure and punishment, and that those who maintain them with vehemence and intemperate zeal are frequently rewarded with exile or a prison; nay, that the most humble and modest patrons of these doctrines are left in obscurity without encouragement or recompense; all this must be granted. But it must be considered, on the other hand, that the cause they maintain, and the ancient doctrines and maxims they defend,

light of his own conscience, and the dictates of his own judgment in religious matters for no such liberty is allowed in France. The liberties of the Gallican church consist in the opposition which that church has made, at different times, to the overgrown power of the Roman pontiff, and to his pretended *personal* infallibility.

☞ Dr. Mosheim wrote this in the year 1753, before the suppression of the order of Jesuits in France. The downfall of that society, and the circumstances that have attended it, seem both to illustrate and confirm his judicious notion with respect to the degree of credit and influence which the popes have had in that kingdom for some time past.

are not condemned, nor even deserted; the matter is only this, that the prince and his ministry have fallen upon a new method of maintaining and supporting them. It appears to them much more conducive to public peace and order, that the stratagems and attempts of the Roman pontiffs should be opposed and defeated by secret exertions of resolution and vigour, without noise or ostentation, than by learned productions and clamorous disputes; which, for the most part, excite factions in the kingdom, inflame the spirits of the people, throw the state into tumult and confusion, exasperate the pontiffs, and alienate them still more and more from the French nation. In the mean time the doctors and professors, who are placed in the various seminaries of learning, are left at liberty to instruct the youth in the ancient doctrine and discipline of the church, and to explain and inculcate those maxims and laws by which in former times, the papal authority was restrained and confined within certain limits. If these laws and maxims are infringed, and if even violent methods are employed against those who adhere steadfastly to them, this happens but very rarely, and never but when some case of extreme necessity, or the prospect of some great advantage to the community, absolutely require their suspension. Beside, those who sit at the political helm, always take care to prevent the pope's reaping much benefit from this suspension or neglect of the ancient laws and maxims of the church. This circumstance, which is of so much importance in the present question, must appear evident to such as will be at the pains to look into the history of the debates that attended, and the consequences that followed, the reception of the Bull *Unigenitus* in France, than which no papal edict could seem more repugnant to the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. But in the business of this *bull*, as in other transactions of a like nature, the court proceeded upon this political maxim, that a smaller evil is to be submitted to, when a greater may be thereby prevented.

In a word, the kings of France have almost always treated the Roman pontiffs as the heroes, who are said, in pagan story, to have descended into Tartarus, behaved toward the triplejawed guardian of that lower region; sometimes they offered a soporiferous cake to suppress his grumbling and menacing tone; at others they terrified him with their naked swords, and the din of arms; and this

with a view to stop his barking, and to obtain the liberty of directing their course in the manner they thought proper. There is nothing invidious designed by this comparison, which certainly represents, in a lively manner, the caresses and threatenings that were employed by the French monarchs, according to the nature of the times, the state of affairs, the character of the pontiffs, and other incidental circumstances, in order to render the court of Rome favourable to their designs. We have dwelt perhaps too much upon this subject; but we thought it not improper to undeceive many protestant writers, who, too much influenced by the bitter complaints and declamations of certain Jansenists, and not sufficiently instructed in the history of these ecclesiastical contentions, have formed erroneous notions concerning the point we have here endeavoured to examine and discuss.

XXIV. The corruptions that had been complained of in preceding ages, both in the higher and inferior orders of the Romish clergy, were rather in-^{The state of the Romish clergy.}creased than diminished during this century, as the most impartial writers of that communion candidly confess. The bishops were rarely indebted for their elevation to their eminent learning or superior merit. The intercession of potent patrons, services rendered to men in power, connexions of blood and simoniacal practices, were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment; and what was still more deplorable, their promotion was sometimes owing to their vices. Their lives were such as might be expected from persons who had risen in the church by such unseemly means; for had they been obliged, by their profession, to give public examples of those vices which the holy laws of the gospel so solemnly and expressly condemn, instead of exhibiting patterns of sanctity and virtue to their flock, they could not have conducted themselves otherwise than they did.* Some indeed there were, who, sensible of the obligations of their profession, displayed a true Christian zeal in administering useful instruction, and exhibiting pious examples to their flock, and exerted their utmost vigour and activity in opposing the vices of the sacred order

* The reader may see these disagreeable accounts of the corruptions of the clergy confirmed by a great number of unexceptionable testimonies, drawn from the writings of the most eminent doctors of the Romish church, in the *Memoires de Port Royal*, tom. ii. p. 308.

in particular, and the licentiousness of the times in general. But these rare patrons of virtue and piety were either ruined by the resentment and stratagems of their envious and exasperated brethren, or were left in obscurity, without that encouragement and support that were requisite to enable them to execute effectually their pious and laudable purposes. The same treatment fell to the lot of those among the lower order of the clergy, who endeavoured to maintain the cause of truth and virtue. But the number of sufferers in this noble cause was small, compared with the multitude of corrupt ecclesiastics, who were carried away with the torrent, instead of opposing it, and whose lives were spent in scenes of pleasure, or in the anxiety and toils of avarice and ambition. While we acknowledge, that among the bishops and inferior clergy, there were several exceptions from that general prevalence of immorality and licentiousness with which the sacred order was chargeable; it is also incumbent upon us to do justice to the merit of some of the Roman pontiffs, in this century, who used their most zealous endeavours to reform the manners of the clergy, or at least to oblige them to observe the rules of external decency in their conduct and conversation. It is however a matter of surprise, that these pontiffs did not perceive the insurmountable obstacles to the success of their councils, and the fruits of their wise and salutary edicts, that arose from the internal constitution of the Romish church, and the very nature of the papal government. For were the Roman pontiffs even divinely inspired, and really infallible, yet unless this inspiration and infallibility were attended with a miraculous power, and with the supernatural privilege of being present in many places at the same time; it is not conceivable how they should ever entertain a notion of the possibility of restoring or maintaining order, or good morals, among that prodigious multitude of persons of all classes and characters that are subject to their jurisdiction.

xxv. Though the monks, in several places, behaved with more circumspection and decency than in former times, yet they had every where departed, in a great measure, from the spirit of their founders, and the primitive laws of their respective institutions. About the commencement of this century, their convents

The state of
the monastic
orders.

and colleges made a most wretched and deplorable figure, as we learn from the accounts of the wisest and most learned, even of their own writers. But we find, further on, several attempts made to remove this disorder. The first were made by some wise and pious Benedictines, who in France, and other countries, *reformed* several monasteries of their order, and endeavoured to bring them back, as near as was possible, to the laws and discipline of their founder. Their example was followed by the monks of Clugni, the Cistercians, the regular canons, the Dominicans, and Franciscans." It is from this period that we are to date the division of the monastic orders into two general classes; one of these comprehends the *reformed* monks, who, reclaimed from that licentiousness and corruption of manners that had formerly dishonoured their societies, lead more strict and regular lives, and discover in their conduct a greater regard to the primitive laws of their order. The other is composed of the *unreformed* orders, who, forgetting the spirit of their founders, and the rules of their institute, spend their days in ease and pleasure, and have no taste for the austerities and hardships of the monastic life. The latter class is by far the most numerous; and the greatest part, even of the *reformed* monks, do not only come short of that purity of manners which their *rule* enjoins, but are moreover gradually and imperceptibly relapsing into their former indolence and disorder.

XXVI. Among the *reformed* monks, a particular degree of attention is due to certain Benedictine societies, or *congregations*, who surpass all the other monastic orders, both in the excellence and utility of their rules and constitution, and in the zeal and perseverance with which they adhere to them. The most famous of these societies is the congregation of St. Maur,^{The congregation of St. Maur.} which

t Le Boeuf, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auvergne*, tom. ii. p. 513, where there is an account of the first reforms made in the convents during this century. See Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*, part ii. p. 97.

u There is an account of all the convents reformed in this century, in Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. vi. vii. to which, however, several interesting circumstances may be added, by consulting other writings. The reform of the monks of Clugni is amply described by the Benedictines, in the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 544. The same authors speak of the reform of the Regular Canons of St. Augustin, tom. vii. p. 778, 787, 790. For an account of that of the Cistercians, see Mabillon, *Anal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 121. *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. i. p. 7, 8, tom. ii. p. 133, 229, 283, 303. The Cistercians were no sooner reformed themselves, than they used their most zealous endeavours for the reformation of the whole society, i. e. of the Benedictine order, but in vain. See Meaupou, *Vie de l'Abbe de la Trappe*, tom. i. p. 192.

w See the *Gallia Christiana Nova*, an admirable work, composed by the congregation
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was founded in the year 1620, by the express order of Gregory XV. and was enriched by Urban VIII. in the year 1627, with several donations and privileges. It does not indeed appear, that even this society adheres strictly to the spirit and maxims of Benedict, whose name it bears, nor is it beyond the reach of censure in other respects; but these imperfections are compensated by the great number of excellent rules and institutions that are observed in it, and by the regular lives and learned labours of its members. For in this congregation there is a select number of persons, who are distinguished by their genius and talents, set apart for the study of sacred and profane literature, and more especially of history and antiquities; and this learned part of the society is furnished with all the means and materials of knowledge, in a rich abundance, and with every thing that can tend to facilitate their labours and render them successful.² It must be abundantly known,

of St. Maur, tom. vii. p. 474. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. cap. xxxvii. p. 256. The letters patent of pope Gregory XV. by which the establishment of this famous congregation was approved and confirmed, were criticised with great severity and rigour by Launoy, that formidable scourge of all the monastic orders, in his *Examen privol. S. Germei*, tom. iii. p. i: opp. p. 303. The same author gives an account of the dissensions that arose in this congregation immediately after its establishment; but an account which savours too much of that partiality that he was chargeable with, whenever he treated of monastic affairs; see his *Assert. Inquisit. in privol. S. Medardi*, p. i. cap. lxxvi. p. 227, tom. iii. opp. p. 2.

x The Benedictines celebrate, in pompous terms, the exploits of this congregation in general, and more especially their zealous and successful labours in restoring order, discipline, and virtue, in a great number of monasteries, which were falling into ruin through the indolence and corruption of their licentious members; see the *Voyage de deux Religieux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur*, tom. i. p. 16, tom. ii. p. 47. This eulogy, though perhaps exaggerated, is not entirely unmerited; and there is no doubt but the Benedictines have contributed much to restore the credit of the monastic orders. There are nevertheless several classes of ecclesiastics in the Romish church, who are not well wishers to this learned congregation, though their dislike be founded on different reasons. In the first class, we may place a certain number of ambitious prelates, whose artful purposes have been disappointed by this ingenious fraternity; for the monks of St. Maur, having turned their principal study toward ancient history and antiquities of every kind, and being perfectly acquainted with ancient records, diplomas, and charters, are thus peculiarly qualified to maintain their possessions, their jurisdiction, and privileges, against the litigious pretensions of the bishops, and have in fact, maintained them with more success than their order could do in former times, when destitute of learning, or but ill furnished with the knowledge of ancient history. The Jesuits form the second class of adversaries, with whom this learned congregation has been obliged to struggle; for their lustre and reputation being considerably eclipsed by the numerous and admirable productions of these Benedictines, they have used their utmost endeavours to sink, or at least to diminish, the credit of such formidable rivals. See Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iv. p. 36, 45. These Benedictines have a third set of enemies, who are instigated by superstition; and it is not improbable, that this superstition may be accompanied with a certain mixture of envy. To understand this fully, it must be observed, that the learned monks, of whom we are now speaking, have substituted an assiduous application to the culture of philology and literature in the place of that bodily and manual labour which the rule of St. Benedict prescribes to his followers. The more robust, healthy, and vigorous monks, are obliged to employ a certain portion of the day in working with their hands; while those of a weaker constitution, and superior genius, are allowed to

to those who have any acquaintance with the history and progress of learning in Europe, what signal advantages the republic of letters has derived from the establishment of this famous *congregation*, whose numerous and admirable productions have cast a great light upon all the various branches of philology and belles lettres, and whose researches have taken in the whole circle of science, philosophy excepted.'

xxvii. Though these pious attempts to reform the monasteries were not entirely unsuccessful, yet the effects they produced, even in those places where they had succeeded most, came far short of that perfection of austerity that had seized the imaginations of a set of persons, whose number is considerable in the Romish church, though their credit be small, and their severity be generally looked upon as excessive and disgusting. These rigid censors, having always in their eye the ancient discipline of the monastic orders, and bent on reducing the modern convents to that austere discipline, looked upon the changes above mentioned as imperfect and trifling. They considered a monk as a person obliged, by the sanctity of his profession, to spend his whole days in prayers, tears, contemplation, and silence; in the perusal of holy books, and the hardships of bodily labour; nay, they went so far as to maintain, that all other designs, and all other occupations, however laudable and excellent in themselves, were entirely foreign from the

exchange bodily for mental labour, and, instead of cultivating the lands or gardens of the convent, to spend their days in the pursuit of knowledge both human and divine. The lazy monks envy this bodily repose; and the superstitious and fanatical ones, who are vehemently prejudiced in favour of the ancient monastic discipline, behold, with contempt, these learned researches as unbecoming the monastic character, since they tend to divert the mind from divine contemplation. This superstitious and absurd opinion was maintained, with peculiar warmth and vehemence, by Armand John Bouthelier de Rance, abbot of La Trappe, in his book, *Des devoirs monastiques*; upon which the Benedictines employed Mabillon, the most learned of their fraternity, to defend their cause, and to expose the reveries of the abbot in their proper colours. This he did with remarkable success, in his famous book, *De Studiis monasticis*, which was first published in 8vo. at Paris, in the year 1691, passed afterward through several editions, and was translated into different languages. Hence arose that celebrated question which was long debated with great warmth and animosity in France, viz. "How far a monk may, consistently with his character, apply himself to the study of literature." There is an elegant and interesting history of this controversy given by Vincent Thullier, a most learned monk of the congregation of St. Maur; see the *Opera posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinartii*, tom. i. p. 365—425.

The curious reader will find an account of the authors and learned productions with which the congregation of St. Maur has enriched the republic of letters, in Ph. le Cerf's *Bibliothèque Historique et Critique des Auteurs de la Congrégation de St. Maur*, published at the Hague in 8vo. in 1728; and also in Bernard Pez's *Bibliotheca Benedictino Mariana*, published in 8vo. at Augsburg in 1716. These Benedictines still maintain their literary fame by the frequent publication of laborious and learned productions in all the various branches of sacred and profane literature.

monastic vocation, and on that account, vain and sinful in persons of that order. This severe plan of monastic discipline was recommended by several persons whose obscurity put it out of their power to influence many in its behalf; but it was also adopted by the Jansenists, who reduced it to practice in certain places,* and in none with more success and reputation than in the female convent of Port Royal, where it has subsisted from the year 1618 until our time.† These steps of the Jansenists excited a spirit of emulation, and several monasteries exerted themselves in the imitation of this austere model; but they were all surpassed by the famous Bouthelier de Rance, abbot de la Trappe,‡ who, with the most ardent zeal, and indefatigable labour, attended with uncommon success, introduced into his monastery this discipline, in all its austere and shocking perfection. This abbot, so illustrious by his birth, and so remarkable for his extraordinary devotion, was so happy as to vindicate his fraternity from the charge of excessive superstition, which the Jansenists had drawn upon themselves by the austerity of their monastic discipline; and yet his society observed the severe and laborious rule of the ancient Cistercians whom they even surpassed in abstinence, mortifications, and self denial. This order still subsists, under

* See the *Memoires de Port Royal*, tom. ii. p. 601, 602. Martin Barcos, the most celebrated Jansenist of this century, introduced this austere rule of discipline into the monastery of St. Cyran, of which he was abbot. See the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 139. Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 135. But, after the death of this famous abbot, the monks of his cloister relapsed into their former disorder, and resumed their former manners. See *Voyages de deux Benedictins*, tom. i. p. i. p. 18.

‡ Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. chap. xlv. p. 456.

☐ b This illustrious abbot showed very early an extraordinary genius for the belles lettres. At the age of ten, he was master of several of the Greek and Roman poets, and understood Homer perfectly. At the age of twelve or thirteen, he gave an edition of Anacreon, with learned Annotations. Some writers allege, that he had imbibed the voluptuous spirit of that poet, and that his subsequent application to the study of theology in the Sorbonne did not extinguish it entirely. They also attribute his conversion to a singular incident. They tell us, that returning from the country after six weeks absence from a lady whom he passionately loved, and not in vain, he went directly to her chamber by a back stair, without having the patience to make any previous inquiry about her health and situation. On opening the door, he found the chamber illuminated, and hung with black; and, on approaching the bed, saw the most hideous spectacle that could be presented to his eyes, and the most adapted to mortify passion, inspire horror, and engender the gloom of melancholy devotion, in a mind too lively and too much agitated to improve this shocking change to the purposes of rational piety; he saw his fair mistress in her shroud; dead of the smallpox; all her charms fled; and succeeded by the ghastly lines of death, and the frightful marks of that terrible disorder. From that moment, it is said, our abbot retired from the world, repaired to La Trappe, the most gloomy, barren, and desolate spot in the whole kingdom of France, and there spent the last forty years of his life in perpetual acts of the most austere piety.

the denomination of the *reformed Bernardians of La Trappe*, and has several monasteries both in Spain and Italy; but, if credit may be given to the accounts of writers who seem to be well informed, it is degenerating gradually from the austere and painful discipline of its famous founder.^c

XXVIII. The Romish church, from whose prolific womb all the various forms of superstition issued forth in an amazing abundance, saw several new monastic establishments arise within its borders during this century. The greatest part of them we shall pass over in silence, and confine ourselves to the mention of those which have obtained some degree of fame, or at least made a certain noise in the world.

New monastic orders founded.

We begin with the *fathers of the oratory of the Holy Jesus*, a famous order, instituted by cardinal Berulle, a man of genius and talents, who displayed his abilities with such success, in the service both of state and church, that he was generally looked upon as equally qualified for shining in these very different spheres. This order, which both in the nature of its rules, and in the design of its establishment, seems to be in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits, was founded in the year 1613, has produced a considerable number of persons eminent for their piety, learning, and eloquence, and still maintains its reputation in this respect. Its members however have, on account of certain theological productions, been suspected of introducing new opinions; and this suspicion has not only been raised, but is also industriously fomented and propagated by the Jesuits. The priests who enter into this society are not obliged to renounce their property or possessions, but only to refuse all ecclesiastical cures or offices to which any fixed revenues or honours are annexed, as long as they continue members of this fraternity, from which they are however at liberty to retire whenever they think proper.^d While they continue in the order they are bound to perform, with the greatest fidelity and accuracy, all the priestly functions, and to turn the whole bent of their zeal and industry to one

^c Marsolier, *Vie de l'Abbe de la Trappe*, published at Paris in 1703, in 4to. and in 1703, in two vols. 12mo. Meaupou, *Vie de M. l'Abbe de la Trappe*, published at Paris in two vols. 8vo. in 1702. Felibien, *Description de l'Abbaye de la Trappe*, published at Paris in 1671. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. chap. i. p. 1.

^d The fathers, or priests, as they are also called, of the oratory, are not, properly speaking, religious, or monks, being bound by no vows, and their institute being purely ecclesiastical or sacerdotal.

single point, even the preparing and qualifying themselves and others for discharging them daily with greater perfection, and more abundant fruits. If therefore we consider this order in the original end of its institution, its convents may not, improperly, be called the schools of sacerdotal divinity. It is nevertheless to be observed, that, in later times, the fathers of the oratory have not confined themselves to this single object, but have imperceptibly extended their original plan, and applied themselves to the study of polite literature and theology, which they teach with reputation in their colleges.^f

After these fathers, the next place is due to the priests of the missions, an order founded by Vincent de Paul, who has obtained, not long ago, the honours of saintship, and formed into a regular congregation, in the year 1632, by pope Urban VIII. The rule prescribed to this society by its founder, lays its members under the three following obligations; *first*, to purify themselves, and to aspire daily to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, the perusal of pious books, and other devout exercises; *secondly*, to employ eight months of the year in the villages, and, in general, among the country people, in order to instruct them in the principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety and virtue, accommodate their differences, and administer consolation and relief to the sick and indigent; *thirdly*, to inspect and govern the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders receive their education, and to instruct the candidates for the ministry in the sciences that relate to their respective vocations.^g

The priests of the missions were also intrusted with the direction and government of a female order called *virgins of love*, or *daughters of charity*, whose office it was to administer assistance and relief to indigent persons, who were confined to their beds by sickness and infirmity. This

e See Habert de Cerisi, *Vie du Cardinal Berulle, fondateur de l'Oratoire de Jesus*, published at Paris in 4to. in the year 1616. Morini *Vita Antiq.* prefixed to his *Orientalia*, p. 3, 4, 5, 110. R. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. ii. p. 60, et *Bibliothèque Critique*, published under the fictitious name of Saint Jorre, tom. iii. p. 303, 324, 330. For an account of the genius and capacity of Berulle, see Baillee, *Vie de Richer*. p. 220—342. Le Vassor, *Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. iii. p. 397. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. viii. chap. x. p. 53. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor*, tom. vii. p. 976.

f The Fathers of the oratory will now be obliged, in a more particular manner, to extend their plan; since, by the suppression of the Jesuits in France, the education of youth is committed to them.

g Abely *Vie de Vincent de Paul*, published in 4to. at Paris, in 1664. Helyot, *loc. cit* tom. viii. chap. xi. p. 64. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 998.

order was founded by a noble virgin, whose name was Louisa le Gras, and received, in the year 1660, the approbation of pope Clement IX.^b *The brethren and sisters of the pious and Christian schools*, who are now commonly called Pietists, were formed into a society in the year 1678, by Nicholas Barre, and obliged, by their engagements, to devote themselves to the education of poor children of both sexes.¹ It would be endless to mention all the religious societies which rose and fell, were formed by fits of zeal, and dissolved by external incidents, or by their own internal principles of instability and decay.

XXIX. If the *company of Jesus*, so called, which may be considered as the soul of the papal hierarchy, and the mainspring that directs its motions, had not been invincible, it must have sunk under the attacks of those formidable enemies, that, during the course of this century, assailed it on all sides and from every quarter. When we consider the multitude of the adversaries the Jesuits had to encounter, the heinous crimes with which they were charged, the innumerable affronts they received, and the various calamities in which they were involved, it must appear astonishing that they yet subsist; and still more so, that they enjoy any degree of public esteem, and are not, on the contrary, sunk in oblivion, or covered with infamy. In France, Holland, Poland, and Italy, they experienced, from time to time, the bitter effects of a warm and vehement opposition, and were, both in public and private, accused of the greatest enormities, and charged with maintaining pestilential errors and maxims, that were equally destructive of the temporal and eternal interests of mankind, by their tendency to extinguish the spirit of true religion, and to trouble the order and peace of civil society. The Jansenists, and all who espoused their cause, distinguished themselves more especially in this opposition. They composed an innumerable multitude of books, in order to cover the sons of Loyola with eternal reproach, and to expose them to the hatred and scorn of the whole universe. Nor were these productions mere defamatory libels, dictated by malice alone, or pompous declamations, destitute of arguments and evidence. On the contrary, they

The society
of Jesuits.

^b Gobillon, *Vie de Madame De Gras, Fondatrice des Filles de la Charite*, published in 12mo. at Paris, in the year 1676.

¹ Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. viii. chap. xxx. p. 233.


were attended with the strongest demonstration, being drawn from undeniable facts, and confirmed by unexceptionable testimonies.^k Yet all this was far from overturning that fabric of profound and insidious policy which the Jesuits had raised, under the protection of the Roman pontiffs, and the connivance of deluded princes and nations. It seemed, on the contrary, as if the opposition of such a multitude of enemies and accusers had strengthened their interest instead of diminishing it, and added to their affluence and prosperity instead of bringing on their destruction. Amidst the storm that threatened them with a fatal shipwreck, they directed their course with the utmost dexterity, tranquillity, and prudence. Thus they got safe into the desired harbour, and arose to the very summit of spirit-

^k An account of this opposition to, and of these contests with, the Jesuits, would furnish matter for many volumes; since there is scarcely any Roman catholic country which has not been the theatre of violent divisions between the sons of Loyola, and the magistrates, monks, or doctors of the Romish church. In these contests, the Jesuits seemed almost always to be vanquished; and nevertheless, in the issue, they always came victorious from the field of controversy. A Jansenist writer proposed, some years ago, to collect into one relation the accounts of these contests that lie dispersed in a multitude of books, and to give a complete history of this famous order. The first volume of his work accordingly appeared at Utrecht, in the year 1741, was accompanied with a curious Preface, and entitled *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*. If we may give credit to what this writer tells us of the voyages he undertook, the dangers and difficulties he encountered, and the number of years he spent in investigating the proceedings, and in detecting the frauds and artifices of the Jesuits, we must certainly be persuaded that no man could be better qualified for composing the history of this insidious order. But this good man, returning imprudently into France, was discovered by his exasperated enemies the Jesuits, and is said to have perished miserably by their hands. Hence not above a third part of his intended work was either published or finished for the press. [Some things may be added, both by way of correction and illustration, to what Dr. Mosheim has here said concerning this history of the Jesuits and its author. In the first place, its author or compiler is still alive, resides at the Hague, passes by the name of Benard, is supposed to be a Jansenist, and a relation of the famous father Quenel, whom the Jesuits persecuted with such violence in France. He is a native of France, and belonged to the oratory. It is also true, that he went thither from Holland several years ago; and it was believed, that he had fallen a victim to the resentment of the Jesuits, until his return to the Hague proved that report false. Secondly, this history is carried no further down than the year 1572, notwithstanding the express promises and engagements by which the author bound himself, four and twenty years ago, in the preface to his first volume, to publish the whole in a very short time, declaring that it was ready for the press. This suspension is far from being honourable to Mr. Benard, who is still living at the Hague, and consequently at full liberty to accomplish his promise. This has made some suspect, that though Mr. Benard is too much out of the Jesuits' reach to be influenced by their threatenings, he is not however too far from them to be moved by the eloquence of their promises, or steadfast enough to stand out against the weighty remonstrances they may have employed to prevent the further publication of his history. It may be observed, thirdly, that the character of a traveller, who has studied the manners and conduct of the Jesuits in the most remarkable scenes of their transactions in Europe, and the other parts of the globe, is here assumed by Mr. Benard, as the most pleasing manner of conveying the accounts which he compiled in his closet. These accounts do not appear to be false, though the character of a traveller, assumed by the compiler, be fictitious. It must be allowed on the contrary, that Mr. Benard has drawn his relations from good sources, though his style and manner cannot be well justified from the charge of acrimony and malignity.]

ual authority in the church of Rome. Avoiding rather than repelling the assaults of their enemies, opposing for the most part patience and silence to their redoubled insults, they proceeded uniformly and steadfastly to their great purpose, and they seem to have attained it. For those very nations, who formerly looked upon a Jesuit as a kind of monster, and as a public pest, commit, at this day, some through necessity, some through choice, and others through both, a great part of their interests and transactions to the direction of this most artful and powerful society.¹

xxx. All the different branches of literature received, during this century, in the more polished Roman catholic countries, a new degree of lustre and improvement. France, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, produced several men eminent for their genius, erudition, and acquaintance with the learned languages. This happy circumstance must not however be attributed to the labour of the schools, or to the methods and procedure of public education; for the old, dry, perplexing, inelegant, scholastic method of instruction prevailed then, and indeed still takes place in both the higher and lower seminaries of learning; and it is the peculiar tendency of this method to damp genius, to depress, instead of exciting and encouraging, the generous efforts of the mind toward the pursuit of truth, and to load the memory with a multitude of insignificant words and useless distinctions. It was beyond the borders of these pedantic seminaries that genius was encouraged and directed by great and eminent patrons of science, who opened new paths to the attainment of solid

The state of learning in the church of Rome.

¹ It may perhaps be affirmed with truth, that none of the Roman catholic nations attacked the Jesuits with more vehemence and animosity than the French have done upon several occasions; and it is certain that the Jesuits in that kingdom have been more than once, involved in great difficulties and distress. To be convinced of this, the reader has only to consult Du Boulay's *Historia Academiae Parisiensis*, tom. vi. p. 559, 643, 676, 738, 742, 744, 763, 774, 874, 890, 898, 909, in which he will find an ample and accurate account of the resolutions and transactions of the parliament and university of Paris, and also of the proceedings of the people in general to the detriment of this artful and dangerous society. But what was the final issue of all these resolutions and transactions, and in what did all this opposition end? I answer, in the exaltation and grandeur of the Jesuits. They had been banished with ignominy out of the kingdom, and were recalled from their exile, and honourably restored to their former credit, in the year 1604, under the reign of Henry IV. notwithstanding the remonstrances of many persons of the highest rank and dignity, who were shocked beyond expression at this unaccountably mean and ignoble step. See *Memoires de Sully*, the modern edition published at Geneva, tom. v. p. 83, 314. After that period, they moved the mainsprings of government both in church and state, and still continue to sit, though invisibly, at the helm of both.  The reader must again be advertised, that this note was written by Dr. Mosheim some years before the suppression of the society of the Jesuits in France.

and Jahernists, in the cultivation of sacred and profane literature.

most to the propagation and improvement both of sacred and profane erudition during the course of this century. The Jesuits were, for a long time, not only possessed of an undisputed pre-eminence in this respect, but were moreover considered as almost the sole fountains of universal knowledge, and the only religious order that made any figure in the literary world. And it must be confessed by all, who are not misled by want of candour or of proper information, that this famous society was adorned by many persons of uncommon genius and learning. The names of Petau, Sirmond, Poussines, Labbe, and Abram, will live as long as letters shall be held in honour; and even that of Hardouin, notwithstanding the singularity of his disordered fancy, and the extravagance of many of his opinions, will escape oblivion.

It is at the same time to be observed, that the literary glory of the Jesuits suffered a remarkable eclipse, during the course of this century, from the growing lustre of the Benedictine order, and more especially of the Congregation of St. Maur. The Jesuits were perpetually boasting of the eminent merit and lustre of their society on the one hand, and exposing, on the other, to public contempt, the ignorance and stupidity of the Benedictines, who indeed formerly made a very different figure from what they do at present. Their view in this was to form a plausible pretext for invading the rights of the latter, and engrossing their ample revenues and possessions; but the Benedictines resolved to disconcert this insidious project, to wipe off the reproach of ignorance that had hitherto been cast upon them with too much justice, and to disappoint the rapacious avidity of their enemies, and rob them of their pretexts. For this purpose they not only erected schools in their monasteries, for the instruction of youth in the various branches of learning and science, but also employed such of their select members, as were distinguished by their erudition and genius, in composing a variety of learned productions, that were likely to survive the waste of time, adapted to vindicate the honour of the fraternity, and to reduce its enemies to silence. This important task has been executed, with incredible ability and success, by Mabillon, D'Achery, Massuet, Ruinart, Beaugendre, Garnier, De la Rue, Martene, Montfaucon, and other eminent men of that learned order. It is to these Benedictines that

we are indebted for the best editions of the Greek and Latin fathers; for the discovery of many curious records and ancient documents, that throw a new light upon the history of remote ages, and upon the antiquities of various countries; for the best accounts of ancient transactions, whether ecclesiastical or political, and of the manners and customs of the earlier times; for the improvement of chronology, and the other branches of literature. In all these parts of philology and belles lettres, the religious order, now under consideration, has shone with a distinguished lustre, and given specimens of their knowledge, discernment, and industry, that are worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity. It would be perhaps difficult to assign a reason for that visible decline of learning among the Jesuits, that commenced precisely at that very period when the Benedictines began to make this eminent figure in the republic of letters. The fact however is undeniable; and the Jesuits have long been at a loss to produce any one or more of their members who are qualified to dispute the pre-eminence, or even to claim an equality with the Benedictines. The latter still continue to shine in the various branches of philology, and, almost every year, enrich the literary world with productions that furnish abundant proofs of their learning and industry; whereas, if we except a single work, published by the Jesuits of Antwerp, many years have passed since the sons of Loyola have given any satisfactory proofs of their boasted learning, or added to the mass of literature any work worthy to be compared with the labours of the followers of Benedict.

These learned monks excited the emulation of the priests of the oratory, whose efforts to resemble them were far from being destitute of success. Several members of this latter order distinguished themselves by their remarkable proficiency in various branches both of sacred and profane literature. This, to mention no more examples, appears sufficiently from the writings of Morin, Thomassin, and Simon, and from that admirable work of Charles de Cointe, entitled, *The Ecclesiastical Annals of France*. The Jansenists also deserve a place in the list of those who cultivated letters with industry and success. Many of their productions abound with erudition, nay several of them excel both in elegance of style and precision of method;

and it may be said, in general, that their writings were eminently serviceable in the instruction of youth, and also proper to contribute to the progress of learning among persons of riper years. The writings of those who composed the community of Port Royal, the works of Tillemont, Arnaud, Nicole, Pascal, and Lancelot, with many other elegant and useful productions of persons of this class, were undoubtedly an ornament to French literature during this century. The other religious societies, the higher and lower orders of the clergy, had also among them men of learning and genius that reflected a lustre upon the respective classes to which they belonged. Nor ought this to be a matter of admiration; since nothing is more natural than that, in an immense multitude of monks and clergy, all possessed of abundant leisure for study, and of the best opportunities of improvement, there should be some, who, unwilling to hide or throw away such a precious talent, would employ with success this leisure, and these opportunities, in the culture of the sciences. It is nevertheless certain, that the eminent men who were to be found beyond the limits of the four classes already mentioned, were few in number, comparatively speaking, and scarcely exceeded the list that any of these classes was able to furnish.

XXXIII. Hence it comes, that the church of Rome can produce a long list of writers that have arisen in its bosom, and acquired a shining and permanent reputation, by their learned productions. At the head of the eminent authors which we find among the monastic orders and the regular clergy, must be placed the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, who have obtained an immortal name in their church, the one by his *laborious Annals*, and the other by his books of *Controversy*. The other writers that belong to this class, are, *Serracius*; *Fevardentius*; *Possevin*; *Gretser*; *Combesis*; *Natalis Alexander*; *Becan*; *Sirmond*; *Petau*; *Poussines*; *Cellot*; *Caussin*; *Morin*; *Renaud*; *Fra Paolo*; *Pallavicini*; *Lab-*

p *Messieurs de Port Royal* was a general denomination, which comprehended all the Jansenist writers, but was however applied, in a more confined and particular sense, to those Jansenists who passed their days in pious exercises and literary pursuits in the retreat of Port Royal, a mansion situated at a little distance from Paris. It is well known, that several writers of superior genius, extensive learning, and uncommon eloquence, resided in this sanctuary of letters.

the Jesuits, Benedictines, priests of the oratory, and Jansenists.

re ; Maimburg ; Thomassin ; Sfondrat ; Aguirre ; Henry Noris ; D'Achery ; Mabillon ; Hardouin ; Simon ; Ruart ; Montfaucon ; Galloni ; Scacchi ; Cornelius a Lapide ; Bonfrere ; Menard ; Seguenot ; Bernard ; Lamy ; Bolland ; Henschen ; Papebroch, and others.

The principal among the *secular clergy*, who are neither bound by vows, nor attached to any particular community and rules of discipline, were, Perron ; Estius ; Launoy ; Albaspinæus ; Petrus de Marca ; Richlieu ; Holstenius ; Baluze ; Bona ; Huet ; Bossuet ; Fenelon ; Godeau ; Tillemont ; Thiers ; Du Pin ; Leo Allatius ; Zaccagni ; Cotelier ; Filesac ; Visconti, &c.^r This list might be considerably augmented by adding to it those writers among the many who distinguished themselves by their theological or literary productions.

xxxiv. If we take an accurate view of the religious system of the Romish church, during this century, both with respect to articles of faith and rules of practice, we shall find that, instead of being improved by being brought somewhat nearer to that perfect model of doctrine and morals that is exhibited to us in the Holy Scriptures, it had contracted new degrees of corruption and degeneracy in most places, partly by the negligence of the Roman pontiffs, and partly by the dangerous maxims and influence of the Jesuits. This is not only the observation of those who have renounced the Romish communion, and in the despotic style of that church are called *heretics* ; it is the complaint of the wisest and worthiest part of that communion, of all its members who have a zeal for the advancement of true Christian knowledge and genuine piety.

The doctrine of the church of Rome still more corrupt than in the preceding ages.

As to the *doctrinal* part of the Romish religion, it is said, and not without foundation, to have suffered extremely in the hands of the Jesuits, who, under the connivance, nay, sometimes by the immediate assistance of the Roman pontiffs, have perverted and corrupted such of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as were left entire by the council of Trent. There are not wanting proofs sufficient to support this charge ; inasmuch as these subtle and insidious fathers have manifestly endeavoured to diminish the

^r For a particular account of the respective merits of the writers here mentioned, see among other literary historians, Du Pin's *Histoire des Ecrivains Ecclesiastiques*, tom. xvii. xviii. xix.

authority and importance of the Holy Scriptures, have extolled the power of human nature, changed the sentiments of many with respect to the necessity and efficacy of divine grace, represented the mediation and sufferings of Christ as less powerful and meritorious than they are said to be in the sacred writings, turned the Roman pontiff into a terrestrial deity, and put him almost upon an equal footing with the Divine Saviour; and finally rendered, as far as in them lies, the truth of the Christian religion dubious, by their fallacious reasonings, and their subtle but pernicious sophistry. The testimonies brought to support these accusations by men of weight and merit, particularly among the Jansenists, are of very great authority, and it is extremely difficult to refuse our assent to them, when they are impartially examined; but, on the other hand, it may be easily proved, that the Jesuits, instead of inventing these pernicious doctrines, did no more, in reality, than propagate them as they found them in that ancient form of the Romish religion that preceded the reformation, and was directly calculated to raise the authority of the pope, and the power and prerogatives of the Romish church to the very highest pitch of despotic grandeur. To inculcate this form of doctrine was the direct vocation of the Jesuits, who were to derive all their credit, opulence, and influence from their being considered as the main support of the papacy, and the peculiar favourites of the Roman pontiffs. If the ultimate end and purpose of these pontiffs were to render the church more pure and holy, and to bring it as near as possible to the resemblance of its Divine Founder, and if this were the commission they gave to their favourite emissaries and doctors, then the Jesuits would be at liberty to preach a very different doctrine from what they now inculcate. But that liberty cannot be granted to them as long as their principal orders from the papal throne are, to use all their diligence and industry, to the end that the pontiffs may hold what they have acquired, and recover what they have lost; and that the bishops and ministers of the Romish church may daily see their opulence increase, and the limits of their authority extended and enlarged. The chief crime then of the Jesuits is really this, that they have explained, with more openness and perspicuity, those points which the leading managers in the council of Trent had either entirely omitted, or slightly mentioned, that they might not shock

the friends of true religion, who composed a part of that famous assembly. And here we see the true reason why the Roman pontiffs, notwithstanding the ardent solicitations and remonstrances that have been employed to arm their just severity against the Jesuits, have always maintained that artful order, and have been so deaf to the accusations of their adversaries, that no entreaties have been able to persuade them to condemn their religious principles and tenets, however erroneous in their nature, and pernicious in their effects. On the contrary, the court of Rome has always opposed, either in a public or clandestine manner, all the vigorous measures that have been used to procure the condemnation and suppression of the doctrine of the *Loyalists*; and the Roman pontiffs have constantly treated all such attempts as the projects of rash and imprudent men, who, through involuntary ignorance, or obstinate prejudice, were blind to the true interest of the church.

xxxv. In the sphere of morals, the Jesuits made still more dreadful and atrocious inroads than in that of religion. Did we affirm, that they have perverted and corrupted almost all the various branches and precepts of morality, we should not express sufficiently the pernicious tendency of their maxims. Were we to go still further, and maintain, that they have sapped and destroyed its very foundations, we should maintain no more than what innumerable writers of the Romish church abundantly testify, and what many of the most illustrious communities of that church publicly lament. Those who bring this dreadful charge against the sons of Loyola, have taken abundant precautions to vindicate themselves against the reproach of calumny in this matter. They have published several maxims, inconsistent with all regard for virtue and even decency, which they have drawn from the moral writings of that order, and more especially from the numerous productions of its *casuists*. They observe, more particularly, that the whole society adopts and inculcates the following maxims;

“That persons *truly wicked*, and *void of the love of God*, may expect to obtain *eternal life* in heaven, provided that they be impressed with a fear of the Divine anger, and avoid all heinous and enormous crimes *through the dread of future punishment*;

“That those persons may transgress *with safety*, who have a *probable reason* for transgressing, i. e. any plausible argument or authority in favour of the sin they are inclined to commit ;”

“That actions *intrinsically evil*, and directly *contrary to the divine laws*, may be *innocently* performed, by those who have so much power over their own minds, as to join, even ideally, a *good end* to this *wicked action*, or, to speak in the style of the Jesuits, who are capable of *directing their intention aright* ;”

“That *philosophical sin* is of a very light and trivial nature, and does not deserve the pains of hell.” By *philosophical sin* the Jesuits mean an action contrary to the dictates of nature and right reason, done by a person who is ignorant of the written law of God, or doubtful^a of its true meaning ;

“That the transgressions committed by a person blinded by the seduction of lust, agitated by the impulse of tumultuous passions, and destitute of all sense and impression of religion, however detestable and heinous they may be in themselves, are not imputable to the transgressor be-

¶ s This is one of the most corrupt and most dangerous maxims of the Jesuits. On the one hand, they have among their doctors of different characters and different principles, that thus they may render their society recommendable in the eyes of all sorts of persons, the licentious as well as the austere. On the other, they maintain, as an opinion or practice, recommended by any one doctor, becomes thereby *probable*, as it is not to be supposed that a learned divine would adopt an opinion, or recommend a practice, in favour of which no considerable reason could be alleged. But here lies the poison ; this *probable* opinion or practice *may* be followed, say the Jesuits, even when the contrary is still *more probable*, nay, when it is sure, because, though the man err, he errs under the authority of an eminent doctor. Thus Escobar affirms that a judge may decide in favour of that side of a question that is the least probable, and even against his own opinion, if he be supported by any tolerable authority. See *Lettres Provinciales*, letter viii.

¶ t For example, an ecclesiastic who buys a benefice, in order to *direct his intention aright*, must, by a powerful act of abstraction, turn away his thoughts from the crime of *simony*, which he is committing, to some lawful purpose, such as that of acquiring an ample subsistence, or that of doing good by instructing the ignorant. Thus again, a man who runs his neighbour through the body in a duel, on account of a trivial affront, to render his action lawful, has only to turn his thoughts from the principle of vengeance to the more decent principle of honour ; and the murder he commits will, by the magic power of Jesuitical morality, be converted into an innocent action. There is no crime, no enormity, to which this abominable maxim may not be extended. “A famous Jesuit has declared, that a son may wish for the death of his father, and even rejoice at it when it arrives, provided that his wish does not arise from any personal hatred, but only from a desire of the patrimony which this death will procure him.” See Gaspard Hurtado, *De sub. peccat. diff.* 3, quoted by Diana, p. 5, tr. 14, R. 99, and another has had the effrontery to maintain, that a monk or ecclesiastic may lawfully assassinate a calumniator, who threatens laying scandalous crimes to the charge of their community, when there is no other way of hindering him from executing his purpose. See the works of father L' Amy, tom. v. disp. 36, n. 118.

^a It would be perhaps more accurate to define the *philosophical sin* of the Jesuits to be “an action contrary to right reason, which is done by a person who is either so absolutely ignorant of God, or does not think of him during the time this action is committed.”

fore the tribunal of God; and that such transgressions may often be as involuntary as the actions of a madman;”

“That the person who takes an oath, or enters into a contract, may, to elude the force of the one, and the obligation of the other, add to the form of words that express them, certain mental additions and tacit reservations.”

These, and other enormities of a like nature, are said to

w The books that have been written to expose and refute the corrupt and enormous maxims of the Jesuits, would make an ample library were they collected together. But nothing of this kind is equal to the learned, ingenious, and humorous work of the famous Pascal, entitled ‘*Le Provinciales, ou Lettres ecrites par Louis de Montalte a un Provincial de ses amis et aux Jesuites sur la Morale et la Politique de ces Peres.*’ This exquisite production is accompanied, in some editions of it, with the learned and judicious observations of Nicole, who, under the fictitious name of Guillaume Wenderock, has fully demonstrated the truth of those facts which Pascal had advanced, without quoting his authorities, and has placed in a full and striking light, several interesting circumstances which that great man had treated with perhaps too much brevity. These Letters, which did the Jesuits more real mischief than either the indignation of sovereign princes, or any other calamity that had heretofore fallen upon their order, were translated into Latin by Rachelius. On the other hand, the sons of Loyola, sensibly affected and alarmed by this formidable attack upon their reputation, left no means unemployed to defend themselves against such a respectable adversary. They sent forth their ablest champions to defend their cause, or at least to cover them from shame; among which champions the subtle and eloquent father Daniel, the celebrated author of the History of France, shone forth with a superior lustre; and, as if they thought it unsafe to trust to the powers of argument and the force of evidence alone, they applied themselves for help to the secular arm, and had credit enough to obtain a sentence against the Provinciales, by which they were condemned to be burnt publicly at Paris. See Daniel’s *Opuscules*, vol. i. p. 363. This author, however, acknowledges, that the greatest part of the answers which the Jesuits opposed to the performance of Pascal were weak and unsatisfactory. Certain it is, that, whether it was owing to the strength of argument, or to the elegant wit and humour that reigned in them, the Provincial Letters lost not the smallest portion of their credit and reputation by all the answers that were made to them, but continued to pass through a variety of editions, which could scarcely be printed off with rapidity sufficient to satisfy the desires of the public.

Another severe attack was made upon the Jesuits, in a book inferior to Pascal’s in point of wit and genteel pleasantry, but superior to it in point of evidence, since it abounds with passages and testimonies, which are drawn from the most applauded writings of the Jesuits, and demonstrate fully the corruption and enormity of the moral rules and maxims inculcated by that famous order. This book, which was published at Mons. in three vols. 8vo. in the year 1702, bears the following title; ‘*La Morale des Jesuites, extraite fidelement de leurs Livres, imprimee avec la permission et l’approbation des superieurs de leur Compagnie, par un Docteur de Sorbonne.*’ The author was Perrault, the son of Charles Perrault, who began the famous controversy in France concerning the respective merit of the ancients and moderns, and his book met with the same fate with the Provincials of Pascal; for it was burnt at Paris in the year 1670, at the request of the Jesuits. See the *Opuscules du P. Daniel*, tom i. p. 356. Nor indeed is it at all surprising, that the Jesuits exerted all their zeal against this compilation, which exhibited, in one shocking point of view, all that had been complained of and censured in their maxims and institutions, and unfolded the whole mystery of their iniquity.

It has been also laid to the charge of the Jesuits, that they reduced their pernicious maxims to practice, especially in the remoter parts of the world. This the famous Arnauld, together with some of his Jansenist brethren, have undertaken to prove, in that laborious and celebrated work, entitled *La Morale Pratique des Jesuites*. In this important work, which consists of eight volumes in 8vo. and of which a second edition was published at Amsterdam in the year 1742, there is a multitude of authentic relations, documents, facts, and testimonies, employed to demonstrate the criminal conduct and practices of the Jesuits. For an ample account of the Jesuitical doctrine concerning philosophical sin, and the dissensions and controversies it occasioned, see Jacobi Hya-

make an essential part of the system of morality inculcated by the Jesuits. And they were complained of, in the strongest remonstrances, not only by the Dominicans and Jansenists, but also by the most eminent theological doctors of Paris, Poitiers, Louvain, and other academical cities, who expressed their abhorrence of them in such a public and solemn manner, that the Roman pontiff neither thought it safe nor honourable to keep silence on that head. Accordingly a part of these moral maxims were condemned, in the year 1659, by Pope Alexander VII. in a public edict; and, in the year 1690, the article relating to philosophical sin met with the same fate, under the pontificate of Alexander VIII.* It was but natural to think, that, if the order of Jesuits did not expire under the terrible blows it received from such a formidable list of adversaries, yet their system of morals must at least have been suppressed, and their pestilential maxims banished from the schools. This is the least that could have been expected from the complaints and remonstrances of the clerical and monastic orders, and the damnatory bulls of the Roman pontiffs. And yet, if we may credit the testimonies of many learned and pious men in the communion of Rome, even this effect was not produced; and the remonstrances of the monks, the complaints of the clergy, and the bulls of the popes, rather served to restrain, in a certain measure, the enormous licentiousness, that had reigned among the writers of this corrupt order, than to purify the seminaries of instruction from the contagion of their dissolute maxims. After what has been observed in relation to the moral system of the Jesuits, it will not be difficult to assign a reason for the remarkable propensity that is discovered by kings, princes, the nobility, and gentry of both sexes, and an innumerable multitude of persons of all ranks and conditions, to commit their consciences to the direc-

cynthi Serry* *Addenda ad Histor. Congregationum de Auxiliis*, p. 83; as also his *Auctarism*, p. 289.

* There is a concise and accurate account of the contests and divisions, to which the morality of the Jesuits gave rise in France and in other places, in a work, entitled 'Catechisme Historique et Dogmatique sur les Contestations qui divisent maintenant l'Eglise,' published in the year 1730, see tom. ii. p. 26. It is very remarkable that the two papal bulls of Alexander VII. and VIII. against the Jesuits, are not to be found in the *Bullarium Pontificum*; but the Jansenists and Dominicans, who are careful in perpetuating whatever may tend to the dishonour of the Jesuits, have preserved them industriously from oblivion.

† * This is a fictitious name, the true name of the author of the *Addenda* is Augustin Le Blanc.

tion, and their souls to the care of the brethren of this society. It is, no doubt, highly convenient for persons, who do not pretend to a rigid observance of the duties of religion and morality, to have spiritual guides, who diminish the guilt of transgression, disguise the deformity of vice, let loose the reins to all the passions, nay, even nourish them by their dissolute precepts, and render the way to heaven as easy, as agreeable, and smooth as is possible.^y

What has here been said concerning the erroneous maxims and corrupt practices of the Jesuits, must however be understood with certain modifications and restrictions. It must not be imagined, that these maxims are adopted, or these practices justified, by all the sons of Loyola, without exception, or that they are publicly taught and inculcated, in all their schools and seminaries; for this, in reality, is not the case. As this order has produced men of learning and genius, so neither has it been destitute of men of probity and candour; nor would it be a difficult task to compile from the writings of the Jesuits a much more just and proper representation of the duties of religion and the obligations of morality, than that hideous and unseemly exhibition of both, which Pascal and his followers have drawn from the Jesuitical *Casuists*, *Summists*, and *Moralists*. Those who censure the Jesuits in general, must, if their censures be well founded, have the following circumstances in view; *first*, that the rulers of that society not only suffer several of their members to propagate publicly impious opinions and corrupt maxims, but even go so far as to set the seal of their approbation to the books in which these opinions and maxims are contained; *secondly*, that the system of religion and morality that is taught in the greatest part of their seminaries is so loose, vague, and ill digested, that it not only may be easily perverted to bad purposes and erroneous conclusions, but even seems peculiarly susceptible of such abuse; and lastly, that the select few, who are initiated into the grand mysteries of the society, and set apart to transact its affairs, to carry on its projects, to exert their political talents in the closet of the minister, or in the cabinet of the prince, commonly make use of the dangerous and pernicious maxims that are com-

^y The translator has here inserted into the text the note q of the original.

^z This is no doubt true. The Jesuits, as has been observed above, note s, have doctors of all sorts and sizes; and this indeed is necessary, in order to the establishment of that universal empire at which they aim. See *Lettres Provinciales*, let. v. p. 62, sixieme edit. de Cologne, 1689.

plained of, to augment the authority and opulence of their order. The candour and impartiality that become an historian oblige us to acknowledge, at the same time, that, in demonstrating the turpitude and enormity of certain maxims and opinions of the Jesuits, their adversaries have gone too far, and permitted their eloquence and zeal to run into exaggeration. This we might show, with the fullest evidence, by examples deduced from the doctrines of *probability* and *mental reservation*, and the imputations that have been made to the Jesuits on these heads; but this would lead us too far from the thread of our history. We shall only observe, that what happens frequently in every kind of controversy, happened here in a singular manner; I mean, that the Jesuits were charged with tenets, which had been drawn *consequentially* from their doctrine, by their accusers, without their consent; that their phrases and terms were not always interpreted according to the precise meaning they annexed to them; and that the tendency of their system was represented in too partial and unequitable a light.

xxxvi. The Holy Scriptures did not acquire any new degrees of public respect and authority under the pontiffs of this century. It can be proved, on the contrary, by the most authentic records, that the votaries of Rome, and more especially the Jesuits, employed all their dexterity and art, either to prevent the word of God from falling into the hands of the people, or at least to have it explained in a manner consistent with the interest, grandeur, and pretensions of the church. In France, and in the Low Countries, there arose indeed several commentators and critics, who were very far from being destitute of knowledge and erudition; but it may nevertheless be said concerning them, that, instead of illustrating and explaining the divine oracles, they rendered them more obscure, by blending their own crude inventions with the dictates of celestial wisdom. This is chargeable even upon the Jansenists, who, though superior to the other Roman catholic expositors in most respects, yet fell into that absurd method of disfiguring the pure word of God, by far-fetched allusions, mystic interpretations, and frigid allegories, compiled from the reveries of the ancient fathers.* Here nevertheless an exception is to be made in

The state of exegetic theology, or the progress made in the interpretation and exposition of Scripture.

* The reader will find a striking example of this in the well-known Bible of Isaac le Maire, commonly called Sacy, which contains all the crude and extravagant fancies

favour of Pasquier Quesnel, a priest of the oratory, whose edition of the New Testament, accompanied with pious meditations and remarks, made such a prodigious noise in the theological world,^b and even in our time has continued to furnish matter of warm and violent contest, and to split the Roman catholic doctors into parties and factions.^c

XXXVII. The greatest part of the public schools retained that dry, intricate, and captious method of teaching theology, that had prevailed in the ages of barbarism and darkness, and was adapted to disgust all such as were endowed with a liberal turn of mind. There was no possibility of ordering matters so, as that *didactic* or *biblical theology*, which is supposed to arrange and illustrate the truths of religion by the dictates of holy Scripture, should be placed upon the same footing, and held in the same honour, with *scholastic divinity*, which had its source in the metaphysical visions of the Peripatetic philosophy. Even the edicts of the pontiffs were insufficient to bring this about. In the greatest part of the universities, the *scholastic* doctors domineered, and were constantly molesting and insulting the *biblical* divines, who, generally speaking, were little skilled in the captious arts of sophistry and dialectical chicane. It is nevertheless to be observed, that many of the French doctors, and more especially the Jansenists, explained the principal doctrines and duties of Christianity in a style and manner that were at least récommendable on account of their elegance and perspicuity; and indeed it may be affirmed, that almost all the theological or moral treatises of this age, that were composed with any tolerable degree of simplicity and good

Of didactic, moral, and polemic theology.

and allegories, with which the ancient doctors obscured the beautiful simplicity of the Holy Scriptures, and rendered their clearest expressions intricate and mysterious.

^b That is, in the Roman catholic part of the theological world. Never perhaps did any thing show, in a more striking manner, the blind zeal of faction than the hard treatment this book met with. Renaudot, a very learned French abbot, who resided some time at Rome during the pontificate of Clement XI. went one day to visit that pontiff, who was a patron of learned men, and found him reading Quenel's Bible. On the abbot's entering the chamber, the pope accosted him thus; "Here is an admirable book! We have nobody at Rome capable of writing in this manner. I would be glad if I could engage the author of it to reside here." The very same pope that pronounced this encomium on Quenel's book, condemned it publicly afterward, and employed all his authority to suppress it. See Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* vol. ii. p. 293, *édit. de Dresde*, 1753.

^c The first part of this work, which contains Observations on the four gospels, was published in the year 1671; and as it was received with universal applause, this encouraged the author, not only to revise and augment it, but also to enlarge his plan, and compose Observations on the other books of the New Testament. See *Catechisme Historique sur les Contestations de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 150. Ch. Eberh. Weismanni *Histor. Eccles.* Sæc. xvii. p. 598.

sense, had the doctors of Port Royal, or the French priests of the oratory, for their authors. We have already taken notice of the changes that were introduced, during this century, into the method of carrying on theological controversy. The German, Belgic, and French divines being at length convinced by a disagreeable experience, that their captious, incoherent, and uncharitable manner of disputing, exasperated those who differed from them in their religious sentiments, and confirmed them in their respective systems, instead of converting them; and perceiving, moreover, that the arguments in which they had formerly placed their principal confidence, proved feeble and insufficient to make the least impression, found it necessary to look out for new and more specious methods of attack and defence.

XXXVIII. The Romish church has, notwithstanding its boasted uniformity of doctrine, been always divided by a multitude of controversies. It would be endless to enumerate the disputes that have arisen between the seminaries of learning, and the contests that have divided the monastic orders. The contests that arose under the pontificate of Clement VIII. between the Jesuits and Dominicans concerning divine grace. The greatest part of these, as being of little moment, we shall pass over in silence; for they have been treated with indifference and neglect by the popes, who never took notice of them but when they grew violent and noisy, and then suppressed them with an imperious nod, that imposed silence upon the contending parties. Beside, these less momentous controversies, which it will ever be impossible entirely to extinguish, are not of such a nature as to affect the church in its fundamental principles, to endanger its constitution, or to hurt its interests. It will therefore be sufficient to give a brief account of those debates, that by their superior importance and their various connexions and dependencies, may be said to have affected the church in general, and to have threatened it with alarming changes and revolutions.

And here the first place is naturally due to those famous debates that were carried on between the Jesuits and Dominicans concerning *the nature and necessity of divine grace*; the decision of which important point had, toward the conclusion of the preceding century, been committed by Clement VIII. to a select assembly of learned divines. These arbiters, after having employed several years in de-

liberating upon this nice and critical subject, and in examining the arguments of the contending parties, intimated plainly enough to the pontiff, that the sentiments of the Dominicans, concerning *grace, predestination, human liberty,* and *original sin,* were more conformable to the doctrine of Scripture and the decisions of the ancient fathers than the opinions of Molina, which were patronised by the Jesuits. They observed, more especially, that the former leaned toward the tenets of Augustine; while the latter bore a striking resemblance of the Pelagian heresy. In consequence of this declaration, Clement seemed resolved to pass condemnation on the Jesuits, and to determine the controversy in favour of the Dominicans. Things were in this state in the year 1601, when the Jesuits, alarmed at the dangers that threatened them, beset the old pontiff night and day, and so importuned him with entreaties, menaces, arguments, and complaints, that, in the year 1602, he consented to re-examine this intricate controversy, and undertook himself the critical task of principal arbitrator therein. For this purpose, he chose a council,^a composed of fifteen cardinals, nine professors of divinity, and five bishops, which, during the space of three years,^b assembled seventy-eight times, or, to speak in the style of Rome, held so many congregations. At these meetings, the pontiff heard, at one time, the Jesuits and Dominicans disputing in favour of their respective systems; and ordered, at another, the assembled doctors to weigh their reasons, and examine the proofs that were offered on both sides of this difficult question. The result of this examination is not known with any degree of certainty; since the death of Clement, which happened on the fourth day of March, in the year 1605, prevented his pronouncing a decisive sentence. The Dominicans assure us, that the pope, had he lived, would have condemned Molina. The Jesuits, on the contrary, maintain that he would have acquitted him publicly from all charge of heresy and error. They alone, who have seen the records of this council, and the journal of its proceedings, are qualified to determine which of the two we are to believe; but these records are kept with the utmost secrecy at Rome.

^a This council was called the congregation de Auxilii.

^b From the twentieth of March 1602, to the twenty-second of January 1605.

XXXIX. The proceedings of the congregation that had been assembled by Clement were suspended, for some time, by the death of that pontiff; but they were resumed, in the year 1605, by the order of Paul V. his successor. Their deliberations, which were continued from the month of September, till the month of March, in the following year, did not turn so much upon the merits of the cause, which were already sufficiently examined, as upon the prudent and proper method of finishing the contest. The great question now was, whether the well-being of the church would admit of the decision of this controversy by a papal bull; and, if such a decision was found advisable, it still remained to be considered, in what terms the bull should be drawn up. All these long and solemn deliberations resembled the delivery of the mountain in the fable, and ended in this resolution, that the whole controversy, instead of being *decided*, should be *suppressed*; and that each of the contending parties should have the liberty of following their respective opinions. The Dominicans assert, that the two pontiffs, together with the congregations of divines that they employed in the review of this important controversy, were entirely persuaded of the justice of *their* cause, and of the truth of *their* system; they moreover observe, that Paul V. had expressly ordered a solemn condemnation of the doctrine of the Jesuits to be drawn up; but was prevented from finishing and publishing it to the world, by the unhappy war that was kindled about that time between him and the Venetians. The Jesuits, on the other hand, represent these accounts of the Dominicans as entirely fictitious, and affirm that neither the pontiff, nor the more judicious and respectable members of the congregation, found any thing in the sentiments of Molina that was worthy of censure, or stood in much need of correction. In a point which is rendered thus uncertain by contradictory testimonies and assertions, it is difficult to determine what we are to believe; it however appears extremely probable, that, whatever the private opinion of Paul V. may have been, he was prevented from pronouncing a public determination of this famous controversy, by his apprehensions of offending either the king of France, who protected the Jesuits, or the king of Spain, who warmly maintained the cause of the Dominicans. It is farther pro-

Continuation of
this controversy
under Paul V.
and its issue.

bable, nay, almost certain, that had the pontiff been independent on all foreign influence, and at full liberty to decide this knotty point, he would have pronounced one of those ambiguous sentences, for which the oracle of Rome is so famous, and would have so conducted matters as to shock neither of the contending parties.^f

XL. The flame of controversy, which seemed thus extinguished, or at least covered, broke out again with new violence, in the year 1640, and formed a kind of schism in the church of Rome; which

The rise of Jansenism, and the contests it produced.

^f Beside the authors we have above recommended as proper to be consulted in relation to these contests, see Le Clerc, "Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des controverses dans l'Eglise Romaine sur la Predestination et sur la Grace," in his "Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique," tom. xiv. p. 235. The conduct, both of the Jesuits and Dominicans, after their controversy was hushed in silence, affords much reason to presume, that they had been both secretly exhorted by the Roman pontiff to mitigate somewhat their respective systems, and so to modify their doctrines or expressions, as to avoid the reproaches of heresy that had been cast upon them; for the Jesuits had been accused of Pelagianism, and the Dominicans of a propensity to the tenets of the protestant churches. This appears, in a more particular manner, from a letter written by Claudius Aquaviva, general of the Jesuits, in the year 1613, and addressed to all the members of his order. In this letter the prudent general modifies with great dexterity and caution the sentiments of Molina, and enjoins it upon the brethren of the society to teach every where the doctrine which represents the Supreme Being, as electing, freely to eternal life, without any regard had to their merits, those whom he has been pleased to render partakers of that inestimable blessing; but, at the same time, he exhorts them to inculcate this doctrine in such a manner, as not to give up the tenets, relating to divine grace, which they had maintained in their controversy with the Dominicans. Never, surely, was such a contradictory exhortation or order heard of; the good general thought nevertheless that he could reconcile abundantly these contradictions, by that branch of the divine knowledge which is called, by the schoolmen, *scientia media*. See the *Catechisme Historique sur les discussions de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 207.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, although their sentiments remain the same that they were before the commencement of this controversy, have learned, notwithstanding, to cast a kind of ambiguity and obscurity over their theological system, by using certain terms and expressions, that are manifestly borrowed from the schools of the Jesuits; and this they do to prevent the latter from reproaching them with a propensity to the doctrine of Calvin. They are moreover much less remarkable, than formerly, for their zealous opposition to the Jesuits, which may be owing perhaps to prudent reflections on the dangers they have been involved in by this opposition, and the fruitless pains and labour it has cost them. The Jansenists reproach them severely with this change of conduct, and consider it as manifest and notorious apostacy from divine truth. See the *Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal, lett. ii. p. 27, *edit. de Cologne, &c.* 1689. We are not, however, to conclude, from this change of style and external conduct among the Dominicans, that they are reconciled to the Jesuits, and that there remain no traces of their ancient opposition to that perfidious order. By no means; for beside that, many of them are shocked at the excessive timidity and prudence of a great part of their brethren, the whole body retains still some hidden sparks of indignation with which they formerly beheld the Jesuits; and, when a convenient occasion of discovering this indignation is offered, they do not let it pass unimproved. The Jansenists are here embarked in the same cause with the Dominicans; since the sentiments of St. Thomas, concerning Divine grace, differ but very little from those of St. Augustine. Cardinal Henry Noris, the most eminently learned among the followers of the latter, expresses his concern, that he is not at liberty to publish what passed in favour of Augustine, and to the disadvantage of Molina and the Jesuits, in the famous congregation *de Auxilio*, so often assembled by the popes, Clement VIII. and Paul V. see his *Vindice Augustiniane*, cap. vi. p. 1175, tom. i. opp. "Quando," says he, "recentiori Romano decreto id vitatum est, cum dispendio cause, quam defendo, necessarium defensioem emitto."

involved it in great perplexity, and proved highly detrimental to it in various respects. The occasion of these new troubles was the publication of a book, entitled *Augustinus*, composed by Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, and published after the death of the author.^a In this book, which even the Jesuits acknowledge to be the production of a man of learning and piety, the doctrine of Augustine, concerning man's natural corruption, and the nature and efficacy of that divine grace, which alone can efface this unhappy stain, is unfolded at large, and illustrated, for the most part, in Augustine's own words. For the end which Jansenius proposed to himself in this work, was not to give his own private sentiments concerning these important points, but to show in what manner they had been understood and explained by that celebrated father of the church, now mentioned, whose name and authority were universally revered in all parts of the Roman catholic world.^b No incident could be more unfavourable to the cause of the Jesuits, and the progress of their religious system, than the publication of this book; for as the doctrine of Augustine differed but very little from that of the Dominicans; as it was held sacred, nay, almost respected as divine, in the church of Rome, on account of the extraordinary merit and authority of that illustrious bishop, and at the same time, was almost diametrically opposite to the sentiments generally received among the Jesuits; these latter could scarcely consider the book of Jansenius in any other light than as a tacit, but formidable refutation of their opinions concerning human liberty and divine grace. And accordingly, they not only drew their pens against this famous book, but also used

g For an account of this famous man, see Bayle's Dictionary, tom. ii. at the article Jansenius. Leydecker, *De Vita et Morte Jansenii*, lib. iii. which makes the first part of his History of Jansenism, published at Utrecht, in 8vo. in the year 1695. *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. i. p. 190. This celebrated work of Jansenius, which gave such a wound to the Romish church, as neither the power nor wisdom of its pontiffs will ever be able to heal, is divided into three parts. The first is historical, and contains a relation of the Pelagian controversy, which arose in the fifth century. In the second we find an accurate account and illustration of the doctrine of Augustine, relating to the constitution and powers of the human nature, in its original, fallen, and renewed state. The third contains the doctrine of the same great man, relating to the aids of sanctifying grace procured by Christ, and to the eternal predestination of men and angels. The style of Jansenius is clear, but not sufficiently correct.

h Thus Jansenius expresses himself in his *Augustinus*, tom. ii. *Lib. Præmiæ*, cap. xxix. p. 65. "Non ego hic de aliqua nova sententia reperienda disputo—sed de antiqua Augustini. Queritur, non quid de naturæ humanæ statibus et viribus, vel de Dei gratia et predestinatione sentiendum est, sed quid Augustinus olim ecclesiæ nomine et auspiciis addiderit, prædicaverit, scriptoque multipliciter consignaverit."

^a The Dominicans followed the sentiments of Thomas Aquinas, concerning the nature of divine grace:

their most zealous endeavours to obtain a public condemnation of it from Rome. Their endeavours were not unsuccessful. The Roman inquisitors began the opposition by prohibiting the perusal of it, in the year 1641; and the year following, Urban VIII. condemned it by a solemn bull, as infected with several errors, that had been long banished from the church.

XLI. There were nevertheless places, even within the bounds of the Romish church, where neither the decisions of the inquisitor, nor the bull of the pontiff, were in the least respected. The doctors of Louvain in particular, and the followers of Augustine in general, who were very numerous in the Netherlands, opposed, with the utmost vigour, the proceedings of the Jesuits, and the condemnation of Jansenius; and hence arose a warm contest, which proved a source of much trouble to the Belgic provinces. But it was not confined within such narrow limits; it reached the neighbouring countries, and broke out, with peculiar vehemence, in France, where the abbot of St. Cyran,^k a man of an elegant genius, and equally distinguished by the extent of his learning, the lustre of his piety, and the sanctity of his manners, had procured Augustine many zealous followers, and the Jesuits as many bitter and implacable adversaries.^l This respectable abbot was the intimate friend and relation of Jansenius, and one of the most strenuous defenders of his doctrine. On the other hand, the far greatest part of the French theologians appeared on the side of the Jesuits, whose religious tenets seemed more honourable to human nature, or at least more agreeable to its propensities, more suitable to the genius of the Romish religion, and more adapted to promote and advance the interests of the Romish church, than the doctrine of Au-

^k The name of this abbot was Jean du Verger de Haurane.

^l This illustrious abbot is considered by the Jansenists as equal in merit and authority to Jansenius himself, whom he is supposed to have assisted in composing his *Augustinus*. The French, more especially, I mean such of them as adopt the doctrine of Augustine, revere him as an oracle, and even extol him beyond Jansenius. For an account of the life and transactions of this pious abbot, see Lancelot's *Mémoires touchant la vie de M. de S. Cyran*, which were published at Cologne,^{*} in the year 1738, in two volumes 8vo. Add to these *Recueil de plusieurs piéces pour servir a l'Histoire de Port Royal*, p. 1—150. Arnaud D'Andilly, *Mémoires au sujet de l'Abbe de S. Cyran*, which are published in the first volume of his *Vies des Religieuses de Port Royal*, p. 15—44. Bayle's Dictionary, vol. ii. at the article Jansenius. *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. i. p. 133. For an account of the earlier studies of the abbot in question, see Gabriel Liron, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. iv. p. 507.

^{*} Though they are said, in the title page, to have been printed at Cologne, yet it is presumed on good grounds, that they first saw the light at Utrecht.

gustine. The party of Jansenius had also its patrons; and they were such as reflected honour on the cause. In this respectable list we may reckon several bishops eminent for their piety, and some of the first and most elegant geniuses of the French nation, such as Arnaud, Nicole, Pascal, and Quesnel, and the other famous and learned men, who are known under the denomination of the *authors of Port Royal*. This party was also considerably augmented by a multitude of persons, who looked upon the usual practice of piety in the Romish church, which consists in the frequent use of the sacraments, the confession of sins, and the performance of certain external acts of religion, as much inferior to what the gospel of Christ requires, and who considered Christian piety as the vital and internal principle of a soul, in which true faith and divine love have gained a happy ascendant. Thus one of the contending parties excelled in the number and power of its votaries; the other in the learning, genius, and piety of its adherents; and, things being thus balanced, it is not difficult to comprehend, how a controversy, which began about a century ago, should be still carried on with the most vehement contention and ardour."

XLH. Those who have taken an attentive view of this long, and indeed endless controversy, cannot but think it a matter both of curiosity and amusement to observe the contrivances, stratagems, arguments, and arts employed by both Jesuits and Jansenists; by the former in their methods of attack, and by the latter in their plans of defence. The Jesuits came forth into the field of controversy, armed with sophistical arguments, odious comparisons, papal bulls, royal edicts, and the protection of a great part of the nobility and bi-

The methods and arguments employed by both parties in this controversy.

m The history of this contest is to be found in many authors, who have either given a relation of the whole, or treated apart some of its most interesting branches. The writers that ought to be principally consulted on this subject are those which follow; Gorberon, *Histoire Generale des Jansenistes*, published in 1700, at Amsterdam, in three volumes, 8vo. and republished in five volumes 12mo. at Lyons, in 1708. Du Mas, *Histoire des Cinq Propositions de Jansenius*, printed at Liege in 8vo. in 1694. Of these two writers, the former maintains the cause of the Jansenists, while the latter favours that of the Jesuits. Add to these, Melch. Leydoecker's *Historia Jansenismis*, printed at Utrecht in 8vo. in 1695: and Voltaire's *Siecle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 264. Several books, written on both sides, are enumerated in a work published in 8vo. in 1735, under the following title; 'Bibliothèque Janseniste, ou Catalogue Alphabetique des principaux Livres Jansenistes,' the author of which is said to be Domin. Colonia, a learned Jesuit. This book, as we have had before occasion to observe, has been republished at Antwerp, with considerable additions, in four volumes 8vo. under the title of 'Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes.' See 'Recueil des pieces pour servir à l'Histoire de Port Royal,' p. 325.

shops ; and, as if all this had appeared to them insufficient, they had recourse to still more formidable auxiliaries, even the secular arm, and a competent number of dragoons. The Jansenists, far from being dismayed at the view of this warlike host, stood their ground with steadiness and intrepidity. They evaded the mortal blows that were levelled at them in the royal and papal mandates, by the help of nice interpretations, subtile distinctions, nay, by the very same sophistical refinements which they blamed in the Jesuits. To the threatenings and frowns of the nobles and bishops, who protected their adversaries, they opposed the favour and applause of the people ; to sophisms they opposed sophisms, and invectives to invectives ; and to human power they opposed the Divine Omnipotence, and boasted of the miracles by which heaven had declared itself in their favour. When they perceived that the strongest arguments and the most respectable authorities were insufficient to conquer the obstinacy of their adversaries, they endeavoured, by their religious exploits, and their application to the advancement of piety and learning, to obtain the favour of the pontiffs, and strengthen their interest with the people. Hence they declared war against the enemies of the Romish church ; formed new stratagems to ensnare and ruin the protestants ; took extraordinary pains in instructing the youth in all the liberal arts and sciences ; drew up a variety of useful, accurate, and elegant abridgments, containing the elements of philosophy and the learned languages ; published a multitude of treatises on practical religion and morality, whose persuasive eloquence charmed all ranks and orders of men ; introduced and cultivated an easy, correct, and agreeable manner of writing, and gave accurate and learned interpretations of several ancient authors. To all these various kinds of merit, the greatest part of which were real and solid, they added others that were at least visionary and chimerical ; for they endeavoured to persuade, and did, in effect, persuade many, that the Supreme Being interposed particularly in support of their cause, and by prodigies and miracles of a stupendous kind, confirmed the truth of the doctrine of Augustine, in a manner adapted to remove all doubt, and triumph over all opposition." All this rendered the Jansenists extremely popular, and

n It is well known that the Jansenists or Augustinians, have long pretended to confirm their doctrine by miracles ; and they even acknowledge that these miracles have

held the victory of the Jesuits for some time dubious ; nay, it is more than probable, that the former would have triumphed, had not the cause of the latter been the cause of the papacy, and had not the stability and grandeur of the Romish church depended, in a great measure, upon the success of their religious maxims.

XLIII. It appears, from several circumstances, that Urban VIII. and after him, Innocent X. were really bent on appeasing these dangerous tumults, in the same manner as the popes in former times had prudently suppressed the controversies excited by Baius and the Dominicans. But the vivacity, incon-

Five prophe-
sies of Jan-
senius con-
demned by
Innocent X.

sometimes saved them, when their affairs have been reduced to a desperate situation. See *Memoires de Port Royal*, tom. i. p. 256, tom. ii. p. 107. The first time we hear mention made of these miracles is in 1656, and the following years, when a pretended thorn of that derisive crown that was put upon our Saviour's head by the Roman soldiers, is reported to have performed several marvellous cures in the convent of Port Royal. See the *Recueil de plusieurs pieces pour servir a l'Histoire de Port Royal*, p. 238, 448. Fontaine, *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Port Royal*, tom. ii. p. 131. These were followed by other prodigies in the year 1661. *Vies de Religieuses des Port Royal*, tom. i. p. 192, and in the year 1664, *Memoires de Port Royal*, tom. iii. p. 252. The fame of these miracles was very great during the last century, and proved singularly advantageous to the cause of the Jansenists ; but they are now fallen, even in France, into oblivion and discredit. The Jansenists therefore of the present age, being pressed by their adversaries, were obliged to have recourse to new prodigies, as the credit of the old ones was entirely worn out ; and they seemed indeed to have had miracles at command, by the considerable number they pretended to perform. Thus, if we are credulous enough to believe their reports, in the year 1725, a woman, whose name was Le Fosse, was suddenly cured of a bloody flux, by imploring the aid of the host, when it was one day carried by a Jansenist priest. About two years after this, we are told, that the tomb of Gerhard Bouasse, a canon of Avignon, was honoured with miracles of a stupendous kind ; and finally, we are informed that the same honour was conferred, in the year 1731, on the bones of the Abbe de Paris, which were interred at St. Medard, where innumerable miracles are said to have been wrought. This last story has given rise to the warmest contest, between the superstitious or crafty Jansenists and their adversaries in all communions. Beside all this, Quesnell, Levier, Desangins, and Tournus, the great ornaments of Jansenism, are said to have furnished extraordinary succours, on several occasions, to sick and infirm persons, who testified a lively confidence in their prayers and merits. See a famous Jansenist book composed in answer to the *Bull Unigenitus*, and entitled, *Jesus Christ sous l'Anatheme et sous l'Excommunication*, art. xvii. p. 61, xviii. p. 66, edit. Utrecht. There is no doubt, but a great part of the Jansenists defend these miracles from principle, and in consequence of a persuasion of their truth and reality ; for that party abounds with persons, whose piety is blended with a most superstitious credulity, who look upon their religious system as celestial truth, and their cause as the immediate cause of heaven, and who are consequently disposed to think that it cannot possibly be neglected by the Deity, or left without extraordinary marks of his approbation and supporting presence. It is, however, amazing, nay almost incredible, on the other hand, that the more judicious defenders of this cause, those eminent Jansenists, whose sagacity, learning, and good sense, discover themselves so abundantly in other matters, do not consider that the powers of nature, the efficacy of proper remedies, or the efforts of imagination, produce many important changes and effects, which imposture, or a blind attachment to some particular cause, lead many to attribute to the miraculous interposition of the Deity. We can easily account for the delusions of weak enthusiasts, or the tricks of egregious impostors ; but when we see men of piety and judgment appearing in defence of such miracles as those now under consideration, we must conclude, that they look upon fraud as lawful in the support of a good cause, and make no scruple of deceiving the people, when they propose, by this delusion, to confirm and propagate what they take to be the truth.

stancy, and restless spirit of the French doctors threw all into confusion, and disconcerted the measures of the pontiffs. The opposers of the doctrine of Augustine selected *five propositions* out of the work of Jansenius already mentioned, which appeared to them the most erroneous in their nature, and the most pernicious in their tendency; and being set on by the instigation, and seconded by the influence of the Jesuits, employed their most zealous endeavours, and their most importunate entreaties, at the court of Rome, to have these propositions condemned. On the other hand, a great part of the Gallican clergy used their utmost efforts to prevent this condemnation; and, for that purpose, they sent deputies to Rome, to entreat Innocent X. to suspend his final decision until the true sense of these propositions was deliberately examined, since the ambiguity of style, in which they were expressed, rendered them susceptible of a false interpretation. But these entreaties were ineffectual; the interest and importunities of the Jesuits prevailed; and the pontiff, without examining the merits of the cause with a suitable degree of impartiality and attention, condemned, by a public bull, on the 31st of May, 1653, the propositions of Jansenius. These propositions contained the following doctrines;

1. "That there are divine precepts, which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are nevertheless absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that measure of grace, that is essentially necessary to render them capable of such obedience;

2. "That no person, in this corrupt state of nature, can resist the influence of divine grace, when it operates upon the mind;

3. "That in order to render human actions meritorious, it is not requisite that they be exempt from *necessity*, but only that they be free from *constraint*;"

4. "That the Semipelagians err grievously in maintaining, that the human will is endowed with the power of either receiving or resisting the aids and influences of preventing grace;

5. "That whosoever affirms, that Jesus Christ made ex-

o Augustine, Leibnitz, and a considerable number of modern philosophers, who maintain the doctrine of *necessity*, consider this necessity in *moral actions*, as consistent with true liberty, because it is consistent with *spontaneity* and choice. According to them, constraint alone and external force destroy *merit* and *imputation*.

piation, by his sufferings and death, for the sins of all mankind, is a Semipelagian.”

Of these propositions the pontiff declared the first four only *heretical*; but he pronounced the fifth *rash, impious, and injurious* to the Supreme Being.^p

XLIV. This sentence of the supreme ecclesiastical judge was indeed painful to the Jansenists, and, of consequence, highly agreeable to their adversaries.

It did not however either drive the former to despair, or satisfy the latter to the extent of their desires; for while the *doctrine* was condemned, the *man* escaped. Jansenius was not named in the *bull*, nor did the pontiff even declare that the *five propositions* were maintained in the book, entitled, *Augustinus*, in the sense in which he had condemned them. Hence the disciples of *Augustine* and *Jansenius* defended themselves by a distinction invented by the ingenious and subtle *Anthony Arnaud*, in consequence of which they considered separately in this controversy the *matter of doctrine* and the *matter of fact*; that is to say, they acknowledge themselves bound to believe, that the *five propositions* above mentioned were justly condemned by the Roman pontiff;^q but they maintained, that the pope had not declared, and consequently that they were not bound to believe, that these propositions were to be found in *Jansenius's* book, in the sense in which they had been condemned. They did not however enjoy long the benefit of this artful distinction. The restless and invincible hatred of their enemies pursued them in every quarter where they looked for protection or repose; and at length engaged *Alexander VII.* the successor of *Innocent* to declare, by a solemn bull, issued out in the year 1656, that the *five propositions*, that had been condemned, were the tenets of *Jansenius*, and were contained in his book. The pontiff did not stop here; but to this flagrant instance of imprudence added another still more shocking; for, in the year 1665, he sent into France the form of a declaration, that was to be subscribed by all those who aspired after any preferment in the church, and in which it was

Alexander VII. publishes a bull against Jansenius.

^p This bull is still extant in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. vi. p. 456. It has also been published, together with several other pieces relating to this controversy, by *Du Plessis D'Argentre* in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 261.

^q This was what our author calls the *questio de jure*.

^r This is the *questio de facto*.

affirmed, that the *five propositions* were to be found in the book of Jansenius, in the same sense in which they had been condemned by the church.* This declaration, whose unexampled temerity and contentious tendency appeared in the most odious colours, not only to the Jansenists, but also to the wiser part of the French nation, produced the most deplorable divisions and tumults. It was immediately opposed with vigour by the Jansenists, who maintained, that in *matters of fact* the pope was *fallible*, especially when his decisions were merely personal, and not confirmed by a general council; and, of consequence, that it was neither obligatory nor necessary to subscribe this papal declaration, which had only a matter of fact for its object. The Jesuits, on the contrary, audaciously asserted, even openly; in the city of Paris, and in the face of the Gallican church, that faith and confidence in the papal decisions relating to matter of *fact*, had no less the characters of a well-grounded and *divine faith*, than when these decisions related merely to matters of doctrine and opinion. It is to be remarked, on the other hand, that all the Jansenists were by no means so resolute and intrepid as those above mentioned. Some of them declared, that they would neither subscribe nor reject the *form* in question, but show their veneration for the authority of the pope, by observing a profound silence on that subject. Others professed themselves ready to subscribe it, not indeed without exception and reserve, but on condition of being allowed to explain, either verbally or in writing, the sense in which they understood it, or the distinctions and limitations with which they were willing to adopt it. Others employed a variety of methods and stratagems to elude the force of this tyrannical *declaration*. But nothing of this kind was sufficient to satisfy the violent demands of the Jesuits; nothing less than the entire ruin of the Jansenists could appease their fury. Such therefore among the latter, as made the least opposition to the declaration in question, were cast into prison, or sent into exile, or involved in some other species of persecution; and it is well known that this severity was a consequence of the suggestions of the Jesuits, and of their influence in cabinet councils.

* This Bull, together with several other pieces, is also published by Du Plessis D'Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. 281, 288, 306. See the form of Alexander's declaration, with the mandate of Louis XIV. *ibid.* p. 314.

† See Du Mas, *Histoire des Cinq Propositions*, p. 158. Gerberon, *Histoire Generale du Jansenisme*, p. ii. p. 516.

XLV. The lenity or prudence of Clement IX. suspended, for a while, the calamities of those who had sacrificed their liberty and their fortunes to their zeal for the doctrine of Augustine, and gave them both time to breathe, and reason to hope for better days. This change, which happened in the year 1669, was occasioned by the fortitude and resolution of the bishops of Angers, Beauvais, Pamiers, and Alet, who obstinately and gloriously refused to subscribe, without the proper explications and distinctions, the oath or declaration that had produced such troubles and divisions in the church. They did not indeed stand alone in the breach; for when the court of Rome began to menace and level its thunder at their heads, nineteen bishops more arose with a noble intrepidity, and adopted their cause, in solemn remonstrances, addressed both to the king of France and the Roman pontiff. These resolute protesters were joined by Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, dutchess of Longueville, a heroine of the first rank both in birth and magnanimity, who, having renounced the pleasures and vanities of the world, which had long employed her most serious thoughts, espoused, with a devout ardour, the doctrines and cause of the Jansenists, and most earnestly implored the clemency of the Roman pontiff in their behalf. Moved by these entreaties, and also by other arguments and considerations of like moment, Clement IX. became so indulgent as to accept of a conditional subscription to the famous declaration, and to permit doctors of scrupulous consciences to sign it according to the mental interpretation they thought proper to give it. This instance of papal condescension and lenity was no sooner made public than the Jansenists began to come forth from their lurking-places, to return from their voluntary exile, and to enjoy their former tranquillity and freedom, being exempt from all uneasy apprehensions of any further persecution.

This remarkable event is commonly called the *peace of Clement IX.* its duration nevertheless was but transitory.^a

^a The transactions relating to this event, which were carried on under the pontificate of Clement IX. are circumstantially related by cardinal Rospignosi, in his *Commentarii*, which Du Plessis D'Argentre has subjoined to his *Elementa Theologica* published in 8vo. at Paris, in the year 1716. See also this last-mentioned author's *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. 336, in which the letters of Clement IX. are inserted. Two Jansenists have written the history of the *Clementine peace*.

It was violated in the year 1676, at the instigation of the Jesuits by Louis XIV. who declared, in a public edict, that it had only been granted for a time, out of a condescending indulgence to the tender and scrupulous consciences of a certain number of persons ; but it was totally abolished after the death of the dutchess of Longueville, which happened in the year 1679, and deprived the Jansenists of their principal support. From that time their calamities were renewed, and they were pursued with the same malignity and rage that they had before experienced. Some of them avoided the rising storm by a voluntary exile ; others sustained it with invincible fortitude and constancy of mind ; others turned aside its fury, and escaped its violence, as well as they could, by dexterity and prudence. Anthony Arnaud, who was the head and leader of the party, fled into Holland in the year 1679 ;* and in this retreat, he not only escaped the fury of his enemies, but had it in his power to hurt them considerably, and actually made the Jesuits feel the weight of his talents and the extent of his influence. For the admirable eloquence and sagacity of this great man gave him such an ascendant in the Netherlands, that the greatest part of the churches there embraced his opinions, and adopted his cause ; the Romish congregations in Holland also were, by his influence, and the ministry of his intimate friends and adherents, John Neercassel and Peter Coddeus, bishops of Castor and Sebasto,† entirely gained over to the Jansenist party.

Varet, vicar to the archbishop of Sens, in an anonymous work, entitled 'Relation de ce qui s'est passe dans l'affaire de la Paix de l'Eglise sous la Pape Clement IX.' and Quesnel, in an anonymous production also, entitled 'La Paix de Clement IX. ou Demonstration des deux faussetes capitales avancees dans l'Histoire des Cinq Propositions contre la foi des disciples de St. Augustin.' That Varet was the author of the former, is asserted in the 'Catechisme Historique sur les contestations de l'Eglise,' tom. i. p. 352 ; and that the latter came from the pen of Quesnel, we learn from the writer of 'Bibliothèque Janseniste,' p. 314. There was another accurate and interesting account of this transaction published in the year 1706, in two volumes 8vo. under the following title ; 'Relation de ce qui s'est passe dans l'affaire de la paix de l'Eglise sous le Pape Clement IX. avec les Lettres, Actes, Memoires, et autres pieces qui y ont rapport.' The important services that the dutchess of Longueville rendered the Jansenists in this affair are related with elegance and spirit by Villefort, in his 'Vie d'Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville,' tom. ii. livr. vi. p. 89, of the edition of Amsterdam, 1739, which is more complete and ample than the edition of Paris.

For an account of this great man, see Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. at the article Anthony Arnaud ; as also *Histoire abregee de la Vie et des Ouvrages de M. Arnaud*, published at Cologne, in 8vo. The change introduced into the Romish churches in Holland is mentioned by Laftau, *Vie de Clement XI.* tom. i. p. 133. For an account of Coddeus, Neercassel, and Varet, and the other patrons of Jansenism among the Dutch, see the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansenistes*, tom. i. p. 48, 21, 353, tom. ii. p. 406, tom. iv. p. 119.

* Bishops in partibus infidelium.

These latter still persevere with the utmost steadiness in the principles of Jansenism; and, secured under the protection of the Dutch government, defy the threats, and hold in derision the resentment of the Roman pontiffs.*

XLVI. It is not only on account of their embracing the doctrine of Augustine concerning divine grace. The austere piety of the Jansenists. a doctrine which bears a striking resemblance with that of the Calvinists, that the Jansenists have incurred the displeasure and resentment of the Jesuits. They are charged with many other circumstances, which appear intolerable to the warm votaries of the church of Rome. And indeed it is certain, that the various controversies, which have been mentioned above, were excited in that church principally by the Jansenists, and have been propagated and handed down by them, even to *our times*, in a prodigious multitude of their books published both in France and in the Netherlands.† But that which offends most the Jesuits and the other creatures of the pontiff, is the austerity of this party, and the severity that reigns in their system of moral discipline and practical religion. For the Jansenists cry out against the corruptions of the church of Rome, and complain that neither its doctrines nor morals retain any traces of their former purity. They reproach the clergy with a universal depravation of sentiments and manners, an entire forgetfulness of the dignity of their character and the duties of their vocation. They censure the licentiousness of the monastic orders, and insist upon the necessity of reforming their discipline according to the rules of sanctity, abstinence, and self-denial, that were originally prescribed by their respective founders. They maintain also, that the people ought to be carefully instructed in all the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, and that, for this purpose, the holy Scriptures and public liturgies should be offered to their perusal in their mother tongue; and finally, they look upon it as a matter of the highest moment to persuade all Christians that true piety does not consist in the observance of pompous rites, or in the performance of external acts of devotion, but in inward holiness and divine love.

* It must however be observed, that, notwithstanding the ascendant the Jansenists have in Holland, the Jesuits, for some time past, have by artifice and disguise got a considerable footing among the Romish churches that are tolerated by the public.

† See *Hist. Eccles. Rom.* xvi. § xxxi.

These sentiments of the Jansenists, on a general view, seem just and rational, and suitable to the spirit and genius of Christianity; but, when we examine the particular branches into which they extend these general principles, the consequences they deduce from them, and the manner in which they apply them, in their rules of discipline and practice, we shall find, that the piety of this famous party is deeply tinged both with superstition and fanaticism; that it more especially favours the harsh and enthusiastical opinion of the *mystics*; and of consequence, that the Jansenists are not undeservedly branded by their adversaries with the denomination of *rigourists*.^a This denomination

^a They who desire to form a just notion of the dismal piety of the Jansenists, which carries the unseemly features of that gloomy devotion that was formerly practised by fanatical hermits in the deserts of Syria, Lybia, and Egypt, but is entirely foreign from the dictates of reason and the amiable spirit of Christianity, have only to peruse the epistles and other writings of the Abbot of St. Cyran, who is the great oracle of the party. This abbot was a well-meaning man; and his piety, such as it was, carried in it the marks of sincerity and fervour; he was also superior, perhaps, as a pastor, to the greatest part of the Roman catholic doctors; and his learning, more especially his knowledge of religious antiquity, was very considerable; but to propose this man as a complete and perfect model of *genuine* piety, and as a most accurate and accomplished teacher of Christian virtue, is an absurdity peculiar to the Jansenists, and can be adopted by no person who knows what *genuine* piety, and *Christian* virtue are. That we may not seem to detract rashly, and without reason, from the merit of this eminent man, it will not be improper to confirm what we have said by some instances. This good abbot, having undertaken to vanquish the heretics, i. e. the protestants, in a prolix and extensive work, was obliged to read, or at least to look into, the various writings published by that *impious tribe*; and this he did in company with his nephew Martin de Barcos, who resembled him entirely in his sentiments and manners. But before he would venture to open a book composed by a protestant, he constantly marked it with the *sign of the cross*, to expel the *evil spirit*. What weakness and superstition did this ridiculous proceeding discover! for the good man was persuaded that *Satan* had fixed his residence in the books of the protestants; but it was not so easy to determine where he imagined the wicked spirit lay, whether in the paper, in the letters, between the leaves, or in the doctrines of these *infernal* productions. Let us see the account that is given of this matter by Lancelot, in his *Memoires touchant la vie de M. l'Abbe de S. Cyran*, tom. i. p. 226. His words are as follows: "Il lisoit ces livres avec tant de piété, qu'en les prenant il les exercoit toujours en faisant la signe de la Croix dessus, ne doutant point que le Demon n'y residoit actuellement." His attachment to Augustine was so excessive, that he looked upon as sacred and divine even those opinions of that great man, which the wiser part of the Romish doctors had rejected, as erroneous and highly dangerous. Such, among others, was that extravagant and pernicious tenet, that "the saints are the only lawful proprietors of the world;" and "that the wicked have no right, by the divine law, to those things which they possess justly, in consequence of the decisions of human law." To this purpose is the following assertion of our abbot, as we find it in Fontaine's *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Port Royal*, tom. i. p. 201. "Jesus Christ n'est encore entre dans la possession de son Royaume temporel, et des biens du monde qui lui appartiennent, que par cette *petite portion* qu'en tient l'Eglise par les benefices de ses Clercs, qui ne sont que les fermiers et les depositaires de Jesus Christ." If therefore we are to give credit to this visionary man, the golden age is approaching, when Jesus Christ, having pulled down the mighty from their seats, and dethroned the kings and princes of the earth, shall reduce the whole world under his sole dominion, and give it over to the government of priests and monks, who are the *princes* of his church. After we have seen such sentiments as these maintained by their oracle and chief, it is but natural to be surprised when we hear the Jansenists boasting of their zeal in defending sovereign states, and in general the civil rights of mankind, against the stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs.

they merited, in a peculiar manner, by their doctrine concerning repentance and penance, whose tendency, considered both in a civil and religious point of view, is singularly pernicious. For they make repentance consist chiefly in those voluntary sufferings, which the transgressor inflicts upon himself, in proportion to the nature of his crimes and the degree of his guilt. As their notions of the extent of man's original corruption are greatly exaggerated, they prescribe remedies to it that are of the same nature. They look upon Christians as bound to expiate this original guilt by acts of mortification performed in solitude and silence, by torturing and macerating their bodies, by painful labour, excessive abstinence, continual prayer and contemplation; and they hold every person obliged to increase these voluntary pains and sufferings, in proportion to the degree of corruption they have derived from nature, or contracted by a vicious and licentious course of life. Nay, they carry these austerities to so high a pitch, that they do not scruple to call those *holy* self-tormentors, who have gradually put an end to their days by excessive abstinence or labour, the *sacred victims of repentance*, that have been consumed by

The notions of the abbot of St. Cyran concerning prayer, which breathe the fanatical spirit of mysticism, will further confirm what we have said of his propensity to enthusiasm. It is for example a favourite maxim with him, that the Christian who prays, ought never to recollect the good things he stands in need of in order to ask them of God, since true prayer does not consist in distinct notions and clear ideas of what we are doing in that solemn act, but in a certain *blind impulse* of divine love. Such is the account given of the abbot's sentiments on this head by Lancelot, in his *Mémoires touchant la vie de l'Abbe de S. Cyran*, tom. ii. p. 44. "Il ne croyoit pas," says that author, "que l'on put faire quelque effort pour s'appliquer a quelque point, ou a quelque pensee particuliere—parce que la veritable priere est plutot un attrait de son amour, qui emporte notre cœur vers lui, et nous enleve comme hors de nous memes, que non pas une occupation de notre esprit, qui se remplit de l'idée de quelque objet quoique divin." According to this hypothesis, the man prays best who neither *thinks* nor *asks* in that act of devotion. This is indeed a very extraordinary account of the matter, and contains an idea of prayer which seems to have been quite unknown to Christ and his apostles; for the former has commanded us to address our prayers to God in a set form of words; and the latter frequently tell us the subjects of their petitions and supplications.

But of all the errors of this arch Jansenist, none was so pernicious as the fanatical notion he entertained of his being the *residence* of the Deity, the *instrument* of the Godhead, by which the *divine nature* itself essentially operated. It was in consequence of this dangerous principle, that he recommends it as a duty incumbent on all pious men to follow, without consulting their judgment or any other guide, the *first motions* and *impulses* of their minds, as the dictates of heaven. And indeed the Jansenists, in general, are intimately persuaded, that God *operates* immediately upon the minds of those who have composed, or rather suppressed, all the motions of the *understanding* and of the *will*, and that to such he declares, from above, his intentions and commands; since whatever thoughts, designs, or inclinations arise with them, in this calm state of tranquillity and silence, are to be considered as the direct suggestions and oracles of the divine wisdom. See, for a further account of this pestilential doctrine, *Mémoires de Port Royal*, tom. iii. p. 216.

the *fire* of divine love. Not satisfied with this *fanatical* language, they go still farther, and *superstitiously* maintain, that the conduct of these self-murderers is peculiarly meritorious in the eye of heaven; and that their sufferings, macerations, and labours, appease the anger of the Deity, and not only contribute to their own felicity, but draw down abundant blessings upon their friends and upon the church. We might confirm this account by various examples, and more especially by that of the famous abbe de Paris, the great wonder-worker of the Jansenists, who put himself to a most painful death, in order to satisfy the justice of an incensed God;^b such was the picture he had formed of the best of beings in his disordered fancy.

XLVII. A striking example of this austere, forbidding, and extravagant species of devotion, was exhibited in that celebrated female convent called *Port Royal in the fields*, which was situated in a retired, deep, and gloomy vale, not far from Paris. The inspection and government of this austere society was given by Henry IV. about the commencement of this century, to Jaqueline, daughter of Anthony Arnaud,^c who, after her conversion, assumed the name of Marie Angelique de la St. Madelaine. This lady had at first led a very dissolute life,^d which was the general case of the cloistered fair in France, about this period; but a remarkable change happened in her sentiments and manners, in the year 1609, when she resolved no more to live like a nun, but to consecrate her future days to deep devotion and penitential exercises. This holy resolution was strengthened by her acquaintance with the famous Francois de Sales, and the abbot of St. Cyran. The last of these pious connexions she formed in the year 1623, and modelled both her own conduct and the manners of her convent after the doctrine and example of these

The convent of Port Royal.

^b See Morinus, *Com. de Penitentia, Praef.* p. 3, in which there is a tacit censure of the penance of the Jansenists. See, on the other hand, the *Memoires de Port Royal*, p. 483. The Jansenists, among all the meritorious actions of the abbot of St. Cyran, find none more worthy of admiration and applause than his restoring from oblivion the true system of penitential discipline; and they consider him as the second author or parent of the doctrine of penance. See *Memoires de Port Royal*, tom. iii. p. 445, 504. This very doctrine however of penance was one of the principal reasons of his being committed to prison by the order of cardinal Richelieu. *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 233, 452.

^c An eminent lawyer, and father to the famous Arnaud, doctor in the Sorbonne.

^d The dissolute life imputed to this abbess by Dr. Mosheim is an egregious mistake, which seems to have proceeded from his misunderstanding a passage in Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. p. 338, note F, fourth edition in French.

devout men. Hence it happened, that during the whole course of this century, the convent of Port Royal excited the indignation of the Jesuits, the admiration of the Jansenists, and the attention of Europe. The holy virgins of this famous society observed, with the utmost rigour and exactness, that ancient rule of the Cistercians, which had been almost every where abrogated on account of its excessive and intolerable austerity; nay, they even went beyond its most cruel demands.* Such was the fame of this devout nunnery, that multitudes of pious persons were ambitious to dwell in its neighbourhood, and that a great part of the

* There is a prodigious multitude of books still extant, in which the rise, progress, laws, and sanctity of this famous convent are described and extolled by eminent Jansenists, who, at the same time, deplore its fate in the most doleful strain. Of this multitude, we shall mention those only which are easy to be acquired, and which contain the most modern and circumstantial accounts of that celebrated establishment. The Benedictines of St. Maur have given an exact, though dry history of this convent, in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 910. A more elegant and agreeable account of it, but an account charged with imperfection and partiality, was composed by the famous poet Racine, under the title of *Abrege de l'Histoire de Port Royal*, and was published, after having passed through many preceding editions, in the year 1750, at Amsterdam, among the works of his son, Lewis Racine, tom. ii. p. 275—366. The external state and form of this convent are professedly described by Moleon, in his 'Voyages Liturgiques,' p. 234. Add to these Nic. Fontaine, 'Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Port Royal,' published at Cologne, or rather at Utrecht, in two volumes 8vo. in the year 1738. Du Fosse, 'Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Port Royal.' 'Recueil de plusieurs pieces pour servir a l'Histoire de Port Royal,' published at Utrecht, in 8vo. in the year 1740. The editor of this last compilation promises, in his preface, further collections of pieces relative to the same subject, and seems to insinuate, that a complete history of Port Royal, drawn from these and other valuable and authentic records, will sooner or later see the light. See, beside the authors above mentioned, Lancelot, 'Memoires touchant la Vie de l'Abbe de S. Cyran.' All these authors confine their relations to the external form and various revolutions of this famous convent. Its internal state, its rules of discipline, the manners of its virgins, and the incidents and transactions that have happened between them and the holy neighbourhood of Jansenists, are described and related by another set of writers; see 'Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Port Royal, et a la Vie de Marie Angelique d'Arnaud,' published at Utrecht, in five volumes 8vo. in the year 1742. 'Vies interessantes et edificantes des religieuses de Port Royal, et de plusieurs personnes qui leur estoient attachees.' There are already four volumes of this work published, of which the first appeared at Utrecht, in the year 1750, in 8vo. and it must be acknowledged, that they all contain several anecdotes and records that are interesting and curious. For an account of the suppression and abolition of this convent, see the 'Memoires sur la destruction de l'Abbaye de Port Royal des Champs,' published in 8vo. in 1711. If we are not much mistaken, all these histories and relations have been much less serviceable to the reputation of this famous convent than the Jansenist party are willing to think. When we view Arnaud, Tillemont, Nicole, Le Maitre, and the other authors of Port Royal, in their learned productions, they then appear truly great; but when we lay aside their works, and taking up these histories of Port Royal, see these great men in private life, in the constant practice of that austere discipline of which the Jansenists boast so foolishly, they indeed then shrink almost to nothing, appear in the contemptible light of fanatics, and seem totally unworthy of the fame they have acquired. When we read the Discourses that Isaac Le Maitre, commonly called Sacy, pronounced at the bar, together with his other ingenious productions, we cannot refuse him the applause that is due to such an elegant and accomplished writer; but when we meet with this polite author at Port Royal, mixed with labourers and reapers, and with the spade and the sickle in his hand, he then certainly makes a comical figure, and can scarcely be looked upon as perfectly right in his head.

Jansenist penitents, or self-tormentors, of both sexes, built huts without its precincts, where they imitated the manners of those austere and gloomy fanatics, who, in the fourth and fifth centuries, retired into the wild and uncultivated places of Syria and Egypt, and were commonly called *the fathers of the desert*. The end which these penitents had in view, was, by silence, hunger, thirst, prayer, bodily labour, watchings, sorrow, and other voluntary acts of self-denial, to efface the guilt, and remove the pollution the soul had derived from natural corruptions or evil habits.† They did not however all observe the same discipline, or follow the same kind of application and labour. The more learned consumed their strength in composing laborious productions filled with sacred and profane erudition, and some of these have no doubt deserved well of the republic of letters; others were employed in teaching youth the rudiments of language and the principles of science; but the far greatest part exhausted both the health of their bodies and the vigour of their minds in servile industry and rural labour; and thus pined away by a slow kind of death. What is singularly surprising is, that many of these voluntary victims of an inhuman piety, were persons illustrious both by their birth and stations, who after having distinguished themselves in civil or military employments, debased themselves so far in this penitential retreat, as to assume the character, offices, and labour of the lowest servants.

This celebrated retreat of the devout and austere Jansenists was subjected to many vicissitudes during the whole course of this century; at one time it flourished in unrivalled glory; at another, it seemed eclipsed, and on the brink of ruin. At length however the period of its total extinction approached. The nuns obstinately refused to subscribe the declaration of pope Alexander VII. that has been so often mentioned; on the other hand their convent and rule of discipline was considered as detrimental to the interests of the kingdom, and a dishonour to some of the first families

† Among the first and most eminent of these penitents was Isaac le Maitre, a celebrated lawyer at Paris, whose eloquence had procured him a shining reputation, and who, in the year 1637, retired to Port Royal, to make expiation for his sins. The retreat of this eminent man raised new enemies to the abbot of St. Cyran. See the 'Memoires pour l'Histoire de Port Royal,' tom. i. p. 233. The example of Le Maitre was followed by a vast number of persons of all ranks, and among these by some persons of the highest distinction. See 'Vies des Religieuses de Port Royal,' tom. i. p. 141.

in France; hence Louis XIV. in the year 1709, set on by the violent counsels of the Jesuits, ordered the convent of Port Royal to be demolished, the whole building to be levelled with the ground, and the nuns to be removed to Paris. And lest there should still remain some secret fuel to nourish the flame of superstition in that place, he ordered the very carcasses of the nuns and devout Jansenists to be dug up and buried elsewhere.

XLVIII. The other controversies that disturbed the tranquillity of the church of Rome, were but light blasts when compared with this violent hurricane. The old debate between the Franciscans and Dominicans, concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which was maintained by the former, and denied by the latter, gave much trouble and perplexity to the Roman pontiffs, and more especially to Paul V. Gregory XV. and Alexander VII. The kingdom of Spain was thrown into such combustion, and so miserably divided into factions by this controversy, about the beginning of this century, that solemn embassies were sent to Rome, both by Philip III. and his successor, with a view to engage the Roman pontiff to determine the question, or at any rate, to put an end to the contest by a public bull. But notwithstanding the weighty solicitations of these monarchs, the oracle of Rome pronounced nothing but ambiguous words, and its high priests prudently avoided coming to a plain and positive decision of the matter in question. For if they were awed, on the one hand, by the warm remonstrances of the Spanish court, which favoured the sentiment of the Franciscans, they were restrained on the other, by the credit and influence of the Dominicans. So that, after the most earnest entreaties and importunities, all that could be obtained from the pontiff, by the court of Spain, was a declaration intimating, that the opinion of the Franciscans had a high degree of probability on its side, and forbidding the Dominicans to oppose it in a public manner; but this declaration was accompanied with another, by which the Francis-

^g See Frid. Ulr. Calixti *Historia Immaculate Conceptionis B. Virginis Mariæ*, published at Helmstadt in 4to. in the year 1696. Hornbeckii *Comm. ad Bullam Urbani VIII. de diebus Festis*, p. 250. Launonii *Præscriptiones de Conceptu Virginis Mariæ*, tom. i. p. i. oper. p. 9. Long after this period, Clement XI. went a step further, and appointed, in the year 1706, a festival to be celebrated, in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, throughout the Romish church. See the *Memoires de Trévoux*, for the year 1709, art. xxxvii. p. 514. But the Dominicans obstinately deny that the

cans were prohibited, in their turn, from treating as erroneous the doctrine of the Dominicans. This pacific accommodation of matters would have been highly laudable in a prince or civil magistrate, who, unacquainted with theological questions of such an abstruse nature, preferred the tranquillity of his people to the discussion of such an intricate and unimportant point; but whether it was honourable to the Roman pontiff, who boasts of a divine right to decide all religious controversies, and pretends to a degree of inspiration that places him beyond the possibility of erring, we leave to the consideration of those who have his glory at heart,

XLIX. The controversies with the mystics were now renewed, and that sect, which in former times enjoyed such a high degree of reputation and authority, was treated with the greatest severity, and involved in the deepest distress toward the conclusion of this century. This unhappy change in their affairs was principally occasioned by the fanaticism and imprudence of Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, who resided at Rome, and the fame of whose ardent piety and devotion procured him a considerable number of disciples of both sexes. A book published at Rome, in the year 1681, by this ecclesiastic, under the title of the *Spiritual Guide*, alarmed the doctors of the church.^a This book contained, beside the usual precepts and institutions of mystic theology, several notions relating to a *spiritual* and *contemplative life*, that seemed to revive the pernicious and in-

Quietism, or the controversies occasioned by the doctrine of Molinos.

obligation of this law extends to them, and persist in maintaining their ancient doctrine, though with more modesty and circumspection than they formerly discovered in this debate. And when we consider that this doctrine of theirs has never been expressly condemned by any pope, and that they are not in the least molested, nor even censured, for refusing to celebrate the festival above mentioned, it appears evidently, from all this, that the terms of the papal edict are to be understood with certain restrictions, and interpreted in a mild and indulgent manner; and that the spirit of this edict is not contrary to the tenor of the former declarations of the pontiffs on this head. See Lamindus Pritanus, a fictitious name assumed by the author Muratori, *De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio*, p. 254.

^a This book, which was composed in Spanish, and published for the first time, in the year 1675, was honoured with the approbation and encomiums of many eminent and respectable personages. It was published in Italian in several places, and at length at Rome, in 1681. It was afterward translated into French, Dutch, and Latin, and passed through several editions in France, Italy, and Holland. The Latin translation, which bears the title of *Manducatio Spiritualls*, was published at Halle, in the year 1687, in 8vo. by Frank. There is another work of Molinos, composed in the same spirit, concerning the daily celebration of the communion, which was also condemned. See the 'Recueil de diverses pieces concernant le Quietisme et les Quietistes ou Molinos ses sentimens et ses disciples,' published in 8vo. at Amsterdam, in the year 1688, in which the reader will find a French translation of the *Spiritual Guide*, together with a collection of letters on various subjects, written by Molinos.

fernal errors of the *beghards*, and open a door to all sorts of dissolution and licentiousness. The principles of Molinos, which have been very differently interpreted by his friends and enemies, amount to this; "That the whole of religion consists in the perfect *calm* and *tranquillity* of a mind removed from all external and finite things, and centred in God, and in such a *pure love* of the Supreme Being, as is independent on all prospect of interest or reward;" or, to express the doctrine of this mystic in other words, "The soul, in the pursuit of the *supreme good*, must retire from the reports and gratifications of sense, and in general, from all corporeal objects, and imposing silence upon all the motions of the understanding and will, must be *absorbed* in the Deity." Hence the denomination of *quietists* was given to the followers of Molinos; though that of *mystics*, which was their vulgar title, was more applicable, and expressed with more propriety their fanatical system. For the doctrine of Molinos had no other circumstance of novelty attending it, than the singular and unusual terms he employed in unfolding his notions, and the ingenuity he discovered in digesting what the ancient mystics had thrown out in the most confused and incoherent jargon, into something that looked like a system. The Jesuits, and other zealous votaries of Rome, soon perceived that the system of Molinos was a tacit censure of the Romish church, as having departed from the spirit of true religion, by placing the essence of piety in external works, and in the performance of a certain round of rites and ceremonies. But the warmest opponents Molinos met with was from the French ambassadorⁱ at Rome, who raised a most violent persecution against him. This made many imagine, that it was not the theological system of Molinos alone that had inflamed the resentment of that minister, but that some considerations of a political nature had been blended with this famous controversy, and that the Spanish mystic had opposed the designs and negotiations of the French monarch at the court of Rome. However that may have been, Molinos, unable to resist the storm, and abandoned by those from whom he chiefly expected succour, yielded to it, in the year 1685, when, notwithstanding the number, rank, and credit of his friends at Rome, and the particular marks of favour he had received from the Roman pontiff,^k he was cast into

ⁱ Cardinal D'Etrees.

^k Innocent XI. 

prison. Two years after this, he was obliged to renounce in a public manner, the errors of which he was accused, and this solemn recantation was followed by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, from which he was, in an advanced age, delivered by death, in the year 1696.¹ The candid and impartial will be obliged to acknowledge, that the opinions and expressions of this enthusiast were perfidiously misrepresented and perverted by the Jesuits and others, whose interest it was that he should be put out of the way, and excluded from every thing but contemplation and repose; and it is most certain, that this doctrine was charged with consequences which he neither approved nor even apprehended. But on the other hand, it must also be confessed, that the system of Molinos was chargeable with the greatest part of the reproaches that are justly thrown upon the mystics, and favoured much the illusions and follies of those fanatics, who would make the crude visions of their disordered fancies pass for Divine revelations.^m

L. It would have been truly surprising had a system of piety, that was so adapted to seduce the indolent mind, to captivate the warm imagination, and to melt the tender heart, been destitute of votaries and followers. But this was by no means the case. In Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Molinos had a considerable number of disciples, and beside the reasons we have now hinted, another circumstance must have contributed much to multiply his votaries; for, in all parts of the Romish dominion, there were numbers of persons who had sense and knowledge enough to perceive, that the whole of religion could not consist in external rites and bodily mortifications, but too little to direct themselves in religious matters, or to substitute what was right in the place of what they knew to be wrong; and hence it was natural enough for them to follow the first plausible guide that was offered to them. But the church of Rome, apprehensive of the consequences of this mystic theology, left

Followers of
Molinos.

¹ He was born in the diocess of Saragossa, in the year 1627; see *Biblioth. Janseniste*, p. 469. For an account of this controversy, see the Narrative of the Proceedings of the Controversy concerning Quietism, which is subjoined to the German translation of Burnet's Travels. As also *Arnoldi Historia Eccles. et Hæretic.* tom. iii. c. xvii. p. 176. *Jaegeri Histor. Eccles. et Polit. Sæculi xvii. Decenn. ix.* p. 26. *Plessis D'Argentre, Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 367, where may be seen edicts relating to this controversy.

^m All that can be alleged in defence of Molinos has been gathered together by Weismannus, in his *Histor. Ecclesiast.* Sæc. xvii. p. 555.

no method unemployed that could contribute to stop its progress; and, by the force of promises and threatenings, of severity and mildness properly applied, stifled in the birth the commotions and changes it seemed adapted to excite. The death of Molinos contributed also to dispel the anxiety of the Romish doctors, since his disciples and followers seemed too inconsiderable to deserve any notice. Among these are generally reckoned cardinal Petrucci, Francis de La Combe, a Barnabite friar, the spiritual director of madame Guyon, who shall be mentioned more particularly, Francis Malavalle, Berniere de Louvigni, and others of less note. These enthusiasts, as is common among the mystics, differ from Molinos in several points, and are also divided among themselves; this diversity is however rather nominal than real; and, if we consider the true signification of the terms by which they express their respective notions, we shall find that they all set out from the same principles, and tend to the same conclusions."

LI. One of the principal patrons and propagators of *quietism* in France was Marie Bouvieres de la Mothe Guyon, a woman of fashion, remarkable for the goodness of her heart and the regularity of her manners, but of an inconstant and unsettled temper, and subject to be drawn away by the seduction of a warm and unbridled fancy. This female apostle of mysticism derived all her ideas of religion from the feelings of her own heart, and described its nature to others according as she felt it herself; a manner of proceeding of all others the most uncertain and delusive. And accordingly, her religious sentiments made a great noise in the year 1687, and gave offence to many. Hence, after they had been accurately and attentively examined by several men of eminent piety and learning, they were at length pronounced

The case of
madame Guyon
and Fene-
lon.

n The writings of these fanatics are enumerated and sharply criticised by Colonia, in the *Bibliothèque Quietiste*, which he has subjoined to his *Bibliothèque Janseniste*, p. 455—488. See also God. Arnoldi *Historia et Descriptio Theologiæ Mysticæ*, p. 364, and Poiret's *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, published at Amsterdam, in 8vo. in 1708.

o Madame Guyon wrote her own life and spiritual adventures in French, and published them in the year 1720. Her writings, which abound with childish allegories and mystic ejaculations, have been translated into German. Her principal production was 'La Bible de Mad. Guyon, avec des applications et réflexions qui regardent la vie intérieure.' This Bible, with Annotations relating to the hidden or internal life, was published in the year 1715, at Amsterdam, under the name of *Cologne*, in twenty volumes in 8vo. which abundantly discover the fertile imagination and shallow judgment of this female mystic. See a further account of her in the Letters of Mad. de Maintenon, tom. i. p. 249, tom. ii. p. 45, 47, 49, 51.

erroneous and unsound, and, in the year 1697, were professedly confuted by the celebrated Bossuet. This gave rise to a controversy of still greater moment, between the prelate last mentioned and Francis Salignac de Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, whose sublime virtue and superior genius were beheld with veneration in all the countries of Europe. Of these two disputants, who, in point of eloquence, were avowedly without either superiors or equals in France, the latter seemed disposed to favour the religious system of madame Guyon. For when Bossuet desired his approbation of the book he had composed, in answer to the sentiments of that female mystic, Fenelon not only refused it, but openly declared that this pious woman had been treated with great partiality and injustice, and that the censures of her adversary were unmerited and groundless. Nor did the warm imagination of this amiable prelate permit him to stop here, where the dictates of prudence ought to have set bounds to his zeal; for, in the year 1697, he published a book,^p in which he adopted several of the tenets of madame Guyon, and more especially that favourite doctrine of the mystics, which teaches, that the love of the Supreme Being must be pure and disinterested; that is, exempt from all views of interest and all hope of reward.^q This doctrine Fenelon explained with a pathetic eloquence, and confirmed it by the authority of many of the most eminent and pious among the Romish doctors. Bossuet, whose leading passion was ambition, and who beheld with anxiety the rising fame and eminent talents of Fenelon as an obstacle to his glory, was highly exasperated by this opposition, and left no method unemploy'd which artifice and jealousy could suggest, to mortify a rival whose illustrious merit had rendered so formidable.

^p This book was entitled *Explication des Maxims des Saints sur la vie interieure*. It has been translated into Latin.

^q This doctrine of the Mystics has thus far a foundation in reason and philosophy, that the moral perfections of the Deity are, in themselves, *intrinsically amiable*; and that their *excellence* is as much adapted to excite our esteem and love, as the experience of their beneficent effects, in promoting our well being, is to inflame our gratitude. The error therefore of the Mystics lay in their drawing extravagant conclusions from a right principle, and in their requiring in their followers a perpetual abstraction and separation of ideas, which are intimately connected, and, as it were, blended together, such as *felicity* and *perfection*; for though these two are inseparable in fact, yet the Mystics, from a fantastic pretension to disinterestedness, would separate them right or wrong, and turned their whole attention to the latter. In their views also of the Supreme Being, they overlooked the important relations he bears to us as *benefactor* and *rewarder*; relations that give rise to noble sentiments and important duties, and confined their views to his supreme *beauty*, *excellence*, and *perfection*.

For this purpose, he threw himself at the feet of Louis XIV. implored the succours of the Roman pontiff, and by his importunities and stratagems, obtained, at length, the condemnation of Fenelon's book. This condemnation was pronounced in the year 1699, by Innocent XII. who, in a public brief, declared that book unsound in general, and branded with more peculiar marks of disapprobation twenty-three propositions, specified by the congregation, that had been appointed to examine it. The book however was condemned alone, without any mention of the author; and the conduct of Fenelon on this occasion was very remarkable. He declared publicly his entire acquiescence in the sentence by which his book had been condemned, and not only read that sentence to his people in the pulpit at Cambray, but exhorted them to respect and obey the papal decree. This step was differently interpreted by different persons, according to their notions of this great man, or their respective ways of thinking. Some considered it as an instance of true magnanimity, as the mark of a meek and gentle spirit, that preferred the peace of the church to every private view of interest or glory. Others, less charitable, looked upon this submissive conduct as ignoble and pusillanimous, as denoting manifestly a want of integrity, inasmuch as it supposed, that the prelate in question condemned with his lips, what in his heart he believed to be true. One thing indeed seems generally agreed on, and that is, that Fenelon persisted, to the end of his days, in the sentiments which, in obedience to the order of the pope, he retracted and condemned in a public manner.

LII. Besides these controversies, which derived their importance chiefly from the influence and reputation of the disputants, and thus became productive of great tumults and divisions in the church, there were others excited by several innovators, whose new and singular opinions were followed with troubles, though of a less momentous and permanent nature. Such was the strange doctrine of Isaac la Peyrere, who, in two small treatises; published in the year 1655, maintained,

La Peyrere,
White, Sfondrati, and
Borri.

r An ample and impartial account of this controversy has been given by Toussaint du Plessis, a Benedictine, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, livr. v. tom. i. p. 485—523. Ramsay, in his *Life of Fenelon*, written in French, and published at the Hague in the year 1723, is less impartial; but is nevertheless worthy of being consulted on this subject. See Voltaire *Siecle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 301. The public acts and edicts relating to this controversy have been collected by Du Plessis Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de notis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 402.

that it is the origin of the Jewish nation, and not of the human race, that we find recorded in the books of Moses, and that our globe was inhabited by many nations before Adam, whom he considered as the father of the Jews. Though Peyrere was a protestant when he published this opinion, yet the doctors of the Romish church looked upon themselves as obliged to punish an error that seemed to strike at the foundation of all revealed religion; and therefore, in the year 1656, had him seized at Brussels, and cast into prison, where, to escape the flames, he publicly renounced his erroneous system, and to make a full expiation for it, embraced the popish religion.*

Thomas White, known at different times, and in different countries, by the names of Albius, Anglus, Candidus, Bianchi, which he assumed successively, made a considerable figure about the middle of this century, in England, Portugal, France, and the Netherlands, by the number and subtilty of his philosophical productions; but he also incurred the displeasure of many of the doctors of his communion, on account of the novelty and singularity of his opinions. He was undoubtedly a man of genius and penetration; but, being a passionate admirer of the peripatetic philosophy, he ventured to employ it in the explication of some of the peculiar doctrines of the Romish church. This bold attempt led him imperceptibly out of the beaten road of popery, opened to him new views of things, and made him adopt notions that had never been heard of in the church of Rome; and hence his books were prohibited and condemned in several places, and particularly at Rome by the *congregation of the index*. This innovator is said to have died in England, his native country, and to have left a sect behind him that embraced his doctrine, but, in process of time, fell into oblivion.†

His peculiarities however were nothing, in comparison with the romantic notions of Joseph Francis Borri, a Milanese knight, eminent for his knowledge of chymistry and physic, but who, at the same time, appears to have been

* Bayle's Dictionary at the article Peyrere. Arnoldi *Histor. Eccles. et Hæret.* tom. iii. p. 70. *Menagianni*, published by De la Monnoye, tom. ii. p. 40.

† All these denominations were relative to his true name, which was White. This man was a peculiar favourite of sir Kenelm Digby's, and mentions him with singular veneration in his philosophical writings. See more of this White in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 665, and in the *Biograph. Brit.* article Glanvil, vol. iv. p. 2206.

u See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Anglus. Baillet, *Vie de Des Cartes*, tom. ii. p. 245.

rather a madman than a heretic. The fancies broached by this man, concerning the *Virgin Mary*, the *Holy Ghost*, the erection of a new celestial kingdom, of which he himself was to be the founder, and the downfall of the Roman pontiff, are so extravagant, childish, and absurd, that no sober person can view them in any other light than as the crude reveries of a disordered brain. Beside, the conduct of this fanatic, in several places, discovered the greatest vanity and levity, attended with that spirit of imposture that is usually visible in quacks and mountebanks; and indeed, in the whole of his behaviour, he seemed destitute of sense, integrity, and prudence. The inquisitors had spread their snares for Borri, but he luckily escaped them, and wandered up and down through a great part of Europe, giving himself out for another Esculapius, and pretending to be initiated into the most profound mysteries of the chymical science. But in the year 1672, he imprudently fell into the clutches of the Roman pontiff, who pronounced against him a sentence of perpetual imprisonment.*

The last innovator we shall here mention is Cœlestine Sfondrati, who, having formed the design of terminating the disputes concerning predestination by new explications of that doctrine, wrote a book upon that knotty subject, which threw into combustion, in the year 1696, a considerable part of the Romish church; since it was, in some things, agreeable to none of the contending parties, and neither satisfied entirely the Jesuits nor their adversaries. Five French bishops, of great credit at the court of Rome, accused the author, notwithstanding the high rank of cardinal, to which he had been raised on account of his extensive learning, of various errors, and more especially of having departed from the sentiments and doctrine of Augustine. This accusation was brought before Innocent XII. in the year 1696, but the contest it seemed adapted to excite was nipt in the bud. The pontiff appeased, or rather put off, the French prelates, with a fair promise that he would appoint a congregation to examine the cardinal's doctrine, and then pronounce sentence accordingly; but he forgot his promise, imitated the prudent conduct of his predecessors, on like occasions, and did not venture to

* There is a very interesting article in Bayle's Dictionary relating to Borri, in which all the extravagances of that wrong-headed man are curiously related. See also Arnold, *ibc. cit.* p. jii. c. xviii. p. 193.

give a final decision to this intricate and knotty controversy.^x

LIII. There was scarcely any change introduced into the ritual of the Romish church during this century, if we except an edict of Urban VIII. for diminishing the number of holidays, which was issued out in the year 1643; we shall therefore conclude this account with a list of the saints added to the calendar by the Roman pontiffs during the period now before us.

In the year 1601, Clement VIII. raised to that spiritual dignity Raymond of Pennafort, the famous compiler of the Decretals; in 1608, Frances Pontiani, a Benedictine nun; and, in 1610, the eminent and illustrious Charles Borromeo, bishop of Milan, so justly celebrated for his exemplary piety, and almost unparalleled liberality and beneficence.

Gregory XV. conferred, in the year 1622, the honour of saintship on Theresa, a native of Avila in Spain, and a nun of the Carmelite order.

Urban VIII. in the year 1623, conferred the same ghostly honours on Philip Neri, the founder of the order entitled *Fathers of the Oratory*, in Italy; on Ignatius Loyola, the parent of the Jesuits; and on his chief disciple Francis Xavier, the Jesuitical apostle of the Indians.

Alexander VII. canonized, in the year 1658, Thomas de Villanova, a Spanish monk, of the order of St. Augustin; and, in 1665, Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva.

Clement X. added to this ghostly list, in the year 1670, Pedro de Alcantara, a Franciscan monk; and Maria Magdalena Pectii, a Florentine nun of the Carmelite order; and in the year 1671, Rose, an American virgin, of the third order of Dominic, and Lewis Bertrand, a Dominican monk.

Under the pontificate of Innocent XII. saintship was conferred upon Cajetan of Vicenza, a regular clerk of the

^x This book, which was published at Rome in 4to. in the year 1696, is entitled *Nodus Prædestinationis dissolutus*. The letters of the French bishops, with the answer of the Roman pontiff, are to be found in Du Plessis D'Argentre's *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 394, and Natalis Alexander's *Theologia Dogmatica et Moralis*, p. 877. The letters of the bishops are remarkable in this respect, that they contain sharp animadversions against the Jesuits and their discipline. The prelates express, in the strongest terms, their abhorrence of the doctrine of *philosophical sin*, which has rendered the Jesuits so deservedly infamous, and their detestation of the methods of propagating Christianity employed by the missionaries of that order in China. Nay, to express their aversion to the doctrine of Sfondrati, they say, that his opinions are *still more erroneous and pernicious than even those of the Molinists*. The doctrine of this cardinal has been accurately represented and compared with that of Augustines by the learned Basnage, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*. livr. xii. c. iii. §. xi. p. 713.

^y The Bull issued out by Urban VIII. for diminishing the number of the holydays celebrated in the church of Rome, may be seen in the *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, tom. xv. p. 89.

order of Theatins, for whom that honour had been designed twenty years before, by Clement X. who died at the time the canonization was to have been performed; John of Leon, a hermit of St. Augustin; Paschal Baylonios, a Franciscan monk of the kingdom of Arragon; and John de Dieu, a Portuguese, and one of the order of the brethren of hospitality, all of whom had been marked for a place in the calendar, by Alexander VIII. were solemnly canonized, in the year 1691, by Innocent XII.^z

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

I. **THE history of the Greek and eastern Christians, faithfully and accurately composed, would, no doubt, furnish us with a variety of entertaining and useful records; but the events that happen, and the transactions that are carried on in these distant regions, are very rarely transmitted to us genuine and uncorrupted. The spirit of religious party, and the pious frauds it often engenders, want of proper information, and undistinguishing credulity, have introduced a fabulous mixture into the accounts we have of the state of the Christian religion in the east; and this consideration has engaged us to treat in a more concise manner, than would otherwise have been expedient, this particular branch of ecclesiastical history.**

The Greek church, whose wretched situation was mentioned in the history of the preceding century, continued, during the present one, in the same deplorable state of ignorance and decay, destitute of the means of acquiring or promoting solid and useful knowledge. This account is however to be considered as taken from a general view of that church; for several of its members may be alleged as exceptions from this general character of ignorance,

^z The diplomas of the pontiffs, relative to all these canonizations, may be seen in Justus Fontaninus's *Codex Constitutionum, quas summi Pontifices ediderunt in solemnibus Canonizatione sanctorum*, p. 260, published in folio at Rome, in the year 1729. As they contain the particular reasons which occasioned the elevation of these persons to a place in the calendar, and the peculiar kind of merit on which each of these ghostly promotions was founded, they offer abundant matter for reflection and censure to a judicious reader. Nor would it be labour ill employed to inquire, without prejudice or partiality, into the justice, piety, and truth of what the popes allege in these diplomas, as the reasons inducing them to confer saintship on the persons therein mentioned.

superstition, and corruption. Among that multitude of Greeks who travelled into Sicily, Venice, Rome, England, Holland, and Germany, or carry on trade in their own country, or fill honourable and important posts in the court of the Turkish emperor, there are undoubtedly several who are exempt from this reproach of ignorance and stupidity, of superstition and profligacy, and who make a figure by their opulence and credit.^a But nothing can be more rooted and invincible than the aversion the Greeks in general discover to the Latin or Römish church; an aversion which neither promises nor threatenings, artifice nor violence, have been able to conquer, or even to temper or diminish, and which has continued inflexible and unrelenting amidst the most zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs, and the various means employed by their numerous missionaries to gain over this people to their communion and jurisdiction.^b It is true indeed that the Latin doctors have

^a I have been led to these remarks by the complaints of Alexander Helladius, and others, who see things in the light in which he has placed them. There is still extant a book published in Latin by this author, in the year 1714, entitled *The present state of the Greek Church*, in which he throws out the bitterest reproaches upon several authors of eminent merit and learning, who have given accounts of that church, and maintains that his brethren of the Greek communion are much more pious, learned, wise, and opulent, than they are commonly supposed to be. Instead of envying the Greeks the merit and felicity which this panegyrist supposes them possessed of, we sincerely wish them much greater degrees of both. But we observe, at the same time, that from the very accounts given by Helladius, it would be easy to prove, that the state of the Greeks is not a whit better than it is generally supposed to be; though it may be granted that the same ignorance, superstition, and immorality, do not abound alike in all places, nor among all persons. See what we have remarked on this subject in the accounts we have given of the eastern church during the sixteenth century.

^b The Jesuit Tarillon has given an ample relation of the numerous *missions* in Greece and the other provinces of the Ottoman empire, and of the present state of these missions, in his letter to Pontchartraine, *Sur l'état présent des Missions des Peres Jesuites dans la Grece*, which is published in the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. i. p. 1125. For an account of the state of the Romish religion in the Islands of the Archipelago, see the letter of the Jesuit Xavier Portier, in the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions Etrangères*, tom. x. p. 323. These accounts are, it is true, somewhat embellished, in order to advance the glory of the Jesuits; but the exaggerations of these missionaries may be easily corrected by the accounts of other writers, who, in our times, have treated this branch of ecclesiastical history. See, above all others, R. Simon's, under the fictitious name of Sanioso, *Bibliothèque Critique*, tom. i. c. xxiil. p. 340, and especially p. 346, where the author confirms a remarkable fact, which we have mentioned above upon the authority of Urban Cerri, viz. that amidst the general dislike which the Greeks have of the Romish church, none carry this dislike to such a high degree of antipathy and aversion, as those very Greeks who have been educated at Rome, or in other schools and seminaries belonging to its spiritual jurisdiction. "Ils sont," says father Simon, "les premiers a crier contre et a medire du Pape et des Latins. Ces Pelerins Orientaux qui viennent chez nous soubrent et abusent de notre credulite pour acheter un benefice et tourmenter les missionnaires Latins," &c. We have still more recent and ample testimonies of the invincible hatred of the Greeks toward the Latins, in the Preface to Cowell's Account of the present Greek Church, printed at Cambridge, in the year 1733.

founded churches in some of the islands of the Archipelago; but these congregations are poor and inconsiderable; nor will either the Greeks or their masters, the Turks, permit the Romish missionaries to extend further their spiritual jurisdiction.

II. Under the pontificate of Urban VIII. great hopes were entertained of softening the antipathy of the Greeks against the Latin church, and of engaging them and the other Christians of the east, to embrace the communion of Rome, and acknowledge the supremacy and jurisdiction of its pontiff. This was the chief object that excited the ambitious zeal and employed the assiduous labour and activity of Urban, who called to his assistance such ecclesiastics as were most eminent for their acquaintance with Greek and oriental learning, and with the tempers, manners, and characters of the Christians in those distant regions, that they might suggest the shortest and most effectual method of bringing them and their churches under the Roman yoke. The wisest of these counsellors advised the pontiff to lay it down, for a preliminary in this difficult negotiation that the Greek and eastern Christians were to be indulged in almost every point that had hitherto been refused them by the Romish missionaries, and that no alteration was to be introduced, either into their ritual or doctrine; that their ceremonies were to be tolerated, since they did not concern the essence of religion; and that their doctrine was to be explained and understood in such a manner, as might give it a near and striking resemblance of the doctrine and institutions of the church of Rome. In defence of this method of proceeding, it was judiciously observed, that the Greeks would be much more tractable and obsequious, were they told by the missionaries that it was not meant to convert them; that they had always been Roman catholics in reality, though not in profession; and that the popes had no intention of persuading them to abandon the doctrine of their ancestors, but only desired that they would understand it in its true and genuine sense. This plan gave rise to a variety of laborious productions, in which there was more learning than probity, and more dexterity than candour and good faith. Such were the treatises published by Leo Allatius, Morinus, Clement Gala-

The story of
Cyrillus La-
car.

The hopes
of a union
between the
Greek and
Latin church-
es entirely
dispelled.

^c See the Life of Morinus, which is prefixed to his *Antiquitates Eccles. Orient.* p. 37.

nus, Lucas Holstenius, Abraham Echellensis,^d and others, who pretended to demonstrate, that there was little or no difference between the religion of the Greeks, Armenians, and Nestorians, and that of the church of Rome, a few ceremonies excepted, together with some unusual phrases and terms that are peculiar to the Christians of the east.

This design of bringing, by artful compliances, the Greek and eastern churches under the jurisdiction of Rome was opposed by many; but by none with more resolution and zeal than by Cyrillus Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of extensive learning and knowledge of the world, who had travelled through a great part of Europe, and was well acquainted with the doctrine and discipline both of the protestant and Romish churches. This prelate declared openly, and indeed with more courage than prudence, that he had a strong propensity to the religious sentiments of the English and Dutch churches, and had conceived the design of reforming the doctrine and ritual of the Greeks, and bringing them nearer to the purity and simplicity of the gospel. This was sufficient to render the venerable patriarch odious to the friends of Rome. And accordingly the Jesuits, seconded by the credit and influence of the French ambassador, and assisted by the treacherous stratagems of some perfidious Greeks, continued to perplex and persecute the good man in various ways, and at length accomplished his ruin; for, by the help of false witnesses, they obtained an accusation of treason against him; in consequence of which he was put to death, in the year 1638, by order of the emperor.^e He was suc-

^d The book of Leo Allatius *De Concordia Ecclesie Orientalis et Occidentalis*, is well known, and deservedly looked upon, by the most learned men among the protestants, as the work of a disingenuous and insidious writer. The *Græcia Orthodoxa* of the same author, which was published at Rome in the year 1652, in 4to. and contains a compilation from all the books of the Grecian doctors that were well affected to the Latin church, is still extant. We have nothing of Lucas Holstenius, who was superior to Allatius in learning and sagacity, upon this subject, except two posthumous dissertations, *De ministro et forma sacramenti confirmationis apud Græcos*, which were published at Rome in the year 1666. The treatises of Morinus *De penitentia et ordinationibus*, are known to all the learned, and seem expressly composed to make the world believe, that there is a striking uniformity of sentiment between the Greek and Latin churches on these two important points, when, laying aside the difference that scholastic terms and peculiar modes of expression may appear to occasion, we attend to the meaning that is annexed to these terms by the members of the two communions. Galanus, in a long and laborious work, published at Rome in the year 1650, has endeavoured to prove, that the Armenians differ very little from the Latins in their religious opinions; and Abraham Echellensis has attempted to convince us in several treatises, and more especially in his *Animadversiones ad Hebed. Jesu Catalogum librorum Chaldaicorum*, that all Christians throughout Africa and Asia have the same system of doctrine that is received among the Latins.

^e The Confession of Faith, drawn up by Cyrillus Lucar, was published in Holland

ceeded by Cyrillus, bishop of Berea, a man of a dark, malignant, and violent spirit, and the infamous instrument the Jesuits had chiefly employed in bringing him to an untimely end. As this new patriarch declared himself openly in favour of the Latins, the reconciliation of the Greeks with the church of Rome seemed more probable than ever, nay almost certain; but the dismal fate of this unworthy prelate dispelled all of a sudden the pleasing hopes and the anxious fears with which Rome and its adversaries beheld the approach of this important event. The same violent death that had concluded the days of Cyrillus Lucar pursued his successor, in whose place Parthenius, a zealous opposer of the doctrine and ambitious pretensions of Rome, was raised to the patriarchal dignity. After this period, the Roman pontiffs desisted from their attempts upon the Greek church, no favourable opportunity being offered either of *deposing its* patriarchs, or gaining them over to the *Romish* communion.

III. Notwithstanding these unsuccessful attempts of the Roman pontiffs to reduce the Greek church under their dominion, many allege, and more especially the reformed clergy, complain, that the doctrine of that church has been manifestly corrupted by the emissaries of Rome. It is supposed, that in

Whether or not the Romish doctors and missionaries contributed to the corruption of the doctrine of the Greek church.

later times, the munificence of the French ambassadors at the Port, and the persuasive sophistry of the Jesuits, have made such irresistible impressions on the avarice and ignorance of the Greek bishops, whose poverty is great, that they have departed, in several points, from the reli-

in the year 1645; and is also inserted by Aymon, in his *Monumens authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, p. 237. By this confession, it appears evidently, that Cyrillus had a stronger inclination towards the doctrine of the reformed churches, than to that which was commonly received among the Greeks. Nor was he, by any means, ill affected toward the Lutherans; since he addressed several letters to the Swedish clergy about this time, and solicited their friendship, as appears from the learned Arkenholtz's *Memoires de la Reine Christine*, tom. i. p. 486, tom. ii. Append. p. 113. Aymon has published, in the work already mentioned, p. 1—109, twenty-seven letters of this patriarch to the clergy of Geneva, and to other doctors of the reformed church, in which his religious sentiments are still more plainly discovered. His life, transactions, and deplorable fate, have been recorded by Thomas Smith, a learned divine of the English church, in his *Narratio de Vita Studii, Gestis, et Martyrio Cyrilli Lucaris*, which is the third article of his *Miscellanea*, published at London in 8vo. in the year 1686; as also by Hottinger, in his *Analect. Historico Theolog. Appendic. dissert. viii. p. 650*, and by other authors mentioned by Fabricius in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. x. p. 499.

† See Elin Vegellii *Defensio Exerc. de Ecclesia Græca*, p. 300, where we find the letters of the Roman pontiff Urban VIII. to Cyrillus of Berea, in which he loads with applause this new patriarch, for having been so instrumental in banishing from among the Greeks the pernicious errors of Cyrillus Lucar, and warmly exhorts him to depose all the Greek patriarchs and bishops that are not favourable to the Latin church. These exhortations are seconded by flattering promises, and particularly, by an assurance of protection and succour from the king of Spain. Cyrillus of Berea died in the communion of the Romish church. See Hen. Hillæii *Not. ad Phil. Cyprii Chron. Ecclesiar. Græcar.* p. 470

gious system of their ancestors, and have adopted, among other errors of the Romish church, the monstrous and unnatural doctrine of transubstantiation. This change is said to have been more especially brought about in the famous council, which was assembled in the year 1672, at Jerusalem, by Dositheus, the patriarch of that city.^a Without entering into an examination of the truth and equity of this charge brought against the Greek bishops, we shall only observe, that it was the controversy between the Roman catholics and protestants in France that first gave rise to it. The latter, and more especially John Claude, so justly celebrated for his extensive learning and masterly eloquence, maintained, that many of the doctrines of the Romish church, and more particularly that of transubstantiation, were of a modern date, and had never been heard of before the ninth century. The Roman catholics, on the contrary, with Arnaud at their head, affirmed, that the doctrine of Rome, concerning the eucharist, and the *real* conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in that holy ordinance, had been received by Christians in all ages of the church.^b To strengthen their cause further by authorities, that they imagined would have no small influence upon their adversaries, they ventured to assert, that this doctrine was adopted by all the eastern Christians, and particularly by the Greek churches.^b This bold assertion required striking and authentic testimonies to give it any degree of credit. Accordingly, the ambassador of France, residing at Constantinople, received orders from his court to concur with the Jesuits, and to leave no methods unemployed in procuring certificates from the Greek clergy to confirm this assertion. On the other hand, the English and Dutch ambassadors, persuaded that no such doctrine was really professed in the Greek church, procured also the testimonies of several ecclesiastics, in order to take from the Roman Catholic disputants this pretext; which, after all, was of no great consequence, as it did not affect the merits

^a See, for an account of this council, Aymon, *Memoires Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs*, tom. i. p. 263. Gisberti Cuperi *Epistola*, p. 404, 407. See more especially, the judicious and learned observations of Basnage on the transactions of this council, in his *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises Reformees*, period iv. p. 1, c. xxxii. p. 452, and Cowell's Account of the Present State of the Greek Church, book i. ch. v. p. 136.

^b It was to prove this most groundless assertion, that the famous Nicole, published his artful book, *De la Perpetuite de la Foi*, in the year 1664, which was answered, with a victorious force of evidence, by the learned Claude.

ⁱ The names and productions of the principal writers that appeared in this controversy, may be found in the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius, vol. x. p. 444, and in the learned Pfaff's *Dissertatio contr.* Ludov. Logerii *Opus Eucharisticum*, published at Tubingen in the year 1718.

of the cause. The result however of this scrutiny was favourable to the Romish doctors, whose agents in foreign parts procured a more numerous list of testimonies than their adversaries could produce. The protestants invalidated these testimonies by proving fully that many of them were obtained by bribery from the indigent Greeks, whose deplorable poverty made them sacrifice truth to lucre; and that a great number of them were drawn by artifice from ignorant priests, whom the Jesuits deceived, by disguising the doctrines of Rome in such a manner as to give them a Grecian air, and make them resemble the religious system of the eastern churches.^k Granting all this to be true, it may nevertheless be justly questioned, whether the admission of certain doctrines into the Greek church, that resembled the errors of popery, is to be dated from the period now before us; and whoever examines this controversy with a spirit of impartiality, accompanied with a competent knowledge of the history of the religious doctrine of the Greek churches, will perhaps find, that a certain vague and obscure notion, similar to the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, has been received during many ages by several of these churches; though, in these latter times, they may have learnt, from the Romish missionaries, the popish manner of expressing this monstrous and unaccountable tenet.^l

iv. Of those independent Greek churches, which are governed by their own laws, and are not subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, there is none but the church established in Russia that can furnish any matter for an ecclesiastical historian; the rest are sunk in the most deplorable ignorance and barbarity that can possibly be imagined. About the year 1666, a certain sect, which assumed the name of *isbraniki*, i. e. *the multitude of the elect*, but were called by their adversaries *roskolsnika*, or, *the seditious faction*, arose in Russia, and excited considerable tumults and commotions in that king-

^k Here, above all other histories, the reader will do well to consult Cowell's 'Account of the Present State of the Greek Church,' pref. p. 2, and also book i. ch. v. p. 136, as this author was actually at Constantinople when this scene of fraud and bribery was carried on, and was an eyewitness of the insidious arts and perfidious practices employed by the Jesuits to obtain from the Greek priests and monks testimonies in favour of the doctrine of the Latin or Romish church.

^l The learned La Croze, who cannot be suspected of any propensity to favour the cause of Rome in general, or that of the Jesuits in particular, was of opinion, that the Greeks had been long in possession of the foolish doctrine of transubstantiation. See (Staber) Cuperi *Epistol.* p. 37, 44, 48, 51, 65.

dom.^m The reasons that this sect alleges in defence of its separation from the Russian church, are not as yet known with any degree of certainty; nor have we any satisfactory or accurate account of its doctrines and institutions; we only know, in general, that its members affect an extraordinary air of piety and devotion, and complain of the corruptions introduced into the ancient religion of the Russians, partly by the negligence, and partly by the ambition, of the episcopal order.^o On the other hand, great pains were taken to conquer the obstinacy of this factious sect; arguments, promises, threatenings, dragoonings, the authority of synods and councils, seconded by racks and gibbets; in a word, all the methods that artifice or barbarity could suggest were practised to bring back these seditious heretics into the bosom of the church. But the effect of these violent measures by no means answered the expectations of the Russian government; they exasperated, instead of reclaiming, these schismatics, who retired into the woods and deserts, and, as it often happens, were rendered more fierce and desperate by the calamities and sufferings in which they were involved. From the time that Peter the Great ascended the throne of Russia, and made such remarkable changes in the form and administration both of its civil and ecclesiastical government, this faction has been treated with more humanity and mildness; but

^m These perhaps are the same persons of whom the learned Gmelin speaks, under the denomination of *storoverti*, in the account of his Voyage into Siberia, tom. iv. p. 404.

^o This sect is called by other authors the sect of the Roskolniki. According to the account of Voltaire, who pretends to have drawn the materials of his History of the Russian Empire under Peter I. from authentic records furnished by the court of Petersburg, this sect made its first appearance in the twelfth century. The members of it allege, in defence of their separation, the corruptions both in doctrine and discipline, that have been introduced into the Russian church. They profess a rigorous zeal for the letter of Holy Scripture, which they do not understand; and the transposition of a single word in a new edition of the Russian Bible, though this transposition was made to correct an uncouth phrase in the translation commonly received, threw them into the greatest combustion and tumult. They will not allow a priest to administer baptism after having tasted spirituous liquor; and in this perhaps they do not amiss, since it is well known, that the Russian priests seldom touch the flask without drinking deep. They hold, that there is no subordination of rank, no superior or inferior among the faithful; that a Christian may kill himself for the love of Christ; that hallelujah must be but twice pronounced; and that it is a great sin to repeat it thrice; and that a priest must never give a blessing but with three fingers. They are regular, even to austerity, in their manners; but as they have always refused to admit Christians of other denominations into their religious assemblies, they have been suspected of committing in them various abominations, which ought not to be believed without the strongest and most demonstrative proofs. They are accused, for example, of killing a child in these assemblies, and of drinking its blood, and of lascivious commerce in its most irregular forms.

^o See Burgins, *De Statu Ecclesie Religionis Muscoviticæ*, sect. xi. cap. vii. p. 69, sect. ii. cap. xvi. p. 218. Append. 270. Heineccius's Account of the Greek Church, written in German, p. 30. Haven's *Iter Russicum*. Some doctors conjecture, that these Ibrañiki, or Roskolniki, are a branch descended from the ancient Bogomilians, of whom we have already given some account, cent. xii. part i. chap. v. § ii.

it is alleged, that these mild proceedings have by no means healed the schism ; and that, on the contrary, the Roskolniki have gained strength, and are become still *more* obstinate since the period now mentioned.

v. It will not be improper here to give some account of this reformation of the church of Russia, that was owing to the active zeal and wisdom of Peter I. for though this interesting event belongs to the history of the following century, yet the scheme by which it was brought about, was laid toward the conclusion of that now before us. This great prince made no change in the articles of faith received among the Russians, and which contain the doctrine of the Greek church. But he took the utmost pains to have this doctrine explained in a manner conformable to the dictates of right reason and the spirit of the gospel ; and he used the *most* effectual methods to destroy, on the one hand, the influence of that hideous superstition that sat brooding over the whole nation ; and, on the other, to dispel the ignorance of the clergy, which was incredible, and that of the people, which would have surpassed it, had that been possible. These were great and arduous undertakings ; and the reformation, to which they pointed, was such as seemed to require whole ages to accomplish and bring to any tolerable degree of perfection. To accelerate the execution of this glorious plan, Peter I. became a zealous protector and patron of arts and sciences. He encouraged, by various instances of munificence, men of learning and genius to settle in his dominions. He reformed the schools that were sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and erected new seminaries of learning. He endeavoured to excite in his subjects a desire of emerging from their ignorance and brutality, and a taste for knowledge and the useful arts. And, to crown all these noble attempts, he extinguished the infernal spirit of persecution ; abolished the penal laws against those that differed merely in religious opinion from the established church ; and granted to Christians of all denominations liberty of conscience and the privilege of performing divine worship in the manner prescribed by their respective liturgies and institutions. This liberty however was modified in such a prudent manner, as to restrain and defeat any attempts that might be made by the Latins to promote the interests of popery in Russia, or to extend the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff beyond the chapels of that communion that were tolerated by law. For though Roman catholics

The change introduced into the Russian church by Peter I.

were allowed places for the celebration of divine worship, yet the Jesuits were not permitted to exercise the functions of missionaries or public teachers in Russia; and a particular charge was given to the council, to which belonged the cognisance of ecclesiastical affairs, to use their utmost care and vigilance to prevent the propagation of Romish tenets among the people.

Beside all this, a notable change was now introduced into the manner of governing the church. The splendid dignity of patriarch, which approached too near the lustre and prerogatives of majesty, not to be offensive to the emperor and burdensome to the people, was suppressed, or rather assumed, by this spirited prince, who declared himself the supreme pontiff and head of the Russian church.^p The functions of this high and important office were intrusted with a council assembled at Petersburg, which was called the *holy synod*, and in which one of the *archbishops*, the most distinguished by his integrity and prudence, was appointed as president. This honourable office was filled by the famous Stephen Javorsci, who composed a laborious work, in the Russian language, against heresy.^q The other orders of the clergy continued in their respective rank and offices; but both their revenues and their authority were considerably diminished. It was resolved at first, in this general reformation, to abolish all monasteries and convents, as prejudicial to the community, and unfriendly to population; but this resolution was not put in execution; on the contrary, the emperor himself erected a magnificent monastery in honour of Alexander Newsky whom the Russians place in their list of heroes.^r

VI. A small body of the Monophysites in Asia abandoned, for some time, the doctrine and institutions of their ancestors, and embraced the communion of Rome.

The state of the Monophysites.

^p This account is not perhaps entirely accurate. Dr. Mosheim seems to insinuate, that Peter assumed not only the authority, but also the office and title of patriarch or supreme pontiff, and head of the church. This however was not the case; he retained the power without the title, as may be seen by the oath that every member of the synod he had established was obliged to take, when he was appointed to that office. It was in consequence of his authority, as emperor, that he claimed an absolute authority in the church, and not from any ghostly character or denomination. The oath now mentioned ran thus; "I swear and promise to be a faithful and obedient subject and servant to my true and natural sovereign, and to the august successors it shall please him to appoint, in consequence of the indisputable power he has to regulate the succession to the crown. I acknowledge him as the supreme judge of this spiritual college," &c. See Voltaire's *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand*, tom. i. p. 174.

^q Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. 1295.

^r Those who are acquainted with either the Danish or German languages, will find several interesting anecdotes relating to these changes in Haven's *Iter Rusticum*.

This step was entirely owing to the suggestions and intrigues of a person named Andrew Achigian, who had been educated at Rome, where he imbibed the principles of popery, and having obtained the title and dignity of patriarch from the Roman pontiff, assumed the denomination of Ignatius XXIV.* After the death of this pretended patriarch, another usurper, whose name was Peter, aspired after the same dignity, and taking the title of Ignatius XXV. placed himself in the patriarchal chair; but the lawful patriarch of the sect had credit enough with the Turks to procure the deposition and banishment of this pretender; and thus the small congregation which acknowledged his jurisdiction was entirely dispersed.† The African Monophysites, and more especially the Copts, notwithstanding that poverty and ignorance which exposed them to the seductions of sophistry and gain, stood firm in their *principles*, and made an obstinate resistance to the *promises*, presents, and attempts employed by the papal missionaries to bring them under the Roman yoke. With respect to the Abyssinians, we have mentioned already, in its proper place, the revolution by which they delivered themselves from that tyrannical yoke, and resumed the liberty they had so imprudently renounced. It is proper however to take notice here of the zeal discovered by the Lutherans in their attempts to dispel the ignorance and superstition of this people, and to bring them to the knowledge of a purer religion, and a more rational worship. It was with this pious design that the learned Heyling, of Lubec, undertook a voyage into Ethiopia, in the year 1634, where he resided many years, and acquired such a distinguished place in the favour and esteem of the emperor, that he was honoured with the high and important office of prime minister of that mighty empire. In this eminent station, he gave many instances of his zeal both for the interests of religion and the public good; after which he set out for Europe, but never arrived there, nor is it known in what manner, or by what accident he ended his days.‡

* From the fifteenth century downward, all the Patriarchs of the Monophysites have taken the name of Ignatius, and that for no other reason than to show that they are the lineal successors of Ignatius, who was bishop of Antioch in the first century, and of consequence the lawful patriarchs of Antioch. A like reason induces the religious chief of the Maronites, who also lays claim to the same dignity, to assume the name of Peter; for St. Peter is said to have governed the church of Antioch before Ignatius.

† Jo. Simon. *Assemani Biblioth. Orientalis, Clementino Vaticanæ*. tom. ii. p. 482, and his *Dissert. de Monophysitis*, § iii. 6, 7.

‡ A very curious life of Heyling was published in German by Dr. Michaelis at Hall, in 1721. See also Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, tom. i. p. 253.

Several years after this, Ernest, duke of Saxe Gotha, surnamed the Pious, on account of his eminent sanctity and virtue, formed the resolution of making a new attempt to spread the knowledge of the gospel, in its purity and simplicity, among the ignorant and superstitious Abyssinians. This design was formed by the counsels and suggestions of the famous Ludolph, and was to have been executed by the ministry of abbot Gregory, an Abyssinian who had resided for some time in Europe.* The unhappy fate of this missionary, who perished in a shipwreck in the year 1657, did not totally discourage the prince from pursuing his purpose; for, in the year 1663, he intrusted the same pious and important commission with John Michael Wansleb, a native of Erfurt, to whom he gave the wisest orders, and whom he charged particularly to leave no means unemployed that might contribute to give the Abyssinian nation a favourable opinion of the Germans, as it was upon this basis alone that the success of the present enterprise could be built. Wansleb, however, whose virtue was by no means equal to his abilities, instead of continuing his journey to Abyssinia, remained several years in Egypt. On his return from thence into Europe, he began to entertain uneasy apprehensions of the account that would naturally be demanded both of his conduct and of the manner in which he had employed the sums of money he received for his Abyssinian expedition. These apprehensions rendered him desperate, because they were attended with a consciousness of guilt. Hence, instead of returning into Germany, he went directly to Rome, where, in the year 1667, he embraced, at least in outward profession, the doctrine of that church, and entered into the Dominican order.† Thus the pious designs of the best of princes failed in the execution. To them however we are indebted for the great light that has been thrown by the learned and laborious Ludolph on the history, doctrine, literature, and manners of the Abyssinians, which, before this period, were but very superficially known in Europe.

* See Ludolphi *Proemium ad Comm. in Hist. Æthiop.* p. 31. Junckeri *Vita Jobi Ludolphi*, p. 68.

† For an account of this inconstant and worthless, but learned man, see Lobo, *Voyage d'Abys.* tom. i. p. 198, 227, 233, 248. Cyprian, 'Catalog. MSS. Biblioth. Gotharum,' p. 64. Eus. Renaudot, 'Pref. ad Histor. Patriarch. Alexand.' Echard and Quetif, 'Scriptor. Ordin. Prædic.' tom. ii. p. 693. See the same authors, 'Historia Ecclesiar. Alexandrinæ.'

VII. The state of the Christians in Armenia underwent a considerable change soon after the commencement of this century, in consequence of the incursions of Abbas the Great, king of Persia, into that province. This prince laid waste all that part of Armenia that lay contiguous to his dominions, and ordered the inhabitants to retire into Persia. These devastations were designed to prevent the Turks from approaching to his frontier; for the eastern monarchs, instead of erecting fortified towns on the borders of their respective kingdoms, as is done by the European princes, laid waste their borders upon the approach of the enemy, that, by thus cutting off the means of their subsistence, their progress might be either entirely stopped or considerably retarded. In this general emigration, the more opulent and better sort of the Armenians removed to Ispahan, the capital of Persia, where the generous monarch granted them a beautiful suburb for their residence, with the free exercise of their religion, under the jurisdiction of a bishop or patriarch. Under the reign of this magnanimous prince, who cherished his people with a paternal tenderness, these happy exiles enjoyed the sweets of liberty and abundance; but after his death the scene changed, and they were involved in calamities of various kinds.^y The storm of persecution that arose upon them shook their constancy; many of them apostatized to the Mahometan religion, so that it was justly to be feared that this branch of the Armenian church would gradually perish. On the other hand, the state of religion in that church derived considerable advantages from the settlement of a prodigious number of Armenians in different parts of Europe for the purposes of commerce. These merchants, who had fixed their residence, during this century, at London, Amsterdam, Marseilles, and Venice,^z were not unmindful of the interests of religion in their native country. And their situation furnished them with favourable opportunities of exerting their zeal in this good

^y See Chardin, 'Voyages en Perse,' tom. ii. 106. Gabriel du Chinois, 'Nouvelles Relations du Levant,' p. 206.

^z For an account of the Armenians who settled at Marseilles, and of the books they took care to have printed in that city for the use of their brethren in foreign parts, see Rich. Simon's 'Lettres Choisies,' tom. ii. p. 137. The same author, tom. iv. p. 160, and the learned John Joachim Schroder, in a *Dissertation* prefixed to his 'Thesaurus Lingue Armenicæ,' gives an account of the Armenian Bible that was printed in Holland. The latter also takes notice of the other Arsenian books that were published at Venice, Lyons, and Amsterdam, *loc. cit.* cap. ii. § xxv. p. 38.

cause, and particularly of supplying their Asiatic brethren with Armenian translations of the Holy Scriptures, and of other theological books, from the European presses, especially from those of England and Holland. These pious and instructive productions being dispersed among the Armenians, who lived under the Persian and Turkish governments, contributed, no doubt, to preserve that illiterate and superstitious people from falling into the most consummate and deplorable ignorance.

VIII. The divisions that reigned among the Nestorians in the preceding century still subsisted; and all the methods that had been employed to heal The state of the Nestorians. them proved hitherto ineffectual. Some of the Nestorian bishops discovered a propensity to accommodate matters with the church of Rome. Elias II. bishop of Mosul, sent two private embassies to the pope, in the year 1607 and 1610, to solicit his friendship; and, in the letter he addressed upon that occasion to Paul IV. declared his desire to bring about a reconciliation between the Nestorians and the Latin church.* Elias III. though at first extremely averse to the doctrine and institution of that church, changed his sentiments in this respect; and, in the year 1657, addressed a letter to the congregation *de propaganda fide*, in which he intimated his readiness to join with the church of Rome, on condition that the pope would allow the Nestorians a place of public worship in that city, and would abstain from all attempts to alter the doctrine or discipline of that sect.^b The Romish doctors could not but perceive that a reconciliation, founded on such conditions as these, would be attended with no advantage to their church, and promised nothing that could flatter the ambition of their pontiff. And accordingly we do not find that the proposal above mentioned was accepted. It does not appear that the Nestorians were received, at this time, into the communion of the Romish church, or that the bishops of Mosul were, after this period, at all solicitous about the friendship or good will of the Roman pontiff. The Nestorian bishops of Ormus, who successively assumed the name of Simeon, proposed also, more than once,^c plans of reconciliation with the church of Rome;

a Jos. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 543, tom. ii. p. 457, tom. iii. p. i. p. 650.

b Assemani *loc. cit.* tom. iii. p. 2.

c In the year 1619 and 1653.

and, with that view, sent the Roman pontiff a confession of their faith, that gave a clear idea of their religious tenets and institutions. But these proposals were little attended to by the court of Rome, which was either owing to its dislike of the doctrine of these Nestorians,^d or to that contempt which their poverty and want of influence excited in the pontiffs, whose ambition and avidity aimed at acquisitions of more consequence; for it is well known, that, since the year 1617, the bishops of Ormus have been in a low and declining state, both in point of opulence and credit, and are no longer in a condition to excite the envy of their brethren at Mosul.^e The Romish missionaries gained over nevertheless to their communion, a handful of Nestorians, whom they formed into a congregation or church, about the middle of this century. The bishops or patriarchs of this little flock reside in the city of Amida, or Diarbeker, and all assume the denomination of Joseph.^f The Nestorians, who inhabit the coasts of Malabar, and are called the Christians of St. Thomas, suffered innumerable vexations, and the most grievous persecution, from the Romish priests, and more especially the Jesuits, while these settlements were in the hands of the Portuguese; but neither artifice nor violence could engage them to embrace the communion of Rome.^g But when Cochin was taken by the Dutch, in the year 1663, and the Portuguese were driven out of these quarters, the persecuted Nestorians resumed their primitive liberty, and were reinstated in the privilege of serving God without molestation, according to their consciences.^h These blessings they still continue to enjoy; nor are such of them as entered into the communion of Rome disturbed by the Dutch, who are used to treat with toleration and indulgence all sects who live peaceably with those who differ from them in religious opinions and ceremonies.

d Assemani *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 531, tom. ii. p. 457, tom. iii. p. i. p. 622.

e Pet. Strozza, *Præf. ad librum de Chaldaeorum dogmatibus.*

f See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. p. 1078.

g La Croze *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, livr. v. p. 344.

h Schouten *Voyage aux Indes Orient.* tom. i. p. 319, 446.

